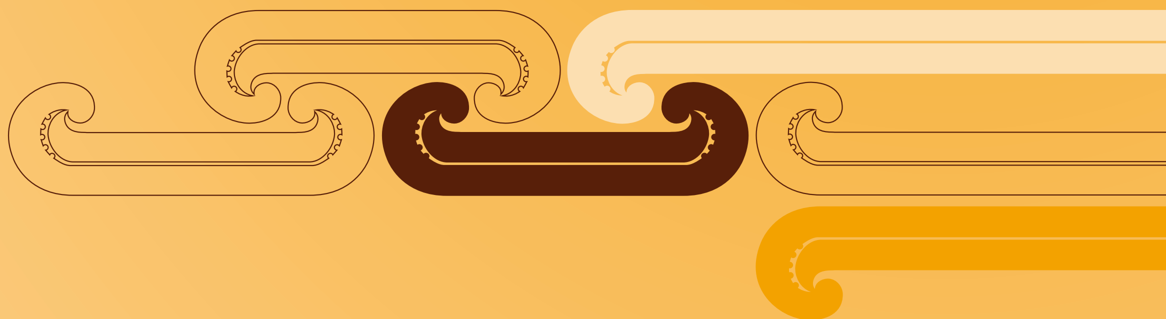
VOLUME 12 • ISSUE 2 • 2023



MAI Journal
A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP

NGĀ PAE O TE MĀRAMATANGA

EDITORS

Associate Professor Te Kawehau Hoskins *Ngāpuhi*
University of Auckland

Dr Vini Olsen-Reeder *Tauranga Moana, Te Arawa*
Victoria University of Wellington

EDITORIAL BOARD

Professor Peter Adds *Te Ātiawa*
Victoria University of Wellington

Dr Amanda Black *Tūhoe, Whakatōhea, Te Whānau ā-Apanui*
Lincoln University

Dr Jade Le Grice *Ngai Tupoto – Te Rarawa, Ngāti Korokoro, Te Pouka, Ngāti Wharara, Te Mahurehure – Ngāpuhi*
University of Auckland

Associate Professor Meegan Hall *Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāti Tūwharetoa*
Victoria University of Wellington

Professor Anne-Marie Jackson *Ngāti Whatua, Te Roroa, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Wai, Ngāti Kahu o Whangaroa*
University of Otago

Associate Professor Carwyn Jones *Ngāti Kahungunu*
Te Wānanga o Raukawa

Associate Professor Te Taka Keegan *Waikato – Maniapoto, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Whakaaue*
University of Waikato

Professor Tracey McIntosh *Tūhoe*
University of Auckland

Dr Hiria McRae *Te Arawa, Tūhoe, Ngāti Kahungunu*
Victoria University of Wellington

Dr Dean Mahuta *Ngāti Mahuta, Waikato*
Auckland University of Technology

Dr Farah Palmer *Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato*
Massey University

Dr John Pirker *Ngāi Tahu, Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Porou*
University of Canterbury

Dr Arama Rata *Ngāti Maniapoto, Taranaki, Ngāruahine*
University of Waikato

Professor Poia Rewi *Ngāti Manawa, Te Arawa*
Te Mātāwai

Professor Jacinta Ruru *Raukawa, Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāti Maniapoto*
University of Otago

Dr Hinekura Smith *Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi, Te Ati Awa*
UNITEC

Professor Michelle Thompson-Fawcett *Ngāti Whātua, Ngāti Te Ata*
University of Otago

Emeritus Professor Michael Walker *Whakatōhea*
University of Auckland

PUBLICATIONS MANAGER

Marie-Chanel Berghan *Te Rarawa, Ngāti Wai, Ngāti Maniapoto, Te Arawa*

JOURNAL CO-ORDINATOR

Cheryle Willoughby *Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Wai, Ngāti Kahu ki Whangaroa, Ngāti Kuta*

ISSN (Online): 2230-6862
Published by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga © 2023
New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence
The University of Auckland, New Zealand

Typeset by Katrina Duncan

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga holds copyright for this Journal while individual authors hold copyright for their own articles. This publication cannot be reproduced and sold for profit by others.

MAI Journal is a member of the following organisations:

CONTENTS

The design and operation of post-settlement governance entities: A management contribution 111
Miriama Jordan Cribb, Jason Paul Mika

High-achieving Māori students' perceptions of their best and worst teachers 122
Hana Turner-Adams, Christine M. Rubie-Davies, Melinda Webber

Public aspirations for a decolonised city: food security and "re-storytelling" 133
Katie Jane Tollan, Mike Ross, O. Ripeka Mercier, Bianca Elkington, Rebecca Kiddle, Amanda Thomas, Jennie Smeaton

Te Kupenga: A woven methodology for collecting, interpreting, and stor(y)ing Māori women's knowledges 146
Deborah Heke

Māori expert views of antimicrobial resistance using a one health approach: A qualitative study 158
Samuel D. Carrington, Pauline Norris, Patricia Priest, Emma H. Wyeth

Pacific peoples, New Zealand housing-related political rhetoric and epistemic violence 170
Georgia Brown, Adele Norris

Taiao and mauri ora: Māori understandings of the environment and its connection to wellbeing 181
Marjorie Lipsham

Māui Tīnihanga: Transformation through education 193
Heperi Harris, Mariechen Ngarotata, Reimana Tutengaehe, Katie Marr, Niki Hannan, Faye Wilson-Hill

Creating a hā habit: Utilising Māori innovations in breathwork to alleviate and build resilience to the effects of trauma, PTSD and generalised anxiety 202
Rawiri Waretini-Karena, Julia Wikeepa

Adjustment to chronic illness as informed by Māori: A qualitative synthesis of studies and best practice guidelines 214
Nikita Kirkcaldy

Reviewing flexible learning spaces for Māori-medium education 226
Jo Mane, Jenny Lee-Morgan, Ruia Aperahama, Jo Gallagher

Ensuring equity for indigenous peoples using a Māori model of health 235
Kylie McKee

Whenua ki te whenua: Indigenous naming of the land and its people by reconnecting the past to the present and the future 244
Lesley Rameka, Mere Berryman, Diana Cruse

Te Whare Tapa Whā and Facebook: Online communication with Māori postgraduate students during the 2020 COVID-19 lockdown 257
Rachel Jane Sizemore

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP
DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.1

THE DESIGN AND OPERATION OF POST-SETTLEMENT GOVERNANCE ENTITIES

A management contribution

Miriama Jordan Cribb[*]
Jason Paul Mika[†]

Abstract

Post-settlement governance entities (PSGEs) are an outcome of the Treaty of Waitangi settlement process. Their role is to hold, manage and be responsible for the collective assets received on behalf of claimant groups, most often represented by iwi. However, many PSGEs serve wider purposes, including social, cultural, environmental and other iwi-defined purposes. This article seeks to answer the following research question: What factors influence the design and operation of PSGEs? Through analysing literature and data collected from the experiences of three PSGEs, we find that challenges PSGEs tend to encounter are not a result of their design. Instead, they are attributed to their operationalisation—that is, their management. We argue that there is more to their management than what is currently understood, and we seek here to contribute meaningfully to knowledge of the design and operation of PSGEs as contemporary forms of Māori organisation.

Keywords

Māori entities, Māori management, Māori organisational design, post-settlement governance entities

Introduction

The main role of a post-settlement governance entity (PSGE) is to hold, manage and be responsible for the collective assets received as an outcome of the redress for Treaty of Waitangi settlements with Māori, the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand (McKay, 2012). PSGEs, however, tend to serve wider purposes, fulfilling social, cultural and environmental aims (New Zealand Law Commission, 2002) while performing business, representational, statutory and Treaty partner functions (Gibbs, 2015; Sanderson et al., 2007). Consequently, PSGEs can be considered multipurpose organisations. This broad range of PSGE functions is consistent with the diverse ways in which Māori are engaged in economic activity

* Te Āti-Haunui-a-Pāpārangi, Ngāti Pikiao, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Tama. PhD Candidate, School of Management, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. Email: miriamacribb@gmail.com

† Tūhoe, Ngāti Awa, Whakatōhea, Ngāti Kahungunu. Associate Dean Māori and Associate Professor, School of Management and Marketing Operations, The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

(Amoamo et al., 2018; Dell et al., 2018). Tensions arising in the pursuit of building tribal capabilities is not an uncommon experience amongst PSGEs because they must contend with multiple purposes and complex sociopolitical environments (Mika et al., 2019). Achieving expected levels of efficacy in such organisations may hinge on their design as much as the people who are installed to deliver on tribal expectations. Theoretical explanations of PSGEs tend to come from deep consideration of their governance, representation and structure as elements of the political realm of tribal organisation (Joseph & Benton, 2021). What is missing is a managerial perspective of PSGE formation and operation.

This article focuses attention on organisational design to support the effective operation of multipurpose PSGEs—that is, on designing and procuring an effective entity that incorporates the agreed legal structure and considers the cultural, social and economic needs of tribal members as Treaty claimants. We discuss theoretical insights and practical implications from an analysis of the relevant literature and the experiences of three PSGEs. The article seeks to answer the following research question: What factors influence the design and operation of PSGEs?This article contributes to Māori management discourse, particularly as we look to avoid simplistic conceptualisations of Māori enterprise (Bargh, 2018) and extend our "conventional ideas of the role of the manager and the management process to embrace a multiplicity of means and ends" (Mika et al., 2020, p. 262). The insights shared here might be of particular interest given the new approaches to settling historical grievances observed in the Deed of Reconciliation for Parihaka, a Māori settlement in the Taranaki region of New Zealand (Kawharu, 2018), Te Anga Pūtakerongo mō Ngā Maunga o Taranaki, Pouākai me Kaitake | Record of Understanding for Mount Taranaki, Pouākai and the Kaitake Ranges (Ngā Iwi o Taranaki and the Crown, 2017) and for Māori entities generally.

What the literature says

Managerial principles and the organisational design of PSGEs infrequently appear in the literature. Almost exclusively, literature on PSGEs falls within the ambit of Treaty settlements and not what happens post-settlement. Research on PSGEs, for example, addresses questions of law and politics (Andrew, 2008; New Zealand Law Commission, 2002; Wiri, 2013), colonisation and recolonisation (Summerfield, 2015), social justice and inequality (Glover, 2019; Lashley, 2000), economic and sustainable development (Coffin, 2013; Harmsworth et al., 2002; Meade, 2004; Mika et al., 2019; Wineti, 2015), tikanga Māori and te ao Māori (Chapman Tripp, 2017; New Zealand Law Commission, 2002; Roxburgh, 2016; Māori Affairs Select Committee, 2013), governance and governance entities (Chapman Tripp, 2012; Joseph, 2014; McKay, 2012; New Zealand Law Commission, 2006; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004, 2009) and conservation, co-management and resource management (Dodson, 2014; Te Aho, 2010; Warren, 2016). The absence of managerial perspectives in this literature appears due to management being subsumed by governance. Although governance and management are both important, "there is a complete absence of literature concerning the nature of Indigenous organisations and their design" (Prendergast-Tarena, 2015, p. 33).

Many Māori entities, particularly those set up under legislation like PSGEs, are designed to be safe and to avoid risk because they involve acquiring an asset or a workforce and enveloping them in a legal boundary (Wineti, 2015). Consequently, much of the focus is on statutory and financial obligations (McKay, 2012) and on upholding tax and legal responsibilities (Chapman Tripp, 2012). While it is important to understand the tax requirements of PSGEs, understanding management functions also matters for the practical reason of goal achievement (Hayes & Johnston, 2012). A management understanding must go beyond the functionality of managing assets and operational-level activity because PSGEs are an extension of the tribe itself—with a human composition, sociocultural dimension and purposeful existence (Mika et al, 2019).

In management theory, organisations fulfil their potential through the intentionality of organisational design, which is underappreciated in Treaty settlement discourse (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004). We, therefore, seek to understand and apply managerial concepts of organisational design to PSGEs. Although PSGEs make up 63% of the $15 billion in Māori collective assets (Chapman Tripp, 2017), and the first PSGEs are now over 20 years old, understanding how they should be structured is still evolving (Gibbs, 2015). KPMG (2022), for instance, calls for a change in the way Māori entities are designed and function—a paradigm grounded in te ao Māori rather than one that involves the tweaking of Western models.

There is no one-size-fits-all model for good governance from a Māori perspective (Joseph, 2014). There have, however, been two attempts to address apparent deficiencies in the governance of Māori

organisations (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009). In the first instance, Te Puni Kōkiri | the Ministry for Māori Development (2004) proposed that a new governance model for Māori entities should be developed to address the unique features of their cultural context while enabling good governance. The model was mooted for two main reasons: first, to provide claimant groups with receiving organisations that satisfied both Crown and Māori expectations and were more effectively aligned with the nature of Māori collectives; and second, to overcome decades of ad-hocracy as Māori entities, particularly Māori authorities, were manipulated to meet Māori needs within the constraints of legislative frameworks fashioned on variations on the British corporate form. In the second instance, the New Zealand Law Commission (2006), working closely with Te Puni Kōkiri, outlined the case for a new statutory Māori corporation called Waka Umanga. Stemming from this work, the Māori Affairs Select Committee (2008) considered the Waka Umanga (Māori Corporations) Bill and recommended it to the House of Representatives, but it did not proceed after a change in government in December 2009.

Background

This article is situated in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand and the Treaty of Waitangi, understood to have been signed in good faith between the British Crown and Māori rangatira in 1840 (Hayward & Wheen, 2004). The Treaty was written in English and in the Māori language, with the latter version known as te Tiriti o Waitangi, which most rangatira signed (Coxhead et al., 2014). In 1975, the Waitangi Tribunal, a commission of inquiry, was established to investigate Māori claims against the Crown for breaches of te Tiriti o Waitangi and recommend settlements (Mutu, 2018). Claimants are composed of one or more iwi who, under current settlement policy, are arranged into large natural groupings and can opt for direct negotiations with the Crown rather than having to wait for the Tribunal to hear and report on their claims. There are four main steps in the settlement of a Treaty claim: pre-negotiation, negotiation, ratification and implementation (Andrew, 2008). The design and development of a PSGE can start as early as the pre-negotiation stage, but usually this activity happens in the negotiation stage.

A PSGE must be representative of the claimant group, transparent in its decision-making and dispute resolution, accountable and beneficial to the claimant group, and be ratified by them (Chapman Tripp, 2012). While initially the options for claimant groups seemed varied, the Crown has, to date, accepted two principal legal entities as suitable for PSGEs: common law trusts and statutory bodies (Sanderson et al., 2007). Common law trusts are the most familiar arrangement, with a parent body responsible to a representative structure and subsidiary trusts or companies linked to the parent entity through ownership and the power to appoint directors and trustees (Gibbs, 2015).

Defining what we mean by management and organisational design is necessary at this point. Although a traditional definition, in its simplest form management is the process of forecasting and planning, organising, commanding, coordinating and controlling within organisations (Fayol, 1917/2016). Management, therefore, involves examining the future to devise a plan, building a dual structure of material and human resources, maintaining and unifying activity and effort, and ensuring conformity to the rules and expressed command (Fayol, 1917/2016). Thus, management is the accomplishment of these actions in pursuit of an organisation's objectives while maintaining relationships with stakeholders, technologies and other internal and external artefacts (Clegg et al., 2016). In this article, organisational design is understood as an aspect of management. Organisational design focuses on an organisation's structure and its mode of operation (Clegg et al., 2016) and is concerned with establishing its legitimate and desired role (Burton & Obel, 1998). Organisational design involves calibrating an organisation's systems to its external business environment (Clark, 1972).

Methods

This article is qualitative in nature and uses Kaupapa Māori research and an interpretive approach as the philosophical framework. Smith (1997) defines Kaupapa Māori as the state of being Māori, which is connected to Māori philosophy. In this approach, the validity and legitimacy of Māori language and culture, and the struggle for autonomy over Māori cultural well-being are accepted. Just because participants in research are Māori, a Kaupapa Māori approach cannot be assumed to be the most suitable. An interpretive approach allows multiple realities to exist (Baxter & Jack, 2008) and is better placed to guide research in regard to organisational design. This approach allows data to be collated from the experiences of PSGEs (Bell et al., 2019). Thematic analysis, whereby data is analysed and key themes are developed, was the main method used for data analysis (Bell et al., 2019).

The experiences of three PSGEs were captured through interviews with nine people, and these form the primary data. Of the nine interviewees, three people were chairs, three trustees, two chief executives, and one was a trustee who was also an administrator. Participants had backgrounds that include education, research, management, business and community development. They joined their respective PSGEs at different stages of their development. PSGEs were selected on the availability of participants and the organisation's agreeability to contribute to the research. PSGEs that had existed for more than 10 years were selected to ensure a thorough collection of data. Semi-structured interviews were conducted. Nine sub-questions were developed as an extension of the main research question. These questions were grouped into both design intentions and operational outcomes, with a final question opening a discussion on future considerations. The inclusion of the word "management" and the use of management terms such as "operation", "functionality", "organisation" and "structure" ensured a management lens was present in the interviews.

Findings

All PSGEs selected for this study had settled their Treaty claims between 2000 and 2010, with each receiving financial redress of at least $10 million. All three entities use the common law trust model, but each had different representation structures: one chose to elect trustees via a marae vote, one by a hapū vote and one by an individual vote. All PSGEs had subsidiaries, including investment arms and charitable trusts. The PSGEs varied in the structure of their offices, but each included a mix of business-as-usual functions and strategic projects. The findings are organised into two sections: the first presents PSGE design factors, and the second outlines factors influencing their operation.

Factors influencing design

We found that the key factors influencing the design of PSGEs were (a) whakapapa and hapū rangatiratanga, (b) the Treaty claims and settlement process, (c) good governance, (d) legal and tax influences and (e) levels of trust. Whakapapa focuses on how best to re-create the social structures of the people, reinforcing their own processes and ensuring hapū participation. Whakapapa was a direct factor that PSGEs wanted reflected in their design to maintain unity amongst the people. While not a direct factor, the arrangements and decisions made during the settlement process—the second factor—had both a negative and a positive effect on the design of a PSGE. While many participants did not always know the desired model, it was important to them that the structure was flexible, cost-effective, streamlined, robust and clear, and that it reflected the commercial, social, cultural, political and environmental aspirations of the group. Good governance—the third factor—influenced design in that due diligence was carried out in the absence of trustees having the necessary expertise and knowledge in establishing PSGEs. It was necessary that the PSGE met the legal requirements of the Crown and that PSGEs were maximising their tax status to minimise costs. Legal and tax influences—the fourth factor—were only discussed as being a necessity rather than a desire. As one participant noted:

> I reckon tax neutrality was the main reason we did it. So it's two factors, tax neutrality and keeping our assets out of charitable trust. Those are the two real reasons we ended up with this, of what I would call quite a clunky set up. (Participant 1)

The final factor influencing the design of PSGEs—high levels of trust—is represented by the expressions of faith iwi negotiators showed in those who were influential in the design of the PSGE. These influential others included external stakeholders such as lawyers, accountants and consultants. One PSGE brought their own expertise in because they were uri, which avoided the cost of consulting external stakeholders. Participants considered it important to ensure that external stakeholders supported trustees and negotiators and that a positive group mentality within pre-settlement entity trustees and tribal negotiators existed to move settlements forward.

The interviews included questions on a claimant group's chosen structure. In one instance, the PSGE structure was described as "clunky" yet at the same time simple and practical. The core function of the structure was to remain tax-neutral and to ensure assets and activities were occupying the most appropriate part of the structure. Some challenges arose, though, such as the onerous process involved if a PSGE wanted to make structural changes, which resulted in huge operational costs—hence, the term "clunky". The structure needs to serve its purpose of managing assets while also allowing PSGEs to participate in different activities. However, it was more important that structures had good strategy, good people and good policies, and that they were effective, with input from iwi. There was a perceived need amongst PSGE governing boards for a shift in

attitude and perception, particularly around the structure being a facilitator and merely a vehicle of distribution, and not one of building empires. All three PSGEs received advice from lawyers, accountants and consultants on their design, with the advice largely tax-related, particularly around their Māori authority tax status. As one participant put it: "We don't know. They know. We pay them big money to know and to tell us how it should be" (Participant 2).

Although PSGEs wanted to ensure the legal requirements were being met, they also wanted to ensure the chosen structure still worked for them. This expectation resulted in claimants incurring high costs for advice, with one participant referring to it as "the cost of autonomy". There was no advice given by agencies such as Te Puni Kōkiri, nor was there any Māori governance training at the time because it was a new space. There was an assumption by participants that a management perspective would have been considered in terms of how things would work during the formation stages. It was also important for PSGEs to consider internal advice, namely maintaining institutional knowledge from the claims and settlement processes.

How the PSGE was going to work following settlement was not really considered, as planning beyond the foreseeable future was not always the main priority. The unknown—the cost of the planning activity and who was going to be involved, the associated risks and opportunities—presented too much unfamiliar ground. How the PSGE was designed from a management perspective then was made on the premise that what was intended and decided pre-settlement was appropriate for that time and context. The evolution of management in PSGEs is a result of experiential learning. Learning as you go, understanding what worked and what did not, continuously defining and refining, and learning from dysfunction and tension presented opportunities to understand past practice. The need to remain relevant was also consistent with the thinking around what worked pre-settlement being appropriate for that particular time period and context. The management perspective was thus about ensuring a values-based system that pivoted on community feel and social, cultural and environmentally appropriate decision-making, which was also robust so that development could continue at any given time.

Factors influencing operation

All PSGEs operated at several levels, with each interviewee responsible for an aspect of the overall strategic direction of their entities. The representation level focused on accountability to iwi. The parent body focused on the strategic positioning of the PSGE. The chief executive was responsible for management and oversight of the working parts. The charitable arm focused on social, cultural and sometimes environmental matters while the investment arm was responsible for matters such as property and financial assets. At an operational level, there was variety in how outcomes were achieved, and this was largely dependent on an organisation's size. Participants agreed that there are multiple aims and activities operating concurrently at the early stages of establishment and, over time, getting a healthy balance between infrastructure and strategy was necessary, as was ensuring separation between governance and management.

There was an overwhelming consensus amongst participants that despite the structure enabling PSGEs to get things done, flexibility remained paramount. Flexibility was required for PSGEs to be organic enough to respond to crises, to collaborate with other stakeholders, to allow staff to operate without being bound to bureaucracy, and to apply for external funding to meet both funder criteria and PSGE objectives. This flexibility emphasised another key theme that emerged regarding factors influencing operation: expectations and actual activity. Understanding what the PSGE wanted to achieve, and what resources were available to achieve its aims, was critical. Being clear about the outcomes and measures of success, while also knowing how what you do every day gives effect to achieving those outcomes, was important. The measures, outcomes and processes also needed to reflect the wants and needs of iwi members, and were not to be made on assumption.

How well a PSGE operated from a management perspective relied heavily on having an effective chief executive or general manager. Capability regarding human resources was critical in how well the PSGE performed. As one chief executive noted:

> I think that's been a hard road trying to get to a point where I feel this place is high performance, and we're not there yet. What I'm really pleased about is we're high-energy, there's heaps of energy. (Participant 3)

There were specific measures and tests that PSGEs conducted to evaluate how well their PSGE operated from a management perspective. These included stress tests; member feedback; having lean operations; the ease to make decisions; the

presence of bureaucracy; the ability to respond to various government issues; trust, clarity and balance with governance; level of involvement of the audit and risk committee; and a "heat pack" for the board, which was a traffic light system to identify urgent to non-urgent issues and risks. The biggest challenge for managers was how to stay relevant in a post-settled world, to iwi member needs and aspirations, and to the external world in which PSGEs exists and operate.

A key improvement concerning PSGEs was better education and understanding of how the structure and functions of a PSGE work, particularly its legalities. However, as one participant noted: "They were big on their legal structure, and I said, actually, that's the house. It's what you put on the walls of your house and how you behave in your house that's important" (Participant 9).

Other suggested improvements to PSGE operation included how to better work with the advances of technology; developing platforms for innovation; improvement and application of te reo me ōna tikanga; succession planning; how to make the PSGE space attractive for young people; and growing other forms of capital related to culture, society, knowledge and history. Of particular interest were changes relevant to people capability and succession planning. Participants agreed that skill, common sense and a belief in the kaupapa were equally critical, and wondered how it is that subsidiaries were appointed by skill but the parent group were appointed by the people. Better engagement with the people outside of the PSGE model was also a key consideration. Finally, PSGEs needed to learn how to work within the Crown confinements but define their own measures of success, best practice and maximising opportunities.

Discussion

This article set out to answer what factors influence the design and operation of PSGEs. So far, the findings confirm that the factors influencing the *design* of PSGEs are direct, such as the need to maintain whakapapa and hapū rangatiratanga to reflect and maintain the social structures of iwi. Other factors are indirect because they result from the establishment process and the Treaty settlement environment in which PSGEs operate. Such factors include the need for good governance, sound legal and tax advice, and high levels of trust in accountants and lawyers, and in themselves to adopt and apply the advice. A final factor influencing the design of PSGEs is the chosen structure, which is framed around maximising tax status, cost minimisation and asset placement. For this reason, the structure serves its purpose of managing assets while allowing PSGEs to participate in other activities.

Despite these factors influencing the design of PSGEs, the PSGE framework is, in large part, predetermined by the Crown with design principles set by Te Kāhui Whakatau | Treaty Settlements within Te Arawhiti | the Office for Māori Crown Relations) (Prendergast-Tarena, 2015). The key factor influencing the design of PSGEs, therefore, is the Crown. Because of this, lawyers and accountants have played a critical role in the design of PSGEs to ensure Crown-defined principles have been met. Where iwi have had an opportunity to inform the design of their PSGE, they want to ensure the objectives of their Treaty settlement are met, and that they address the aspirations of the past, present and future generations by being good governors. The factors influencing the design of PSGEs have been desired, consequential and necessary. They have been informed by the environment in which they operate, and have been drawn from values that are important to Māori, while meeting Crown requirements.

These findings stress the importance of the contribution of organisational design and management principles as complementary features of PSGE governance. PSGEs should be concerned with strategies for design, rather than strategies for research, when establishing an organisation (Clark, 1972). This approach requires a move away from the breakdown of components for analysis, such as Crown requirements, toward a wholeness of thinking. Instead of compartmentalising the design of PSGEs into observation, hypothesis testing and conclusion drawing, PSGEs should take a wholeness approach (Burton & Obel, 1998). A wholeness approach considers specialised functions and services; the wants and needs of the tribe; the environment in which the PSGE operates, including its Treaty settlement claims process; and, where possible, its future. Iwi have largely inherited a Western model for their PSGE and, as a result, have designed it to survive the process rather than to meet actual needs (Prendergast-Tarena, 2015). The strategies for design require "complexity in order to study complexity" (Colombo & Delmastro, 2008, p. 2). Complex organisations such as PSGEs cannot be designed from simple business models (Kates & Galbraith, 2007).

The main factor influencing the *operation* of PSGEs is how they respond to the principles and requirements set out by the Crown and by iwi.

These dispositions include how PSGEs are going to manage their assets, as well as the need for a paradigm shift from pre-settlement to post-settlement, which requires a future-thinking and future-planning focus. Having the right attitude ensures that PSGEs are reminded that they are merely a facilitator to enable aspirations and objectives to be achieved as set out by iwi. As such, PSGEs also need to ensure their expectations are realistic and that operational-level activity gives effect to those aspirations and objectives. PSGEs are heavily reliant on good people with skill, common sense and commitment to the kaupapa of settling and giving effect to the Treaty settlement. Skilled people are needed at a governance level, in subsidiaries and in the office. A key factor influencing the effective performance and operation of PSGEs is the manager.

Structure is not a factor of PSGE operation but a decision made in the design process. How the chosen structure works very much influences the way PSGEs operate. The structures of the PSGEs in this study work, and can also be flexible when needed. The enactment of other functions, such as delivering services to members and working closely with central and local government, is unclear, however. It is also unclear as to how these functions are cohesively coordinated while meeting the cultural, social, environmental and economic needs of the iwi. Uncertainty about the way in which PSGEs operationalise their other functions confirms what this article argues: that insufficient attention is given to the effective design and operation of PSGEs. PSGEs essentially employ structures that correspond with the characteristics of a matrix management structure, where an organisation has different components representing different objectives within the same organisation (Kates & Galbraith, 2007). A matrix configuration is high in both functional specialisation (type of work) and orientation (stakeholders and outcomes). As a result, matrix formations are costly, and coordination problems are handled by matrix managers (Burton & Obel, 1998) and do not surface until implementation. Better education amongst trustees and negotiators is needed beforehand to understand how PSGE structures and functions work.

To understand new organisational forms operating in dynamic environments, there is a need to blend existing theories, such as those on organisational design, with empirical evidence on how PSGEs operate (Rindova & Kotha, 2001). PSGEs are a complex establishment set up for a very specific purpose (Gibbs, 2015) and cannot be explained by present theory. One of the complexities is that PSGEs are not a typical business start-up, and iwi struggle to develop their PSGE from a political vehicle during pre-settlement to a commercial entity post-settlement (Sanderson et al., 2007). PSGEs are then left to persist with the devil they know, namely Crown-prescribed structures, and to make smaller improvements within those structures (Meade, 2004). The difficulty of the transition from pre- to post-settlement means iwi are reliant on good advice and external expertise. This expertise should neither be in isolation nor at the expense of the freedom and space to advocate and consider the wants and needs of the claimant group, namely the iwi.

The findings of this study show limited understanding of how a PSGE is designed and operated from a management perspective. The design of PSGEs from a management perspective was made on the premise that what was intended and decided pre-settlement was appropriate for that time and context. Future planning was not considered, as planning beyond the foreseeable future (a ratified settlement) was not always the main priority. Operating a PSGE from a management perspective relied heavily on the appointment of an effective chief executive or general manager. The findings show that management in PSGEs is about instilling a values-based system that pivots on community sentiment and appropriate decision-making within these boundaries at a particular point in time. Therefore, PSGEs working within the confines of Western models (Prendergast-Tarena, 2015), adjusting to their organisational realities (Spiller et al., 2011) and learning from experience illustrate that management within the PSGE context is an evolutionary process.

What is needed is a revolution of management which focuses on iwi developing and designing their models of organisation according to the cultural, social and environmental paradigm in which they operate. A revolution of management should enable iwi to come better prepared with options for negotiation, with strong data and research, privileging Māori ways of knowing and being (Smith, 1997) before, not after, the development of PSGEs. Prendergast-Tarena (2015) argues that new knowledge generated in Indigenous organisational models would assist Indigenous groups in designing their organisations to best achieve success as defined by their own realities. This new knowledge needs to be built on a holistic framework that considers the political, cultural, social and environmental factors in which PSGEs operate (Harmsworth et al., 2002). This shift is described by Mika and O'Sullivan (2014), who

argue that Māori management is contextual with varying approaches and is influenced by many factors such as tribal differences, purposes of the organisation, nature of the assets under management and the layers of social organisation. The current understanding of management in PSGEs must go beyond the management of assets, or an operational activity reliant on good managers.

However, operationalising organisational form is difficult because it is highly subjective (Colombo & Delmastro, 2008). Māori do not compartmentalise their ways of living, preferring instead to incorporate their values and culture into their activities and institutions (Best & Love, 2010). How this is translated into design principles, methods and processes that are also compatible with the requirements of the Crown is still being understood. Developing effective Indigenous institutions is not about solving conflicting values; rather, it is about working toward a system that can encompass diversity, the needs of Indigenous people and the technical components needed to operate the institutions (Martin, 2003).

These considerations, together with a limited understanding of management within the PSGE context, illustrate that there is a place for management and organisational design in the development of new PSGEs. That place needs to be informed by ensuring alternative structures are made available for PSGEs, in addition to the two accepted by the Crown. It is understandable, then, that the reports from Te Puni Kōkiri (2004) and the New Zealand Law Commission (2006) were positioned to offer an alternative to rather than a replacement for existing models. The PSGEs included in this study observed that there are going to be new waves of settlements and that responses to Treaty breaches might not always result in a PSGE. It is important that management remains relevant. What worked pre-settlement was appropriate for that time. However, the need for governors and managers involved in Māori organisations to keep abreast of the development and design needs of iwi today is urgent.

Conclusion

Critical insights have been drawn from the literature and from the experiences of three PSGEs on the matter of the design and operationalisation of these PSGEs. The literature on PSGEs is located within Treaty settlements and, as a result, focuses on the political, economic, environmental and legal aspects PSGEs encounter on their journey to settlement. Despite sizeable Māori economic assets sitting within PSGEs, there is no distinctive research on the status and management of PSGEs. Where there is, it is located within the governance material. For the three entities in this study, the PSGEs serve their core purpose, which is to hold, manage and be responsible for collective assets received through Treaty settlements and subsequent acquisitions. That purpose is definitional, but PSGEs often incorporate other purposes as defined by themselves and their members. Once these purposes are planned and implemented, the PSGE becomes operationally challenging. That is, in addition to managing assets, PSGEs must be commercially viable to deliver services, work with central and local government, and meet the social, cultural and environmental needs of the people. Given the reactive nature of settlements and that organisational design is concerned with what ought to be, this article concludes that organisational design has more to offer PSGEs. From an organisational design perspective, which relates to the rational design of a structure and its mode of operation, the opportunity to enact this was limited by the Crown. The PSGE model is largely predetermined and, as such, little scope remains for iwi to participate in and contribute meaningfully to the design of their PSGE.

We acknowledge that there are going to be new waves of Treaty settlements and the future of PSGEs is uncertain, but existing PSGEs will remain. Their business, social, cultural and environmental activities will continue within the unique entity that is the PSGE. Consequently, the knowledge gained from these entities is relevant. Consideration of management within Treaty settlements is critical, especially in planning, coordinating and controlling PSGEs. Management and organisational design can help iwi transition from the pre-settlement phase of their Treaty settlement process. Iwi have been disadvantaged because the Crown has often determined the settlement process despite its commitment to resolving grievances and avoiding creating new ones. Because of this, iwi have adapted to the Crown. An opportunity exists, through academic and Kaupapa Māori research, for iwi to contribute meaningfully to the design and operation of their entities reflective of Māori culture and aspirations. This will enable them to configure organisations that are technically robust and more effectively meet the social, cultural, economic and environmental needs of their people.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the participants and the three PSGEs included in this article.

Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand
hapū	sub-tribe(s)
iwi	tribe(s)
kaupapa	philosophy
Kaupapa Māori	Māori research methods
Māori	the Indigenous people of New Zealand
marae	place of gathering
Parihaka	community settlement in the Taranaki region of New Zealand
rangatira	chief(s)
rangatiratanga	self-determination
te ao Māori	the Māori worldview
te reo me ōna tikanga	Māori language and customs
te Tiriti o Waitangi	the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand's founding document (1840)
tikanga Māori	Māori culture
uri	descendants
Waka Umanga	a proposed law for Māori governance entities
whakapapa	genealogies and descent from an eponymous ancestor

References

Amoamo, M., Ruwhiu, D., & Carter, L. (2018). Framing the Māori economy: The complex business of Māori business. *MAI Review*, *7*(1), 66–78. https://doi.org/d26p

Andrew, J. (2008). Administrative review of the Treaty of Waitangi settlement process. *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review*, *39*, 225–264. https://doi.org/km3v

Bargh, M. (2018). Māori political and economic recognition in a diverse economy. In D. Howard-Wagner, M. Bargh, & I. Altamirano-Jimenez (Eds.), *The neoliberal state, recognition and Indigenous rights: New paternalism to new imaginings* (pp. 293–307). Australian National University Press. https://doi.org/km3w

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *Qualitative Report*, *13*(4), 544–559. https://doi.org/gh5s67

Bell, E., Bryman, A., & Harley, B. (2019). *Business research methods* (5th ed.). Oxford University Press.

Best, P., & Love, M. (2010). *Māori values for Māori business: Cultural capital in indigenous organisations* (Working Paper No. 03-10). Victoria Management School. http://hdl.handle.net/10063/1623

Burton, R., & Obel, B. (1998). *Strategic organizational diagnosis and design: Developing theory for application* (2nd ed.). Kluwer Academic Publishers. https://doi.org/km3x

Chapman Tripp. (2012, October 18–19). *Iwi corporate structures and governance* [Paper presentation]. Paerangi Te Tau Ihu Economic Summit, Nelson, New Zealand.

Chapman Tripp. (2017). *Te ao Māori: Trends and insights*. https://chapmantripp.com/media/j1slpr3f/te-ao-maori-2017-english.pdf

Clark, P. A. (1972). *Organizational design: Theory and practice*. Tavistock Publications.

Clegg, S., Kornberger, M., & Pitsis, T. (2016). *Managing and organizations: An introduction to theory and practice* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.

Coffin, A. (2013). *Post treaty settlement development perspectives: Tangata whenua development perspectives for the western Bay of Plenty in a post-settlement environment*. SmartGrowth. http://www.smartgrowthbop.org.nz/media/1093/c-post-treaty-final_tw_development_perspectives_v2_1_20130116.pdf

Colombo, M. G., & Delmastro, M. (2008). *The economics of organizational design: Theoretical insights and empirical evidence*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Coxhead, C., Morris, J., Ngatai, K., Walker, R., & Hill, R. S. (2014). *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti: The Declaration and the Treaty: The report on stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry* (Wai 1040). https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_85648980/Te%20RakiW_1.pdf

Dell, K., Staniland, N., & Nicholson, A. (2018). Economy of mana: Where to next? *MAI Journal*, *7*(1), 51–65. https://doi.org/dkw6

Dodson, G. (2014). Moving forward, keeping the past in front of us: Treaty settlements, conservation co-governance and communication. In G. Dodson & E. Papoutsaki (Eds.), *Communication issues in Aotearoa New Zealand: A collection of research essays* (pp. 62–73). Epress Unitec.

Fayol, H. (2016). *General and industrial management*. Ravenio Books. (Original work published 1917)

Gibbs, N. (2015). *Preliminary analysis of PSGE representative models*. http://www.ngatiwai.iwi.nz/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/psge_models_report_21_september_2015.pdf

Glover, M. (2019, July 9). *Taxes, treaty settlements and Māori health* [Webinar]. https://communityresearch.org.nz/webinar/webinar-taxes-treaty-settlements-and-maori-health/

Harmsworth, G., Barclay-Kerr, K., & Reedy, T. M. (2002). Maori sustainable development in the 21st century: The importance of Maori values, strategic planning and information systems. *He Puna Korero: Journal of Maori and Pacific Development*, *3*(2), 40–68.

Hayes, S., & Johnston, A. (2012). *Tax advice for claimant groups on post-settlement governance entity structures*. Crown Forestry Rental Trust. http://cfrt.org.nz/wp/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/TaxadviceforClaimantGroups25May2012.pdf

Hayward, J., & Wheen, N. (Eds.). (2004). *The Waitangi Tribunal: Te Roopu Whakamana i te Tiriti o

Waitangi. Bridget Williams Books. https://doi.org/7gk

Joseph, R. (2014, December). Indigenous people's good governance, human rights and self-determination in the second decade of the new millenium—A Māori perspective. *Māori Law Review*. https://maorilawreview.co.nz/2014/12/indigenous-peoples-good-governance-human-rights-and-self-determination-in-the-second-decade-of-the-new-millennium-a-maori-perspective/

Joseph, R., & Benton, R. (Eds.). (2021). *Waking the taniwha: Māori governance in the 21st century*. Thomson Reuters.

Kates, A., & Galbraith, J. R. (2007). *Designing your organization: Using the star model to solve 5 critical design challenges*. Jossey-Bass.

Kawharu, M. (2018). The "unsettledness" of Treaty claim settlements. *The Round Table*, *107*(4), 483–492. https://doi.org/km3z

KPMG. (2022). *Māui Rau: PSGE 2.0—Fit for the future, informed by our past*. https://assets.kpmg/content/dam/kpmg/nz/pdf/2022/09/maui-rau-2022.pdf

Lashley, M. E. (2000). Implementing treaty settlements via Indigenous institutions: Social justice and detribalization in New Zealand. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *12*(1), 1–55. https://doi.org/bcthn6

Māori Affairs Select Committee. (2008). *Waka Umanga (Māori Corporations) Bill 175-2*. https://legislation.govt.nz/bill/government/2007/0175/latest/096be8ed804de965.pdf

Martin, D. (2003). *Rethinking the design of Indigenous organisations: The need for strategic engagement* (Discussion Paper No. 248). Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research.

McKay, L. R. (2012). *Waka Umanga: Has the government missed the boat on Maori collective assets management? Rethinking New Zealand law for the post-settlement era* [Master's thesis, University of Otago]. OUR Archive. http://hdl.handle.net/10523/2241

Meade, R. (2004). *An economic appraisal of Nga Tipu Whakaritorito: A new governance model for Maori collectives*. New Zealand Institute for the Study of Competition and Regulation.

Mika, J. P., Colbourne, R., & Almeida, S. (2020). Responsible management: An Indigenous perspective. In O. Laasch, R. Suddaby, R. E. Freeman, & D. Jamali (Eds.), *Research handbook of responsible management* (pp. 260–276). Edward Elgar Publishing. https://doi.org/km32

Mika, J. P., & O'Sullivan, J. G. (2014). A Māori approach to management: Contrasting traditional and modern Māori management practices in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Journal of Management & Organization*, *20*(5), 648–670. https://doi.org/cktk

Mika, J. P., Smith, G. H., Gillies, A., & Wiremu, F. (2019). Unfolding tensions within post-settlement governance and tribal economies in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, *13*(3), 296–318. https://doi.org/ggnsgr

Mutu, M. (2018). Behind the smoke and mirrors of the Treaty of Waitangi claims settlement process in New Zealand: No prospect for justice and reconciliation for Māori without constitutional transformation. *Journal of Global Ethics*, *14*(2), 208–221. https://doi.org/gnkr5p

New Zealand Law Commission. (2002). *Treaty of Waitangi claims: Addressing the post-settlement phase* (Study Paper No. 13). https://www.lawcom.govt.nz/sites/default/files/projectAvailableFormats/NZLC%20SP13_0.pdf

New Zealand Law Commission. (2006). *Waka Umanga: A proposed law for Māori governance entities*. http://www.nzlii.org/nz/other/nzlc/report/R92/R92.pdf

Ngā Iwi o Taranaki and the Crown. (2017). *Record of understanding for Mount Taranaki, Pouākai and the Kaitake Ranges*. https://www.govt.nz/assets/Documents/OTS/Taranaki-Maunga/Taranaki-Maunga-Te-Anga-Putakerongo-Record-of-Understanding-20-December-2017.pdf

Prendergast-Tarena, E. (2015). *"Indigenising the corporation". Indigenous organisation design: An analysis of their design, features, and the influence of Indigenous cultural values* [Doctoral thesis, University of Canterbury]. Research Repository. http://hdl.handle.net/10092/11385

Rindova, V. P., & Kotha, S. (2001). Continuous "morphing": Competing through dynamic capabilities, form, and function. *Academy of Management Journal*, *44*(6), 1263–1280. https://doi.org/bjsnp3

Roxburgh, E. (2016). *Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri ake nei—For us and our children after us: Iwi entity in the post-settlement world* [Master's thesis, Victoria University of Wellington]. Research Archive. http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/5468

Sanderson, K., Arcus, M., & Stokes, F. (2007). *Functions and costs of operating a post-settlement governance entity*. Crown Forestry Rental Trust. http://cfrt.org.nz/wp/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/FunctionsandCostsofOperatingaPostSettlementGovernanceEntity.pdf

Smith, G. (1997). *The development of Kaupapa Māori: Theory and praxis* [Doctoral thesis, University of Auckland]. ResearchSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/2292/623

Spiller, C., Erakovic, L., Henare, M., & Pio, E. (2011). Relational well-being and wealth: Māori businesses and an ethic of care. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *98*(1), 153–169. https://doi.org/dvph46

Summerfield, S. (2015). *Towards a positive Treaty partnership in the post-settlement era: Treaty of Waitangi settlements and decolonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand* [Master's thesis, Victoria University of Wellington]. Research Archive. http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/4808

Te Aho, L. (2010). Indigenous challenges to enhance freshwater governance and management in Aotearoa New Zealand—the Waikato River settlement. *Journal of Water Law*, *20*(5), 285–292. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/5705

Te Puni Kōkiri. (2004). *Ngā tipu whakaritorito: A new governance model for Māori collectives* (Discussion Document).

Te Puni Kōkiri. (2009). *Whakatairanga i te*

whakahaeretanga me te kawanatanga: Evaluation of investments in the Strengthening Management and Governance programme. https://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/o-matou-mohiotanga/governance/evaluation-of-investments-in-the-strengthening-man/online/3

Warren, S. (2016). *Whanganui River and Te Urewera Treaty settlements* [Master's thesis, Victoria University of Wellington]. Research Archive. http://research-archive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/6198

Wineti, F. (2015). *Should Māori organisations adopt the chief innovation officer C-suite model?* School of Business, Victoria University of Wellington.

Wiri, R. (2013). Mana whenua and the settlement of Treaty of Waitangi claims in the Central North Island of New Zealand. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *9*(1), 3–15. https://doi.org/km33

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP

DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.2

HIGH-ACHIEVING MĀORI STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR BEST AND WORST TEACHERS

Hana Turner-Adams[*]
Christine M. Rubie-Davies[†]
Melinda Webber[‡]

Abstract

This qualitative study explored high-achieving Māori students' perceptions of their best and worst secondary school teachers. Participants (N = 96) were Year 12 or 13 students at English-medium secondary schools in Aotearoa who had attained certificate endorsement at Level 1 or 2 in the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA). Findings showed that Māori students' best teachers had high expectations for their achievement. They spent class time teaching students and discussing their learning, whereas students' worst teachers had low expectations and restricted their access to high grades in NCEA. A key finding from this study was that although positive teacher–student relationships were important, they needed to be accompanied by effective teaching practices. A teacher who had a positive relationship with Māori students but did not teach them well was not considered their "best" teacher.

Keywords

best teachers, Māori student success, NCEA, secondary school, teacher–student relationships, worst teachers

Introduction

Achieving academic success at school is a fundamental goal of education. It leads to increased access and choice in post-secondary education and higher-level job opportunities (Ensminger & Slusarcick, 1992). Focusing on Māori student success is critical given the ongoing inequalities in Aotearoa schools, resulting in lower achievement outcomes for Māori (Education Counts, 2021a). The education system in Aotearoa has a long history of failing to meet the educational needs of Māori students, who are often subjected to lower teacher expectations and discrimination (Alton-Lee, 2003; Turner et al., 2015). Schools in Aotearoa also stand down, suspend and exclude or expel Māori students at higher rates

* Ngāti Ranginui. Lecturer, Faculty of Education and Social Work, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. Email: h.turner@auckland.ac.nz
† Professor of Education, Faculty of Education and Social Work, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.
‡ Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Whakaue. Professor of Education, Faculty of Education and Social Work, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

than any other ethnic group (Education Counts, 2021b).

For students in Aotearoa, the main pathway to university is through Level 3 of the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) and University Entrance (UE). There are three levels of NCEA, and students generally complete one level per year in their final three years of secondary school. Students need a minimum number of credits to pass each level. However, to access limited-entry university programmes (e.g. medical and health sciences or engineering) and to cope with the demands of academic study, students need to achieve more than the minimum number of credits (Madjar et al., 2010).

Despite improvements in NCEA attainment over the past decade, overall achievement levels for Māori students continue to lag behind those of Asian and Pākehā students. In 2021, only 58% of Māori achieved NCEA Level 3, compared with 73% of Asian and 72% of Pākehā students. Results for UE were even lower: only 32% of Māori achieved this qualification compared with 63% of Asian and 57% of Pākehā students (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2021). Research has shown that quality teachers and effective teaching significantly influence student achievement (Hattie, 2009). Therefore, for Māori students to achieve the qualifications necessary to attend university, it is critical to investigate the teacher factors that support or do not support their success.

Teacher–student relationships

Students who have a positive relationship with a teacher are more likely to succeed at school than those who do not (Engels et al., 2021; Pianta & Allen, 2008; Pianta et al., 2012). According to Hattie (2009), the effect of teacher–student relationships on achievement is $d = 0.72$, a large, positive effect. In classes where relationships between teachers and students are positive, students are more engaged, have fewer behavioural issues, respect their peers and have higher achievement outcomes (Hattie, 2009). However, not all students have positive relationships with their teachers. Brinkworth et al. (2018) found that teacher–student relationships "may be positive, negative, neither, or both" (p. 2). Thus, teachers and students could relate positively in some situations, negatively in others or have concurrent positive and negative feelings. High-achieving students are less likely to need emotional support from teachers because their success sustains them (Capern & Hammond, 2014). Therefore, the absence of a positive teacher–student relationship does not necessarily indicate high levels of conflict, hostility or low achievement.

The attributes of excellent teachers

Previous research studies have explored the characteristics and qualities of excellent teachers. Personal attributes include enthusiasm, innovation, organisation, flexibility, commitment, support (Pendergast, 2002), helpfulness (Pariser, 2011), fairness, a sense of humour (Muller et al., 1999), positivity (Hill & Hawk, 2000) and caring (Bishop, 2010; Pariser, 2011; Pendergast, 2002). Professional attributes include effective classroom management, motivating and engaging students with exciting work (Muller et al., 1999), and reflectiveness as a practitioner (Bishop, 2010). This overview of teacher attributes indicates that excellence cannot be reduced to a single factor and may reflect an individual student's wants and needs.

Student perceptions of effective teaching and teachers

In the research about effective teaching at secondary school, students wanted teachers who knew their subject, gave clear explanations and monitored student understanding. Whitney et al. (2005) asked secondary school students, "What is good teaching, and how do we know it when we see it?" (p. 30). They found that good teaching included positive affect, a sense of humour, a caring attitude, enthusiasm and passion for teaching. Teachers did not overload students with homework or assignments; they provided feedback, marked work quickly, managed the classroom effectively, were well-prepared, were organised, and provided interesting and varied lessons. They also understood their learners' lives outside school and designed relevant curricula.

In an Aotearoa study, Horsley (2009) investigated the factors that had facilitated students' success in the Scholarship examinations. Students chose "teacher" as the factor that had the greatest influence on their success, ahead of their ability, parents or peers. Effective teachers possessed expertise in the subject material and provided students with knowledge or skills they could not access without support. For example, Scholarship level studies require an in-depth understanding of the examination process. Consequently, effective teachers provided specialist content knowledge and taught strategies for answering advanced questions, followed by specific feedback to help students learn and improve. They also offered out-of-class support, had high expectations for

student success, and had positive interactions and relationships.

Effective teachers of Māori students

Few research studies have explored high-achieving Māori secondary school students' perspectives of an excellent teacher or what they want or do not want from their teachers. The leading research project in Aotearoa focused on teacher attributes and behaviour and the association with student achievement was Te Kotahitanga (Bishop & Berryman, 2009; Bishop et al., 2003). The researchers interviewed teachers, principals, students and whānau to discover why Māori students were not achieving at school. Students reported that their relationships with teachers were negative. Teachers had low expectations and held deficit beliefs about students and their families. From the student narratives, the researchers developed a profile of six characteristics and attributes of effective teachers of Māori students. These were Manaakitanga—caring for students as Māori; Mana Motuhake—high expectations for student achievement; Ngā Whakapiringatanga—creating a secure, well-managed learning environment; Wānanga—engaging in effective learning interactions with Māori students; Ako—using a range of teaching strategies; and Kotahitanga—using student progress to inform future teaching practice (Bishop & Berryman, 2009, pp. 30–31). It is important to note that the Māori students in Te Kotahitanga were described as "engaged" or "disengaged" rather than high achieving. Therefore, their findings about effective teachers may not apply to high-achieving Māori students.

Bevan-Brown (2005) similarly found that effective teachers for gifted Māori students provided a culturally responsive environment and supported and respected Māori culture. Teachers also incorporated cultural knowledge, content and values into teaching programmes, helped Māori students to extend their unique abilities, and provided students with opportunities to use preferred learning methods.

Taken together, the research on effective teachers for high-achieving students has concluded that instructional teaching ability and expert subject knowledge were essential. Personal characteristics such as enthusiasm and caring were also significant. For Māori students, effective teaching encompassed the factors valued by students of other ethnicities but also included positive connections, taking an interest in students' lives and instituting culturally sustaining practices.

The current study

This study utilised open-ended questionnaires to explore Māori students' perceptions of their best and worst secondary school teachers. It was part of a larger research project investigating the factors contributing to student success (Adams, 2018). The study's main objective was to learn from high-achieving Māori students about the teaching practices and dispositions most conducive to their success. The research question that guided this study was: How do high-achieving Māori students define an ideal and non-ideal secondary school teacher?

Prior research about Māori students and ethnic minorities concentrates on poor educational outcomes (Fletcher et al., 2009; Lock & Gibson, 2008). Consequently, a shift of focus to Māori high achievers will provide valuable data for whānau, teachers and school leaders about the teaching and learning practices that have been most effective for these students. It is essential to identify what teachers can do to enable Māori students to reach their educational potential and obtain the necessary qualifications to transition smoothly to tertiary education or the workforce.

Researchers' positionality

The three authors of this study are all former teachers with enduring connections to school communities. Two of us are Māori (one is Pākehā), and our research focuses on strengths-based examinations of Māori student success in education. We are all social psychologists who explore how school contexts (including teacher practices and pedagogies) impact the behaviour, thinking, identities and academic persistence of Māori students.

Method

Participants

All student participants in the study self-identified as Māori ($N = 96$). Students were in Year 12 or 13 at English-medium secondary schools, were aged 16–19 years and had attained Level 1 or 2 in NCEA with a Merit or Excellence endorsement.

Procedures

Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (UAHPEC; Reference No. 015102). Participation in the research was voluntary. As the questionnaires were anonymous, submission or completion of the questionnaire indicated consent. Students completed the questionnaires online via a link to Qualtrics (99% of students) or on paper. The

students responded to the following questions about their best and worst teachers:

1. Please describe your **best** teacher. What does s/he do and say, and how does s/he act or behave? How does s/he teach? How does s/he relate to their students?
2. Describe your **worst** teacher. What does s/he do and say, and how does s/he act or behave? How does s/he teach? How does s/he relate to their students?

Data analysis

All questionnaire data were analysed thematically using the steps outlined in Braun and Clarke's (2006) approach, which involves "identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (p. 79). Thematic analysis is a flexible method of analysis that suits research questions, such as those in the current study, related to people's experiences or perceptions. The six phases of thematic analysis are "(1) Familiarisation with the data; (2) Generating initial codes; (3) Searching for themes; (4) Reviewing the themes; (5) Defining and naming themes; (6) Producing the report" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87). The final themes and sub-themes are displayed in Figure 1.

Results

This section reports the thematically analysed data from the students' online questionnaires. The first theme portrays teacher actions and practices that relate to student learning. The second theme describes teachers' professional attributes, and the third theme, relational practices, explains how teachers connect with and treat their students. Cultural responsiveness and respect are included as relational practices because these aspects underpin a positive teacher–student connection for Māori.

Answered questions and explained the work

Students' best teachers helped them to understand what they were learning and gave clear explanations. They used examples and analogies, pointed out obstacles, and responded to students' questions. One student's teacher "makes really helpful diagrams and uses things we are good at to describe the concept we are trying to learn". Another said, "He has a way of teaching things simply, which makes it easy to understand." Participants expected teachers to be highly skilled and knowledgeable in helping students attain high grades. For example, "[Him] having solid knowledge about the topic and being able to answer any question that we ask makes me confident in my learning." These "best teacher" practices contrasted with those of students' worst teachers.

Students' worst teachers avoided or ignored their questions and instructed students to find answers themselves: "I feel like he doesn't listen to us … when we ask him a question in class, he will start to talk over us and will say something like, 'We've already talked about this.'" Students also complained that their worst teacher's explanations were inadequate. Instead of explaining concepts, their teachers fed them answers or did the work for them. One student explained:

> When asking for help with a specific question, they tend to do it for me instead of helping me to do it. When I move on to the next question, I am still lost because they just did it for me; they didn't actually help.

These extracts highlight that the students were not simply looking for answers but wanted their teachers' help so they could apply the knowledge to further learning.

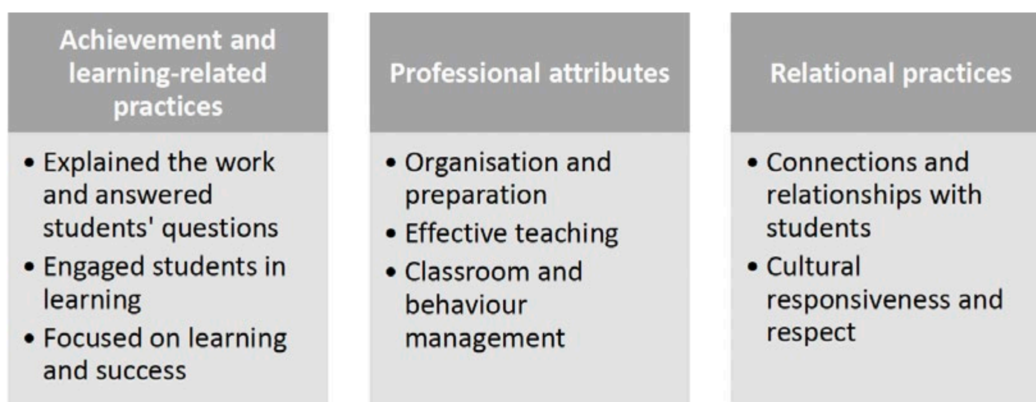


FIGURE 1 Themes and sub-themes of best and worst teachers for Māori students

Engaged students in learning

Students' best teachers included variety in each class, with quizzes, competitions, hands-on practical activities, discussions, online tasks and videos. They found ways to make lessons fun and interactive even when the content was complex. For example, "No two lessons are the same, which makes me excited to go to class and learn." The students' best teachers were enthusiastic, were excited and loved teaching. One student said, "My best teacher is so passionate about what she teaches, which excites her and makes her happy … she loves it so much that she wants you to love it, too."

Along with variety in their lessons, students wanted opportunities to interact with their teachers and peers. They did not like classes in which teachers spent whole lessons talking, reading from textbooks, or limited student participation or collaboration. For example, "He doesn't interact much with his students or make learning fun; it is the same each day with no variation…" Students' worst teachers seemed bored and appeared to dislike teaching. One student said, "He teaches only because it's his job. I feel he has no passion or love ... He acts as if he has to be there." Students emphasised that a mix of activities, teacher enthusiasm and face-to-face class interactions contributed to their engagement. Effective teachers also focused on student learning and success.

Focused on student learning and success

Best teachers had high expectations for students and believed they could achieve:

> This teacher always says that Excellence [the top grade in NCEA] should and can be achieved by anyone who wants it, which strongly encourages me to continue to have a good work ethic and strive for Excellence in all subjects.

Best teachers also provided extensive help to students during and outside of classes. One student said, "Before exams, he holds tutorials twice a week, which we can go to and ask him questions … Throughout the year, we can see him before/after class or during study periods if we need any help."

In contrast, students' worst teachers appeared unmotivated to help them succeed. For example, "[He] doesn't care about our grades or if we are learning." Other teachers communicated low expectations and limited students' learning opportunities by only teaching to an Achieved level, the lowest passing grade in NCEA: "He rushes the topic and says we have to do homework if we want to get higher than an Achieved because he only teaches Achieved." Similarly, another student said, "He teaches students the least amount of work to do in order to just scrape an Achieved." Limiting students' opportunities to learn was also a gatekeeping mechanism. Students reported that some teachers only allowed selected students a chance to gain credits or to resubmit assessment tasks. For example, "If he thinks you're incapable, then he won't offer you a re-sub or re-sit opportunity." Teaching decisions have a flow-on effect; students who only attain Achievement credits are unlikely to attain the rank score needed to access limited-entry university courses like medicine or engineering.

Effective teaching

Students expected their teachers to be subject experts and to teach in ways that helped them achieve high grades. One student said, "This teacher knows the subject well … She makes sure not to move on to the next topic before each student has a good understanding." Another student said, "My best teacher is unbelievably knowledgeable about his subject and is willing to sacrifice time to ensure we succeed." The best teachers knew their students' needs and took time to ensure they were learning and understanding the content.

Students were critical of teachers who appeared to have limited knowledge, made errors or relied heavily on textbooks and other resources: "He frequently makes mistakes in his working … Several times, [he has] needed to ask either a student or another teacher for assistance in solving a problem." Other students complained that their worst teachers did not teach them: "He didn't teach … He set pages in textbooks we were meant to do, and that was that." Students viewed teaching as a deliberate learning act involving both the teacher and student(s). Therefore, teachers needed to share their knowledge in interactions with students for teaching to occur.

Organisation and preparation

The best teachers were well prepared for each class and planned clearly structured lessons: "He is well-organised, and at the beginning of each topic, he gives us booklets that include all the notes and formulas [sic] we need to know to pass with Excellence." In contrast, student participants said their worst teachers regularly arrived late, were unprepared to teach and delivered poorly planned lessons. For example, "[She is] not on time, not organised, doesn't give accurate feedback." Another common complaint was teachers

who misplaced student work or took too long to mark it. One student said, "[They] lost my work and found it a week later, then marked it another week after [that]." These extracts indicate that actions that affected student learning and success influenced whether a teacher received a best or worst rating.

Connections and relationships with students

Students appreciated teachers who were interested in their lives and made a sincere effort to know them. They described their best teachers as welcoming, caring, easy to talk to and likable:

> She is like a mother, aunty, sister, and leader all in one. While she is kind and patient, she also has set expectations and boundaries. She is staunch, but at the same time, she cares. I know I can always trust her … She gets to know all her students and their strengths and weaknesses ... She understands and accepts all her students.

Student participants described their worst teachers as intimidating, unfriendly and uncaring. These teachers did not seem to like students or enjoy their company. For example, "She is mean to students. [She] does not seem to like what she does." Another student said their worst teachers "made little effort to get to know students. This, therefore, made them unapproachable and often hard to communicate with." When teachers were not interested in knowing their students beyond teaching academic content, it was challenging to build positive relationships.

One group of students were conflicted about their worst teacher. Relationally, their worst teacher was described as nice, friendly, kind or lovely, but contrasting with these feelings was the belief that their worst teachers taught poorly. Alongside positive personal attributes, participants described their worst teachers as disorganised, ineffective at managing behaviour, unable to teach, lacking subject knowledge and lazy. One student commented, "He cannot get his knowledge across in his teaching … He is an extremely friendly person but a horrible teacher …" Furthermore, several students reported that they loved their worst teachers, signifying that an emotional connection could occur separately from an academic relationship. For example, "Altogether a nice and friendly teacher who is terrible at teaching, I love her anyway but am probably going to fail this subject." These quotes highlight that a teacher's positive relational characteristics do not necessarily equate to being an effective teacher.

Cultural responsiveness and respect

Culturally responsive teachers included references to student culture in lessons so that new concepts were relevant to their interests and experiences. For example, "She is completely understanding of the different social and cultural backgrounds that the students come from, and encourages us to try and incorporate these aspects of our lives into our schoolwork." Another student said, "He always relates things to us and our own experiences in order for us to understand things better, and it definitely does work."

Students reported mutual respect with their best teacher, who listened to them and spoke kindly: "[She] respects us and, in turn, earns our respect." Students valued teachers knowing and pronouncing their names correctly. However, they expressed annoyance and frustration about teachers who "pronounce names wrong without apology" and "try to tell me I'm saying my name wrong". Students also reported that teachers embarrassed or humiliated them in front of other people or made jokes at their expense. One student said their worst teacher "talks down to students generally … [and] tells them they will get nowhere in life". Another said, "She expects us to respect her even though she does not respect us."

Discussion

This research explored high-achieving Māori students' perceptions of their best or worst teachers. The following sections discuss the themes identified in the results.

Answered questions and explained the work

Students valued teachers who responded to questions and gave helpful explanations, as it helped them advance their knowledge and understanding. These teacher actions are positively associated with student satisfaction and achievement (Hines et al., 1985). Help-seeking behaviour is also positively related to academic achievement and should be encouraged, but it relies on teachers' willingness to listen to and support students. Therefore, if teachers are unreceptive to questions, they could further limit student progress.

Existing research by Lilley (2008) found that Māori students sought answers to questions from people they trusted. More often, this was peers and whānau members rather than teachers. Furthermore, Webber et al.'s (2016) study about academic counselling found that Māori students preferred teachers approaching them and privately offering support instead of asking questions. Together, these studies indicate the

need for teachers to build trusting relationships, allow students to choose who they work with and initiate regular discussions about their learning in ways that students can relate to.

Engaged students in learning

Participants identified the importance of teacher passion and enthusiasm, as these relate to student engagement, behaviour (Kunter, 2013) and achievement (Keller et al., 2013). Teacher passion and enthusiasm create a positive cycle that leads students to become more engaged. As a result of high student engagement, teachers are motivated to be enthusiastic and provide exciting and engaging experiences for their students (Stenlund, 1995).

Focused on learning and academic success

Nearly a quarter of students in the current study reported that their worst teachers did not focus on learning and success. Although all students achieved highly in NCEA, it was evident that some had done so despite low teacher expectations. Prior secondary school research has found that teachers have lower expectations for Māori than all other ethnic groups (Bishop et al., 2003; Turner et al., 2015). It is troubling that some teachers may limit students' opportunities to access and achieve higher grades by only teaching Achieved-level content in NCEA. Research is scarce about students not being taught Excellence-level NCEA material. However, one study by Rawlins (2008) reported that:

> the teaching and learning of the units of mathematical content were structured around the assessment criteria for the assessment standards, starting with material consistent with the "Achieve" [sic] level criteria and progressing through to Merit and Excellence level material. In many instances, however, Excellence material was not actively taught: the responsibility to master Excellence material was often being left up to the individual student. (p. 108)

Promisingly, many students in the current study also commented that their best teacher did focus on learning and achievement. They encountered positive and high expectations, which may have been enough to prevent low expectations from negatively affecting their achievement.

Effective teaching

Qualified, knowledgeable teachers are essential to support academic success, and prior research has demonstrated a relationship between teacher knowledge and student achievement (Sadler et al., 2013). However, several students in the study referred to teachers not teaching when their lessons involved completing worksheets or doing problems out of textbooks. In reviewing how teachers influence classroom content, Brophy (1982) reported that teachers who relied heavily on books and other materials were not teaching. The resource materials they were using were "doing the teaching (and the teachers were) mostly coordinating and monitoring" (Brophy, 1982, p. 5). Students were happy to complete worksheets for homework but wanted their classes in school time to focus on learning from their teachers and working with their peers.

Organisation and preparation

When teachers are punctual and teach carefully planned lessons, they demonstrate that they take teaching and learning seriously and maintain high professional standards (Murphy et al., 1982). On the other hand, disorganised teachers do not model high standards, and could be perceived as lacking commitment (Foote et al., 2000). Students in the current study were concerned that their worst teachers' disorganisation could negatively affect their achievement. Teachers were regularly late to class, wasted time on unrelated activities and lost student work.

Scant research at the secondary school level has investigated students' perspectives of teacher disorganisation. Research at the tertiary level refers to disorganisation as one type of teacher misbehaviour (Kearney et al., 1991). Arriving late, not preparing lessons and wasting learning time are described as indolence. Although less damaging than public humiliation, indolence can demotivate students (Vallade & Myers, 2014). Furthermore, it may decrease student attendance, lower achievement and increase behaviour management problems (Kearney et al., 1991). As these studies referred to higher education, the transferability of these adverse effects to secondary school classrooms is a recommendation for future research.

Connections and relationships with students

Some of the current study's comments about teacher–student relationships suggest that a positive connection with teachers might be less critical for high-achieving Māori students. This result aligns with existing research (Capern & Hammond, 2014) that found that high-achieving students are less likely to need emotional support from teachers because their success sustains them. Furthermore,

students valued teacher behaviours that supported their learning more than socio-emotional relationships (Capern & Hammond, 2014). For senior students, reliance on teachers for academic rather than emotional support may be due to the focus on a high-stakes qualification in the final years of secondary school. However, some students equally valued emotional connections and wanted teachers to make a genuine effort to get to know them. Other studies (McHugh et al., 2013; Siegle et al., 2014) have reported that gifted and high-achieving students benefited from teacher–student relationships that were both socio-emotional and achievement focused. Therefore, relationships in which teachers demonstrate care for students through focusing on their learning and academic outcomes appear to be most beneficial for high-achieving Māori students.

An unexpected finding in the study was that some students reported a positive relationship with their worst teacher. Despite referring to these teachers as kind or friendly, they were students' worst teachers due to their poor subject knowledge or teaching ability. Only one existing study with a similar finding was located. Students in Hawk et al. (2002) reported that they had teachers they did not respect (as teachers) because they did not help them learn. This finding shows that a teacher–student relationship must be accompanied by effective teaching to benefit student learning and achievement.

Cultural responsiveness and respect

The current study had limited references to culturally responsive or sustaining practices, but students were appreciative when teachers included references to their culture, which were relevant to their lives. Several students reported that teachers were unable (or unwilling) to pronounce their Māori names correctly. This is a common finding in existing research with Māori, Indigenous and minoritised peoples internationally (Berryman & Eley, 2017; Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Sembiante et al., 2018). Many teachers in Aotearoa lack knowledge of basic Māori vowel sounds (Awanui, 2014) or do not seem to consider te reo Māori important enough to use correctly (de Bres, 2010). Māori students' names may reflect significant events, whenua or tūpuna. Therefore, when teachers mispronounce tūpuna names, it is both disrespectful to the child and an attack on the mana of the ancestor (Mead, 1996). Conversely, a teacher who makes an effort to learn and pronounce Māori names correctly has taken a critical step towards building a positive and respectful relationship with Māori students (Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2020; Tito, 2008).

Limitations and suggestions for future research

This cross-sectional study focused on students' perceptions of their teachers at one point during the final two years of secondary school. Future research could include a longitudinal study of students' perceptions of teachers over their entire secondary school education to see whether their perceptions changed during their school journey. This study defined student success in relation to Merit and Excellence endorsement in NCEA. Leadership, cultural and performing arts, service, and sports are other types of success that could be explored in future research studies. Finally, a limitation of qualitative research is its non-generalisability (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Although the study included 96 Māori students from a range of different schools in both urban and rural settings across Aotearoa, qualitative findings cannot be generalised to the broader population of high-achieving Māori secondary school students.

Conclusion

This qualitative study utilised an open-ended online survey to explore high-achieving Māori students' perceptions of their best and worst teachers and the behaviours and attributes necessary for academic success. Findings revealed that the best teachers for Māori students contributed to their academic success and socio-emotional well-being through high-quality teaching practices and academically caring relationships. However, a teacher who only had a positive relationship with students and did not teach them effectively was not their best teacher. The idea that teacher–student relationships are less critical for high-achieving Māori students contrasts with the theory put forward by Bishop and colleagues (Bishop & Berryman, 2009; Bishop et al., 2003; Bishop et al., 2014) and Pianta and Allen (2008) that teacher–student relationships are the most important factors in a student's education. Although there were indications in this study that students enjoyed positive relationships with teachers, academic success could occur with or without a positive relationship. Yet, success was less likely if effective teaching was absent.

These findings indicate the need for further research into teacher–student relationships for high-achieving students in the secondary school context. An implication for practice, however, is not for teachers to avoid forming relationships

with students but that the teacher–student relationship focuses on academic care for student learning and achievement. Despite recent improvements in Māori student achievement, disparities between Māori and non-Māori in Aotearoa persist. As the past and present have shown us, ignoring the needs of Māori will continue to perpetuate educational inequalities and maintain the status quo. For education to be of the most value to Māori, teachers must develop and uphold practices and behaviours that enable students to succeed.

Glossary

ako	learn and teach
Aotearoa	the Māori name for New Zealand (Land of the long white cloud)
kotahitanga	unity and collective action
mana	status, influence, or spiritual power
manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness, generosity
mana motuhake	autonomy, independence, authority
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa
ngā whakapiringatanga	a secure, well-managed environment
Pākehā	non-Māori of British or European descent
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tūpuna	ancestors
wānanga	Māori houses of higher learning
whānau	family
whenua	land; placenta. Māori are tangata whenua of Aotearoa, which means born of the whenua (the placenta) and the land of their ancestors.

References

Adams, H. (2018). *Student success: What matters most for high achieving Māori and non-Māori students at secondary school?* [PhD thesis, University of Auckland]. ResearchSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/2292/46484

Alton-Lee, A. (2003). *Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling: Best evidence synthesis*. Ministry of Education. https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0019/7705/BES-quality-teaching-diverse-students.pdf

Awanui, T. H. (2014). Indigenous culture and society. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, *26*(2), 233–261. https://doi.org/kc5n

Berryman, M., & Eley, E. (2017). Succeeding as Māori: Māori students' views on our stepping up to the Ka Hikitia challenge. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *52*(1), 93–107. https://doi.org/kc5p

Bevan-Brown, J. (2005). Providing a culturally responsive environment for gifted Māori learners. *International Education Journal*, *6*(2), 150–155.

Bishop, R. (2010). Effective teaching for Indigenous and minoritised students. *Procedia—Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *7*, 57–62. https://doi.org/bgqp88

Bishop, R., & Berryman, M. (2009). The Te Kotahitanga effective teaching profile. *Set: Research Information for Teachers*, 2(2), 27–33. https://doi.org/gmkd99

Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Tiakiwai, S., & Richardson, C. (2003). *Te Kōtahitanga: The experiences of Year 9 and 10 Māori students in mainstream classrooms*. Ministry of Education. https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0017/7532/te-kotahitanga.pdf

Bishop, R., Ladwig, J., & Berryman, M. (2014). The centrality of relationships for pedagogy: The *whanaungatanga* thesis. *American Educational Research Journal*, *51*(1), 184–214. https://doi.org/dhzm

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/fswdcx

Brinkworth, M. E., McIntyre, J., Juraschek, A. D., & Gehlbach, H. (2018). Teacher-student relationships: The positives and negatives of assessing both perspectives. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *55*, 24–38. https://doi.org/gdn2j2

Brophy, J. E. (1982). How teachers influence what is taught and learned in classrooms. *The Elementary School Journal*, *83*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/fvj6ts

Capern, T., & Hammond, L. (2014). Establishing positive relationships with secondary gifted students and students with emotional/behavioural disorders: Giving these diverse learners what they need. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, *39*(4), 46–67. https://doi.org/kc5r

de Bres, J. (2010). Attitudes of non-Māori New Zealanders towards the use of Māori in New Zealand English. *New Zealand English Journal*, *24*, 2–14.

Education Counts. (2021a). *School leaver's attainment*. Ministry of Education. https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/school-leavers

Education Counts. (2021b). *Stand-downs, suspensions, exclusions and expulsions from school*. Ministry of Education. https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/208396/2020-Stand-downs-Suspensions-Exclusions-Expulsions-Indicator-Report_Final.pdf

Engels, M. C., Spilt, J., Denies, K., & Verschueren, K. (2021). The role of affective teacher-student relationships in adolescents' school engagement and achievement trajectories. *Learning and Instruction*, *75*, Article 101485. https://doi.org/gjqmsg

Ensminger, M. E., & Slusarcick, A. L. (1992). Paths to high school graduation or dropout: A longitudinal study of a first-grade cohort. *Sociology of Education*, *65*(2), 95–113. https://doi.org/csxqf5

Fletcher, J., Parkhill, F., Fa'afoi, A., & O'Regan, B. (2009). Pasifika students: Teachers and parents voice their perceptions of what provides supports and barriers to Pasifika students' achievement in literacy and learning. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *25*(1), 24–33. https://doi.org/b6jfrx

Foote, C., Vermette, P., Wisniewski, S., Agnello, A., & Pagano, C. (2000). The characteristics of bad high school teachers reveal avoidable behaviors for new teachers. *Education*, *121*(1), 128–134.

Hattie, J. (2009). *Visible learning: A synthesis of over 80 meta-analyses relating to achievement*. Routledge.

Hawk, K., Cowley, E. T., Hill, J., & Sutherland, S. (2002). The importance of the teacher/student relationship for Māori and Pasifika students. *Set: Research Information for Teachers*, (3), 44–49. https://doi.org/fkbsv

Hill, J., & Hawk, K. (2000). *Making a difference in the classroom: Effective teaching practice in low decile, multicultural schools*. Ministry of Education, Research Division.

Hines, C. V., Cruickshank, D. R., & Kennedy, J. J. (1985). Teacher clarity and its relationship to student achievement and satisfaction. *American Educational Research Journal*, *22*(1), 87–99. https://doi.org/btzv3p

Horsley, J. M. (2009). *Critical connections: High-ability students' perceptions of factors that influence NZQA scholarship-a mixed method study* [PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington]. ResearchArchive. http://hdl.handle.net/10063/1140

Kearney, P., Plax, T. G., Hays, E. R., & Ivey, M. J. (1991). College teacher misbehaviors: What students don't like about what teachers say and do. *Communication Quarterly*, *39*(4), 309–324. https://doi.org/fphq82

Keller, M., Neumann, K., & Fischer, H. E. (2013). Teacher enthusiasm and student learning. In J. Hattie (Ed.), *International guide to student achievement* (pp. 247–249). Routledge.

Kohli, R., & Solórzano, D. G. (2012). Teachers, please learn our names!: Racial microaggressions and the K-12 classroom. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, *15*(4), 441–462. https://doi.org/ggnsc2

Kunter, M. (2013). Motivation as an aspect of professional competence: Research findings on teacher enthusiasm. In M. Kunter, J. Baumert, W. Blum, U. Klusmann, S. Krauss, & M. Neubrand (Eds.), *Cognitive activation in the mathematics classroom and professional competence of teachers: Results from the COACTIV project* (pp. 273–289). Springer US. https://doi.org/kc5t

Lilley, S. C. (2008). Information barriers and Māori secondary school students. *Information Research*, *13*(4). Paper 373. https://informationr.net/ir/13-4/paper373.html

Lock, K. J., & Gibson, J. K. (2008). Explaining Māori under-achievement in standardised reading tests: The role of social and individual characteristics. *Kotuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, *3*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/c429bs

Madjar, I., McKinley, E. A., Deynzer, M., & Van der Merwe, A. (2010). *Stumbling blocks or stepping stones? Students' experience of transition from low-mid decile schools to university*. Starpath Project, The University of Auckland. https://cdn.auckland.ac.nz/assets/education/about/research/docs/starpath/Stumbling-blocks-or-stepping-stones-Research-Report-25-March-2010.pdf

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2014). *Designing qualitative research*. Sage Publications.

McHugh, R. M., Horner, C. G., Colditz, J. B., & Wallace, T. L. (2013). Bridges and barriers: Adolescent perceptions of student–teacher relationships. *Urban Education*, *48*(1), 9–43. https://doi.org/kc5v

Mead, L. (1996). *Ngā aho o te kākahu mātauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in education* [PhD thesis, The University of Auckland]. ResearchSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/2292/942

Muller, C., Katz, S. R., & Dance, L. J. (1999). Investing in teaching and learning dynamics of the teacher-student relationship from each actor's perspective. *Urban Education*, *34*(3), 292–337. https://doi.org/b6tz55

Murphy, J. F., Weil, M., Hallinger, P., & Mitman, A. (1982). Academic press: Translating high expectations into school policies and classroom practices. *Educational Leadership*, *40*(3), 22–26.

New Zealand Qualifications Authority. (2021). *Annual report, NCEA, University Entrance and NZ Scholarship data and statistics (2021)*. https://www.nzqa.govt.nz/assets/About-us/Publications/stats-reports/NCEA-Annual-Report-2021.pdf

Pariser, E. (2011). *Do relationships with helpful and not-helpful teachers make a difference? Perspectives from nine at-risk adolescents* [PhD thesis, University of Maine]. DigitalCommons@UMaine. https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/etd/514

Pendergast, D. (2002). Teaching in the middle years: Perceptions of real versus ideal teachers. *Australian Journal of Middle Schooling*, *2*(1), 1–6.

Pianta, R., & Allen, J. P. (2008). Building capacity for positive youth development in secondary school classrooms: Changing teachers' interactions with students. In M. Shinn & H. Yoshikawa (Eds.), *Toward positive youth development: Transforming schools and community programs* (pp. 21–39). Oxford Academic. https://doi.org/dtmfpq

Pianta, R., Hamre, B. K., & Allen, J. P. (2012). Teacher-student relationships and engagement: Conceptualising, measuring, and improving the capacity of classroom interactions. In S. L. Christenson, A. L. Reschly, & C. Wylie (Eds.), *Handbook of research on student engagement* (pp. 365–386). Springer US. https://doi.org/kmv8

Rawlins, P. (2008). Unlocking the formative potential of NCEA. *New Zealand Journal of Teachers' Work*, *5*(2), 105–118.

Sadler, P. M., Sonnert, G., Coyle, H. P., Cook-Smith, N., & Miller, J. L. (2013). The influence of teachers' knowledge on student learning in middle school physical science classrooms. *American Educational*

Research Journal, *50*(5), 1020–1049. https://doi.org/gg9rpr

Sembiante, S. F., Baxley, T. P., & Cavallaro, C. J. (2018). What's in a name? A critical literacy and functional linguistic analysis of immigrant acculturation in contemporary picture books. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, *12*(1), 28–41. https://doi.org/kc5w

Siegle, D., Rubenstein, L. D., & Mitchell, M. S. (2014). Honors students' perceptions of their high school experiences: The influence of teachers on student motivation. *Gifted Child Quarterly*, *58*(1), 35–50. https://doi.org/f5k7cg

Stenlund, K. V. (1995). Teacher perceptions across cultures: The impact of students on teacher enthusiasm and discouragement in a cross-cultural context. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, *41*(2), 145–161.

Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand. (2020). *Our code, our standards: Code of professional responsibility and standards for the teaching profession*. https://teachingcouncil.nz/assets/Files/Code-and-Standards/Our-Code-Our-Standards-Nga-Tikanga-Matatika-Nga-Paerewa.pdf

Tito, J. (2008). *Māori language use in New Zealand secondary schools: What are the issues for teachers and students?* [Master's thesis, Victoria University of Wellington]. ResearchArchive. http://hdl.handle.net/10063/544

Turner, H., Rubie-Davies, C. M., & Webber, M. (2015). Teacher expectations, ethnicity and the achievement gap. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *50*(1), 55–69. https://doi.org/gf2s22

Vallade, J. I., & Myers, S. A. (2014). Student forgiveness in the college classroom: Perceived instructor misbehaviors as relational transgressions. *Communication Quarterly*, *62*(3), 342–356. https://doi.org/kc5x

Webber, M., McKinley, E., & Rubie-Davies, C. M. (2016). Making it personal: Academic counseling with Māori students and their families. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, *47*, 51–60. https://doi.org/kc5z

Whitney, J., Leonard, M., Leonard, W., Camelio, M., & Camelio, V. (2005). Seek balance, connect with others, and teach all students: High school students describe a moral imperative for teachers. *The High School Journal*, *89*(2), 29–39. https://doi.org/cxppfg

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP

DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.3

PUBLIC ASPIRATIONS FOR A DECOLONISED CITY

Food security and “re-storytelling”

Katie Jane Tollan[*]
Mike Ross[†]
O. Ripeka Mercier[‡]
Bianca Elkington[§]
Rebecca Kiddle[||]
Amanda Thomas[¶]
Jennie Smeaton[**]

Abstract

In 2017, the Imagining Decolonised Cities (IDC) competition sought submissions for the public’s visions of a decolonised Porirua. The IDC competition was an opportunity for Ngāti Toa Rangatira to solicit utopic ideas for their city post-settlement. This article presents an analysis of the 40 entries, exploring how participants understand decolonisation enacted in an urban setting. We identified two overarching themes from the submissions that can be linked to wider theories of decolonisation, particularly Corntassel’s (2008) theory of sustainable self-determination. The first theme identified was food security, demonstrated through participant designs of community gardens, seafood harvesting stations, and larger food transportation systems. The second theme identified was “re-storytelling”, a centring of Māori identities and stories. While these efforts alone will not result in the decolonisation of Porirua, they represent tangible initiatives at the flax roots level that provide space for Māori to be Māori, and a point from which communities can drive larger decolonising initiatives.

* Ngāti Pākehā. Research Assistant, Te Kawa a Māui—School of Māori Studies, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.

† Ngāti Hauā. Senior Lecturer, Te Kawa a Māui—School of Māori Studies, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.

‡ Ngāti Porou. Associate Professor, Te Kawa a Māui—School of Māori Studies, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.

§ Ngāti Toa Rangatira. General Manager, Education and Employment, Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira, Inc., Porirua, New Zealand.

|| Ngāti Porou, Ngāpuhi. Director, Te Manawahoukura—Centre of Rangahau Excellence, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Lower Hutt, New Zealand.

¶ Pākehā. Senior Lecturer, Environmental Studies, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand. Email: Amanda.Thomas@vuw.ac.nz

** Ngāti Toa Rangatira. Chief Operations Officer, Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira, Inc., Porirua, New Zealand.

Keywords

competition, decolonisation, food security, Māori, public visions, storytelling, utopian futures,

Introduction

In 2017, members of Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington joined with members of the iwi Ngāti Toa Rangatira (Ngāti Toa) to devise the Imagining Decolonised Cities (IDC) competition. The competition asked members of the public to submit their vision of what a decolonised city could look like. The selected location for the competition was Porirua, a city within Ngāti Toa's tribal jurisdiction. In 2012, Ngāti Toa reached an agreement with the New Zealand Government after 20 years of negotiating a compensation package for repeated breaches of te Tiriti o Waitangi/ the Treaty of Waitangi (1840). The competition was an opportunity for Ngāti Toa to conceptualise what their city could look like post-settlement. Participants entered submissions into one of three categories: Under 18s, General and Professional. They could submit through whichever medium they preferred and were encouraged to be utopic in their visions. Forty submissions were received overall and the IDC judging panel decided on winners later in 2017.

This article identifies two key themes that came out of the submissions and links them to wider theories of decolonisation, particularly Corntassel's (2008) theory of sustainable self-determination. The first theme, food security, was demonstrated through participant designs of community gardens, seafood harvesting stations and larger food transportation systems. We argue that although community food security projects are not grand or glamourous efforts of decolonisation, they regenerate the transmission of ancestral knowledge and promote culturally appropriate sites of food cultivation and consumption. These alone are methods of sustaining self-determination at a place-based and community level. The second theme, "re-storytelling", emerged from submissions proposing a change to how iwi stories and names are represented in the Porirua landscape. Again, changing the representation of names and history do not constitute a complete decolonisation project, but it does centre Māori identities and stories in urban spaces that have historically excluded Māori. The implementation of the small-scale changes can establish long-term practices that challenge colonial dominance in cities and promote iwi identities within their urban territories.

Ngāti Toa experiences of colonisation

The colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand by the British Crown dispossessed Māori from their lands, language and culture to establish settlements for Pākehā. The document making Pākehā settlement official, te Tiriti o Waitangi, affirmed Māori sovereignty and a reciprocal partnership between Māori leaders and the Crown. This document was signed by most Māori chiefs and ensured that Māori retained tino rangatiratanga over Aotearoa and that British settlers could lawfully reside in their country. Te Tiriti o Waitangi was largely ignored by the Crown in favour of the English version of the document, the Treaty of Waitangi. The terminology used in the English text was substantially different to its Māori counterpart. The Treaty of Waitangi asserted that Māori ceded absolute sovereignty to the Crown, which thus legitimised the colonisation of New Zealand. The differences between the texts were not sufficiently communicated to the chiefs, and the Waitangi Tribunal (2014) has determined that Māori did not knowingly cede sovereignty to Britain in February 1840 (p. 527). Ngāti Toa's experience of colonisation involved targeted persecution by the Crown and private land acquisitors operating as the New Zealand Company. The iwi had opposed colonial land acquisition since 1839, and two iwi leaders, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, had been involved in several violent disputes between Crown troops and settlers. In 1846, the Crown illegally detained Te Rauparaha, and Te Rangihaeata narrowly avoided arrest by escaping to a neighbouring district. In 1847, the colonial governor, George Grey, strategised an acquisition over part of Ngāti Toa's territory in the greater Wellington region. Grey (1847) argued it was "necessary to secure the town of Wellington and its vicinity from future hostile attacks and aggressions from evil-disposed natives" (p. 201). Younger Ngāti Toa chiefs, wishing to have Te Rauparaha freed from captivity, sold the Porirua district to the Crown in exchange for his release (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2012). The following century saw further Crown alienation of Ngāti Toa land and by the 21st century Ngāti Toa were left "virtually landless" (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2012, p. 1). The large-scale urban development of Porirua has caused extreme environmental degradation and a further fracturing of Ngāti Toa's collective identity. Their river, Te Awarua o Porirua, has become so polluted by waste that the

iwi can no longer harvest food for their community. This has restricted the iwi's ability to exercise their manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga.

Defining decolonisation

The term "decolonisation" has accumulated several meanings and principles. Historically, the term has been associated with the dissolution of imperial empires and increased autonomy of newly independent states (Jansen et al., 2017). In this theory, states subject to "exogenous colonialism"—where the priority for the empire is the extraction and appropriation of Indigenous land and resources, but not necessarily colonial settlement—decolonise by physically expelling colonial powers from Indigenous land and delegitimising imperial political structures (Veracini, 2017, p. 3). In settler-colonised countries such as New Zealand where "the colonizer comes to stay", the process for, and the objective of, decolonisation is not necessarily so clear (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 7). The dispossession of Māori from their land and culture functioned concurrently with the entrenchment of Pākehā political and social systems, which affirmed the perception of settler sovereignty and Pākehā notions of "belonging" in Aotearoa (Higgins & Terruhn, 2021; Veracini, 2015). One hundred and eighty years on from the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi, Pākehā identity is now something unique, though not Indigenous, to Aotearoa (Mercier, 2020). The decolonising objective in Aotearoa, we have argued elsewhere, does not necessitate the physical removal of Pākehā from Māori land but does require "a commitment to making cohabitation work" (Mercier, 2020, p. 41) and "cohabitation that enables Māori to live as Māori" (Kiddle et al., 2023, p. 147).

The IDC project was developed as an inquiry into what decolonisation in established urban environments would mean. New Zealand cities have historically been conceptualised as non-Māori spaces, which raises issues for iwi such as Ngāti Toa, whose jurisdiction extends over urban areas (Kiddle, 2018).

Competition

The IDC project came about through relationships between the authors and conversations about forward-looking and hopeful approaches to decolonisation and Ngāti Toa's post-settlement future. Through a series of meetings and conversations, Ngāti Toa selected two sites for the competition: the northern part of Te Awarua o Porirua and its shoreline, and a papakāinga site owned by a Ngāti Toa family, the Parai family. We posed a definition

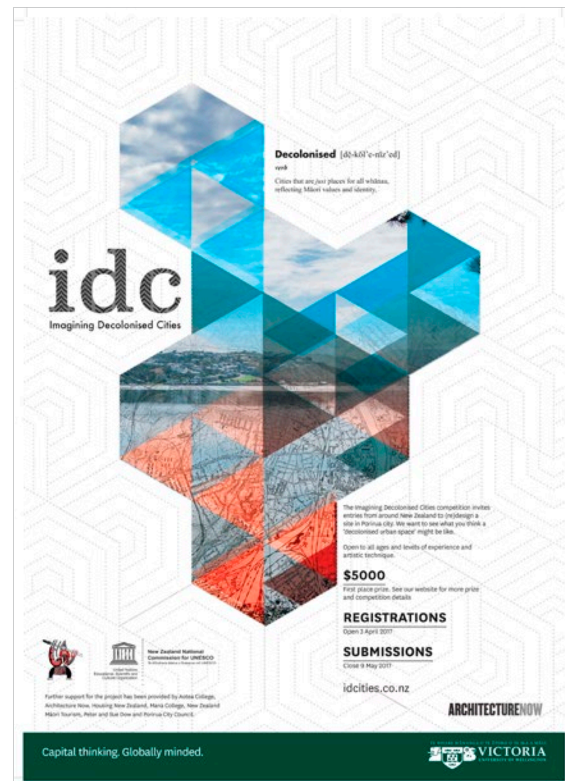


FIGURE 1 IDC poster

of "decolonised" that matched the context of the competition: "Cities that are equitable places for *all* whānau, reflecting Māori values and identity" (IDC, n.d.). This definition was our attempt at widely accessible wording that drew on notions of justice and placed Māori ways of being at the heart. We originally wrote that decolonised cities are "just" places for whānau, but the idea of justice was somewhat lost, and "equitable" was a more accessible idea for many people (see Figure 1, overleaf).

We also provided a series of questions that participants should seek to answer in their submissions:

- What does a decolonised city look and feel like?
- How can our urban landscapes and built environments acknowledge local iwi identities?
- How can our urban landscapes and built environments work to alleviate social problems and promote "just" places for all whānau (families)?
- How can our urban landscapes and built environments encourage places where Māori, Pākehā and all cultural groups feel "at home", feel that they can thrive and can make the

TABLE 1 Stated cultural/national heritage of entrants

Cultural/national heritage	No. of entrants
Māori	29
Pākehā	9
New Zealand European	8
Cook Island	2
Chinese	4
Pacific	2
European	7
African	1
Indian	1
Asian	3
Middle Eastern	1
Sāmoan	4
Dutch	1
Hong Kong	1
Argentinian	1
Singapore	1
Mix	1
New Zealand	2
Not sure	1
Not specified	6
Total responses	85
Total people responding	75

TABLE 2 Stated iwi affiliations of e ntrants

Iwi connections	No. of entrants
Ngāpuhi	5
Ngāti Awanuiarangi	2
Ngāi Tūhoe	1
Te Whānau-ā-Apanui	2
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	2
Kai Tahu	2
Ngāti Porou	3
Ngāti Ruanui	1
Ngāti Kahungunu	1
Ngāti Ranginui	1
Te Arawa	1
Ngāti Whakatōhea	1
Ngāti Raukawa	1
Muaūpoko	1
Ngāi Tamanuhiri	1
Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai	1
Ngāti Toa Rangatira	3
Ngāti Maniapoto	1
Total responses	30
Total people responding	22

choices that they want in relation to their living environments?
- How would you like this place to look and feel 50 years from now? (IDC, n.d., p. 4)

These questions incorporate the acknowledgement of iwi identity, the enactment of social justice, and a sense of cultural belonging into the IDC definition of "decolonised". IDC encouraged participants to be utopic in their visions and not restricted by the potential barriers of current society (IDC, n.d.; we have explored the complexities of utopian approaches in Kiddle et al., 2023).The brief also provided a list of things desired by the iwi for each site. The priorities for Te Awarua o Porirua (paraphrased) were:

- improved access to kai collection
- functioning and protected flora and fauna sites that reflect Ngāti Toa's responsibilities as kaitiaki
- improved access to recreational activities, including activities for cultural practices
- a sense of connectedness that reflects a Ngāti Toa identity within the harbour and connecting waterways.

The priorities listed for the papakāinga site (again paraphrased) were:

- It should be a future-thinking design that instils a sense of legacy for the Parai family.
- It should be a space that children can enjoy and spend time with family.
- Development should be sustainable and have little environmental impact on the land.
- The area should be safe from dangerous vehicles, earthquakes and other natural hazards.
- All buildings should have a view of the harbour.

The prizes to be won in the IDC competition

TABLE 3 Submission formats and numbers of each submission from each of the three entry categories

Format of submission	Number of submissions in this format		
	Under 18s	General	Professional
Essay/Written proposal	8	3	0
Poetry	0	2	0
Creative writing	1	0	0
Illustration	3	1	0
Design plan	2	4	11
Waiata (song)	1	1	1
Video	0	1	1
TOTAL ENTRIES	15	12	13

included a first prize of $5,000 cash, which was ultimately augmented to $9,000 and split across the winning entries in each category. Other prizes included a trip to Kāpiti Island, a Wharewaka Café voucher and a box of Whittaker's chocolate. The substantial cash prize may have incentivised professionals to enter the competition. As evident in Table 3, there was a relatively even spread of teams entered in each category, with 15 Under 18s, 13 Professionals and 12 General entries.

An exhibition of entries, a symposium and a prizegiving were hosted at Takapūwāhia Marae on 13 May 2017. The judging panel consisted of academics, architects, a youth representative, a contemporary Māori artist, a Porirua City councillor and two leaders from Ngāti Toa.

Along with their entry, the 75 participants that comprised the 40 teams were invited to fill out a form and provide biographical information about their cultural or national heritage and iwi connections. Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate how each team member defined themselves.

Twenty-nine of the 75 participants identified as Māori and 22 specified one or more iwi affiliations. Twenty-six identified as Pākehā, New Zealand European, European or just New Zealander. There were slightly more Māori entrants than Pākehā/New Zealand European. Pacific and other European heritages were represented, and a small number of international entrants took part. Six did not declare a nationality.

The competition brief encouraged proposals in any medium participants saw fit. Table 3 demonstrates the varying formats proposals were submitted in.

Theme identification

Each submission was examined for potential themes. Keywords and ideas were entered into one of three spreadsheets: Under 18s, General or Professional. The initial data were then compiled into one large spreadsheet that included 97 themes overall. The process was then repeated, adding themes that had been missed in the first analysis and merging overlapping themes together. For example, the categories of "Pouwhenua" and "Whakairo" were merged into the "Art/Monuments" category, which allowed for a more flexible interpretation. The second combined spreadsheet listed 31 themes. Categories with fewer than 10 recordings were then removed, leaving 16 potential avenues for analysis. With a more concise list, the interconnection between themes grew clearer. Submissions proposing sustainable infrastructure also tended to engage with kaitiakitanga in their design rationale, suggestions to install walking tracks were often paired with suggestions to establish pouwhenua or other forms of Māori carving, and representations of iwi identity commonly accompanied proposals for mahinga kai.

Interestingly, "tino rangatiratanga" was mentioned only once in the 40 submissions and te Tiriti o Waitangi was not mentioned at all. Māori words and concepts were mentioned consistently, particularly the term "kaitiakitanga". Yet, the explicit presence of te reo Māori was only noted twice, with both instances in the Under 18 category. While each submission was individual in its content, it was clear that participants had used the IDC brief as a foundation. Sustainable environmental practice, recreational activities, and the presence of Ngāti Toa identity in the built environment were

well reflected in submissions, demonstrating the impact of the brief on participants' design choices.

Noting problematic ideas

The competition rules clearly stated that prejudiced ideas were not welcome, and the nature of the competition would suggest that those who participated did not harbour openly racist or harmful perspectives. However, some submissions contained potentially problematic ideas. These featured mainly in the Under 18 and General categories.

Some submissions in the Under 18 category proposed a decolonised city where general Māori culture was "brought back" to Porirua. While colonisation has persistently attempted to deny Māori a presence in urban spaces, equating decolonisation with the return of Māori culture implies that Māori culture does not exist in Porirua now. This implication, though likely unintentional, contributes to the idea that urban areas are not Māori areas (Kiddle, 2018). The assumed absence of Māori in cities erases iwi whose jurisdiction includes urban spaces and the 85% of Māori who live in urban areas (Kiddle, 2018). The notion of "bringing back" Māori culture in the submissions was often paired with conceptions of a "traditional" Māori culture involving Māori art and activities such as weaving, gardening and fishing. The revitalisation of ancestral customs is a crucial aspect of the decolonising process (Chi'XapKaid, 2005; Corntassel, 2008), yet some submissions proposed a fixed idea of what Māori culture is and is not. This static perception attributes a sense of authenticity to the "historical" Māori and inauthenticity to Māori who do not fit the "traditional" model of Māori culture (Andersen & Hokowhitu, 2007, p. 45). It also puts Māori and Western cultures in opposition: "traditional" versus "modern" and, at a blunter level, "primitive" versus "enlightened" (Hokowhitu, 2008, p. 116). The presence of these ideas in the submissions suggests a need for more comprehensive education around the nuances of decolonisation. Though tools to decolonise are accessible, the necessary knowledge for utilising such tools in an effective and liberating way perhaps requires better communication.

Some submissions proposed their vision of an ideal, but not necessarily decolonised, Porirua. The competition encouraged people to engage in hopeful and utopic ideas that went beyond the status quo. This may have allowed for too much interpretation as some submissions did not envision a Ngāti Toa presence whatsoever. In the Under 18s category, a participant proposed a pollution-less Porirua but did not include iwi representation. A submission in the General category proposed a communal camping ground with shared facilities and a thriving community culture. The single connection made between this submission and decolonisation was describing how this form of living held parallels with "a pre-European way of life". Reversing the effects of pollution and building communities are noble pursuits and can be deployed in a decolonising project: however, transforming the environment is not equal to decolonising the environment (Pihama, 2012; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

Such well-intentioned but appropriative perspectives are the subject of Tuck and Yang's (2012) article "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor", where they argue that the settler adoption of decolonising language and theory furthers Western notions of justice but does little to repatriate Indigenous land or enable Indigenous self-determination. This again suggests a need for further education around core principles of decolonisation. It also demonstrates how decolonising projects, which intend to centre Indigenous people and Indigenous justice, can be redirected to serve Western aims.

Overall, most submissions critically engaged with methods of pursuing a decolonised Porirua and, notably, problematic ideas were in the minority. However, there is a real risk of decolonising rhetoric being adopted without a truly decolonised outcome in mind. It is therefore useful to identify these notions at the "imagining" stage of decolonisation so the material methods of decolonising can be restructured to maintain Indigenous self-determination and repatriate Indigenous land.

Themes

The themes discussed in the following sections can be grouped within Corntassel's (2008) theory of "sustainable self-determination". Cherokee scholar Jeff Corntassel (2008) argues that contemporary approaches to Indigenous rights are limited within a state-regulated framework, where rights are individualised and the interconnected issues facing Indigenous peoples are not properly recognised. This in turn dismisses "the environment, community health/wellbeing, natural resources, sustainability and the transmission of cultural practices to future generations as critical, interlocking features of an indigenous self-determination process" (Corntassel, 2008, p. 116). Sustainable self-determination by comparison incorporates all of the listed aspects in a manner that provides long-term, interconnected modes of

Figure 2 Part of a professional entry, Te Ringa

wellbeing that can be transmitted through generations (Corntassel, 2008). It focuses on community resurgence, where the transmission of "everyday" cultural knowledge such as Indigenous food cultivation or language learning develops long-term skills required to achieve an intergenerationally sustained level of self-determination. This theory has been used to analyse the themes of food security and re-storytelling present in the submissions as they have the potential to embed modes of self-determination that are not dependent on the state. The proposals affirm mana whenua governance, place-based knowledge and the transmission of ancestral practice as key features of a decolonised Porirua.

Food security

Of the 40 total submissions, 17 proposed an improvement to community food security. Community food security can be understood as access to "a safe, culturally acceptable, nutritionally adequate diet through a sustainable food system that maximizes community self-reliance and social justice" (Hamm & Bellows, 2003, p. 37). Several submissions proposed community gardens (see Figure 2). Reflecting a Māori worldview, the proposed gardens were designed to serve multiple, interconnected purposes: showing manaaki through the supply of kai, providing a platform for place-based learning and encouraging whanaungatanga. Others proposed reserved sites for seafood harvesting, which could also serve as sites of communal water-based transport. Several submissions emphasised the need for appropriate tikanga during food cultivation, such as reliance on the maramataka and karakia to ensure a successful harvest. In a specifically Māori context, McKerchar et al. (2015) suggest that food security is central to several cultural concepts and practices in the Māori world:

- The ability to provide food reflects one's mana (authority/control over individual and community wellbeing) and expresses manaakitanga (reciprocity of kindness, respect and humanity)
- Cultivating and collecting food can strengthen one's connection and responsibility to the environment
- Place-based food cultivation can reinforce one's whakapapa (genealogical ties) to place and affirm cultural identity and belonging. (p. 6)

Large-scale land loss shattered Māori food security. Traditional sites of cultivation and consumption were cleared for Pākehā development; increased Pākehā agricultural practice resulted in the pollution of waterways; and remaining food sites, and new foods such as wheat and potato, were introduced to better suit the Pākehā diet and economy (McKerchar et al., 2015). Dispossession from land and cultural forms of knowledge through legislation such as the Native Schools Act 1858, the Native Reserves Act 1864 and the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 indirectly created structural food insecurity for Māori by reducing Māori wealth and access to culturally appropriate sources of food and food knowledge (Moeke-Pickering et al., 2015). This has had an intergenerational effect, with contemporary Māori households experiencing food insecurity at a rate disproportionate to the size of the overall Māori population (Ministry of Health, 2019). Food insecurity can contribute to higher levels of stress, poor physical health and severe mental health issues (Moeke-Pickering et al., 2015). Porirua has higher rates of childhood obesity than the rest of New Zealand, with significant disparities for Māori (Porirua City Council, 2020). In the lower socio-economic neighbourhoods of Porirua, with higher Pacific and Māori populations, healthy food options are

less accessible and more expensive (Woodham, 2009). The climate crisis is further amplifying food insecurity, as settler colonial methods of mass food production and transportation are largely unsustainable (Waziyatawin, 2012). It therefore makes sense, both within the theory of sustainable self-determination and in wider decolonising aims, that food security is a priority for decolonising urban spaces.

The submissions that proposed food security systems also aligned with existing Māori food security and food sovereignty systems. Hua Parakore is a verification and validation system for food cultivated using tikanga Māori (Hutchings et al., 2012). It was designed by Te Waka Kai Ora, the National Māori Organics Authority of Aotearoa. Hua Parakore is designed to mitigate the combined crises of climate change, peak oil extraction and food insecurity that impact Māori in specific ways. As explained by Hutchings et al. (2012, pp. 136–141), Hua Parakore is informed by six principles, which we summarise below:

- Whakapapa (the natural connections between deities, the land, the product that is produced from the land and the producers): understanding landscape and human genealogies is fundamental to understanding food cultivation.
- Wairua (spiritual health): protecting the wairua of food producers also protects the health and purity of the food produced.
- Mana (the autonomy, security and self-determination of Māori tribal collectives as expressed through mahinga kai): strengthening communities through food production enhances the mana of the producers and recipients.
- Māramatanga (observance and understanding of environmental processes): food production that is informed by māramatanga and follows the maramataka refines and enhances food quality.
- Te Ao Tūroa (natural order of the world): maintaining and respecting the natural order of the world maintains the quality of food produced.
- Mauri (essence of life): protecting the health dimensions of food ensures the food and those that consume it are also healthy.
(See Hutchings et al., 2012, pp. 136–141)

Hua Parakore is one example of how spaces can be decolonised to promote Indigenous food security. Some IDC submissions envisioned a reality founded on some of the principles that have been activated in the Hua Parakore model. For example, in talking about their winning entry in the Under 18 category, Paige Scruton-Nepe Apatu from the Māori-immersion school Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Mokopuna envisioned harakeke grown for weaving revival, rongoā Māori to heal whānau and food gardens: "The take o te māra kai hei whakakotahi i te iwi rā [The gardens are to unify the people]" (New Zealand National Commission [UNESCO], 2017). Another entry by Jemma Rose Hovelmeier described replanting seagrass to stabilise sediments in the harbour, allowing other plants to flourish in saltmarshes and up the land. In time, this would see native bush restored in Porirua: "I imagine that the shore is accessible to all through tracks weaving through established native bush and intervals of open space where boats and waka can be launched, people can sit and share kai and games can be played" (New Zealand National Commission [UNESCO], 2017). This kind of integrated approach to environmental and human health reflects a vision for improved food security.

If implemented, the above designs could decolonise by enabling better access to physical and mental health choices for consumers, transmitting ancestral knowledge through food cultivation, re-establishing community and cultural identity, affirming the authority of mana whenua, and sustaining land for future generations. These small, often unglamourous pursuits can contribute to a sustainable form of self-determination that ensures intergenerational autonomy and wellbeing.

There are, of course, limitations to this vision. The ability to grow healthy food, provide it to the community and maintain sites of cultivation requires land and, at least initially, financial support. The suggestion to start a garden may also be criticised as doing little to solve the immediate problem of hunger and lack of resources (Graham & Jackson, 2017). Though Ngāti Toa have received some land and money through Treaty settlements, this form of redress is not equal to the magnitude of what was taken through colonisation. Margaret Mutu (2019) writes that Treaty settlements have delivered, on average, less than 1% of what was taken. This presents a decolonising predicament: sustainable self-determination requires non-state methods of maintaining food security, but food security requires land and money, two things that were confiscated from many Ngāti Toa members through the processes of colonisation. Corntassel (2012) does account for this seemingly immense task of decolonisation: "Change of this magnitude

tends to happen in small increments, one warrior at a time" (p. 98). Corntassel and Bryce (2012) suggest that sustainable decolonisation begins with small groups making small changes, which will develop into larger-scale community regeneration. Therefore, if there is one community garden in Porirua, grown by the maramataka and free of mauri-damaging pollutants, the people who work there and eat its produce are further on the path to decolonisation than they were before. It is through small acts such as this, Corntassel (2012) argues, that Indigenous ancestors and future descendants "will recognize us as Indigenous to this land. And this is how our homelands will recognize us as being Indigenous to that place" (p. 99).

Re-storytelling

A second dominant theme that arose from the submissions was visions of alternative civic narratives. Sixteen submissions overall proposed a form of storytelling, or re-storytelling, as a process required for decolonising Porirua. Some suggested reclaiming Ngāti Toa place and tūpuna names to demonstrate their authority and the significance of their ancestors. A group in the Under 18s category proposed Porirua have its original name restored: Pari-rua. Other suggestions, such as naming buildings and landmarks after significant chiefs of Ngāti Toa also spoke to the re-storytelling theme. Other participants proposed the centring of Ngāti Toa stories and histories in the civic landscape. A submission in the Under 18 category suggested creating walkways around the city with pouwhenua to communicate the history of Ngāti Toa. Each pouwhenua would have an accompanying QR code with information that walkers could scan and read. They rationalised this suggestion by drawing on Ngāti Toa's history as a migrating iwi, and argued that their proposal would encourage recreation, learning and a recentring of Ngāti Toa identity. A Professional submission proposed something similar through "storyboxes": storage units that hold historical iwi information and provide Wi-Fi and charging points to users. The storyboxes would be positioned around the city, again promoting recreation and activity. Within the theme of re-storytelling, reclaiming and renaming Māori land, and challenging colonial erasure were two dominant subthemes.

Renaming and reclaiming are common methods of decolonising. In Aotearoa, renaming landmarks and Crown-owned reserves is a regular feature of Treaty settlements, designed to acknowledge the association of iwi with sites of significance (New Zealand Geographic Board, 2018). There have recently been several petitions demanding different forms of renaming: changing the name of the country from "New Zealand" to "Aotearoa New Zealand" (New Zealand Parliament, 2020a), reinstating Māori placenames across the country (New Zealand Parliament, 2020b) and, at a more specific level, changing street names that bear the names of colonisers (Hynes, 2020). Placenaming as an act of socio-spatial control was an efficient mechanism for colonial powers to denote conquered territory (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). Renaming places, therefore, challenges the assumed colonial dominance of the landscape.

In a Māori context, placenames can be a portal to iwi history (Davis et al., 1990). In the manner of oral tradition, the stories of placenames were remembered and carefully passed down to following generations (Davis et al., 1990). Māori placenames can indicate the location of resource bases, historical conflicts and areas where earlier iwi had settled or migrated through (Davis et al., 1990). Similar to Māori systems of food security, Māori placenames can reinstate a sense of cultural identity and genealogical connection to land (Berg & Kearns,1996). When citing one's pepeha, it is common practice to reference the names of the landscape features one descends from. Connection to land via naming can also be demonstrated through the following whakataukī:

> Nōku te whenua, e mōhio ana au ki ana kōrero
> *It is my land, I know what it says* (Davis et al., 1990, p. 8; Flaws & Meredith, 2007, p. 59)

This form of knowledge is not accessible to everyone. Davis et al. (1990) suggest that learning the narratives behind Māori names requires consultation with kaumātua and an understanding of local iwi history. Transmitting iwi history through the instrument of naming was restricted with the imposition of non-Māori placenames on Māori land. The transmission of ancestral knowledge is a crucial facet of sustainable self-determination (Corntassel, 2008). Renaming Porirua and landmarks within it could affirm the significance of placenames in the transmission of cultural knowledge. It could also regenerate the authoritative role of Māori leaders and elders in landscape narratives. Furthermore, names that reflect the mana whenua, as opposed to colonisers, affirm the authority of iwi within their tribal jurisdictions.

Promoting iwi histories in an urban environment challenges colonial erasure. Again drawing from Kiddle (2018), urban spaces have historically excluded Māori from their design and

representation despite the long-term presence of iwi in most areas of Aotearoa. In the era of Treaty settlements, iwi have been afforded statutory acknowledgements that recognise their associations with particular sites or resources. However, this does not cover the centrality of iwi stories in the landscape.

The transmission of cultural stories is an important part of Māori culture (Lee, 2005). Pūrākau, one form of Māori storytelling, have been utilised as research methods (Lee, 2009), rehabilitation approaches for incarcerated women (Appleyard, 2018) and mediums of psychological therapy in clinical settings (Cherrington, 2002). Matunga (2013) suggests that the reclamation of Indigenous spatial planning involves designing space to "reflect a local Indigenous community history, reality, and experience" (p. 6). The implementation of a Ngāti Toa storybox or pouwhenua with a QR code could be a stepping stone towards adequate reflections of iwi life and history in the built environment. Particularly so when iwi histories are presented through forms of Māori art or walkways that replicate iwi migrations, as they embed stories into the landscape through various media. Corntassel (2012) suggests that "our stories need to be retold and acted upon as part of our process of remembering and maintaining balance within our communities. . . . It is the stories that sustain us and ensure our continuity as peoples" (p. 89) As a pedagogical form, interactive and accessible iwi histories can reach Māori who do not have access to, or are disconnected from, the stories of their ancestors (Lee, 2005).

Again, there are limitations. Reclaiming Māori placenames and increasing the presence of iwi stories in the landscape does not necessarily accompany the return of Indigenous land and lifestyle. There is also a chance of appropriation of Māori names and stories to serve non-decolonising means. Recently, there has been criticism of the New Zealand Government for its use of Māori language, that the adoption of Māori names for government departments and policies is a deliberate tactic to progress unpopular policies affecting Māori (Smale, 2020). The introduction of Māori history into the New Zealand secondary school curriculum has been largely welcomed, but there has been hesitation around its representation, with Aroha Harris (2019) cautioning against Māori history being "relegat[ed] to a subset of New Zealand history, a spray tan to brown-up the past". These considerations should be taken into account when planning a decolonised urban environment, and returning Māori names and stories to the landscape cannot be the endpoint for decolonisation. However, the monocultural and monolingual administration of the landscape does require reformation. Similarly to the presence of one community garden, the singular presence of an iwi name or an iwi history challenges colonial attempts at Indigenous erasure and provides a point from which to grow decolonisation. Efforts like this, although small, create space for Māori ways of living, and for Māori to live as Māori (Ross, 2020).

Conclusion

This article has analysed the submissions to the 2017 IDC competition. Though some submissions reflected problematic understandings of Māori culture, a large number proposed improvements to community food security and "re-storytelling" to centre Ngāti Toa. Many of the ideas related to food security were reflected in the food verification and validation system Hua Parakore, a Māori food sovereignty initiative that seeks to decolonise diets in the face of health-related and environmental adversity. The ideas presented in these submissions denoted practical and community-based approaches to sustaining Māori self-determination in the long term. Re-storytelling was envisioned primarily in two subthemes. First, returning Māori placenames has the potential to restore iwi narratives in the landscape. As names are one facet of oral tradition, they can transmit cultural knowledge and stories to their inhabitants, ensuring their presence in the future. Second, promoting iwi histories through multimedia structures can reflect the centrality of iwi in their jurisdictions and challenge the colonial erasure of Indigenous stories. By implementing place-based changes to the built environment, and thus human reactions within it, a sustained level of self-determination can be realised. These efforts will not by themselves bring about the decolonisation of Porirua, but at a ground level they seek to make foundational and positive change in a manner that aligns with larger decolonising aims.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to all IDC competition entrants. We also acknowledge funders that supported this work: Ngāti Toa Rangatira, the New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO, Wellington Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, and BioHeritage residual funding.

Glossary

Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand
harakeke	New Zealand flax, *Phormium tenax*
iwi	tribe
kai	food
kaitiaki	guardian
kaitiakitanga	guardianship; cultural and financial guardianship; accountability
karakia	ritual chant/prayer
kaumātua	elders
mahinga kai	garden, food-gathering place
mana	prestige, status, authority, influence, integrity; honour, respect
manaaki	to care for, be generous
manaakitanga	generous hospitality
mana whenua	the right of an iwi to manage a particular area of land
Māori	Indigenous peoples of New Zealand
marae	communal courtyard
maramataka	Māori lunar calendar
māramatanga	clarity and understanding
mauri	life essence, life force, energy, life principle
Ngāti Toa Rangatira	iwi based in the southern North Island and the northern South Island of New Zealand with with connections to Waikato-Tainui iwi
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
papakāinga	a home base built on communal Māori land
pepeha	tribal motto
Porirua	a city within Ngāti Toa's tribal jurisdiction in the Wellington region of the North Island of Aotearoa
pouwhenua	carved wooden post used as a boundary marker or indicating ownership or jurisdiction
pūrākau	stories, narrative
rongoā Māori	traditional Māori medicine
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	custom
tino rangatiratanga	absolute chieftainship
tūpuna	ancestors
waiata	song
wairua	spirit; spiritual
waka	canoe
whakairo	Māori traditional art of carving
whakapapa	genealogy
whakataukī	proverb
whānau	family
whanaungatanga	familial connection

References

Andersen, C., & Hokowhitu, B. (2007). Whiteness: Naivety, void and control. *Junctures*, *8*, 39–49.

Appleyard, E. (2018). The development of the Kimihia Violence Prevention programme: An offence focused programme for women with high and complex needs. *New Zealand Corrections Journal 6*(2). https://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/newsletters_and_brochures/journal/volume_6_issue_2_november_2018/the_development_of_the_kimihia_violence_prevention_programme_an_offence_focused_programme_for_women_with_high_and_complex_needs

Berg, L. D., & Kearns, R. A. (1996). Naming as norming: "Race", gender, and the identity politics of naming places in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Society and Space*, *14*, 99–122. https://doi.org/c989gj

Cherrington, L. (2002). The use of Māori mythology in clinical settings: Training issues and needs. In L. W. Nikora, M. Levy, B., Masters, W., Waitoki, N., Te Awekotuku, & R. J. M. Etheredge (Eds.), *The proceedings of the National Māori Graduates of Psychology Symposium 2002: Making a difference* (pp. 117–120). University of Waikato.

Chi'XapKaid. (2005). Decolonizing through storytelling. In W. A. Wilson & M. Yellow Bird (Eds.), *For Indigenous eyes only: A decolonization handbook* (pp. 127–137). School of American Research Press.

Corntassel, J. (2008). Toward sustainable self-determination: Rethinking the contemporary indigenous-rights discourse. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, *33*(1), 105–132. https://doi.org/ffz4tq

Corntassel, J. (2012). Re-envisioning resurgence: Indigenous pathways to decolonization and sustainable self-determination. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *1*(1), 86–101.

Corntassel, J., & Bryce, C. (2012). Practicing sustainable self-determination: Indigenous approaches to cultural restoration and revitalization. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, *11*, 151–162.

Davis, T. A., O'Regan, T., & Wilson, J. (1990). *Ngā tohu pūmahara = The survey pegs of the past: Understanding Māori place names*. New Zealand Geographic Board.

Flaws, M. G., & Meredith, K. L. (2007). A wind shift: Integrating curriculum for education for sustainable

development. *New Zealand Geographer*, *63*(1), 55–61. https://doi.org/czk68g

Graham, R., & Jackson, K. (2017, August 9). No, poor New Zealand families can't just "grow their own vegetables". *The Spinoff*. https://thespinoff.co.nz/parenting/09-08-2017/no-poor-new-zealand-families-cant-just-grow-their-own-vegetables/

Grey, G. (1847). No. 1: Despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey. In A. Mackay (Ed.), *A compendium of official documents relative to Native affairs in the South Island* (Vol. 1, pp. 201–202). Government Printer.

Hamm, M. W., & Bellows, A. C. (2003). Community food security and nutrition educators. *Journal of Nutrition, Education and Behavior*, *35*(1), 37–43. https://doi.org/dn7mw7

Harris, A. (2019, September 14). Teaching Māori history must not be simply a spray tan to brown up the past. *The Spinoff*. https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/14-09-2019/new-zealand-history-must-be-more-than-just-a-bunch-of-cute-facts/

Higgins, K., & Terruhn, J. (2021). Kinship, whiteness and the politics of belonging among white British migrants and Pākehā in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 47(15), 3564–13582. https://doi.org/kfs5

Hokowhitu, B. (2008). The death of Koro Paka: "Traditional" Māori patriarchy. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *20*(1), 115–141. https://doi.org/fw7shg

Hutchings, J., Tipene, P., Carney, G., Greensill, A., Skelton, P., & Baker, M. (2012). Hua Parakore: An indigenous food sovereignty initiative and hallmark of excellence for food and product production. *MAI Journal*, *1*(2), 132–145.

Hynes, T. M. S. (2020). *#BringThemDown—William and Edward Wakefield monuments, street names and public dedications*. OurActionStation. https://our.actionstation.org.nz/petitions/bringthemdown-edward-and-william-wakefield-monuments-wakefield-street-and-wakefield-park

Imagining Decolonised Cities. (n.d.). *The brief: What is a decolonised city?* Retrieved from http://www.idcities.co.nz/resources/The%20Brief.pdf

Jansen, J. C., Osterhammel, J., & Riemer, J. (2017). *Decolonization: A short history*. Princeton University Press. https://doi.org/j8jh

Kiddle, R. (2018). Contemporary Māori placemaking. In R. Kiddle, L. P. Stewart & K. O'Brien (Eds.), *Our voices: Indigeneity and architecture* (pp. 46–59). ORO Editions.

Kiddle, R., Elkington, B., Ross, M., Mercier, O. R., Thomas, A., Gjerde, M., Smeaton, J., Arona, T., & Mawer, C. (2023). Imagining a decolonized city in and from Aotearoa New Zealand. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *47*(1), 146–154. https://doi.org/j8nc

Lee, J. (2005, June 24). *Māori cultural regeneration: Pūrakau as pedagogy* [Paper presentation]. Centre for Research in Lifelong Learning International Conference, Stirling, Scotland. http://www.rangahau.co.nz/assets/lee_J/purakau%20as%20pedagogy.pdf

Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *MAI Review*, (2), Article 3. http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/download/242/242-1618-1-PB.pdf

Matunga, H. (2013). Theorizing Indigenous planning. In R. Walker, T. Jojola, & D. Natcher (Eds.), *Reclaiming Indigenous planning* (pp. 3–32). McGill-Queen's University Press.

McKerchar, C., Bowers, S., Heat, C., Signal, L., & Matoe, L. (2015). Enhancing Māori food security using traditional kai. *Global Health Promotion*, *22*(3), 15–24. https://doi.org/f7q7rz

Mercier, O. R. (2020). What is decolonisation? In B. Elkington, M. Jackson, R. Kiddle, O. R. Mercier, M. Ross, J. Smeaton, & A. Thomas (Eds.), *Imagining decolonisation* (pp. 40–82). Bridget Williams Books. https://doi.org/j8jj

Ministry of Health. (2019). *Household food insecurity among children in New Zealand*. https://www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/publications/household-food-insecurity-among-children-new-zealand-health-survey-jun19.pdf

Moeke-Pickering, T., Heitia, M., Heitia, S., Karapu., R., & Cote-Meek, S. (2015). Understanding Māori food security and food sovereignty issues in Whakatāne. *MAI Journal*, *4*(1), 30–42.

Mutu, M. (2019). The Treaty claims settlement process in New Zealand and its impact on Māori. *Land*, *8*(10), Article 152. https://doi.org/j8jk

New Zealand Geographic Board. (2018). The role of the New Zealand Geographic Board in Treaty Settlements. https://www.linz.govt.nz/regulatory/place-names/propose-place-name/treaty-waitangi-claims-settlement-names

New Zealand Government. (2012, December 7). *Deed of settlement between Ngati Toa Rangatira and the Crown*. https://www.govt.nz/assets/Documents/OTS/Ngati-Toa-Rangatira/Ngati-Toa-Rangatira-Deed-of-Settlement-7-Dec-2012.pdf

New Zealand National Commission (UNESCO). (2017, July 19). *Imagining Decolonised Cities contest winners* [Video attached] [Status update]. Facebook. https://ur-pk.facebook.com/UNESCO.NZ/videos/imagining-decolonised-cities-contest-winners/1596390873714300/

New Zealand Parliament. (2020a). *Petition of Danny Tahau Jobe: Aotearoa New Zealand, officially*. https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/petitions/document/PET_101484/petition-of-danny-tahau-jobe-aotearoa-new-zealand-officially

New Zealand Parliament. (2020b). *Petition of Danny Tahau Jobe: Reinstate and restore all Māori place names*. https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/petitions/document/PET_93747/petition-of-danny-tahau-jobe-reinstate-and-restore-all

Office of Treaty Settlements. (2012). *Summary deed of settlement between the Crown and Ngāti Toa Rangatira*. Ministry of Justice.

Pihama, L. (2011). Keynote: A conversation about Kaupapa Māori theory and research. In 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. 49–55). New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Porirua City Council. (2020). *Status report 2020: Trends in the wellbeing of children and young people in Porirua*. https://poriruacity.govt.nz/documents/3996/Children__Young_People_Status_Report-2020.pdf

Rose-Redwood, R., Alderman, D., & Azaryahu, M. (2010). Geographies of toponymic inscription: New directions in critical place-name studies. *Progress in Human Geography*, *34*, 453–470. https://doi.org/cmxwk3

Ross, M. (2020). The throat of Parata. In B. Elkington, M. Jackson, R. Kiddle, O. R. Mercier, M. Ross, J. Smeaton, & A. Thomas (Eds.), *Imagining decolonisation* (pp. 21–39). Bridget Williams Books. https://doi.org/j8jm

Smale, A. (2020, September 16). Stop colonising the Māori language. *Newsroom*. https://www.newsroom.co.nz/stop-colonising-the-maori-language

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *1*(1), 1–40.

Veracini, L. (2015). *The settler colonial present*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/j8jn

Veracini, L. (2017). Introduction: Settler colonialism as a distinct mode of domination. In E. Cavanagh & L. Veracini (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of the history of settler colonialism* (pp. 1–8). Routledge. https://doi.org/j8jp

Waitangi Tribunal. (2014). *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti: Report on Stage One of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry*. Ministry of Justice.

Waziyatawin. (2012). Indigenous survival in the coming collapse. In W. A. Wilson and M. Yellow Bird (Eds.), *For Indigenous eyes only: A decolonization handbook* (pp. 15–40). School of American Research Press.

Woodham, C. (2009). *Food desert or food swamp? An in-depth exploration of neighbourhood food environments in Eastern Porirua and Whitby* [Doctoral thesis, University of Otago]. OUR Archive. http://hdl.handle.net/10523/1655

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP

DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.4

TE KUPENGA

A woven methodology for collecting, interpreting, and stor(y)ing Māori women's knowledges

*Deborah Heke**

Abstract

This article explores the use of an intersecting methodology termed Te Kupenga as a philosophical approach to gathering, interpreting, and storing mātauranga wahine. The research aimed to understand the ways of being and doing of physically active wāhine Māori and relate them to characteristics of atua wāhine. A kupenga is a type of open weave net used for fishing or gathering food. In this research, it represents the weaving together of three approaches: Whakapapa, Mana Wahine theory, and physical activity. While each offers a unique way to view the world and your position in it, their intersections offer important shared qualities that purposefully shape the research, its philosophy, and its methods. As a type of interfacing methodology, Te Kupenga weaves together philosophies and methods—keeping what is needed and allowing what is not required to pass through the gaps in the weave.

Keywords

interface research, Kaupapa Māori, mana wahine, physical activity, whakapapa

Whakapapa—Introduction

Māori and Indigenous communities are often portrayed in a range of statistics that display a disempowering discourse of deficit. Whether related to health, criminal justice, or socio-economic status, this narrative is often influenced by the biases and intentions of dominant societal positions, lacking relevant context (Walter & Suina, 2019). The impact of research "on" instead of "with" Māori has influenced the way Māori engage with the research process, has shaped negative or inaccurate portrayals of (wāhine) Māori, and has indeed influenced harmful internalised ideas of identity (Johnston & Pihama, 1995; Reid et al., 2019; Walter & Andersen, 2013).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori women have experienced an additional measure of the power imbalance associated with this deficit discourse, as a result of the ongoing consequence of colonisation, with its accompanying patriarchal influence. This patriarchal influence and the narratives it informs is seen to have stripped wāhine Māori of their complementing power and significance (Mikaere, 2003; Smith, 2006; Walter & Suina, 2019). Traditional Māori stories and mātauranga exhibiting the significance of wāhine have been (and continue to be) transmitted through waiata, whakapapa, raranga, or karanga (Marsden & Royal, 2003). Conversely, the arrival of Europeans to Aotearoa brought other tools for

* Ngā Puhi, Te Arawa. Lecturer, School of Public Health and Interdisciplinary Studies, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand. Email: Deborah.heke@aut.ac.nz

recording and compiling stories of Māori "mythology", cosmology, and history (Best, 1897; Grey, 1971; Shortland, 1882). Although these new tools allowed Māori history and knowledge to be recorded in written form, the resulting (mis) interpretation, (mis)representation, and distortion would build a foundation for the subjugation of wāhine, their stories, and those stories that link them with the power and significance of atua (wāhine) (Mikaere, 2003; Yates-Smith, 1998).

Aroha Yates-Smith describes in her groundbreaking thesis that the disregard of wāhine and demonising of atua wāhine by early ethnographers meant that wāhine positions within Māori society and cosmology were diminished (Yates-Smith, 1998). Her findings and the many other contributions by wāhine authors emphasise the importance of (wāhine) Māori being in control of their own stories and how they are disseminated. With this in mind, it is the intent of this paper to explore the use of a woven methodological approach in prioritising the voices of physically active wāhine Māori. Te Kupenga draws together three approaches—Whakapapa, Mana Wahine theory, and korikori tinana—to come to know the ways of being of these wāhine and to draw connections to atua wāhine. Inherent in this woven methodology is the benefit of each unique approach and the intersections where they share similarities. Each perspective allows the stories of wāhine to be told in a way that resonates with what it means to be Māori, wāhine, and physically active—in a world where it can often be difficult to be any of these. This means that the way the research is conducted, and consequently presented, reflects what it means to be those three things.

Kaupapa—Intersecting methodology

This article explores the kaupapa and tikanga used in my PhD research (Heke, 2022). The philosophy of the research is positioned at the intersections of three methodological positions, with three unique perspectives. Although the illustration (see Figure 1) of a three-cornered kupenga appears fixed, in reality it represents a shifting and dynamic space where adaptation and flexibility are possible. Just like the kupenga, whose design reflects the type of kai it intends to collect, this research methodology is intentional about collecting, interpreting, and storing the mātauranga of wāhine Māori. It prioritises wāhine voices, but more importantly it prioritises stor(y)ing mātauranga that empowers them, their whānau, and their wider communities.

The research design was initially imagined as three intersecting lenses, each offering a unique perspective of the world and providing a space to position yourself as researcher or participant. However, intersecting lenses only afford the opportunity to view the world; the eventual kupenga methodology would come to represent an active, adaptive, and purposeful mechanism to collect, interpret, and store mātauranga.

Regardless of the illustration, not only do the three approaches provide their own distinctive qualities, but where they overlap and intersect, they share space and similarities that guide and

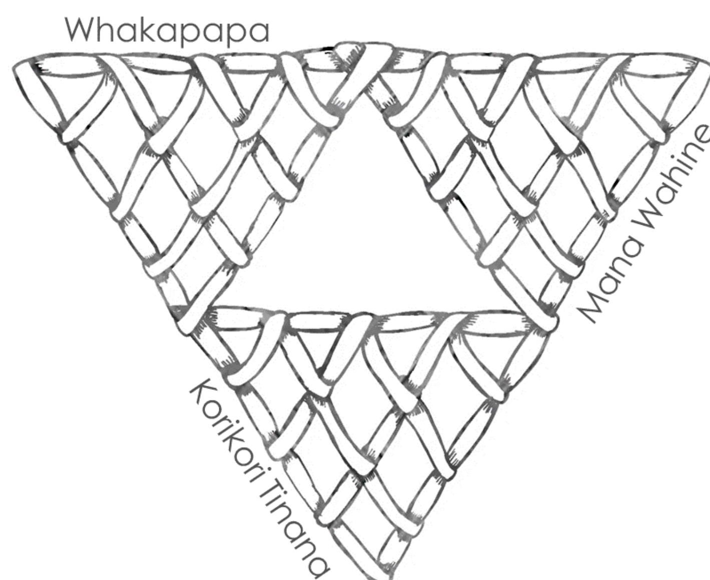


FIGURE 1 Te Kupenga methodological framework

shape the research process. They are similar in the way each approach provides a way of interacting with the world and understanding your place in it. Whakapapa is a framework for understanding the world and the interconnectedness of it (Royal, 1998). Mana Wahine defines a position at an important intersection of society for Māori women (Pihama, 2001). And physical activity is a means for navigating or negotiating those positions. Secondly, each is flexible, dynamic, and in a way, is about growth or movement from one place to another. Whakapapa describes the layering of generations, where the generations can adapt from the learnings from previous generations (Marsden & Royal, 2003). Mana Wahine is about reclamation, a movement away from a subjugated position towards empowerment (Simmonds, as cited in Hurihanganui, 2020). Physical activity, as a health behaviour, helps to move bodies towards hauora (Kokkinos & Myers, 2010). Finally, each provides theoretical and practical ways of understanding where you come from and opens the potential for where you may go. Each approach or philosophy also contributes to the practical implementation of the research, which will be outlined in a discussion of the research methods.

Whakapapa

In a broad sense, whakapapa represents a scientific method of enquiry and theoretical framework (Royal, 1998). It provides not only the structure to research design but also the blueprint to understanding my place as the researcher and that of the participants. Whakapapa is commonly referred to as genealogy, but its significance is more than tracing lines from ancestors to descendants. Whakapapa provides the relational framework that organises mātauranga Māori (Marsden & Royal, 2003). Essentially, whakapapa displays the interconnectedness of all things. Part of the intricacies of whakapapa is its ability to explain the nature, origin, and relationship of phenomena, but also how to locate and display trends, and predict future occurrences of phenomena (Royal, 1998).

In a research context, whakapapa is both method and methodology. However, it sets itself apart from the rigidity of Western approaches to research by allowing dynamic and flexible ways to view, interpret, and apply knowledge (Royal, 1998). Whether depicting genealogical frameworks of spiritual, spatial, temporal, and biophysical information (Roberts, 2012), or describing origins and relationships through linear (descent) and lateral (kinship) relationships (Heke, 2017; Roberts et al., 2004), whakapapa can help us make sense of our world, as Māori, and interpret why we are the way we are.

Within this context, whakapapa is the vehicle that allows the exploration and realisation of mātauranga (wahine) Māori. The flexibility with whakapapa means that knowledge is relational and reiterative rather than rigid and fixed. The ever-changing and rebalancing nature of relationships means that knowledge is not static, but adaptable to meet the challenges of current environments (Roberts, 2012; Roberts et al., 2004). This reiterative, relational, and adaptiveness of whakapapa offers an appealing approach to contemporary (Māori) research seeking to understand and apply mātauranga in contemporary settings.

Mana Wahine theory

As a theoretical and methodological approach, Mana Wahine theory is a Māori feminist discourse that explicitly explores the intersectionality of being Māori and being female. Mana Wahine is an expression of Kaupapa Māori that creates and uplifts the diverse narratives and experiences of Māori women (Johnston & Pihama, 1995; Simmonds, 2011). Situating wāhine in relation to each other, Mana Wahine is an important cultural concept that has the capacity to uphold and reaffirm Māori women's mana as Māori—as Indigenous (Smith, 1993). Mana Wahine is itself distinctly different from Western feminism and, like Kaupapa Māori, includes a decolonising component—allowing wāhine Māori to express and critically acknowledge their positions within society. Kaupapa Māori theory, in part, seeks to empower an anticolonial (or decolonised) critical consciousness (Mahuika, 2008) and facilitate the regaining control of Māori lives, culture, and research (Bishop, 1994). Mana Wahine extends this focus to the wahine position by acknowledging the extent to which wāhine Māori, and tāne, have themselves internalised and ultimately perpetuated harmful colonial discourses (Johnston & Pihama, 1995).

Mana Wahine, as a Māori feminist discourse, can be empowering and restorative in nature and provides an opportunity to (re)define and (re) present the diverse experiences of what it means to be wāhine Māori, in many contexts (Simmonds, 2011). In that sense, Mana Wahine underpinned and overarched this research. By default, Mana Wahine provided a space to position myself as a wahine Māori and for those who participated in the research to critically engage with our significance in contemporary society (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011) and to (re)present a narrative

that is empowering. In this research, it definitively declared that wāhine are the holders of our own mātauranga, and that its transmission and delivery into the world should be decided by wāhine.

Physical activity

Finally, in this context physical activity extends beyond being a variable of interest or health behaviour, and in this research, it represents a shared space occupied by wāhine who participated in and led the research. Physical activity was what set these wāhine apart but also what drew them together. In some ways, physical activity is about moving about a space and expending or transferring energy. For this piece of research, physical activity provided a means by which to engage with each other, moving in ways that facilitated the transfer of knowledge and experiences. Physical activity was a way of interacting with a range of environments and displaying aspects of personality or physicality.

As an important health behaviour that affects a range of health outcomes (Fogelholm, 2010; Kokkinos & Myers, 2010), the ability for wāhine to successfully navigate a physically active lifestyle, in modern life, is seen as an expression of mana. In earlier Māori life, physical activity was necessary to a range of everyday activities (Marsden & Royal, 2003); therefore, it not only contributed to wellbeing but was also integral to the continuation of whakapapa (Durie, 1999, 2004b). In contemporary society and indeed in this research, it facilitates relationships, it displays our strengths and weaknesses, it is a language that is spoken through movement, and it is a way to express our whakapapa to each other and to atua.

Interface

The intersections of this research methodology allow a unique perspective often described as interface research. These unique intersecting spaces, synthesised from the blending of distinct approaches, can be both challenging and empowering. They can offer advantages not always available to other perspectives, but also hold the responsibility of ensuring each knowledge system or perspective holds its integrity (Durie, 2004a, 2004b). In that position of standing and leaning between multiple worlds and multiple realities is the unique opportunity to take the learnings afforded from that balancing act to inform the way theory is practised, and the way narratives are presented.

The interface approach, like Te Kupenga, illustrates the creative potential of Indigenous knowledge to be applied in parallel with other knowledge systems. Such an approach allows access into both systems to use the insights and methods of one to enhance the other, or to decide which to include and which to discard. One of the benefits of such an approach to this type of interface research is that it reflects the position of many contemporary Māori, like other Indigenous peoples in first world countries, who live at that interface. The integration, and more importantly, the synthesis of approaches offer the potential to be innovative and creative in advancing Māori aspirations (Durie, 2004a). This was the intent of Te Kupenga, through which the integration and synthesis of perspectives, theoretical approaches, and methods provided a new way of understanding, implementing, and applying research.

Tikanga—Concepts to methods

The conceptualisation of this methodology evolved from intersecting lenses to intersecting threads. These threads weave together philosophies and practices that take what is needed or useful from each and filters out what is not. Inherent in the structure of these intersecting threads of the kupenga is the ability to be dynamic, adaptable, and discerning. The convenience of discarding or disregarding certain aspects of an approach or method mirrors what tūpuna would also have done. They too would have to adapt their knowledge and its application upon encountering new challenges in changing environments. They would have discarded practices that served them well in previous environments while adapting or creating new ways of doing things, based on their current resources, environments, and aspirations for their new home (Marsden & Royal, 2003).

Te Kupenga illustrates dynamic adaptability, resourcefulness, and flexibility. Each kupenga is designed and constructed depending on the type of kai that it aims to collect. The gaps in the weave determine what stays in and what is washed away (Pendergrast, 2003; Puketapu-Hetet, 1999). In this way, Te Kupenga is an ideal representation of a contemporary Indigenous methodology. It incorporates the ancient knowledge and practice of whakapapa, the structural scaffold that stores and transmits knowledge. It weaves in a contemporary critical approach to research that (re)prioritises the knowledges and positions of wāhine. And it considers how each of those approaches can be demonstrated through the movement of bodies—through physical activity.

Te Kupenga and all the threads that bring shape to the methodology of this research were

designed to explore a range of distinct but interwoven areas. Whether identifying the traits of contemporary wāhine with active lifestyles, (re) interpreting the stories of cosmological tūpuna wahine or expressing their shared whakapapa of both, the philosophy also translated into the research practice. The research methods employed are informed by both Māori and Euro-Western approaches—kanohi ki te kanohi, mobile methods, reflexive thematic analysis, and poetry, just to name a few. Each was adapted and used as a way to facilitate a Mana Wahine telling of whakapapa through physical activity. A few of the methods are outlined below.

Data collection

Korikori Kōrero is a novel mobile method of inquiry (Heke, 2023). It translates as movement discourse or physical activity conversations, and it simply brings an active component to a research interview. Instead of a conventional semi-structured sit-down interview, participants were offered the opportunity to choose an activity and an environment to share with the researcher. They would be either observed or joined in their activity and then share kōrero during or after the activity. The activities and environments were diverse. As the researcher, I joined dance fitness classes, went stand-up paddle boarding, walked up maunga, went swimming, and observed sports trainings and CrossFit, among many other activities. Each activity required the use of flexible and adaptable research practices, but each produced a set of valuable stories (or data) that incorporated aspects of the person, physical activity, and place.

Like other mobile methods, such as walking interviews (Clark & Emmel, 2010) or hīkoi (Simmonds, as cited in Hurihanganui, 2020), Korikori Kōrero offers an additional dynamic through which to observe, participate in, and interpret aspects of the research participants. By bringing the researcher into an activity-based relationship with the research participant, the power dynamic can be evened out (Trell & Van Hoven, 2010); participants are able to display aspects of their personality and physicality unlikely to be observed in a conventional interview (Butler & Derrett, 2014); and the researcher occupied a shared space—allowing a richer experience of the research relationship (Heke, 2023).

The application of pūrākau was also relevant in both the stories shared by wāhine and the (re) interpretation of those about atua wāhine (or the feminine representations of the natural environment). Lee (2009) describes pūrākau as a way of including a decolonising process in the (re) telling of narratives. Pūrākau, like the methodology described here, are dynamic, subjective, and adaptable for contemporary times. They provide a platform for the (re)telling of well-known or lesser known stories that depart from popular translations, and instead of diminishing, they can reaffirm the power and position of wāhine (Te Awekotuku, 2007).

Pūrākau in this research provided a unique way of contextualising knowledge transmission. They provided new ways of understanding our experiences of communication, research, and cultural identity. Acknowledged in pūrākau, also a methodology of its own, is the ability to contextualise knowledge within certain physical, societal, or familial environments, which grounds mātauranga and connects it to both the storyteller and the audience (Lee, 2009). In this way, the stories or experiences that wāhine shared—through physical activity, conversations, and [natural] environments—were grounded in the movements, the words, and the places that were exchanged. Pūrākau describes the stories told by wāhine, and the (re)interpretations of atua wāhine and the reflective journaling by the researcher. On each occasion, the position of the "storyteller" and the position of the audience are integral aspects of the message conveyed and received.

Data analysis

The data analysis process was derived from reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) (Braun & Clarke, 2019, 2020) but was adapted to align with the hierarchical learning process associated with a Māori health framework (Heke, 2014). RTA is an analytic approach that identifies "patterns of meaning across a qualitative dataset" (Braun et al., 2016, p. 1). The set of tools it employs helps to make sense of data and involves rigorous data familiarisation, coding, theme development, and revision. This translated to a repetitive physical engagement with the data—(re)listening to audio, (re)watching video, margin notes, post-it labelling, mind mapping, (re)organising draft categories, and conferring on metaphorical categories (themes).

The nature of RTA allowed a degree of flexibility (Braun & Clarke, 2019) to enable alignment with a Māori worldview and aspects of the Atua Matua Māori Health Framework (AMMHF) (Heke, 2014). AMMHF is based on whakapapa, which is the structural scaffolding that arranges, stores, and transmits Māori knowledge, and describes genealogy (Roberts, 2012). In AMMHF, whakapapa provides a way to conceptualise the

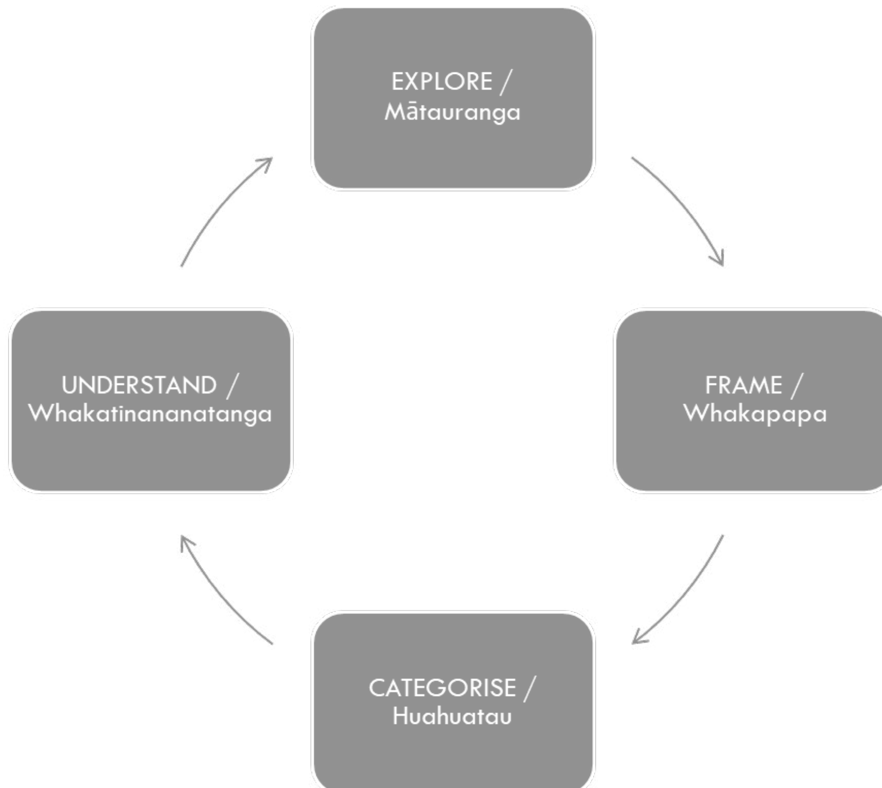


FIGURE 2 Whakaāria—Adapted reflexive thematic analysis

connection between the natural environment and human health. It does so by connecting the knowledge associated with natural environments with applied, physical activity-based learning (Heke, 2019). My own experience applying this system of learning through a personal journey of reconnecting with Māori culture and participating in a range of outdoor activities would eventually lead me to see the potential it held for acquiring knowledge of the natural environment, along with the process of making sense of "data". Therefore, the conceptual tools of RTA were employed just as tools, while the concepts of mātauranga (Māori knowledge systems), whakapapa (knowledge scaffolding), huahuatau, and whakatinanatanga (practical application) informed and underpinned their use (see Figure 2).

Mātauranga—Exploration and familiarisation

The familiarisation of data included the gathering of mātauranga from the data but was also informed by mātauranga—traditional Māori knowledge and emerging contemporary ideas. The familiarisation with interview data—reading transcripts and excerpts from the reflective journal, listening back to interview recordings, and watching or (re) viewing visual recordings—allowed the reconciliation and reconceptualization of the experiences to the subsequent data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Braun et al., 2016). Because the interview process included an active component, it was useful and critical to reflect on the experience as a part of the interview data analysis. Mātauranga/familiarisation is concerned with the way knowledge or information is viewed, understood, and made sense of. Mātauranga can encompass both the process of coming to know and the knowledge itself (Mead, 2016; Mercier, 2018).

Whakapapa—Framing and coding

The framing and coding phase is about creating a scaffold upon which the subsequent themes are developed. Whakapapa is that framework where mātauranga is contained, and in this case is the basis of the development of huahuatau (to come) (Braun et al., 2016; Roberts, 2012). Although it is possible to use a software programme to assist in this process, I decided to manually identify and extract codes from the data. The manual and repetitive nature of this process (mentioned earlier) reinforced the familiarisation with the data—through the continuous shifting, changing,

and rearranging of codes and potential quotes from transcripts to notes, to categories, to mind maps and so on. The process was time-consuming and repetitive but being physically engaged with the data allowed for more in depth understanding and insight.

Huahuatau—Categorising and generating themes

Huahuatau are a powerful way of broadening the meaning of data, rather than narrowing it. They allow a way to view the mātauranga within the data that is creative and encourages critical thought (Martel et al., 2021; Rameka, 2015). Although the previous process of coding could feel uncomfortable—in the way it seemed to reduce the richness of the data—the generating of themes in the form of huahuatau was a way of reconstituting the richness. Developing metaphors in place of themes allowed the findings to align with a Māori worldview, where multiple meanings are possible. The evolution of codes into themes was facilitated by the previous repetitive and tactile coding process. The intention was to analyse inductively, led by the data, and deductively, with understandings of whakapapa and mātauranga helping to uncover connections. In this case it meant that my experiences, the literature that I was informed by, and the unfolding data would all contribute to the development of the subsequent huahuatau.

Whakatinanatanga—Understanding and writing up

The final phase, whakatinanatanga, was about bringing about the realisation of the data. This involved weaving and contextualising data to existing findings and literature. Whakatinanatanga means to put into action, manifest or implement (Moorfield, n.d.). In this context, the process involves writing up the findings and bringing them back together as a whole after several stages of breaking them down and reconstituting them (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Writing up the findings included (re)structuring the conventional format of a thesis. This included a series of findings chapters, Ngā Hua(huatau), that included not only the voices of participants but also my own voice, as someone actively engaged in each aspect of the data.

Whakatinanatanga also represents the culmination of the research journey, where the key messages are embodied. Whakatinanatanga is the physical expression or interpretation of the mātauranga, whakapapa, and huahuatau, and it represents action and the medium through which potential is realised (Heke, 2019). The whakatinanatanga or closing chapter of the thesis brought the research to a close by gathering all that it developed with the intention of representing a way forward—summarising the journey of the research and proposing potential avenues for continued applications.

Whakamāori—Discussing relevance

This methodology was designed to help answer research questions about the attributes of physically active Māori women and their connection to atua wāhine. Through the philosophical perspectives and research practices, it sought to bring wāhine voices to the fore. The intention was to celebrate the success of wāhine who were physically active by articulating it as an expression of their whakapapa to atua.

The expression of wāhine ways of being came through the development and contextualisation of metaphorical categories (huahuatau)—shaped by a series of research methods derived from both Māori and Euro-Western perspectives. Huahuatau have a unique ability to uncover understandings of ways of being as Māori that reflect the way Māori indeed view themselves or would like themselves to be viewed. And in this research huahuatau became demonstrations of how wāhine moved about their activities but also how they moved about their lives. They described wāhine as agile and able to move between spaces and roles—through *Rakanga Waewae*. They connected wāhine to the natural environment and displayed the reflections between them—*Ko au te taiao, ko te taiao ko au*. They illustrated wāhine as conduits for knowledge transmission—*Ngā taonga tuku iho*. They described the resourcefulness and creativity of wāhine—*Ahuwhenua*. And they acknowledged the latent and active potential within wāhine that was likened to a nurtured seed—*Poipoia te kākano, kia puawai*. The five huahuatau now exist as demonstrations of wāhine ways of being that depart from the deficit or reductional terms often previously used.

The korikori and kōrero of wāhine contributed to the development of descriptions about their ways of being that would eventually translate to expressions of mana wahine—expressions of the power and positions of atua wahine. Mana Wahine theory would then provide a lens from which to view and then display the newfound or (re)interpreted understandings of atua wāhine. Through it was a space to describe and translate the roles and responsibilities of atua wāhine—with consideration of pūrākau but also

of contemporary applications. This process—termed aro atua—involved immersive reading, poetry, and contemporary (re)interpretations. The understanding of significant roles and responsibilities of atua can be fundamental to wāhine identity because they provide templates for that identity to unfold, and a way to reclaim our own significance within society. Through this process of coming to know wāhine, coming to know atua wāhine, and coming to know more of myself, there came the opportunity to empower and celebrate the stories of wāhine. Providing a platform to celebrate the significance of atua wāhine also provided a platform to celebrate our own (Forster, 2019; Mikaere, 2003).

In order to "know" about something or someone, Mere Roberts suggests that it is essential to know its whakapapa (Roberts, 2012). This is relevant to elements of the environment (atua) but equally for us as wāhine Māori, whānau, hapū, and iwi as we (re)position ourselves within a contemporary society. The use of a woven methodology, using physical activity as a platform, provides some initial steps in tracing a collective whakapapa, to those atua wāhine who are the origin of our mana and our many ways of being. The challenge is always about having the agility to navigate those lines of whakapapa that were once hidden, erased, or redrawn to manipulate the stories we hear about ourselves and our histories. Taking a kupenga approach to such a journey enabled a critical lens, one that prioritised wāhine voices. It allowed for dynamic and flexible approaches to research, both method and methodology. And it used a shared language, of physical activity, to describe and display our ways of being in a more mana-enhancing way.

The research methods employed and the methodological framework developed offer a range of opportunities to engage critically. Korikori kōrero enables a researcher to engage with a research participant with a more levelled power dynamic while also engaging in an activity that highlights personality and physicality traits not always apparent in a conventional interview. This levelled and privileged position requires the researcher to observe in a purposeful and active manner, meaning they are an active observer as well as an active participant in the research relationship. The benefit of including a physical, environmental, and relational perspective—through the korikori and kōrero—is that it offers an embodied experience beyond that of conventional methods.

Using an adapted data analysis framework—derived from RTA and concepts of mātauranga, whakapapa, huahuatau, and whakatinanatanga—gave a unique but translatable method to gather meaning from data. Its tools have wide-ranging contemporary use, and their concepts are rooted in mātauranga Māori. Their interface relates the exploration or familiarisation of data to mātauranga and the framing or coding from a relational perspective—through whakapapa. It expands creative and critical thought by categorising data into the development of metaphors with broad and relative meanings (huahuatau). And finally, they are embodied and put into practice through an application and realisation resonant with the community they were derived from (whakatinanatanga).

Inherent in the design, implementation, and presentation is an acknowledgement that wāhine are inextricably connected to the power and significance of atua wāhine. The way we are designed, as wāhine Māori, is etched in our whakapapa from atua. The way we are is a reflection of how atua are (Heke, 2014; Mead, 2016; Wilson, 2021; Yates-Smith, 2003). And the way we are (re)presented through generations and to next generations can indeed influence the way we see ourselves. Therefore, it remains vital for wāhine to be in charge of telling our own stories (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011; Te Awe Awe-Bevan, 2009).

Te Kupenga, the underpinning methodological approach to gathering mātauranga wahine, also illustrates a mechanism for stor(y)ing that mātauranga. The three corner triangles of the kupenga—each representing a separate approach—intersect with each other to create a new central triangle: Aronui (see Figure 3). Where this central triangle once held the potential for mātauranga, as a net for gathering, it now holds stor(i)es and displays that mātauranga. It displays the significance of wāhine as carriers of (extra) ordinary knowledges and capacities. It illustrates how those capacities are passed to us and through us—through whakapapa from tūpuna and atua. It displays these things in that central triangle, Aronui—the pursuit of knowledge and the kete that holds it. It also displays it in the overall shape of the large downward-pointing triangle, being te whare tangata.

Our ability to traverse challenging terrain and stand in multiples worlds—*Rakanga Waewae*—is in a sense part of our physiological and metaphysical make-up. Our whare tangata is a place that connects the world of potential and its ultimate realisation. It is where the creation of new life is determined, and it connects us to our ancient feminine ancestors via generations and generations

FIGURE 3 Te Kupenga—Mātauranga wahine stor(i)ed

of tūpuna. It encompasses whakapapa—both the genetic connections to tūpuna and the structures that store and eventually transport mātauranga and new life into the world. It is the site of active power and creativity. It is the place where wāhine (and their whānau) are connected to the past, present, and future (Mikaere, 2003; Murphy, 2013; Simmonds, 2009). In this way, te whare tangata is connected to each of the huahuatau developed through this research. It grounds and directs us through whenua to care for te taiao—*Ko au te taiao* and *Ahuwhenua*. It is an essential instrument of *Ngā taonga tuku iho*. It is positioned between realms and allows us to position and navigate ourselves in multiple realms—*Rakanga Waewae*. And finally, it is where latent potentiality is first nurtured. It is the site where new life is realised—*Poipoia te kākano kia puāwai*.

Whakatinanatanga—Conclusion

The methods, methodologies, and philosophies came together to form intersecting lenses that provided a view of the world, each unique but with shared qualities. Those intersecting philosophies represent a worldview that sits at the interface. The interface of ancient knowledges arranged and transmitted through oral histories, natural environments, and living beings. The interface of what it means to be Māori and what it means to be a wahine, in a contemporary time built on systems that did not value either sufficiently. These spaces that intersect to bring unique and merging perspectives allow a way to view the world that acknowledges past, present, and future. By taking the learnings that were passed on from tūpuna, adapting them to our own contemporary need, and ultimately providing a way forward for our own descendants, we are enacting and perpetuating whakapapa, mana wahine, and in the context of this kaupapa, physical activity.

In the context of this research, whakapapa provides a vehicle for understanding connection. Connection between an individual and their activity; connection from environment to ancestor; and even the connection between researcher and participant. This connection is not lineal or static. The use of whakapapa and its many iterations broadens its potential and the potential of this research. What also broadens the potential of this research is its aspiration to give voice to mana wāhine. The contributions from wāhine—participants, advisors, mentors, or academic sources—is immeasurable and inspiring. The purpose of Mana Wahine theory, in this research, is to acknowledge and whakamana the many voices of wāhine. Mātauranga wahine is mātauranga that can empower and enlighten wāhine, but also wider Māori. It is hoped that this research, through intersecting lenses, interwoven strands, and the interface of knowledge systems, can empower and enlighten wāhine, and their whānau, hapū, and iwi.

Glossary

ahuwhenua	to be industrious, busy, conscientious, assiduous, active, diligent, energetic
aro atua	giving attention to atua
aronui	finely woven cloak—with tāniko borders on three sides, with the widest border at the bottom; one of the three baskets of knowledge—this basket relates to knowledge acquired through careful observation of the environment
atua	deities
atua wāhine	feminine deities
hapū	subtribe
hauora	wellbeing, health
hīkoi	step, stride, march, walk
huahuatau	metaphors
iwi	tribe
kai	food
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
karanga	to call, call out, shout, summon
kaupapa	philosophy
Kaupapa Māori	the theoretical approach to doing research for Māori, by Māori, and informed by tikanga Māori
kete	basket
Ko au te taiao, ko te taiao ko au	I am the environment, and the environment is me
kōrero	conversations
korikori	to move; movement
korikori tinana	physical activity
kupenga	net, fishing net
mana	prestige, status, authority, influence, integrity; honour, respect
mātauranga	knowledge, tradition, epistemology
mātauranga Māori	Māori ways of knowing, knowledge systems
mātauranga wahine	Māori women's knowledges
maunga	mountains
ngā taonga tuku iho	the treasures passed down from ancestors
Poipoia te kākano, kia puawai	Nurture the seed, and it will blossom
pūrākau	culturally bound storying
rakanga waewae	skilful footwork
raranga	weave; weaving
taiao	world, Earth, natural world, environment, nature, country
tāne	man, men
tikanga	research practices, methods or protocols
tūpuna	ancestors
wahine	woman
wāhine	women
waiata	sing, song, chant
whakamana	to give authority to, give effect to, give prestige to, confirm, enable, authorise, legitimise, empower, validate, enact, grant
whakapapa	genealogy, ancestry, familial relationships
whakatinanatanga	put into action, manifest or implement
whānau	family, extended family
whare tangata	house of humanity, womb
whenua	land; placenta, afterbirth

References

Best, E. (1897). Te Rehu-o-Tainui: The evolution of a Maori *atua*, being notes on the origin, development, and manifestations of a New Zealand war-god. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, *6*(2), 41–66. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20701452

Bishop, R. (1994). Initiating empowering research? *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *29*(2), 175–188.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/fswdcx

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, *11*(4), 589–597. https://doi.org/gf89jz

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2020). One size fits all? What counts as quality practice in (reflexive) thematic analysis? *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *18*(3), 328–352. https://doi.org/fgmh

Braun, V., Clarke, V., & Weate, P. (2016). Using thematic analysis in sport and exercise research. In B. Smith & A. C. Sparkes (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of qualitative research in sport and exercise* (pp. 213–227). Routledge. https://doi.org/kgst

Butler, M., & Derrett, S. (2014). The walking interview: An ethnographic approach to understanding disability. *Internet Journal of Allied Health Sciences and Practice*, *12*(3), 1–8. https://doi.org/kgsv

Clark, A., & Emmel, N. (2010). *Using walking interviews*. Realities—ESRC National Centre for Research Methods. http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/1323/1/13-toolkit-walking-interviews.pdf

Durie, M. (1999). Te Pae Māhutonga: A model for

Māori health promotion. *Health Promotion Forum of New Zealand Newsletter*, (49), 2–5.

Durie, M. (2004a, 11 March). *Exploring the interface between science and indigenous knowledge* [Paper presentation]. 5th APEC Research and Development Leaders Forum, Christchurch, New Zealand. https://bit.ly/3kVSebh

Durie, M. (2004b). Understanding health and illness: Research at the interface between science and indigenous knowledge. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, *33*(5), 1138–1143. https://doi.org/dd2kw2

Fogelholm, M. (2010). Physical activity, fitness and fatness: Relations to mortality, morbidity and disease risk factors. A systematic review. *Obesity Reviews*, *11*(3), 202–221. https://doi.org/chfznq

Forster, M. (2019). Restoring the feminine of indigenous environmental thought. *Genealogy*, *3*(1), Article 11. https://doi.org/ggz8zd

Grey, G. (1971). *Ngā mahi a ngā tūpuna* (4th ed.). A.H. & A.W. Reed.

Heke, D. (2022). *Atua Wahine—Mana Wahine. A whakapapa expressed through the physical activity of Māori women in contemporary Aotearoa* [PhD thesis, Auckland University of Technology]. Tuwhera Open Access. http://hdl.handle.net/10292/15024

Heke, D. (2023). Korikori Kōrero: A mobile method of inquiry for moving Māori women and their knowledges. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/kgs2

Heke, I. (2014). *Introducing the Atua Matua Maori Health Framework*. http://toitangata.co.nz/uploads/files/Dr_Ihi_Heke_Atua_Matua_Framework.pdf

Heke, I. (2017). *Mātauranga Māori and systems dynamics: Where old world collides with the new*. Toi Tangata. http://toitangata.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Whakapapa-Systems-Comparison-29-3-17.pdf

Heke, I. (2019). *Atua Matua Health Framework: Using Māori environmental knowledge to improve indigenous well-being*. Integrated Hauora Initiatives Ltd. https://toitangata.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Atua-Matua-Health-Framework.pdf

Hurihanganui, T. A. (2020). Hīkoi of a lifetime: Retracing Māhinaarangi's footsteps [Interview]. *RNZ Te Ao Māori*. https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-710 korihi/430610/hikoi-of-a-lifetime-retracing-mahinaarangi-s-footsteps

Johnston, P., & Pihama, L. (1995). What counts as difference and what differences count: Gender, race and the politics of difference. In K. Irwin & I. Ramsden (Eds.), *Toi wahine: Worlds of Maori women*. Penguin Books.

Kokkinos, P., & Myers, J. (2010). Exercise and physical activity: Clinical outcomes and applications. *Circulation*, *122*(16), 1637–1648. https://doi.org/cjv3c8

Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *MAI Review*, (2), Article 3. http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/download/242/242-1618-1-PB.pdf

Mahuika, R. (2008). Kaupapa Māori theory is critical and anti-colonial. *MAI Review*, (3), Article 4. http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/download/153/153-877-1-PB.pdf

Marsden, M., & Royal, T. A. C. (2003). *The woven universe: Selected writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*. Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden.

Martel, R., Shepherd, M., & Goodyear-Smith, F. (2021). *He awa whiria*—A "braided river": An indigenous Māori approach to mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *16*(1), 17–33. https://doi.org/kgs3

Mead, H. M. (2016). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values* (Rev. ed.). Huia Publishers.

Mercier, O. R. (2018). Mātauranga and science. *New Zealand Science Review*, *74*(4), 83–90. https://scientists.org.nz/resources/Documents/NZSR/NZSR74(4).pdf#page=5

Mikaere, A. (2003). *The balance destroyed: The consequences for Māori women of the colonisation of tikanga Māori*. Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Moorfield, J. C. (n.d.). Whakatinanatanga. In *Te Aka Māori dictionary*. Retrieved 8 July 2021 from https://maoridictionary.co.nz/

Murphy, N. (2013). *Te awa atua: Menstruation in the pre-colonial Maori world: An examination of stories, ceremonies and practices regarding menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world*. He Puna Manawa Limited.

Pendergrast, M. (2003). *Raranga whakairo = Maori plaiting patterns*. Reed Books (NZ).

Pihama, L. (2001). *Tihei Mauri ora: Honouring our voices: Mana wāhine as a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework* [PhD thesis, The University of Auckland]. ResearchSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/2292/1119

Puketapu-Hetet, E. (1999). *Māori weaving*. Addison Wesley Longman.

Rameka, L. (2015). Whatu: A Māori approach to research. *Waikato Journal of Education*, *20*(2), 39–47. https://doi.org/gzz3

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. (2012). Mind maps of the Maori. *GeoJournal*, *77*(6), 741–751. https://doi.org/b9rg63

Roberts, M., Haami, B., Benton, R. A., Satterfield, T., Finucane, M. L., Henare, M., & Henare, M. (2004). Whakapapa as a Maori mental construct: Some implications for the debate over genetic modification of organisms. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *16*(1), 1–28. https://doi.org/d2hk22

Royal, T. A. C. (1998). Te Ao Mārama—A research paradigm. *He Pukenga Korero, 4*(1), 1–8.

Shortland, E. (1882). *Maori religion and mythology*. Longmans, Green, and Company. https://bit.ly/38CnOUl

Simmonds, N. (2009). *Mana wahine geographies: Spiritual, spatial and embodied understandings of Papatūānuku* [Master's thesis, The University of

Waikato]. Research Commons. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/2798

Simmonds, N. (2011). Mana wahine: Decolonising politics. *Women's Studies Journal*, *25*(2), 11–25. http://www.wsanz.org.nz/journal/docs/WSJNZ252Simmonds11-25.pdf

Smith, L. T. (1993). Getting out from down under: Māori women, education and the struggles for mana wāhine. In M. Arnot & K. Weiler (Eds.), *Feminism and social justice in education* (pp. 58–78). The Falmer Press.

Smith, L. T. (2006). Researching in the margins: Issues for Māori researchers—a discussion paper. *Alternative: An International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship*, *2*(1), 4–27. https://doi.org/c9cm

Te Awe Awe-Bevan, B. (2009). Mana wāhine. *Toroa-te-nukuroa*, *4*, 53–62.

Te Awekotuku, N. (2007). Maori women researching ourselves. In N. Robertson (Ed.), *Māori and psychology: Research and practice. The proceedings of a symposium sponsored by the Māori & Psychology Research Unit* (Vol. 30, pp. 1–9). University of Waikato. https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10289/882/1999%20Awekotuku.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Trell, E.-M., & Van Hoven, B. (2010). Making sense of place: Exploring creative and (inter) active research methods with young people. *Fennia: International Journal of Geography*, *188*(1), 91–104. https://fennia.journal.fi/article/view/2522

Walter, M., & Andersen, K. (2013). *Indigenous statistics: A quantitative research methodology*. Left Coast Press.

Walter, M., & Suina, M. (2019). Indigenous data, indigenous methodologies and indigenous data sovereignty. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *22*(3), 233–243. https://doi.org/gg4dbk

Wilson, J. (2021). Wairaka: Challenging the status quo. In J. Ruru & L. W. Nikora (Eds.), *Ngā Kete Mātauranga. Māori scholars at the research interface* (pp. 116–125). Otago University Press.

Yates-Smith, A. (1998). *Hine! e Hine!: Rediscovering the feminine in Maori spirituality* [Unpublished doctoral thesis]. The University of Waikato.

Yates-Smith, A. (2003). Reclaiming the ancient feminine in Māori society: Kei wareware ia tatou te Ukaipo! *He Puna Korero: Journal of Māori and Pacific Development*, *4*(1), 10–19. https://bit.ly/3tahk8R

MAI Journal
A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP

DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.5

MĀORI EXPERT VIEWS OF ANTIMICROBIAL RESISTANCE USING A ONE HEALTH APPROACH: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

*Samuel D. Carrington**
Pauline Norris†
Patricia Priest‡
Emma H. Wyeth§

Abstract

Māori experience disproportionately worse outcomes from infectious diseases compared to non-Māori, and antimicrobial resistance (AMR) contributes to these inequities. The aim of the study reported in this article was to gain insight into Māori experts' perspectives on AMR using a One Health approach, which incorporates understandings of human, animal and environmental health. Qualitative methods were applied and were guided by principles of Kaupapa Māori research. Four themes were identified: (1) the importance of AMR education for Māori, (2) the connection of mātauranga Māori and AMR, (3) colonisation and its negative impacts on hauora Māori and (4) collaboration across spheres of health as a priority for Māori. Overall, the findings show a need for greater recognition of an approach to AMR that is grounded in te ao Māori. This focus should be a priority for government agencies and healthcare providers across Aotearoa New Zealand in order to work towards health equity for Māori in tackling AMR.

Keywords

antimicrobial resistance, hauora Māori, One Health, qualitative methods, Kaupapa Māori

Introduction

Antimicrobial resistance (AMR) is an ever-increasing threat to public health internationally and in Aotearoa New Zealand that affects our ability to effectively and efficiently treat and prevent infectious diseases (Das & Horton, 2016; World Health Organization [WHO], 2001). AMR occurs when bacteria, fungi, viruses and parasites survive exposure to drugs that would have usually killed them through the development of drug-resistant

* Te Arawa, Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Pikiao, Ngāti Hurungaterangi, Ngāti Rongomai me Ngāti Te Kahu o Ngāti Whakaue. Lecturer, Associate Dean Māori and Programme Director, Māori and Pasifika Oral Health Research, Sir John Walsh Research Institute, Te Kaupeka Pūniho | Faculty of Dentistry, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. Email: sam.carrington@otago.ac.nz
† Research Professor, Va'a o Tautai | Centre for Pacific Health, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.
‡ Professor, Department of Preventive and Social Medicine, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.
§ Kāi Tahu, Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga. Professor, Māori Health; Director, Ngāi Tahu Māori Health Research Unit; and Associate Dean Māori, Division of Health Sciences, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

strains (Davies & Gibbens, 2013). In Aotearoa, Māori experience worse health outcomes and higher health burdens due to infectious diseases compared with non-Māori (Baker et al., 2012; McNicholas et al., 2000). For example, the 2009 H1N1 influenza pandemic hospitalisation rates were three times higher for Māori compared to non-Māori (Baker et al., 2012). Likewise, Māori are more likely to experience rheumatic fever and its long-term consequences compared to non-Māori, and current national awareness programmes have had limited success in tackling these inequities (Anderson & Spray, 2020).

Understanding AMR is crucial for addressing emerging and existing inequities in infectious diseases experienced by Māori. However, little research has been conducted to explore Māori views on AMR, and no research has applied a One Health approach to understand Māori experts' perspectives on AMR, despite the synergies of this approach with te ao Māori. One Health is a transdisciplinary, multisectoral approach working at local, regional, national and global levels, and the primary goal of One Health is to achieve optimal health outcomes recognising the interconnection between the health of humans, animals, plants and their shared environments (Harrison et al., 2020; Walsh, 2018; Wester et al., 2017). Efforts within just a single domain of One Health cannot prevent or eliminate the problem of AMR; therefore, a coordinated One Health approach to AMR is needed to achieve better public health outcomes (WHO, 2001).

Antimicrobials encompass a broad range of products that act on microbes such as viruses, bacteria, fungi and protozoa, whereas antibiotics specifically target bacteria and treat bacterial infections (Das & Horton, 2016; WHO, 2001). Since the discovery of penicillin in 1928, antibiotics have been considered the "magic bullet" for combatting infections such as tuberculosis and pneumonia (Royal Australasian College of Physicians, 2016). It was not until the mid-1940s that penicillin became readily available in public hospitals and in the community in Aotearoa (Macindoe, 2015; Royal Australasian College of Physicians, 2016).

Antibiotics changed the way infectious diseases were treated, leading to improved survival rates for many illnesses (Macindoe, 2015). However, infections with antimicrobial-resistant organisms usually require treatment with more expensive and potent antibiotics, and come with higher risk of poorer clinical outcomes and mortality (WHO, 2014). The rapid development and spread of bacterial resistance to antibiotics is particularly concerning (Davies & Gibbens, 2013), with untreatable bacteria such as methicillin-resistant *Staphylococcus aureus*, Enterobacteriaceae, and strains of pneumococcus now being regularly reported globally (Das & Horton, 2016; Ministry of Health and Ministry for Primary Industries, 2017; Singer et al., 2003; Thomas et al., 2014), and worldwide mortality rates due to AMR infections are projected to be up to 10 million annually by the year 2050 (O'Neill, 2016; Pullon et al., 2016; Thomas et al., 2014).

Bacterial resistance to common antibiotics for a range of common infections is becoming a significant threat to the human and animal populations of Aotearoa (Alley et al., 2002; Heffernan et al., 2011; Rupp & Fey, 2003; Thomas et al., 2014). Morbidity and mortality from infectious diseases are increasing in Aotearoa, and the potential of limited antibiotic options for these is therefore of concern to all those dispensing, prescribing and requiring antibiotics (Thomas et al., 2014). Moreover, inequities exist in the prevalence of AMR infections, which are more common among Māori compared to non-Māori (Ellison-Loschmann & Pearce, 2006; Gerrard, 2018; Ritchie et al., 2011). It is important to acknowledge that a tension exists in the literature with prescribing rates, antibiotic use and health outcomes for Māori as higher prescribing rates and antibiotic use do not always necessarily mean better health outcomes (Das & Horton, 2016; Hikaka et al., 2021; Metcalfe et al., 2018).

A core principle of One Health is that human health is intrinsically related to the health of animals and the environment as three interconnected domains of health (as depicted in Figure 1). Taking a One Health approach also helps recognise that multidisciplinary collaborations at a range of scales are imperative to tackle problems such as AMR (Binot et al., 2015; Harbarth et al., 2015; Laxminarayan et al., 2016; Robinson et al., 2016; WHO, 2001). Furthermore, governments and researchers are realising the importance of understanding the elaborate networks that link AMR with human, animal and environmental health (Ministry of Health and Ministry for Primary Industries, 2017; Pullon et al., 2016; WHO, 2001).

Addressing AMR as a One Health issue recognises that the health of people in relation to antibiotic use is connected to the health of animals and the environment (Laidlaw et al., 2018; Robinson et al., 2016; Wester et al., 2017). Antibiotics are commonly used in animal production in subtherapeutic doses over long periods (Singer et al., 2003). This contributes to AMR

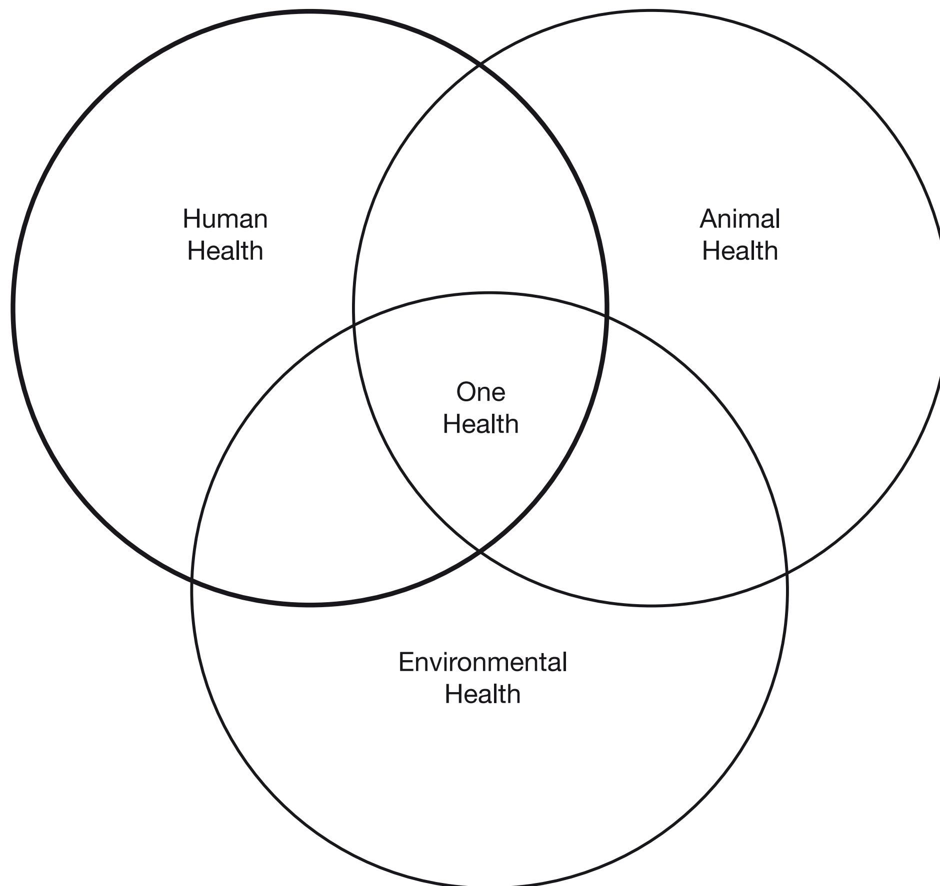


FIGURE 1 The One Health triad depicting the three interconnected domains of health (adapted from WHO (2001), with permission).

because these antibiotic use patterns create the ideal environment and conditions to select for bacteria with genes that confer resistance (Robinson et al., 2016; WHO, 2014). These genes can subsequently be transmitted to human-adapted pathogens, contaminated food or the environment (Harrison et al., 2020; WHO, 2001). Some antibiotics used in human and animal health are comprised of the same, or very similar, molecules and therefore their use could drive transmission of resistance between animals and humans, either directly or via the environment (Das & Horton, 2016; Singer et al., 2003). However, despite AMR being the quintessential One Health problem worldwide (Robinson et al., 2016), the relative contribution of human, animal and environmental domains in the creation and subsequent continuation of AMR infectious diseases is poorly understood (Binot et al., 2015).

A One Health approach has greatly contributed to our understanding of the spread and impact of widespread AMR infections on both human and animal health across various community sectors, including hospitals, communities and aged care facilities (Walsh, 2018). The processing of human and animal waste is intrinsically related to the health of farmed animals (including fish) and the health of the environment (including rivers), as well as human health (Singer et al., 2003). Fortunately, Aotearoa raises a high proportion of farm animals on pasture, with the exception of the intensively housed poultry and pig industries, where antibiotics are still used in feed (Rossi & Garner, 2014; Sarmah et al., 2006). The level of antibiotic that remains in the animal must not exceed the maximum residue level set by the Ministry for Primary Industries (2023), which aims to ensure that any residues left in foods are at safe levels that are too low to contribute directly to AMR in human consumers. However, resistant organisms can still be passed to humans, and this is one of the main problems being tackled using a One Health approach.

The use of large amounts of antibiotics in animal farming can lead to environmental contamination through the application of contaminated waste on the land as fertiliser and the irrigation of crops with wastewater (Polianciuc et al., 2020). The types of antibiotics in food-producing animals and in human medicine are mostly the same, increasing the risk of emergence and spread of resistant bacteria causing infections in both humans and animals (Jechalke et al., 2014). Once in the environment, antibiotic residues can contaminate food and water and can lead to increasing the resistant bacteria (Polianciuc et al., 2020). Besides the risk of AMR in the environment, antibiotic residues can also be absorbed by plants, interfering with the physiological processes and causing potential toxicological effects (Küster & Adler, 2014). The role of the environment in the spread of AMR infections is also increasingly being recognised. Environmental scientists and regulators, such as the Enivronmental Protection Agency in Aotearoa and similar bodies internationally, monitor and control many of the pathways for the release of resistance-driving chemicals (like antibiotics) into the environment (Singer et al., 2016). Environmental scientists and regulators therefore also have a role in understanding and tackling AMR.

There has been surprisingly limited attention to AMR in research conducted in Aotearoa. However, two mixed-methods studies have explored different ethnic groups' understandings of, and reasons for the use of, antibiotics in in the country (Norris et al., 2009; Norris et al., 2010). Norris et al.'s (2009) study aimed to examine the reported use of antibiotics amongst Samoan people, of whom there are approximately 130,000 in Aotearoa. Sixty per cent of these were born in Aotearoa (Norris et al., 2009). The study by Norris et al. (2009) also aimed to explore how the participants understood antibiotics, with one key finding being that antibiotics were often confused with paracetamol and other analgesics. In a subsequent study, Norris et al. (2010) found that interventions to improve the use of antibiotics needed to be pitched at a very basic level of knowledge, and a more targeted approach towards particular ethnic groups was needed, particularly for those whose home countries have antibiotics available without a prescription. In our literature search, we found only one Māori-specific study that explored Māori experiences and beliefs concerning antibiotics and AMR (Hika et al., 2022). However, it should be noted that this study was limited in scope, as it primarily focused on acute upper respiratory tract symptoms and was conducted within a single clinic (Hika et al., 2022).

It is well established that major health inequities exist for Indigenous populations throughout the world (WHO, 2014). Māori experience many health inequities compared to non-Māori (Came et al., 2021; Ellison-Loschmann & Pearce, 2006; Rahiri et al., 2018; P. Reid & Robson, 2007), including many infectious diseases requiring a longer course and higher doses of antibiotics and other medicines to treat (Hika et al., 2022; Thomas et al., 2014). Data obtained from general practices and community pharmacies throughout Aotearoa in 2015 showed overall rates of community antibiotic dispensing were higher for Māori than for other ethnic groups (Whyler et al., 2018). This finding is in contrast with a 2011 study that found lower dispensing rates for Māori in a geographically isolated region (Norris et al., 2011). Antibiotic use and dispensing vary, with some studies reporting that Māori are less likely to receive a prescription for antibiotics and receive smaller quantities of antibiotics compared to non-Māori (Norris et al., 2011; Walls et al., 2015). Whyler et al. (2018) also found antibiotic dispensing rates to be higher for people living in more socioeconomically deprived areas, supporting the findings of two previous studies in Aotearoa (Hobbs et al., 2017; Walls et al., 2015).

Based on the above literature, there is a pressing need to hear from Māori experts in human, animal and environmental health about AMR through their lived professional and personal experiences. The aim of the study reported here was to develop insight into Māori experts' perspectives on AMR using a One Health approach to human, animal and environmental health within the current cultural and political context of Aotearoa. The study specifically explored how Māori experts view AMR in their line of work, their understandings of AMR, and their perspectives on how AMR affects not only them, but their whānau and wider communities.

Methods

A qualitative design was applied in order to explore Māori experts' views on AMR using a One Health approach guided by Kaupapa Māori methodology (Cram et al., 2018; Pihama et al., 2002; Walker et al., 2006). Māori participants who work in one of the three domains of One Health (human, animal or environmental health) were approached to share their perspectives of AMR through their lived experiences (both professional and personal). The research specifically

explored how Māori experts viewed AMR in their line of work, understandings of AMR, and how AMR affects not only the participants, but their whānau and the wider communities.

In addition to taking a One Health approach, this study was guided by principles of Kaupapa Māori research (Pihama et al., 2002; Smith, 2013; Walker et al., 2006). Kaupapa Māori research seeks to avoid deficit theories of health inequities or victim-blaming models of illness being applied to an already marginalised population (P. Reid & Robson, 2007). A Kaupapa Māori approach also ensured the research valued and respected te ao Māori and mātauranga Māori. Kaupapa Māori research has been defined broadly as research "by Māori, for Māori and with Māori" (Smith, 1999). This study was led by a Māori clinician (SC) whilst studying part time for a Master of Public Health qualification (Carrington, 2022), with a Māori primary supervisor (EW). Māori consultation was conducted through the University of Otago's process via the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee providing advice on proposals. Ethical approval was received from the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee (Ref. D18/395).

As noted above, the Māori experts who were interviewed all worked in one of the domains of human, animal or environmental health. Nine participants agreed to participate and were interviewed. Eight interviews were conducted virtually, and one interview was conducted face-to-face at the participant's workplace. Interviews lasted between 44 and 101 minutes. In keeping with a Kaupapa Māori approach (Pihama et al., 2002), all interviews began with whakawhanaungatanga and the option of having a karakia. The expertise of the nine participants covered the three domains of One Health, with five having expertise in human health, one in animal health and three in environmental health. Participants identified as belonging to various iwi and hapū throughout Aotearoa.

The study was conducted within a Kaupapa Māori framework (Pihama et al., 2002; Walker et al., 2006), with the underpinning aim to consider and preserve Māori values, attitudes and beliefs (for more information, see Carrington, 2022). A qualitative interview design was most congruent for this present study, due to the capacity of qualitative research to generate rich and detailed descriptions of meaning and experience (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). A phenomenological qualitative research approach was taken as this is an effective way to understand participants' experiences and to gain insights about people's actions and motivations (Alase, 2017; Lester, 1999; Palmer et al., 2010). Such an approach is also suitable for hearing about ways of challenging conventional wisdom and cutting through long-held assumptions about AMR (Alase, 2017; Lester, 1999; Ofahengaue Vakalahi & Taiapa, 2013). The audio-recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim and Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase process of inductive thematic analysis was applied.

Results

Four themes were identified from the thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) of the nine interviews with Māori experts: (1) the importance of AMR education for Māori, (2) the connection of mātauranga Māori and AMR, (3) colonisation and its negative impacts on hauora Māori, and (4) collaboration across spheres of health as a priority for Māori. These themes are discussed in further detail below, with a selection of supporting quotes from participants provided.

Theme 1: The importance of AMR education for Māori

The first theme addresses how the Māori experts raised the need for education about AMR and appropriate uses of antimicrobials that speaks to Māori. Participants commented that AMR is not really discussed as Māori often face health issues they consider higher priority than taking antibiotics for what might be thought to be minor infections:

> I don't think [Māori are] very aware of [AMR] at all . . . but actually from the Māori community in general [AMR is] not something that anyone ever talks about. Other concerns around health are bigger than taking antibiotics for an infection. (Expert 1, Human Domain)

There was concern among participants that the healthcare system and social structures of Aotearoa are contributing factors to a lack of education and knowledge about AMR infections and antibiotics for Māori, particularly with regard to making an informed decision about the medicines they should be prescribed and which are used to treat infections:

> [P]oor people that are probably on an equal level have no understanding of [AMR] unless they're exposed to it. And I don't know that our health system does a good job on informing, well providing, information so that people can understand [AMR] and make an informed decision. (Expert 5, Environmental Domain)

Misinformation about medicines, particularly antibiotics, was raised as a concern by some participants. Relying on untrustworthy online sources of information about medicines was seen as having a detrimental effect on ensuring timely access to effective treatments for illnesses for Māori:

> I think education probably has a big part to play, misinformation, so if you just look at the whole issue with the measles stuff and the vaccinations, you know. So people get their information from Facebook now, or misinformation from Facebook, and are less likely to read a medical journal article on the effectiveness of a particular, um, antibiotic, or the reasons why you would have an antibiotic. (Expert 8, Human Domain)

Theme 2: The connection between mātauranga Māori and AMR

The second theme addresses the connection between mātauranga Māori and disease management that was evident in participants' explanations of AMR. For example, one of the human health experts discussed in detail how they apply mātauranga Māori to their work, which enables them to create new concepts and ideas. They rejected the idea that mātauranga Māori is dated; rather, they saw it as a process of Māori applying knowledge they have from being Māori which enables them to make sense of their own world:

> So we don't see that Māori knowledge [in the field of science], and it's just the way that Māori perceive everything and understand their world and comprehend their world and it could involve science, how Māori actually start to define that. That's what mātauranga Māori is and there's no . . . it's dynamic and it's evolving and there's no timeline so a lot of people get caught up with just talking about there is traditional knowledge and there is ancient knowledge, and then we've got historic Māori knowledge and then we're got contemporary knowledge too so Māori are adding to that knowledge base all the time. It hasn't stopped. And they will use that to make sense of their world, and it's a great effusion, amalgam of knowledge and ideas now [more] than it used to be, so it's come from the traditional into now. (Expert 4, Environmental Domain)

This "making sense" of knowledge that informs Māori ways of being and doing also includes making sense of AMR. Another participant described how a "scientific way of thinking" is increasingly aligned with mātauranga Māori:

> [W]ell I think that, ah, what's happening is that the science is catching up to the mātauranga Māori way of thinking . . . in that through whakapapa, everything is connected, or maybe in the natural environment anyway. Things are connected. (Expert 8, Human Domain)

Mātauranga Māori was described by participants as Māori knowledge, Māori wisdom, Māori understanding and Māori skills. Participants noted that mātauranga Māori, in its simplest form, is about a Māori way of being and engaging in the world and uses kawa and tikanga to critique, examine, analyse and understand the world. Mātauranga Māori was also broadly defined by participants as being not only traditional knowledge but also contemporary knowledge; it is knowledge that changes and adapts with time. A common pattern was that mātauranga Māori has long involved knowledge relating to disease management, particularly relating to the dead and dying. One of the human health experts discussed how there were no Western medicines in Aotearoa before colonisation, so when someone had died and the body had been buried in the urupā, the washing of hands was done to cleanse away the tapu of the deceased and their tīpuna in the urupā. This participant noted that the washing of hands before and after entering the urupā is still a practice occurring today, with the origins of this practice related to sanitation purposes:

> If I was working in an area where I knew there was a disease prevalent, have the potential to pass between one species and another, I might be a little bit more careful. Same as our ancestors would've been when they were burying people in the urupā. So whenever you come out of an urupā you always wash your hands to wash off the tapu, but I always look at that and think well actually the reason we're getting you to wash your hands is there were no medicines 200 years ago when you carried a dead person up and put them into the urupā and bury them . . . the likelihood of you picking up the disease or contamination or virus or whatever on that person is pretty high. (Expert 5, Environmental Domain)

Theme 3: Colonisation and its negative impacts on hauora Māori

The third theme addresses participants' explanations of how colonisation is one of the major drivers of health inequities for Māori in Aotearoa, including for AMR infections. Participants'

understanding of the ongoing impact of colonisation for Māori also helped frame discussions and thinking of ways in which to "break the negative cycle" for Māori within their own line of work. These ways include incorporating Māori perspectives at decision-making levels around health policy and Māori health initiatives to help face challenges like AMR. Some participants go above and beyond their job description to ensure that Māori understand and have better acceptance of medicines and healthcare services:

> So I quite like to get involved a lot in the community aspect and actually get people's perspectives on how they perceive medicines anyway, to try and encourage them and empower them to actually have them and why they're important for their health overall. Or, if they're not, or even if they don't need them, yeah cos that happens too. (Expert 7, Human Domain)

Participants also discussed how colonisation has had long-lasting negative intergenerational health impacts for Māori in terms of spiritual, mental and physical hauora. They explained that not only does colonisation continue to contribute to poorer Māori health outcomes, including AMR infections, it also means loss of resources, loss of mana, and loss of dignity for Māori, even today:

> [T]here it's all about colonisation, loss of land, they just, it's almost like it's affected us so much that we find it hard to address other health issues cos we're still going through this thing about what colonisation's done to us. We've lost our land, we've lost our resources, we've lost our mana, lost our dignity. You get this going on . . . and it's almost like it's affecting our health all the time and it's in the background. (Expert 4, Environmental Domain)

Theme 4: Collaboration across spheres of health as a priority for Māori

The fourth and final theme addresses participants' arguments that ensuring collaboration using a One Health approach should be a priority for Māori. Some participants had prior knowledge of One Health and a One Health approach. One participant considered that a One Health approach was about encompassing more integration and collaboration across the three domains when it comes to the health and wellbeing of Māori:

> So wellbeing is even wider and most Māori tend to talk about wellbeing rather than just health. We see health as limited and, yeah, and that's really where we're coming from and where I see a One Health approach being really important, sort of almost like a movement towards more integration, collaboration. (Expert 4, Environmental Domain)

Participants considered having a One Health approach to AMR for Māori as a more holistic and collaborative way of interpreting health. They also noted that AMR is a complex and very real threat worldwide. They argued that utilising this kind of integrated approach will give a better understanding about the complexities of AMR, rather than it being understood as only a human issue:

> You know in terms of One Health I think the approach is probably, yeah, it's something that's needed. Um . . . and I really kind of commend you know, people who are in this space, who are actually trying to develop a network, develop the thinking around, you know, holistic way of um looking at health . . . Cos I think it's difficult to kind of have that integrated approach across all those three domains. Cos, ah, the kaupapa is huge. You know it's bigger than all of us and so it probably needs a multidisciplinary approach, to do it, and someone to help co-ordinate it. Ah, cos you know the GPs can get kind of caught up in that stuff and environmental scientists just kind of doing our stuff and um, and kaitiaki might be doing their own thing and you know, this is all related, you know this antimicrobial stuff is related. (Expert 8, Human Domain)

Discussion

This study provides novel insights into Māori experts' views about AMR grounded within a One Health approach to the domains of human, animal and environmental health. Integrated approaches like One Health are gaining more recognition globally (as well as in Aotearoa) as an effective way to approach and consider health issues at the human-environment interface, including zoonotic diseases like COVID-19 (Harrison et al., 2020). The findings show how experts across these domains are actively advocating for te ao Māori approaches to AMR across themes about the importance of AMR education for Māori, the connection of mātauranga Māori and AMR, colonisation and its negative impacts on hauora Māori, and collaboration across spheres of health as a priority for Māori. Overall, the findings show a need for greater recognition of an approach to AMR that is grounded in te ao Māori.

The Māori experts interviewed for this study who work as antibiotic prescribers and dispensers are looking after Māori patients using an approach that applies the concept of whānau ora in order to support the hauora of whānau and tackle inequities in infectious illnesses. In 2010, the Whānau Ora policy was created in Aotearoa in response to recognition by government that "standard ways" of delivering social and health services were not working, and outcomes, particularly for Māori, were not improving (Durie et al., 2010). A whānau ora approach to healthcare focuses on the whānau as a whole and addresses individual needs within the context of the whānau (Dormer, 2014; Kara et al., 2011; Kidd et al., 2010). A whānau ora approach to healthcare is becoming more established, particularly within the primary healthcare sector, with many healthcare providers employing specific Whānau Ora policy workers who work with individuals as well as the wider whānau (Kara et al., 2011; Kidd et al., 2010). The findings of this present study strongly support and reiterate that Māori need a more "Māori-centric" approach when it comes to tackling and eliminating AMR for Māori.

In Aotearoa, there is a persisting relationship between institutional racism and whether Māori receive good, quality and timely healthcare (Came et al., 2018; Graham & Masters–Awatere, 2020; Harris et al., 2019; Leitch et al., 2021; J. Reid et al., 2016; Shaio, 2021). The participants in this research who worked in the human health domain had observed institutional racism within the wider health system in Aotearoa and in their own personal lives, including their place of employment. They described how such incidents lead to inequitable health outcomes for Māori and that this is a by-product of the ongoing effects of colonisation.

All healthcare professionals in Aotearoa need to be culturally safe and culturally competent when treating Māori and whānau (Curtis et al., 2019; DeSouza, 2008; Ramsden & Whakaruruhau, 1993). There is growing recognition of the importance of cultural safety and cultural competency at the individual health practitioner and organisational levels to achieve equitable healthcare in Aotearoa (Curtis et al., 2019; DeSouza, 2008; Pitama et al., 2011). Health practitioners, healthcare organisations and health systems should be engaged in working towards cultural safety and critical consciousness to find solutions to health inequities (Curtis et al., 2019).

Based on the findings of this study, a One Health approach to AMR is a useful way for Māori and tauiwi to better understand and grasp the seriousness of AMR. Fostering a collaborative setting which brings together Māori health, Māori animal and Māori environmental experts to discuss and implement strategies which will tackle a serious health issue like AMR, while operating under a whānau ora approach, is long overdue. Ensuring that each of the One Health domains can contribute to the wider AMR solution could mean that AMR infections are detected and treated earlier. Mātauranga Māori relating to disease management and AMR needs greater recognition by the wider scientific community, decision makers and policy teams.

Conclusion

The findings from this qualitative study illustrate how culturally appropriate education about AMR is important for Māori as part of achieving health equity in Aotearoa. In addition, the findings suggest that clinical education is needed to help tauiwi health practitioners develop the skills needed to be more culturally safe to enable better health outcomes for Māori, including reduced impact of AMR. Applying a Kaupapa Māori approach, like Whānau Ora, in parallel with a One Health approach to AMR, is needed to minimise the impact of AMR for Māori in Aotearoa. Overall, greater recognition of a One Health approach to AMR grounded in te ao Māori should be a priority for government and health organisations in Aotearoa.

Acknowledgements

The authors thank the participants for sharing their expertise and insights. This research was conducted as part of a Master of Public Health and was partially funded by a Master's Scholarship from the Department of Preventive and Social Medicine and by Te Kaupeka Pūniho | Faculty of Dentistry at the University of Otago.

Glossary

atua	gods, deities
hapū	kinship group, subtribe
hauora Māori	Māori health
iwi	extended kinship group, tribe
kaitiaki	guardian, minder; custodian over natural resources
karakia	to recite ritual chants, prayer

kaupapa	topic, matter for discussion, agenda, subject
Kaupapa Māori	Māori approach, Māori customary practice
kawa	rituals and customs, particularly for opening a new house
mana	prestige, authority, control, power, influence
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge, originating from ancestors, Māori worldview and perspectives
tapu	restrictions, under atua protection
tauiwi	outsider, foreigner, European, colonist, non-Māori
te ao Māori	a Māori worldview
tikanga	customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context
tīpuna	ancestors
whakapapa	genealogy, lineage, descent
whakawhanaungatanga	process of establishing relationships
whānau	family, including extended family
Whānau Ora	an official approach that places families at the centre of service delivery (capitalised to reflect the name of formal policy)
urupā	burial ground

References

Alase, A. (2017). The interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA): A guide to a good qualitative research approach. *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies*, *5*(2), 9–19. https://doi.org/gdxrnx

Alley, M., Connolly, J., Fenwick, S., Mackereth, G., Leyland, M., Rogers, L., Haycock, M., Nicol, C., & Reed, C. (2002). An epidemic of salmonellosis caused by *Salmonella* Typhimurium DT160 in wild birds and humans in New Zealand. *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, *50*(5), 170–176. https://doi.org/fnqfbk

Anderson, A., & Spray, J. (2020). Beyond awareness: Towards a critically conscious health promotion for rheumatic fever in Aotearoa, New Zealand. *Social Science & Medicine*, *247*, Article 112798. https://doi.org/ghp4zs

Baker, M. G., Barnard, L. T., Kvalsvig, A., Verrall, A., Zhang, J., Keall, M., Wilson, N., Wall, T., & Howden-Chapman, P. (2012). Increasing incidence of serious infectious diseases and inequalities in New Zealand: A national epidemiological study. *The Lancet*, *379*(9821), 1112–1119. https://doi.org/f2fr9t

Binot, A., Duboz, R., Promburom, P., Phimpraphai, W., Cappelle, J., Lajaunie, C., Goutard, F. L., Pinyopummintr, T., Figuié, M., & Roger, F. L. (2015). A framework to promote collective action within the One Health community of practice: Using participatory modelling to enable interdisciplinary, cross-sectoral and multi-level integration. *One Health*, *1*, 44–48. https://doi.org/gg2rfx

Came, H., Doole, C., McKenna, B., & McCreanor, T. (2018). Institutional racism in public health contracting: Findings of a nationwide survey from New Zealand. *Social Science & Medicine*, *199*, 132–139. https://doi.org/gdfspn

Came, H., Herbert, S., & McCreanor, T. (2021). Representations of Māori in colonial health policy in Aotearoa from 2006–2016: A barrier to the pursuit of health equity. *Critical Public Health*, *31*(3), 338–348. https://doi.org/ghrzsb

Carrington, S. D. (2022). *Using a One Health approach to explore Māori experts views on antimicrobial resistance: A qualitative study* [Master's thesis, University of Otago]. OUR Archive. http://hdl.handle.net/10523/12844

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/fswdcx

Cram, F., Pipi, K., & Paipa, K. (2018). Kaupapa Māori evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand. *New Directions For Evaluation*, *2018*(159), 63–77. https://doi.org/ghj2b6

Curtis, E., Jones, R., Tipene-Leach, D., Walker, C., Loring, B., Paine, S.-J., & Reid, P. (2019). Why cultural safety rather than cultural competency is required to achieve health equity: A literature review and recommended definition. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, *18*(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/ghrzwg

Das, P., & Horton, R. (2016). Antibiotics: Achieving the balance between access and excess. *The Lancet*, *387*(10014), 102–104. https://doi.org/gjtb8d

Davies, S., & Gibbens, N. (2013). *UK Five Year Antimicrobial Resistance Strategy 2013 to 2018*. Department of Health. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/uk-5-year-antimicrobial-resistance-strategy-2013-to-2018

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*. SAGE.

DeSouza, R. (2008). Wellness for all: The possibilities of cultural safety and cultural competence in New Zealand. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, *13*(2), 125–135. https://doi.org/bb6vph

Dormer, R. (2014). Whānau Ora and the collaborative turn. *International Journal of Public*

Administration, *37*(12), 835–845. https://doi.org/khqd

Durie, M., Cooper, R., Grennell, D., Snively, S., & Tuaine, N. (2010). *Whānau Ora: Report of the Taskforce on Whānau-centred Initiatives*. Ministry of Social Development. https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/planning-strategy/whanau-ora/whanau-ora-taskforce-report.pdf

Ellison-Loschmann, L., & Pearce, N. (2006). Improving access to health care among New Zealand's Maori population. *American Journal of Public Health*, *96*(4), 612–617. https://doi.org/bk6w9h

Gerrard, J. (2018). *Antimicrobial resistance: An imminent threat to Aotearoa, New Zealand*. Office of the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor. https://www.pmcsa.ac.nz/topics/antimicrobial-resistance-and-infectious-disease/antimicrobial-rsistance/

Graham, R., & Masters–Awatere, B. (2020). Experiences of Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand's public health system: A systematic review of two decades of published qualitative research. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, *44*(3), 193–200. https://doi.org/gk86sm

Harbarth, S., Balkhy, H. H., Goossens, H., Jarlier, V., Kluytmans, J., Laxminarayan, R., Saam, M., Van Belkum, A., & Pittet, D. (2015). Antimicrobial resistance: One world, one fight! *Antimicrobial Resistance & Infection Control*, *4*(49), 2–17. https://doi.org/gcbkcd

Harris, R. B., Cormack, D. M., & Stanley, J. (2019). Experience of racism and associations with unmet need and healthcare satisfaction: The 2011/12 adult New Zealand Health Survey. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, *43*(1), 75–80. https://doi.org/khqf

Harrison, S., Baker, M. G., Benschop, J., Death, R. G., French, N. P., Harmsworth, G., Lake, R. J., Lamont, I. L., Priest, P. C., Ussher, J. E., & Murdoch, D. R. (2020). One Health Aotearoa: A transdisciplinary initiative to improve human, animal and environmental health in New Zealand. *One Health Outlook*, *2*(1), 1–6. https://doi.org/khqg

Heffernan, H., Bakker, S., & Williamson, D. (2011). Annual survey of methicillin-resistant *Staphylococcus aureus* (MRSA). Institute of Environmental Science and Research. https://surv.esr.cri.nz/antimicrobial/mrsa_annual.php

Hika, K., Harwood, M., Ritchie, S., & Chan, A. H. Y. (2022). Māori experiences and beliefs about antibiotics and antimicrobial resistance for acute upper respiratory tract symptoms: A qualitative study. *Antibiotics*, *11*(6), Article 714. https://doi.org/gr8psn

Hikaka, J., Jones, R., Hughes, C., Connolly, M. J., & Martini, N. (2021). Ethnic variations in the quality use of medicines in older adults: Māori and non-Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Drugs & Aging*, *38*, 205–217. https://doi.org/khqh

Hobbs, M. R., Grant, C. C., Ritchie, S. R., Chelimo, C., Morton, S., Berry, S., & Thomas, M. G. (2017). Antibiotic consumption by New Zealand children: Exposure is near universal by the age of 5 years. *Journal of Antimicrobial Chemotherapy*, *72*(6), 1832–1840. https://doi.org/f9wzfk

Jechalke, S., Heuer, H., Siemens, J., Amelung, W., & Smalla, K. (2014). Fate and effects of veterinary antibiotics in soil. *Trends in Microbiology*, *22*(9), 536–545. https://doi.org/ggnqfc

Kara, E., Gibbons, V., Kidd, J., Blundell, R., Turner, K., & Johnstone, W. (2011). Developing a Kaupapa Māori framework for Whānau Ora. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *7*(2), 100–110. https://doi.org/b7qf

Kidd, J., Gibbons, V., Lawrenson, R., & Johnstone, W. (2010). A whānau ora approach to health care for Maori. *Journal of Primary Health Care*, *2*(2), 163–164. https://doi.org/khqj

Küster, A., & Adler, N. (2014). Pharmaceuticals in the environment: Scientific evidence of risks and its regulation. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, *369*(1656), 20–32. https://doi.org/gnzrm2

Laidlaw, R., Smith, F., Park, J., King, C., Dickson, A., Davis, M. D. M., Gozdzielewska, L., Ness, V., McAloney-Kocaman, K., Young, M., Price, L., Currie, K., & Flowers, P. (2018). *One Health antimicrobial resistance approaches: The next steps*. https://research.monash.edu/en/publications/one-health-antimicrobial-resistance-approaches-the-next-steps

Laxminarayan, R., Sridhar, D., Blaser, M., Wang, M., & Woolhouse, M. (2016). Achieving global targets for antimicrobial resistance. *Science*, *353*(6302), 874–875. https://doi.org/gnwgtc

Leitch, S., Zeng, J., Smith, A., & Stokes, T. (2021). Medication risk management and health equity in New Zealand general practice: A retrospective cross-sectional study. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, *20*(1), 1–8. https://doi.org/khqk

Lester, S. (1999). *An introduction to phenomenological research*. Stan Lester Developments. https://www.rgs.org/CMSPages/GetFile.aspx?nodeguid=7ad9b8d4-6a93-4269-94d2-585983364b51&lang=en-GB

Macindoe, C. (2015). *The miracle drug: Penicillin's transformation from wartime miracle to household word within New Zealand* [Unpublished honors dissertation]. University of Otago.

McNicholas, A., Lennon, D., Crampton, P., & Howden-Chapman, P. (2000). Overcrowding and infectious diseases—when will we learn the lessons of our past? *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *113*(1121), 453–454.

Metcalfe, S., Beyene, K., Urlich, J., Jones, R., Proffitt, C., Harrison, J., & Andrews, A. (2018). Te wero tonu—the challenge continues: Maori access to medicines 2006/07–2012/13 update. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *131*(1485), 27–47. https://journal.nzma.org.nz/journal-articles/te-wero-tonu-the-challenge-continues-maori-access-to-medicines-2006-07-2012-13-update

Ministry for Primary Industries. (2023). *Food Notice: Maximum residue levels for agricultural compounds*. https://www.mpi.govt.nz/

dmsdocument/19550-maximum-residue-levels-for-agricultural-compounds

Ministry of Health and Ministry for Primary Industries. (2017). *New Zealand Antimicrobial Resistance Action Plan*. https://www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/publications/new-zealand-antimicrobial-resistance-action-plan.pdf

Norris, P., Churchward, M., Fa‘alau, F., & Va‘ai, C. (2009). Understanding and use of antibiotics amongst Samoan people in New Zealand. *Journal of Primary Health Care*, *1*(1), 30–35. https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1209/c1e2f1123704a6da894c2debd58363acf498.pdf?_ga=2.35024033.1290466085.1635066680-85059007.1635066680

Norris, P., Horsburgh, S., Keown, S., Arroll, B., Lovelock, K., Cumming, J., Herbison, P., Crampton, P., & Becket, G. (2011). Too much and too little? Prevalence and extent of antibiotic use in a New Zealand region. *Journal of Antimicrobial Chemotherapy*, *66*(8), 1921–1926. https://doi.org/d5vwn2

Norris, P., Ng, L. F., Kershaw, V., Hanna, F., Wong, A., Talekar, M., Oh, J., Azer, M., & Cheong, L. (2010). Knowledge and reported use of antibiotics amongst immigrant ethnic groups in New Zealand. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, *12*(1), 107. https://doi.org/dmptw4

Ofahengaue Vakalahi, H. F., & Taiapa, J. T. (2013). Getting grounded on Māori research. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *34*(4), 399–409. https://doi.org/khqn

O’Neill, J. (2016). *Review on antimicrobial resistance: Tackling drug-resistant infections globally: Final report and recommendations*. Wellcome Trust. https://amr-review.org/sites/default/files/160518_Final%20paper_with%20cover.pdf

Palmer, M., Larkin, M., de Visser, R., & Fadden, G. (2010). Developing an interpretative phenomenological approach to focus group data. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *7*(2), 99–121. https://doi.org/khqp

Pihama, L., Cram, F., & Walker, S. (2002). Creating methodological space: A literature review of Kaupapa Māori research. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, *26*(1), 30–43. http://www.ngapoumana.org.nz/uploads/9/8/8/2/98823026/2002_pihama_cram_walker_creating_methodological_space_a_literature_review_of_kaupapa_m%C4%81ori_research.pdf

Pitama, S., Ahuriri-Driscoll, A., Huria, T., Lacey, C., & Robertson, P. (2011). The value of te reo in primary care. *Journal of Primary Health Care*, *3*(2), 123–127. https://doi.org/khqq

Polianciuc, S. I., Gurzău, A. E., Kiss, B., Ştefan, M. G., & Loghin, F. (2020). Antibiotics in the environment: causes and consequences. *Medicine and Pharmacy Reports*, *93*(3), 231–240. https://doi.org/gj7sdp

Pullon, H. W., Gommans, J., Thomas, M. G., Metcalf, S., Grainger, R., & Wild, H. (2016). Antimicrobial resistance in New Zealand: The evidence and a call for action. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *129*(1443), 112–119. https://journal.nzma.org.nz/journal-articles/antimicrobial-resistance-in-new-zealand-the-evidence-and-a-call-for-action

Rahiri, J. L., Alexander, Z., Harwood, M., Koea, J., & Hill, A. G. (2018). Systematic review of disparities in surgical care for Māori in New Zealand. *Austrlian and New Zealand Journal of Surgery*, *88*(7–8), 683–689. https://doi.org/khmw

Ramsden, I., & Whakaruruhau, K. (1993). Cultural safety in nursing education in Aotearoa. *Nursing Praxis in New Zealand*, *8*(3), 4–10. https://doi.org/khqr

Reid, J., Cormack, D., & Crowe, M. (2016). The significance of socially-assigned ethnicity for self-identified Māori accessing and engaging with primary healthcare in New Zealand. *Health: An Interdisciplinary Journal for the Social Study of Health, Illness and Medicine*, *20*(2), 143–160. https://doi.org/f8ct24

Reid, P., & Robson, B. (2007). *Hauora: Māori Standards of Health IV. A study of the years 2000–2005*. Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare. https://www.otago.ac.nz/wellington/departments/publichealth/research/erupomare/research/otago019494.html

Ritchie, S. R., Fraser, J. D., Libby, E., Morris, A. J., Rainey, P. B., & Thomas, M. G. (2011). Demographic variation in community-based MRSA skin and soft tissue infection in Auckland, New Zealand. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *124*(1332). https://journal.nzma.org.nz/journal-articles/demographic-variation-in-community-based-mrsa-skin-and-soft-tissue-infection-in-auckland-new-zealand

Robinson, T., Bu, D., Carrique-Mas, J., Fèvre, E., Gilbert, M., Grace, D., Hay, S., Jiwakanon, J., Kakkar, M., Kariuki, S., Laxminarayan, R., Lubroth, J., Magnusson, U., Thi Ngoc, P., Van Boeckel, T., & Woolhouse, M. (2016). Antibiotic resistance is the quintessential One Health issue. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, *110*(7), 377–380. https://doi.org/ghsrk4

Rossi, J., & Garner, S. A. (2014). Industrial farm animal production: A comprehensive moral critique. *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics*, *27*(3), 479–522. https://doi.org/f54nsc

Royal Australasian College of Physicians. (2016). *Antimicrobial resistance in New Zealand* [Position Paper]. https://www.racp.edu.au/docs/default-source/default-document-library/fr-nz-antimicrobial-resistance-in-nz.pdf

Rupp, M. E., & Fey, P. D. (2003). Extended spectrum-ßlactamase (ESBL)-producing Enterobacteriaceae. *Drugs*, *63*(4), 353–365. https://doi.org/bnr43s

Sarmah, A. K., Meyer, M. T., & Boxall, A. B. (2006). A global perspective on the use, sales, exposure pathways, occurrence, fate and effects of veterinary antibiotics (VAs) in the environment. *Chemosphere*, *65*(5), 725–759. https://doi.org/bfd9hx

Shaio, M.-F. (2021). The impact of racism on rheumatic fever rates. *Kai Tiaki: Nursing New Zealand*, *27*(1), 36–37. https://kaitiaki.org.nz/article/the-impact-of-racism-on-rheumatic-fever-rates/

Singer, A. C., Shaw, H., Rhodes, V., & Hart, A. (2016). Review of antimicrobial resistance in the environment and its relevance to environmental regulators.

Frontiers in Microbiology, 7(1), Article 1728. https://doi.org/gcx58q

Singer, R. S., Finch, R., Wegener, H. C., Bywater, R., Walters, J., & Lipsitch, M. (2003). Antibiotic resistance—the interplay between antibiotic use in animals and human beings. *The Lancet Infectious Diseases*, *3*(1), 47–51. https://doi.org/frr543

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Kaupapa Maori methodology: Our power to define ourselves* [Seminar]. University of British Columbia, Canada.

Smith, L. T. (2013). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). Zed Books.

Thomas, M. G., Smith, A. J., & Tilyard, M. (2014). Rising antimicrobial resistance: a strong reason to reduce excessive antimicrobial consumption in New Zealand. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *127*(1394), 72–84. https://journal.nzma.org.nz/journal-articles/rising-antimicrobial-resistance-a-strong-reason-to-reduce-excessive-antimicrobial-consumption-in-new-zealand

Walker, S., Eketone, A., & Gibbs, A. (2006). An exploration of Kaupapa Maori research, its principles, processes and applications. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *9*(4), 331–344. https://doi.org/bx82s2

Walls, G., Vandal, A. C., du Plessis, T., Playle, V., & Holland, D. J. (2015). Socioeconomic factors correlating with community antimicrobial prescribing. *New Zealand Medical Journal 128*(1417), 16–23. https://journal.nzma.org.nz/journal-articles/socioeconomic-factors-correlating-with-community-antimicrobial-prescribing

Walsh, T. R. (2018). A One Health approach to antimicrobial resistance. *Nature Microbiology*, *3*(8), 854–855. https://doi.org/gphbd8

Wester, A. L., Gopinathan, U., Gjefle, K., Solberg, S. Ø., & Røttingen, J. (2017). Antimicrobial resistance in a One Health and One World perspective: Mechanisms and solutions. In *International encyclopedia of public health* (2nd ed., pp. 140–153). Academic Press. https://doi.org/khqv

Whyler, N., Tomlin, A., Tilyard, M., & Thomas, M. (2018). Ethnic disparities in community antibacterial dispensing in New Zealand, 2015. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *131*(1480), 50–60. https://journal.nzma.org.nz/journal-articles/ethnic-disparities-in-community-antibacterial-dispensing-in-new-zealand-2015

World Health Organization. (2001). *WHO Global Strategy for Containment of Antimicrobial Resistance*. https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/66860

World Health Organization. (2014). *Antimicrobial resistance: Global report on surveillance*. https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/112642

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP

DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.6

PACIFIC PEOPLES, NEW ZEALAND HOUSING-RELATED POLITICAL RHETORIC AND EPISTEMIC VIOLENCE

Georgia Brown[*]
Adele Norris[†]

Abstract

In the nearly 50 years since the Dawn Raids, Pacific peoples have continuously faced a housing crisis defined by precarious dwellings. This article employs content analysis to examine the political framing of Pacific peoples in housing-related political rhetoric from 2007 to 2021. The analysis reveals that Pacific peoples almost exclusively featured only in discussions led by Pacific and Māori politicians who sought to add their communities' perspectives into debates where most politicians either ignored them or made uninformed comments. The findings reveal levels of epistemic violence, meaning Pacific peoples are placed in positions where they have to prove their experiences are real within power structures that render institutional constraints invisible. Limited attention towards the specificity of what this article refers to as the "Pacific housing crisis" illustrates an active ignorance employed to uphold the dominant epistemic order. Just like the Dawn Raids, which fell into national amnesia and were erased from public memory for decades, the Pacific housing crisis follows the same trend.

Keywords

Aotearoa New Zealand, Dawn Raids, epistemic violence, housing crisis, Pacific peoples, state-sanctioned violence

Introduction

On 1 August 2021, then New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern issued a formal apology for the historical violent policing of Pacific people during the 1970s Dawn Raids. The Dawn Raids were state-sanctioned police raids and random street checks targeting solely Pacific Island overstayers primarily in the Auckland area (Ongley & Pearson, 1995). Within the last decade, a nationwide housing crisis has emerged in Aotearoa New Zealand reflecting the impacts of a combination of factors: a sharp decline in homeownership, a shortage of affordable quality homes and an increasing demand for emergency housing (Bourassa & Shi, 2017; White & Nandedkar, 2019). Al Jazeera's recent investigative documentary *New Zealand: A Place to Call Home* (2020) explores the housing crisis with a specific focus on the rental market. The documentary opens by exploring the efforts of the advocacy group Auckland Action Against

* Master's Student, Sociology and Social Policy, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. Email: gjb24@students.waikato.ac.nz

† Senior Lecturer, Sociology and Social Policy, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Poverty (AAAP) to house Aucklanders. Those served are predominantly families composed of minimum-wage earners who spend upwards of 70% of their income on housing. Most of this group consists of Pacific populations, which AAAP refers to as the "invisible population". The term also denotes the growing phenomenon of overcrowding in Auckland. Families and individuals who are otherwise homeless but may have found temporary shelter living with friends or relatives are part of this group.

Auckland remains a key site for Pacific peoples as a place marked by racial inequality and segregation (Anae, 2020; Chisholm, 2022; Gorrell, 2018; Shilliam, 2012). A convergence of public unrest around policing, housing and land rights occurred during the 1970s. Across the country as a whole during this time, protest groups formed to support tenants who paid high rents relative to their incomes and endured poor-quality and insecure housing. These protests were the most intense in Auckland. Particularly visible during this time were the Polynesian Panthers, who worked closely with tenants running various community initiatives (Anae, 2020; Shilliam, 2012). Inspiring young Brown populations to address poor housing and working conditions and to engage in acts of resistance, the Polynesian Panthers were considered a national threat that needed to be neutralised. The Polynesian Panthers incited a special kind of fear in the New Zealand Government, given the global influence of the Black Panthers in the United States at the time. The narrative of threat fashioned around the Panthers and by extension Pacific peoples was a major impetus behind the Dawn Raids. Nearly 50 years after the 1974–1976 Dawn Raids, Auckland remains starkly segregated by race and class, with the same populations now in the grip of a housing crisis (Chisholm et al., 2017). While it is important to note that the issue of housing affordability now also affects white middle-class groups, hence its recognition in government agendas (Madden & Marcuse, 2016), it has been a persistent feature for oppressed and dispossessed groups over the last half century (Chisholm, 2022; Gorrell, 2018; Kake, 2019; Madden & Marcuse, 2016; Norris & Nandedkar, 2020).

Living in precarious dwellings has engendered severe housing-related illnesses for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa (Gorrell, 2018). For example, Norris and Nandedkar's (2020) discourse analysis explores ways race and ethnicity emerged and were articulated in housing-related academic discourse between 2013 and 2019. Their study revealed that racial disparities (e.g., between white, Pacific and Indigenous populations) in the housing market are often acknowledged. However, such recognition is not accompanied by analyses of institutional racism. Racism is rarely mentioned as a contributing factor. Rather, a few sentences devoted to various racial and ethnic groups represented in low-wage work are given as the sole driver of racial disparities in access to housing. Pacific people and issues related to overcrowding and housing-related illnesses emerged as a secondary theme in the study. Because overcrowding was often primarily associated with Indigenous and Pacific peoples, the phenomenon was racialised without connecting such outcomes to historical patterns of racial formation linked to processes of urbanisation and immigration policies. As noted above, noted above, increased attention has been given to Aotearoa's housing crisis over the past decade. White and Nandedkar (2019) found that the term "housing crisis" was mentioned only twice in parliamentary housing-policy debates in 2012 but no less than 38 times in 2013. Yet, studies documenting Pacific peoples' increasingly precarious housing arrangements began emerging during the late 1990s and early 2000s (see Butler et al., 2003; Cheer et al., 2002; Howden-Chapman et al., 2005; Kearns & Smith, 1994; Miline & Kearns, 1999). However, advocacy and grassroots organisations remain the leading voices detailing the plight of Pacific peoples' housing crisis. In this regard, national attention towards a housing crisis in New Zealand in many ways parallels that of the United States with respect to which groups are able to garner mainstream attention.

In the United States during the early 1990s, when a new generation of young, middle-class Americans could not afford to purchase similar homes to those in which they were raised, the term "affordable housing crisis" emerged (Hartnett, 1993). At the periphery of these conversations, if considered at all, were low-income and Black people from most suburban communities and the plethora of ills afflicting urban areas. Mainstream media's failure to cover patterns of racial and class segregation as elements of the housing crises—engendering homeless and persistent poverty—exacerbated the problem. As a result, housing-related hardships for those having experienced generations of social housing were framed as a failure of that population rather than a failure of public policy (Hartnett, 1993). The fact that the term "housing crisis" is introduced in mainstream national discourses only when more affluent and white segments of the population feel

the effects speaks to the nebulous nature of housing crises. Therefore, as this discussion of the Pacific housing crisis advances, it is imperative to examine the relationship between the state, Pacific peoples and housing/property. This article contributes to this discourse by addressing contemporary specificities of Pacific people and precarious housing, an issue that has generally been ignored in academic housing scholarship. This exploratory case study examines how Pacific peoples' experiences are captured in housing-related political rhetoric.

This article is structured as follows. First, a brief sketch of the population politically referred to as "Pacific peoples" is provided. While it is understood Pacific peoples are dispersed throughout the country, particular attention is devoted to the primary site of the Dawn Raids, Auckland. Auckland is also an area that illustrates the specificity of embedded patterns of state-sanctioned violence undergirding present-day conditions. The article then engages in an examination of how Pacific peoples' precarious housing and related health issues are captured and addressed in housing-related political discourse.

Pacific peoples' post-war migration

Pacific peoples account for over 380,000 people in Aotearoa (Stats NZ, 2019). They are very diverse, collectively making up over 7% of the total population. It is essential to acknowledge the heterogeneity of Pacific peoples, given this population is often grouped despite having very distinct histories, stereotypes and phenotype differences. Pacific peoples in Aotearoa are comprised of Samoans (49%), Cook Islander Māori (21%), Tongans (20%), Niueans (8%), Fijians (3%) and Tokelauans (3%). In the late 1940s and 1950s, New Zealand immigration recruitment targeted Samoa, Tonga and the Cook Islands (Ongley & Pearson, 1995). These groups today comprise 90% of the populations politically designated as Pacific populations. This article refers primarily to people from these countries of origin. It is worth acknowledging that within these groups lie varying degrees of power, which is not explored here.

Pacific peoples migrated to New Zealand when manual labour was needed for post-war industrial expansion. Since 1945, immigration policies in New Zealand have tended to respond to fluctuations in labour demands (Ongley & Pearson, 1995). During this time, migration from the Pacific was the only significant non-European migration, and it provided a valuable source of "unskilled" labour for New Zealand's expanding secondary industries (Awatere, 1984; Ongley & Pearson, 1995).

With an expanding economy, places like Auckland experienced a growing upper-middle-class population. Hospitality services were in high demand to accommodate the rising upper-middle-class suburbs of Auckland. Pacific populations predominantly filled these low-wage/-skill occupations in hospitality and manufacturing, which resulted in their marginalised status in the labour market (Miline & Kearns, 1999; Ongley & Pearson, 1995). Combined with the fact that people from the Pacific Islands are easily identified as ethnically "Other", this has meant that many Pacific groups have been targets of racism and prone to poverty and marginalisation in the housing market (Miline & Kearns, 1999).

According to Tukuitonga (2013), roughly a quarter of all births in the Auckland region are of Pacific peoples, and two-thirds of the entire Pacific Island population is born in New Zealand. Two-thirds of New Zealand's Pacific population live in the Auckland region, mostly in South Auckland and Central Auckland (Tukuitonga, 2013). Donna Awatere (1984) identified housing and employment as the principal gatekeeping systems, referencing areas in greater Auckland as prime locations for this process in the 1970s. Presently, Auckland is characterised by a housing crisis consisting of undersupply of affordable quality homes for buyers and renters. However, Pacific peoples have consistently experienced the highest levels of overcrowding, low levels of homeownership and higher rates of child poverty (Bullen et al., 2008; Norris & Nandedkar, 2020; Paterson et al., 2018; Schluter et al., 2007; Teariki, 2017) for half a century. For example, Paterson et al. (2018) found that in 2018, 15% of the general population reported their houses were too cold or difficult to heat, and Pacific mothers reported cold homes at more than double the rate of the general population (33%). This trend holds across other major housing problems. Reports of small houses stood at 11% for the general population and 27% for Pacific mothers.

Precarious housing and employment

Over the last two decades, Auckland has received attention for being home to the world's largest Polynesian population—a population associated with the city's poorest and least healthy dwellings (Cheer et al., 2002; Schluter et al., 2007). A growing body of scholarship linking housing affordability, overcrowding and poor health outcomes is emerging in New Zealand. Ade

and Rehm's (2020) article "Home Is Where the Health Is: New Zealand Responses to a 'Health' Housing Crisis" established that two-thirds of New Zealand's housing stock is uninsulated and inadequately heated. This study comes decades after scholarship in the 1990s linking housing affordability, poor insulation and overcrowding to poor health outcomes in Auckland, specifically South Auckland. For example, Howden-Chapman et al. (2012) explored the relationship between poor housing conditions and higher rates of respiratory-illness hospital admission in winter and excess winter mortality. It is estimated that 16% (approximately 1,600 deaths annually) of excess winter mortality is related to fuel poverty, which is defined as a household needing to spend more than 10% of its income on all household fuels to achieve satisfactory indoor warmth (Howden-Chapman et al., 2012). The effects of winter-related illnesses are more severe among older populations. Pacific people are more likely than the general population to be renters well into old age, specifically public renters as opposed to private renters, which older Asian and white populations occupy (Pledger et al., 2019). The experiences of older renters reveal a key feature of racial stratification, which is associated with the racial wealth gap and homeownership (Shapiro, 2006).

For example, a report by the Southern Initiative et al. (2018) indicates Auckland's Pacific populations' net worth is on average $12,000 compared with $87,000 for the non-Pacific population in Auckland (p. 5). When comparing white/Pākehā net worth with Pacific populations, there is a $102,000 difference between the two groups (Stats NZ, 2016). Considering net worth alone within housing discussions suggests Pacific peoples will have bad experiences accessing quality housing. Because homeownership is an essential aspect of economic, educational and generational stability, it is an important initial site to examine the social implications linked to the precarity of housing and employment (Norris & Nandedkar, 2020).

Poor housing conditions, social inequities and stigmatising narratives

Much of the Pacific population live in areas of significant economic disadvantage. Tukuitonga (2013) establishes that nine out of 10 Pacific people live in low-decile regions. Areas with high rates of deprivation are associated with inadequate access to healthcare services and poor health outcomes. In relation to this, Pacific populations have some of the worst health outcomes in all of New Zealand, where the needs of people within these highly deprived communities are often unmet. Poor housing exposes occupants to damp, cold and mouldy conditions that increase the risk of respiratory conditions such as the common cold and asthma, while also increasing feelings of fatigue and poor concentration (Butler et al., 2003). Butler et al. (2003) mention that Pacific peoples are more likely to express such symptoms than any other group in society. Nearly half of the Pacific population live in housing conditions that are damp and mouldy, compared with whites/Pākehā, of whom one in five live in these conditions (Cann, 2021). The rate of rheumatic fever among Pacific children is more than 50 times that of whites/Pākehā in New Zealand, and this rate is rising (Naea et al., 2016). Overcrowded homes are the reality for many Pacific families. The 2018 census uncovered that roughly two in five Pacific people were living in overcrowded spaces.

It is important to note that Pacific peoples experience severe housing deprivation at four times the rate of whites/Pākehā (Cann, 2021). Such deprivation contributes to the outcomes of Pacific populations in all aspects of their life (Cann, 2021), but these outcomes are left out of mainstream narratives, which explain the prevalence of overcrowding as a phenomenon among Pacific peoples. For example, racially discriminatory housing-market practices function as a barrier to healthy and adequate homes. Even when one has the income, other negative stigmas associated with Pacific peoples come into play in housing-screening practices that rarely receive attention in academic scholarship exploring institutional barriers (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015; Norris & Nandedkar, 2020). Moreover, stigmatising racial narratives of desirable and undesirable tenants arise and play out in the housing market, exacerbating existing struggles (Lewis et al., 2020).

This discussion has thus far provided a brief account of the long-standing nature of Pacific peoples' precarious housing, which predates mainstream national coverage of the housing crisis. The article now turns to how Pacific peoples' housing struggles are reflected in political debates seeking solutions. The primary goal of this examination is to capture how policy actors have understood and articulated housing-related social problems afflicting Pacific peoples. Two statutory amendments were selected to explore political rhetoric prior to and after their passing: the Residential Tenancies Amendment Act 2010 and the Residential Tenancies (Prohibiting Letting Fees) Amendment Act 2018. These amendments were selected because the former was enacted prior

to mainstream political talk of a "housing crisis" and the latter after its recognition.

Methodology

This article is interested in the trends that have emerged before and after the notion of a nationwide housing crisis filtered into mainstream political discourses. This exploratory case study examines this phenomenon in parliamentary housing-related political rhetoric from 2007 to 2021. Hansard parliamentary debates relating to the Residential Tenancies Amendment Act 2010 and the Residential Tenancies (Prohibiting Letting Fees) Amendment Act 2018 were chosen as focal points. Hansard is an artefact of communication at the highest level of policymaking, making a content analysis ideal. This examination prioritised analysing text relating only to substantive arguments/debates involving Pacific peoples and housing, rather than simply counting the times the term "Pacific peoples" was said. This decision was made in response to the frequency with which "Māori and Pacific people" are grouped together as marginalised people even though they have distinct histories and experiences. Particular attention was devoted to identifying the contexts that prompt the introduction of Pacific peoples into the debate, and the frequency of, and the amount of emphasis or time given to, issues related to Pacific peoples.

Codes were analytically developed, inductively identified, and transformed into themes and subthemes (Lune & Berg, 2017). To establish initial codes, the first phase of the analysis consisted of a review of housing-related literature—academic journal articles and newspaper articles published during 2000–2021—to identify key themes associated with Pacific peoples. A theme's importance related to how many times the words/themes were raised in relation to Pacific peoples and the amount of attention devoted to issues raised. Words or concepts that emerged sporadically without supplementary details substantiating relevance were not included. Six main themes emerged in the first phase: "Auckland", "health disparities", "social housing", "overcrowding", "homelessness" and "low-wage work". In addition, three secondary themes emerged: "youth housing-related illness", "Dawn Raids" and "institutional racism". With the exception of a few articles specifying a particular country in relation to housing (e.g., Tonga or Niue), most discussions referenced Pacific peoples in general. The second phase of the analysis followed the same process used in the examination of Hansard debates, using the initial code from the first phase along with the keywords "Pacific peoples", "Pasifika", "Pacific Islands", "Samoans" and "Tongans" as starting points.

Analysis

The analysis of 14 years of Hansard debates revealed Pacific people and housing received a paucity of attention. When Pacific issues emerged apart from general statements of overcrowding, they were introduced primarily by Pacific speakers and speakers from the Māori Party in hearings leading up to and after the 2018 Residential Tenancies (Prohibiting Letting Fees) Amendment Act. The phrase "Māori and Pacific peoples" appeared periodically. This study only examined statements explicitly related to Pacific people that were followed by specific accounts and statements that expounded on specific conditions. Themes and subthemes were derived from statements detailing the scope of the problem.

For example, over the 14-year period covered, politicians' responses tend to reiterate the same details. On 5 July 2016, Su'a William Sio (Labour—Māngere) responded to the Minister for Pacific Peoples, Peseta Sam Lotu-Iiga (National—Maungakiekie), in reference to the new housing initiatives that had yet to reach Pacific peoples: "Is the household net worth statistics report incorrect that Pacific peoples' average net worth is $12,000, a ninth of the European population's $114,000, and that is largely because Pacific homeownership rates have fallen?" Almost 10 years prior, Dr Pita Sharples (then Co-Leader—Māori Party), on 7 August 2007, made similar statements in response to the framing of poverty in relation to housing and debt prevention:

> Predominantly, the people who are preyed upon by what John Minto has termed the "parasites of poverty" are Māori and Pacific Island people. The Ministry of Social Development's living standards survey found that 20.6 percent of Māori families were likely to have fallen behind with hire purchase, credit card, or store payments. It is a big difference from the 8.7 percent of European families in the same position. Debts on cars, furniture, and appliances now comprise the biggest amounts of debts accumulated, accounting for some 38 percent of all arrears owed by clients of the Federation of Family Budgeting Services last year. The debt levels are even higher for Pasifika. In 2000, 24 percent of Pasifika people, 16 percent of Māori people, and a mere 5 percent of Pākehā had fallen into arrears with rent and mortgage payments.
>
> But this Social Assistance (Debt Prevention

> and Minimisation) Amendment Bill is not about families who have plunged into debt. This bill is not concerned with financial pain and the widening disparities between the different sectors in our society. This bill is about a Government agency, the Ministry of Social Development, which has an estimated actual forecast for 2006-07 of $1,124,430,000. The bill is to enable this agency to recover debts by targeting the vulnerable, specifically the prisoner population. It is a population of which the great majority, 60 percent, of all inmates are either Māori or Pasifika.

It is important to note that these two examples are among only five substantive statements that focus specifically on Pacific people during the period under study. These statements did not ignite further debate, which is also significant. Discussion of how Pacific peoples' housing inadequacy intensified under the Fifth National Government (2008–2017) met the criteria for analysis. These testimonies included detailed accounts of declining homeownership, the wealth gap, South Auckland, and the failure of the government to address the issue. On 9 May 2017, Su'a William Sio's (Labour—Māngere) comments echoed the statements above:

> Here is the big issue: on Saturday there was a group of 500 people from all of South Auckland who came together, and I asked them: what is the No. 1 issue for you? Housing—for Pacific families, it is housing. Our homeownership at the moment is 16 percent. In 2013 figures it was 18.5 percent. That means 74 percent of our Pacific population does not own a home. How sad is that? Is that not an indictment that this Government's policy does not favour Pacific people? It is even more reflected when you look at the median net worth of Pacific people: it is $12,000. The median net worth for the rest of New Zealand is $87,000. That is the gap—$12,000 median net worth for Pacific and $87,000 median net worth for the rest of New Zealand. That is the gap.

In addition to these repeated themes, a pattern emerged of Pacific peoples constantly having to prove their struggle is real. Table 1 details the themes and subthemes identified from the content analysis. As noted above, the themes included words and phrases that were only mentioned in relation to Pacific peoples. Embedded systemic barriers producing and reproducing inadequate housing conditions for Pacific peoples were not discussed. As reflected in Table 1, overcrowding was the foremost theme identified in discussions of Pacific people and housing. This issue was mainly associated with Pacific peoples and Māori.

Institutional racism was not identified explicitly in the content analysis. Houkamau and Sibley's (2015) empirical study examined differences in homeownership among Māori and found systemic factors that influenced homeownership. The study found that self-reported appearance as Māori significantly predicted decreased rates of homeownership, leading to the conclusion that New Zealand's home lending industry was institutionally racist. Individual cases of racial discrimination in housing and policing in general, such as the extra-legal photographing of Pacific youth by law enforcement, illustrate race and ethnicity is a factor influencing early engagement with law enforcement (Dempster & Norris, 2022; Lewis et al., 2020; Norris & Tauri, 2021). Thus, ethnicity should be considered in housing screening practices as well.

Employment and education were not extracted as themes in relation to Pacific peoples' housing. Yet, a wealth gap between racial groups was reiterated as a primary contributor to the financial position and housing opportunities for Pacific households. Lastly, with the exception of mentioning Tongans and Samoans in relation to South Auckland, "Pacific peoples" was the most common phrase used to discuss housing-related issues.

Discussion

Overall, this examination of housing-related political rhetoric revealed that very little attention is devoted to Pacific peoples in parliamentary debates. This finding parallels that of Lola Gorrell's 2018 study "Not Sold on the Housing Accords and Special Housing Areas Act 2013: How Housing Legislation in New Zealand Ignores Our Pacific People on the Peripheries". It is evident that housing outcomes for Pacific peoples are not prioritised within parliamentary debates to the extent that reflects their sustained lived experiences in precarious housing. Additionally, the government's recent charge to address the idea of a nationwide housing crisis implies that Pacific peoples' plight alone did not signal a "crisis". Thus, this examination reveals an active silencing of Pacific peoples' struggles that carries serious social implications. This article situates this active silence as part of the broader structure of epistemic violence, specifically practices of silencing with respect to testimony, which is discussed by (Dotson, 2011).

Kristie Dotson (2011) draws on Gayatri Spivak's (1988) application of the concept of

TABLE 1 Primary and secondary themes related to Pacific populations in housing policy-related political rhetoric, 2007–2021

Primary themes	Secondary themes
Poor housing; social housing • Severely overcrowded dwellings • Dwelling in cars, garages, boarding housing • Damp, mouldy, poorly insulated	Emergency housing • Growing reliance • Does not fix the problem • Evidence of government failure
Accessing housing in Auckland specifically • South Auckland • Children most at risk for overcrowding • Lack of response from government • Tongans and Samoans • Highest rates of rheumatic fever • Homelessness • Low-wage families	Political Inactivity • Previous governments' refusal to acknowledge the persistence of Pacific housing struggles • Solutions vague/unclear • Dawn Raids • Institutional racism
Decline in Ownership; Low-Wage Employment • Growing income and wealth gap • Highest decline in homeownership	Renters • Expensive upfront cost/deposits • Locked out of homeownership
Housing-related illness • Preventable • Added financial burden to Pacific households • Increase in cases of rheumatic fever • Mental health • Housing-related illnesses (respiratory diseases, infectious disease and psychological stress) • Services not available to meet demand	Social housing • Pacific Social Housing Network (2015)

epistemic violence as a way of marking practices of silencing marginalised groups. Epistemic violence in testimony, Dotson (2011) posits, "is a refusal, intentional or unintentional, of an audience to communicatively reciprocate a linguistic exchange owing to pernicious ignorance. Pernicious ignorance should be understood to refer to any reliable ignorance that, in a given context, harms another person (or set of persons)" (p. 238). This article argues that the testimonies given by Pacific speakers that were met with little recognition or further discussion over the 14-year period examined reflect a type of epistemic violence and exploitation that has been largely ignored in academic scholarship. Furthermore, this article argues that this type of violence is chronic and linked to a deeper systemic problem, especially when considered with other historical events such as the Dawn Raids. The Dawn Raids offer important insight into what this article calls the "Pacific housing crisis", illuminating the trajectory of state violence inflicted upon Pacific peoples that has largely been ignored by successive governments.

Dawn Raids

As noted above, on 1 August 2021, nearly 50 years after the Dawn Raids of 1974–1976, the New Zealand Government issued an official apology. Prior to the apology, the Dawn Raids had succumbed to national amnesia and had been erased from public memory. The Dawn Raids refer to the era when police armed with dogs and batons invaded the homes of Pacific Island (particularly Samoans and Tongans) immigrants who were suspected of illegal overstaying. Analyses have since revealed many intersecting factors that fuelled the targeted state-sanctioned operation. Despite comprising only 30% of overstayers, Pacific

families comprised 86% of the prosecutions and deportations—the majority of the migrants who overstayed their visas were white Europeans and North Americans who were seldom targeted by the government and law enforcement nor included in national media coverage of overstayers (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Anae, 2020, 2021; Shilliam, 2015). The national political rhetoric racialised overstayers not only by excluding white overstayers from the intervention but also by sensationalising racist rhetoric espousing a "brown problem" (Shilliam, 2012). The potential threat and invasion of Pacific Brown bodies in New Zealand were framed as a public concern in need of immediate attention, thereby rationalising the need for racial targeting and thus fashioning an easy scapegoat narrative (Shilliam, 2012).

Authorities targeted areas/suburbs largely populated by Pacific people and Māori (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Anae, 2021; Shilliam, 2015). Thousands were deported—many of whom were legal residents—from areas such as Ponsonby (an inner-city suburb in Auckland) with large Pacific Island and Māori populations prior to the gentrification. The New Zealand Government empowered the police to execute home search warrants with authority to stop and question any Pacific-looking person on the streets concerning permits, visas and passports (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021). Specifically, racist remarks from Pākehā/whites towards Pacific people were shaped by the growing narrative of the "Polynesian problem", whereby Pacific migrants incited a moral panic of Brown people in white areas (Shilliam, 2012). It is important to highlight that the areas targeted during the Dawn Raids were also marked for gentrification. Ponsonby represents one of New Zealand's most prominent instances of gentrification (Friesen, 2009). House prices, demographics and socioeconomic characteristics shifted drastically from 1986 to 2014. The Pacific population in Ponsonby and adjacent suburbs peaked in 1976, when the area was a centre of Pacific, especially Samoan, culture (Hiyama, 1991). Now the occupants of these suburbs are over 70% white/European (Friesen, 2009). If the aim of such targeted policing was to confirm a person's right to be in the country, then individuals from European nations and North America would have been included in the raids, thus signalling that the Dawn Raids were indeed racially fuelled (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021).

Housing, racialised surveillance and policing Pacific bodies

Racially charged opinions intimately linked to colonial logic permeate mainstream opinions about ethnic minorities in the past and present. The Dawn Raids were in part a result of a worsening economic climate. The New Zealand Government sensationalised racist rhetoric that deemed Pacific people to be overstayers and granted police powers to target Brown people specifically. The Dawn Raids signify a targeted effort of racial social control by the New Zealand Government fuelled by a confluence of forces: immigration laws, police authority and the power of media to encourage racist actions targeting Pacific bodies (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021). The contemporary housing crisis in which many Pacific peoples are bearing the brunt signals a continuation of these historical processes. Bonds (2019) and Villanueva (2018) argue that housing dynamics are deeply connected to the expansion of law-and-order politics. Spaces where Pacific bodies have been zoned through housing policies and practices coalesced with local racial dynamics and modes of governing property to harden racial and class lines that are extensively policed (Bonds, 2019). Such spaces are actively constituted through discursive and material practices by lawmakers, local officials and enforcement agents for effective policing and surveilling. Bodies occupying spaces designed to contain and regulate behaviours through the constant threat of detention and imprisonment feed into a carceral continuum that facilitates arrest, prosecution, confinement and deportation (Villanueva, 2018). Similarly, the 1970s Dawn Raids illustrate a form of racialised surveillance and targeting of overstayers, which provides insight into broader systemic issues Pacific people continually navigate to secure housing.

Housing and epistemic violence

Within the context of sharpening racial inequalities, race and class segregation, and the Pacific housing crisis, one case deserves special consideration. In 2014, a coroner ruled that poor-quality housing was a contributing factor in the death of two-year-old Emma-Lita Bourne. Her family's South Auckland state house exposed the child to cold and damp conditions that led to disease, infection and later death (Walters et al., 2015). In response, the New Zealand Government initiated a massive shake-up of all public housing quality standards (Baker, 2015). The government introduced the Healthy Homes initiative that put in place a housing warrant of fitness to

ensure all rental properties were up to a reasonable level of quality in terms of insulation and heating. Ten years prior, Howden-Chapman et al. (2005) had provided clear evidence of the importance of insulated homes, linking it directly to health and wellbeing in an effort to reduce health inequalities in communities. Following the death of Emma-Lita and the coroner's report, Housing New Zealand (now Kāinga Ora) called for urgent checks of their housing stock whereby those occupying public housing had their repair requests fulfilled, with priority given to homes affected by cold and dampness (Radio New Zealand, 2015). The urgent maintenance repairs saw 2,800 public houses receive upgrades to insulation, ventilation, heating, carpets and thermal drapes in 12 months (Radio New Zealand, 2015). This sudden concern for the health and wellbeing of those public-housed individuals following a highly publicised death of a child demonstrates that a housing crisis was already plaguing a significant portion of the population decades before the affordable housing crisis registered in mainstream media and the government's agenda. The Pacific and Māori voices raising concerns about unhealthy dwellings and limited access to homes received little attention.

The ways in which voices are dismissed and silenced deserve special consideration in discussions of a housing crisis. Various forms of dismissiveness towards the voices of those experiencing housing-related struggles can be unpacked and understood as a form of epistemic violence, resulting in "testimonial quietening" of the oppressed (Dotson, 2011). Testimonial quietening occurs when the voices of the oppressed are less likely to be considered competent in their testimony "due to an audience's inability to discern the possession of credibility" (Dotson, 2011, p. 237). Thus, epistemic violence within this context is considered a form of institutional racism as defined by Barnes et al. (2013):

> Societal racism is constituted in the cultural ambience produced by the entrenched social orders and includes the values, epistemologies, norms and sensibilities that attach to hegemonic power. Institutional racism is produced in this context through the organisational requirements, conditions, practices, policies and processes that maintain and reproduce avoidable and unfair inequalities across ethnic/racial groups. (p. 64)

Conclusion

Pacific peoples' relegation to precarious housing and living arrangements is chronic. Apart from explicit references to the wealth gap, other forms of embedded structural barriers in the housing market were not found in this study (e.g., discriminatory lending practices and racial profiling by property managers). Barnes et al.'s (2013) examination of institutional racism in New Zealand explores Māori experiences of structural violence. The authors acknowledge that while understanding the significance of racial discrimination as a determinant of health and wellbeing is widely known, the experiential dimensions of these phenomena are sparse. This study makes a similar argument for Pacific peoples' experiences in precarious housing and associated illnesses. Pacific parliamentarians' time, in this analysis, was seemingly used primarily to push against embedded stereotypical narratives rather than explore viable solutions. This process further illustrates epistemic violence. It shows that the structures and institutions Pacific peoples must navigate to tell their stories are hostile and that their narratives are rendered invisible, exonerating the state from charges of violence perpetrated against Pacific peoples.

As discussed, the Dawn Raids revealed the adverse effects of the pernicious influence of the mass media in concert with state institutions in perpetuating the "Polynesian problem" in New Zealand. Such negative stigmas fashioned criminal and deficit narratives around Brown bodies to incite fears that led to targeted policing. Similarly, negative stigmas play out in the housing market today, which deserves renewed attention. Precarious housing for Pacific peoples was recognised decades prior to a national declaration of a housing crisis. Long-term precarity is a result of many intersecting factors that produce inequalities that were hardly acknowledged in housing-related political rhetoric. Despite growing evidence that the effects of poor housing and related health and wellbeing issues in Pacific communities far exceed the population as a whole, the government has been slow to respond. Drawing on Barnes et al. (2013), this article argues that the slow response and overall silencing around the Pacific housing crisis are by design. This examination provides a glimpse into a type of violence experienced when Pacific housing issues are subsumed within the overall housing crisis discussion. The lack of attention to the Pacific housing crisis in parliamentary political debates is a form of epistemic violence and testimonial quietening, which indicates an insidious form of structural racism. Violence, therefore,

exists within the structures, preventing discussions from arising. The failure to identify ways institutional racism has deepened the Pacific housing crisis further disadvantages the positionality of Pacific people. Just like the Dawn Raids, which fell into national amnesia and were erased from public memory for decades, the Pacific housing crisis follows the same trend.

Glossary

Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand; lit. "land of the long white cloud"
Māori	Indigenous peoples of New Zealand
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
Pasifika	The terms "Pasifika" and "Pasifika peoples" are umbrella terms that are unique to Aotearoa New Zealand, and were coined by government agencies (often used in governmental documents) to describe both migrants from the Pacific regions and their descendants.

References

Ade, R., & Rehm, M. (2020). Home is where the health is: New Zealand responses to a "healthy" housing crisis. *Pacific Rim Property Research Journal*, *26*(1), 69–93. https://doi.org/kb35

Allen, J. M., & Bruce, T. (2017). Constructing the other: News media representations of a predominantly "brown" community in New Zealand. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 23(1), 225–244.

Anae, M. (2020). *The platform: The radical legacy of the Polynesian Panthers*. Bridget Williams Books. https://doi.org/kb36

Anae, M. (2021, 3 August). Ardern's apology to Pacific peoples lacks concrete actions. We will continue the fight. *Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/commentisfree/2021/aug/04/arderns-apology-to-pacific-peoples-lacks-concrete-actions-we-will-continue-the-fight

Awatere, D. (1984). *Maori sovereignty*. Broadsheet.

Baker, L. (2015, 21 August. "Mould is killing my children". RNZ. https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/regional/281980/'mould-is-killing-my-children

Barnes, A. M., Taiapa, K., Borell, B., & McCreanor, T. (2013). Māori experiences and responses to racism in Aotearoa New Zealand. *MAI Journal*, *2*(2), 63–77.

Bonds, A. (2019). Race and ethnicity I: Property, race, and the carceral state. *Progress in Human Geography*, *43*(3), 574–583. https://doi.org/gfc948

Bourassa, S. C., & Shi, S. (2017). Understanding New Zealand's decline in homeownership. *Housing Studies*, *32*(5), 693–710. https://doi.org/kb37

Bullen, C., Kearns, R. A., Clinton, J., Laing, P., Mahoney, F., & McDuff, I. (2008). Bringing health home: Householder and provider perspectives on the healthy housing programme in Auckland, New Zealand. *Social Science & Medicine*, *66*, 1185–1196. https://doi.org/ckfhmj

Butler, S., Williams, M., Tukuitonga, C., & Paterson, J. (2003). Problems with damp and cold housing among Pacific families in New Zealand. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *116*(1177), Article U494.

Cann, G. (2021, 16 August). Housing affordability: Who actually wins from the housing crisis? *Stuff*. https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/300382175/housingaffordability-who-actually-wins-from-the-housing-crisis

Cheer, T., Kearns, R., & Murphy, L. (2002). Housing policy, poverty, and culture: "Discounting" decisions among Pacific peoples in Auckland, New Zealand. *Environmental and Planning C: Governmental and Policy*, *20*, 497–516. https://doi.org/cp6sb4

Chisholm, E. (2022). "The way to end housing problems": Tenant protest in New Zealand in the 1970s. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, *17*(4), 445–460. https://doi.org/kb38

Chisholm, E., Howden-Chapman, P., & Fougere, G. (2017). Renting in New Zealand: Perspectives from tenant advocates. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online, 12*(1), 95–110. https://doi.org/grm6cs

Dempster, C., & Norris, A. N. (2022). The 2020 cannabis referendum: Māori voter support, racialized policing, and the criminal justice system. *Decoloniziation of Criminology and Justice*, *4*(1), 57–80. https://doi.org/kb39

Dotson, K. (2011). Tracking epistemic violence, tracking practices of silencing. *Hypatia*, *26*(2), 236–257. https://doi.org/fcj3wm

Friesen, W. (2009). The demographic transformation of inner-city Auckland. *New Zealand Population Review*, *35*(1), 55–74.

Gorrell, L. (2018). Not sold on the Housing Accords and Special Housing Areas Act 2013: How housing legislation in New Zealand ignores our Pacific people on the peripheries. *Public Interest Law Journal of New Zealand*, *5*, 84–96.

Hartnett, J. J. (1993). Affordable housing, exclusionary zoning, and American apartheid: Using Title VIII to foster statewide racial integration. *New York University Law Review*, *68*(1), 89–135.

Hiyama, K. (1991). *High hopes in hard times: A history of Grey Lynn and Westmere*. Media Studies Trust.

Houkamau, C. A., & Sibley, C. G. (2015). Looking Māori predicts decreased rates of home ownership: Institutional racism in housing based on perceived appearance. *PLoS ONE*, *10*(3), e0118540. https://doi.org/c6nt

Howden-Chapman, P., Viggers, H., Chapman, R., O'Sullivan, K., Barnard, L. T., & Lloyd, B. (2012). Tackling cold housing and fuel poverty in New Zealand: A review of policies, research, and health impacts. *Energy Policy, 49*, 134–142. https://doi.org/dxn67d

Howden-Chapman, P., Crane, J., Matheson, A., Viggers,

H., Cunningham, M., Blakely, T., O'Dea, D., Cunningham, C., Woodward, A., Saville-Smith, K. Baker, M., & Waipara, N. (2005). Retrofitting houses with insulation to reduce health inequalities: Aims and methods of a clustered, randomised community-based trial. *Social Science & Medicine, 61*(12), 2600–2610. https://doi.org/cdjqr2

Kake, J. (2019). *Rebuilding the kāinga: Lessons from Te Ao Hurihuri*. Bridget Williams Books. https://doi.org/kb4c

Kearns, R. A., & Smith, C. J. (1994). Housing, homelessness, and mental health: Mapping an agenda for geographical inquiry. *The Professional Geographer, 46*(4), 418–424. https://doi.org/bjbxnn

Lewis, C., Norris, A. N., Heta-Cooper, W., & Tauri, J. (2020). Stigmatising gang narratives, housing, and the social policing of Māori women. In L. George, A. N., Norris, A. Deckert, & J. Tauri (Eds.), *Neo-colonial injustice and the mass imprisonment of Indigenous women* (pp. 13–33). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/kb4d

Lune, H., & Berg, B. L. (2017). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Pearson.

Madden, D., & Marcuse, P. (2016). *In defense of housing*. Verso.

Miline, K., & Kearns, R. (1999). Housing status and health implications for Pacific peoples in New Zealand. *Pacific Health Dialogue*, *6*(1), 80–86.

Ministry for Culture and Heritage. (2021). The Dawn Raids: Causes, impacts and legacy. *New Zealand History*. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/dawn-raids

Naea, N., Dobson, A., Leversha, A., Williams, S., Knott, K., Clayton-Bray, L., & Dickinson, A. (2016). Awareness and understanding of rheumatic fever among Pacific people in Auckland. *Neonatal, Paediatric & Child Health Nursing*, *19*(1), 7–12.

New Zealand: A place to call home. (2020, 4 June). *Al Jazeera*. https://www.aljazeera.com/program/101-east/2020/6/4/new-zealand-a-place-to-call-home?fbclid=IwAR1_UFMnnPUg9t0y8v_Rx07Nxdogr8BWUB6lRwfITT5N7sN3-DsVqbR2LlQ

Norris, A. N., & Nandedkar, G. (2020). Ethnicity, racism and housing: Discourse analysis of New Zealand housing research. *Housing Studies*, *37*(8), 1331–1349. https://doi.org/kb4f

Norris, A. N., & Tauri, J. (2021). Racialized surveillance in New Zealand: From the Tūhoe raids to the extra-legal photographing of Indigenous youth. *Race and Justice*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/kb4g

Ongley, P., & Pearson, D. (1995). Post-1995 international migration: New Zealand, Australia and Canada compared. *International Migration Review*, *29*(3), 765–793. https://doi.org/kb4h

Paterson, J., Lusitini, L., Tautolo, E., Taylor, S., & Clougherty, J. (2018). Pacific Island Families (PIF) study: Housing and psychological distress among Pacific mothers. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, *42*(2), 140–144. https://doi.org/gdfd8v

Pledger, M., McDonald, J., Dunn, P., Cumming, J., & Saville-Smith, K. (2019). The health of other New Zealanders in relation to housing tenure: Analysis of pooled data from three consecutive, annual New Zealand health surveys. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, *43*(2), 182–189. https://doi.org/kb4j

Schluter, P., Carter, S., & Kokaua, J. (2007). Indices and perception of crowding in Pacific households domiciled within Auckland, New Zealand: Finding from the Pacific Islands families study. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *120(*1248), Article U2393.

Shapiro, T. M. (2006). Race, homeownership, and wealth. *Washington Journal of Law and Policy*, *20*, 53–74.

Shilliam, R. (2012). The Polynesian Panthers and the Black Power gang: Surviving racism and colonialism in Aotearoa New Zealand. In N. Slate (Ed.), *Black Power beyond borders* (pp. 107–126). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/kb4k

Shilliam, R. (2015). *The black Pacific: Anti-colonial struggles and oceanic connections*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Southern Initiative, Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, & Auckland Co-Design Lab. (2018). *Pacific Peoples' workforce challenge: Accelerating the advancement of Pacific people in the workforce*. https://www.aucklandco-lab.nz/reports-summary/pacific-peopless-workforce-challenge

Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In N. Carry & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 271–313). University of Illinois Press.

Statistics New Zealand. (2016). Wealth patterns across ethnic groups in New Zealand. https://www.stats.govt.nz/reports/wealth-patterns-across-ethnic-groups-in-new-zealand

Stats NZ. (2019, 4 November). *New Zealand's population reflects growing diversity*. https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/new-zealands-population-reflects-growing-diversity

Teariki, M. A. (2017). Housing and health of Kiribati migrants living in New Zealand. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *14*(10), Article 1237. https://doi.org/gckdzz

Tukuitonga, C. (2013). Pacific people in New Zealand. In I. St George (Ed.), *Cole's medical practice in New Zealand, 12th edition* (pp. 66–73). Medical Council of New Zealand.

Villanueva, J. (2018). Pathways of confinement: The legal constitution of carceral spaces in France's social housing estates. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *19*(8), 963–983.

Walters, L., Fagan, J., & Small, V. (2015, 4 June). Damp state housing played part in toddler's death. *Stuff*. https://www.stuff.co.nz/auckland/69095130/damp-state-house-played-part-in-toddlers-death

White, I., & Nandedkar, G. (2019). The housing crisis as an ideological artefact: Analysing how political discourse defines, diagnoses, and responds. *Housing Studies, 36*(2), 213–234. https://doi.org/kknk

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP
DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.7

TAIAO AND MAURI ORA

Māori understandings of the environment and its connection to wellbeing

*Marjorie Lipsham**

Abstract

This article draws on research undertaken for the study *Kaitiakitanga: Māori Experiences, Expressions, and Understandings* (Beverland, 2022). Four main themes were identified: Whānau, Taiao, Taonga Tuku Iho and Tino Rangatiratanga. The research was undertaken through a Kaupapa Māori methodology that carried an obligation to apply Māori ways of knowing and being across all areas of the study. This article draws upon one component from the larger study that concerned taiao and mauri ora. Kaikōrero discussed how being on land, by their respective waterways or being able to access their own cultural resource brought them mauri ora such as balance, cultural connection and wellness. The article begins by outlining how Māori discuss and understand our relationship to taiao, which includes our whakapapa relationships. Taiao and mauri ora are then discussed and defined. Finally, the methodology, methods, findings and discussions related to taiao and mauri ora are presented.

Keywords

environment, kaitiakitanga, land-based healing, Māori health and wellbeing, mauri ora, taiao

Introduction

Kawharu (1998), in her seminal work on kaitiakitanga, discussed it as a relatively recent word, brought into being during the development and consultations around the Resource Management Act 1991. Since that time, kaitiakitanga has become an accepted and widely used term to discuss Māori responsibilities and obligations concerning land, water, wāhi tapu and treasures of consequence, or taonga. It is considered an environmental and sustainability ethic employed by Māori to protect and care for all parts of our earth and universe (Forster, 2012, 2019; Henwood & Henwood, 2011; Kawharu, 2002; Mataamua & Temara, 2010; Muru-Lanning, 2016; Mutu, 2010; Ruru et al., 2011; Te Aho, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal [Wai 262], 2011). This article draws on research undertaken for the study *Kaitiakitanga: Māori Experiences, Expressions, and Understandings* (Beverland, 2022). The main study provided an opportunity to pose two main pātai related to kaitiakitanga: How do we, as Māori, experience, express and understand kaitiakitanga? What mātauranga and tikanga have informed our knowing?

Four main themes were identified in the larger study: Whānau, Taiao, Taonga Tuku Iho and Tino Rangatiratanga (see Table 1). This article relates to the two subthemes identified within the Taiao theme, namely, taiao understandings and mauri ora. The article begins by contextualising

* Waikato-Maniapoto. Senior Lecturer, Massey University, Manawatū, New Zealand. Email: m.lipsham@massey.ac.nz

TABLE 1 Overview of themes and subthemes

Theme	Subtheme
Whānau	Ko te kairaranga i te tira: Kuia Kaitiakitanga: Wider whānau roles
Taiao	Taiao understandings Mauri Ora
Taonga Tuku Iho	Kaitiaki Te Tuakiritanga, the inner being He mana tō te kupu, he tikanga tō te kupu
Tino Rangatiratanga	Impact of colonisation Asserting Tino Rangatiratanga

taiao and whakapapa. Taiao is the term related to the environment, and whakapapa sets the relational and spiritual context that binds us to our human and non-human relations and to the cosmos. It is the discipline of these relationships that creates the caretaking and guardianship responsibilities that are described as kaitiakitanga. Mauri ora, the Māori concept related to health and wellbeing, is then discussed and defined. Finally, the methodology, methods, findings and discussions related to taiao understandings and mauri ora are presented.

Taiao, in te ao Māori, is discussed within the physical or environmental discourse. It is a word used by Māori that concerns the environment, earth, natural world and nature (Marsden & Royal, 2003; Royal, 2010; Te Ara, 2010). Taiao can be described as everything that a person can access in the space of the earth and universe, that which Papatūānuku and Ranginui created. It is used as a term that encompasses all the elements in the environment. From the mountains to the sea, the land, sky and everything in between, Māori have whakapapa relationships with each other as well as with all that is spiritual and physical in nature (Jones, 2013; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Pihama et al., 2023). As explained by Simmonds (2014), "Whakapapa, then, is not only about positionality, it is also about connectivity, history and geography" (p. 25). Penetito (2021) extended this understanding and wrote that Māori are born to honour whakapapa and that we are all "creatures of te taiao" (creatures of our environment) (p. 37) alongside plants, water and creatures that fly, crawl or swim and breathe. Whakapapa is argued to be the fundamental way through which our people organise ourselves and our world, and how we understand the relationship between all things (Che's Channel—Te Paepae Waho, 2020; Kawharu, 2000, 2002; Potter, 2020; Te Aho, 2011). Whakapapa is therefore much more than the terms often used in translations—genealogy, lineage or descent (Durie, 1998; Forster, 2019, 2003; Pere, 1994)—because these terms often fail to recognise that for Māori, everything in the world has whakapapa, which is to say everything is related and relational.

The basic premise of the relationship Māori have with taiao is the idea of belonging and connection, rather than ownership and control, and this extends to an economic foundation, a tribal identity and a spiritual base (Durie, 1998, 2001; Hond et al., 2019; Hutchings & Smith, 2020; Muru-Lanning, 2016; Mutu, 2010; Potter, 2020; Ruru et al., 2011; Te Aho, 2011). One way of expressing this belonging and connection is through whaikōrero and pepeha that include ancestors, mountains and water. For example, "ko Taupiri te maunga, ko Waikato te awa, ko Pōtatau Te Wherowhero te tangata" can be translated as "Taupiri is the mountain, Waikato the river, Pōtatau the man/ancestor" (Mead & Grove, 2001; Roberts et al., 1995).

Durie (1998) stated that "land is necessary for spiritual growth and economic survival. It contributes to sustenance, wealth, resource development, tradition; land strengthens whanau and hapu solidarity, and adds value to personal and tribal identity as well as the wellbeing of future generations" (p. 115). This exemplifies the centrality of connection to taiao for Māori and elucidates why hapū and iwi have fought against colonisation for generations to assert their roles and obligations to taiao (Waitangi Tribunal [Wai 262], 2011). Colonisation has disrupted and fragmented our ways of being and has interfered with our ability

to live our lives as Māori (Pihama & Lee, 2019; Walker, 2004). Colonisation has pervaded every area of Māori society, from our understandings and relationships with the natural environment, to language, tikanga, mātauranga and the collective ways that enable wellbeing. Māori understand that to be well, or to have mauri ora, our relationships within taiao are crucial.

The word mauri on its own has several different meanings, which include the notions of energy, connecting, vibration, vitality and lifeforce (Durie, 2001; Marsden & Royal, 2003; Pere, 1997; Pohatu, 2003). Mauri, when paired with ora, meaning to be alive and well, is related to human happiness, positivity, flourishing, being balanced, having good vibration and health, having good relationships with the living and the spirit world, feeling exploratory and generally feeling positivity and strength (Kingi et al., 2015; Pohatu, 2003, 2011). Tākirirangi Smith (2019) explained how the environment is a critical factor for the reciprocal human experience of mauri ora:

> Mauri is the energy from which all life generates, resonating within all things throughout the environment—natural or built. While there are intangible qualities associated with the management of the natural *resources* the vitality of the mauri can be gauged through the assessment of the health and wellbeing of ecosystems, natural resources affiliated with those, and the resilience of relationships between people, their culture, and the environments to which they associate. (p. 18)

Pere (1994) further identified the dynamism of mauri and its different states, the continuum of being in mauri ora and other mauri states such as noho and oho, and that people have an important contribution to make in the maintenance and momentum of a mauri state. How our mauri is affected by the wider environment and social contexts is an important consideration. There is a reciprocal relationship between Māori and taiao whereby the health and wellbeing of each depends on the other, so that it is mutually beneficial (Henwood & Henwood, 2011; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). Māori have varied and often complex tikanga and mātauranga regarding all areas of the earth and sky, which includes the universe, and there is a natural order, a balance, an equilibrium, so that when one part of the system is unbalanced, the entire system is out of balance (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Mead, 2003; Mead & Grove, 2001). Māori ensure this balance through tikanga and mātauranga such as kaitiakitanga (Blair, 2002; Kawharu, 2002). Without equilibrium, the human condition, the environment, health and balance are severely affected (Carney & Smith, 2020; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Waitangi Tribunal [Wai 262], 2011). Being on the whenua, being near the awa, or returning to your own lands are cultural ways that Māori seek wellbeing, identity, (re)balance and (re)connection.

Kaupapa rangahau: Methodology

Māori, through the philosophy of kaitiakitanga, continue to discuss and send clear messages about the importance of taking care of, not only ourselves, but also the metaphysical and physical realms of our world, so that all things are well, balanced and healthy. This article and the larger research study are a contribution to these conversations. To engage with Māori about their experiences, expressions and understandings of taiao and the connection to mauri ora, it was necessary to underpin this research with a Kaupapa Māori methodology.

Kaupapa Māori theory (KMT) provided the platform to effect transformation and promote tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake. This meant honouring, privileging and applying Māori ways of knowing and being across the research. The principles of KMT provided signposts to analyse and organise ideas, views and experiences in a way that was consistent and carried cultural integrity. The principles of KMT used were tino rangatiratanga, taonga tuku iho, ako Māori, kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga, whānau, āta, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and kaupapa.

Tikanga rangahau: Methods

Kaikōrero: Participants and recruitment

Twenty-four participants shared information about taiao and its relationship to mauri ora. All 24 kaikōrero identified as Māori and spanned a range of contexts. These contexts included education, environment, rongoā, rangatahi, whānau, tauira, kaiako (teachers of kaitiakitanga), te reo Māori, social work and mātauranga. The kaikōrero age range was 16–75 years. All kaikōrero engaged in whanaungatanga, and their identified iwi spanned the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The process for identification and recruitment was approved by the Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics) SOB 19/24. Through the process of whanaungatanga, I identified and invited most kaikōrero. The exception was the social work supervisors and social work practitioners, who were recruited through

the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers.

The ethics application included two hoa-haere. Both hoa-haere were te reo speakers and were crucial to the safety of the te reo Māori space within this study. They were critical to the checking and analysis of my translation and whakamārama of te reo within this work.

Hui: Interviews

Individual and group hui were held with kaikōrero. The whānau (*n* = 7), tauira (*n* = 4) and kaiako (*n* = 3) each gathered for a group hui, while mātanga (*n* = 5), social work practitioners (*n* = 2) and social work supervisors (*n* = 3) all participated in one-to-one hui. All hui included tikanga processes, such as mihimihi, or introductions, greeting and engagement processes; whanaungatanga, or the process of building rapport and getting to know one another; kaupapa, or explaining the reason that the hui has been called in conjunction with formal paperwork; offering kai; offering koha; and the poroaki, or closing the session.

An open-ended interview schedule was used during all hui, in which the topic areas included kaupapa—questions about kaitiakitanga and its meaning, understandings, definitions; tāngata—questions related to kaitiakitanga and its practice; wairua—questions related to the spiritual realm, emotions and feelings; te ao tūroa—questions related to the environment; and general—mōteatea, oriori, karakia, waiata, whakataukī or akī that related to kaitiakitanga or that kaikōrero wanted to share. The individual hui ranged from one to two hours, and the group hui from one to three hours. The interviews were audio-recorded (with kaikōrero permission) and later transcribed.

Analysis

A Kaupapa Māori analysis process (see Figure 1) was designed and constructed through the framework āta (Beverland, 2022). In the ethics application, two hoa-haere were named to assist with translation of te reo and with the analysis of kaupapa. The framework was co-constructed with the hoa-haere and whānau, and discussed with the supervisors of the research. The kaupapa Māori analysis process included being able to interpret te reo Māori, not just English. It also required recognition that the information gathered holds aspect of tapu, whakapapa and kare-ā-roto, and therefore, te tuakiritanga became a central consideration alongside the work of theming. The framework was used to action and guide the analysis process, to discuss issues, debate kaupapa, and construct themes and ideas. In line with this process, patterns, linkages and connections from the kōrero were discussed and finalised. Finding patterns, linkages and connections through a Kaupapa Māori lens meant that understanding pūrākau was critical. This concerns unlocking epistemological constructs, cultural codes, philosophical thought and worldviews that underpin our identity as Māori (Lee, 2015). In that vein, repetition,

FIGURE 1 Kaupapa Māori analysis process

kaupapa, whakataukī, analogies, similarities and differences, dialect and theory were all important. Seven positions are presented in Figure 1 that were used to thematically analyse data within the larger study, and although numbered, were not linear in their use. A summary of this figure and the seven positions is presented below:

- *I mahi ngātahi mātou ko ngā hoa haere i ngā āhuatanga katoa e pa ana ki ngā mahi arohaehae*. Collective discussion throughout the study regarding extracts, chapter construction, theming, te reo, progression of analysis, keeping the study on track, and maintaining focus on aims and objectives.
- *Te tuakiritanga*. Encompasses a person's identity, personality, attributes, qualities and kare-ā-roto. Working through the information gathered from the kaikōrero involved canvassing information that crossed into experiences, ā hinengaro, ā wairua, ā tinana. Protecting and tending to the kaikōrero was important, as was considering the depth of the sharing of information.
- *Āta mahi—Kia mōhio he aha ngā whakaaro i puta mai i ngā puna kōrero*. To become familiar with kōrero. Āta mahi began the process of analysis by looking holistically at what was being discussed by the kaikōrero and highlighting initial thoughts.
- *Āta titiro—Āta titiro ki ngā kōrero e hāngai ana ki ngā mātāpono o Kaupapa Māori*. Identify, look for and consider Kaupapa Māori related themes that align to Kaupapa Māori principles named within the methodology.
- *Āta whiriwhiri—Kimihia ngā whainga i roto ki tēnā ki tēna o ngā uiui*. Pinpointed discussions regarding the themes, and the themes tentatively decided upon. Plaiting or weaving together ideas and then moving on to discuss, negotiate and decide upon.
- *Āta whakaingoa—Kātahi me whakaingoa ngā kaupapa kōrero, kaupapa āpiti rānei*. This process closely follows the last whereby themes are named, labelled and coded. For example, throughout the kōrero there were several themes related to whanaungatanga, connection, wairua, disconnection and so on. During this part of the process there was a need to negotiate the placement of these themes and place them accordingly.
- *Āta whakaaro—Whakarōpūhia i ngā kaupapa kōrero kātahi me āta whakaaro*. This was an opportunity to bring together the structure of the thesis and decide on the themes and subthemes within the individual chapters. This āta related to chapter construction, which included naming the chapters and finalising subtheme names. Each of the subthemes identified at this stage were carefully considered within larger concepts or philosophies to lay down a clear path toward the final chapter construction.
- *Āta wetewete—Me arohaehae ngā whakaaro i roto i ngā kōrero*. Āta wetewete is the process of carefully unravelling, releasing and setting free as well as writing up the themes, their relevance, considering new contributions, what relevance and significance the kōrero had to kaitiakitanga and how the chapters related to other chapters and to the other themes in other chapters. Here there is an opportunity to change themes and reconstruct subthemes.
- *Āta tuhi—Tuhia te tuhinga kairangi*. Āta tuhi is the point at which the study is typed, finalised and prepared for review. This process of writing, review and reflection was ongoing as themes presented themselves. A process was followed to introduce, link and then connect the theme to kaupapa.
- *Āta whakaaro*. The process of reflection.

Ngā hua: Findings

While the subthemes of taiao understandings and mauri ora have been synthesised below for this article, kaikōrero discussed these within the larger context of kaitiakitanga.

Taiao understandings

This first section outlines kaikōrero discussions regarding the tikanga and mātauranga that underpin the relationship Māori have with taiao. The components elucidated from the kōrero included equilibrium/balance, identity and whakapapa, cultural resource and work, and whenua and pito.

Equilibrium/balance: Inherent in the kōrero was the idea that there is balance not only within relationships, but that tikanga, such as karakia and aroha, will ensure an overall equilibrium. Kaikōrero highlighted the importance of having reciprocal relationships with our environment, and related this to health and wellbeing; they also specifically highlighted sickness of a spiritual and physical nature when the balance is not right. As a whānau kaikōrero explained, the health of the land and the people is intimately intertwined: "Ka ora te whenua, ka ora te tangata, ka ora te tangata, ka ora te whenua." Kaikōrero often called upon whakataukī like this one to speak back to relationships with parts of taiao. This whakataukī includes

the word "ora", meaning to be alive or well, which describes a shared, respectful, balanced and reciprocal relationship between Māori and the land. A rangatahi kaikōrero reiterated this belief in their kōrero: "It is pretty straightforward, look after the whenua to look after yourself. Don't look after the whenua, well, you are going to get māuiui." Māuiui for Māori is not solely regarded as physical sickness but can include mental and psychological illness. Underlying the statement of this kaikōrero is the recognition of tikanga, which is that to take care of whenua, there is a certain way to treat it because of the reciprocal obligations humans and whenua have to one other. A rangatahi kaikōrero highlighted this in their expression of the significance of intergenerational knowledge transmission from their grandmother. The mātauranga shared by their kuia was about weaving, physical wellness, spiritual wellness and taking care of the taiao. This example encompassed aroha, whakapapa and karakia as key tikanga that guide the human relationships with one another as well as with te taiao:

> Nan teaching us how to weave, and before we even do that there is like a karakia and there is a whakapapa to that hua … for me that relates to kaitiakitanga because not only you are looking after yourself, but you are looking after te taiao as well and you are looking after the spiritual side too, and the physical side for everyone, not just yourself. I feel like kaitiakitanga is more in everything, the aroha you have for everything. (Rangatahi kaikōrero)

Identity and whakapapa: Identity and whakapapa are an important part of the overall fundamental understanding of kaitiakitanga. They mirror the literature, which makes clear that kaitiakitanga is fundamentally about whakapapa and our obligation and responsibility to the sustainability, taking care of and maintenance of that whakapapa.

Kaikōrero acknowledged the connection between us, the metaphysical and the physical, and spoke about why we have tikanga such as pepeha, and why understanding whakapapa is important to understanding our position in the world and how this underpins philosophies such as kaitiakitanga. For example, a mātanga kaikōrero discussed culture, maunga, tūpuna and atua as necessary for Māori security of identity and wellness: "Those things that we refer to in our pepeha and expressing our connections to our maunga, etc., they are important in that we have those connections through our ancestors to those places and those strengthen our wellbeing, our identity." This mātanga then went on to explain that Māori view ourselves as inseparable from taiao and that the words we use and the pepeha we recite have a deeper meaning than some might think. Within their kōrero is a comment about kaitiaki having a reciprocal responsibility; for example, we are kaitiaki of the maunga, the maunga is our kaitiaki. There is an essence of cooperation and collectivity:

> When we say things like, ko so-and-so te maunga, ko so-and-so te awa, ko so-and-so te whenua, that that is our connection, and in doing so we are reinforcing, reinstating our roles as kaitiaki of that maunga, of that awa, of that whenua. It is not just a stand up and just blurting out words; there is a deeper significance in saying those things. When we say that we are from that maunga, then we are saying that we are the kaitiaki of that maunga as well as the maunga being our kaitiaki. When we say we are from that awa, then we are saying that we are the kaitiaki of that awa and that awa is our kaitiaki. Same with the land and same with the iwi … it is instilled in the way we practise our pepeha, in exchanges between peoples, it is intrinsically part of who we are. (Mātanga kaikōrero)

Other kaikōrero highlighted the interconnection of the self, taiao, tūpuna and whenua, and of how strength and mana reside in our ancestral lands and home places. Identity, whakapapa to land and the weaving together of things tangible and intangible were acknowledged. A kaikōrero discussed land as the "source of things" and made clear that the land is the way to know oneself. Mana was used as a word that connects this kaikōrero with the members of their whānau that have passed on into the spirit world, with the connection to the mana of those who have passed residing in whenua. While the words wairua and mauri were not used by this kaikōrero, they were implied and deeply felt:

> Going back to the source of things, to the land, our connection to people, our connection to ourselves … when you are connected with your whenua, and you feel that mana from your tūpuna who have stood there before you. (Mātanga kaikōrero)

Cultural resource and work: The practices explained in this theme exemplify, first, the deep connectedness Māori have with their relations; second, the ways in which Māori gather resources, which are grounded in tikanga and mātauranga and passed intergenerationally; and lastly, the

continuing importance Māori place on taking care of whenua and places of significance.

Kaikōrero highlighted that kaitiakitanga was not just about being connected to land, but that the maintenance of, sourcing food from, understanding resources and being good custodians of the land was equally important. A rangatahi kaikōrero highlighted the importance of whānau collectives in this mahi:

> Things like cleaning up the urupā, painting it and the fence around it, collecting wood ... once or twice a year I help ... Uh, well, we go up with family, our uncles and all that ... you're not allowed to eat up there inside the urupā ... only outside ... We catch fish in our creek ... we got lucky at Christmas ... Nana Nui actually showed us in the end how to trap it.

For this rangatahi, "uncles" showing them how to maintain the urupā is part of the tikanga and this involves understanding roles and responsibilities. Second, the idea that there is no eating within the urupā identifies that the rangatahi knows this is a key tikanga. Lastly, that a grandmother was involved in the pūrākau of catching fish in the creek highlights intergenerational knowledge sharing or ako. This also acknowledges the significance of mokopuna–kaumātua relationships for whānau. The collection of food from one's own whenua is an extremely important tikanga identified by this rangatahi in terms of fish from the creek. Therefore, they identify not only the resource (fish) on whenua, but the importance of access to this resource (on their own whenua).

Food and its importance and connection to kaitiakitanga was also reiterated and expanded on by a mātanga kaikōrero in their explanation of the ceremonial aspect of gathering and consuming kai:

> Eating the kererū was a way that they would honour Tāne, it wasn't taking from Tāne, but Tāne is their kaitiaki for Tūhoe, that is our kaitiaki, that is our big God. We eat because he becomes part of us when we do that. We are actually honouring him, and we have all of these ceremonies around the eating of that particular species of bird, because it is a key element within our culture, but it also a way that we honour our main God is by partaking in his flesh that becomes our flesh and that is our way of reconnecting to that kaitiakitanga.

Here, the tikanga included honouring kaitiaki and deity, nourishment and becoming one with the kererū—"his flesh that becomes our flesh" and finally, ceremony regarding how the bird is eaten and caught. This kaikōrero elegantly described a symbiotic relationship between themselves, the child of Tāne and the taiao.

Whenua and pito: The practice of returning the whenua and pito by burial was explained as a process of connection, revitalisation and renaissance by the kaikōrero. Kaikōrero discussed how this practice had been interfered with through colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation. Of note, the kaikōrero who did not have whenua found ways to connect to the cultural practice by burying it where they lived. Kaikōrero saw the burial of whenua and pito as tikanga connected to taiao, but also as kaitiakitanga tikanga.

Several kaikōrero engaged in discussions regarding whenua and pito when speaking about connection to whenua. They spoke about the interrelated nature of whenua, pito and humans, and drew on the tikanga and mātauranga passed through intergenerational knowledge transmission. A kaikōrero referred to several tikanga that are important to Māori, including that burial occurs in accordance with tikanga, that pito and whenua are returned to whenua, and that this is how one remains connected to whenua:

> So, in regard to the whenua, we're connected to it, right. So, when a baby's born and then we have the whenua and the pito, there is a practice that we do whereby we return that back to the whenua. So, at home we have a specific place that all the afterbirth or the whenua that they have go to a specific place and that connects everything back to that particular mauri. The mauri of the whenua, māmā, pēpi is all connected ... in the whenua, and we all know where it is and it's all looked after, and it's taken care of. Sometimes depending on iwi affiliations, you might have the whenua go one way and the pito go another. I've heard of that. (Social work supervisor kaikōrero)

Mātanga kaikōrero also spoke about how rākau or plants are used at burial sites as location identifiers and that taking care of the tree is an important tikanga. This is to remember where the pito and whenua are buried, and it may be kept secret to selected whānau members in case of mākutu:

> Kei tangohia te whenua, kei tangohia te pito, ka tanumia ki raro i tetahi rākau—and the kaitiaki part was the whereabouts of that rākau. (Mātanga kaikōrero)

> Up at Whānau-ā-Apanui they bury theirs and the pito in the pōhutukawa tree at the roots. But ours are in the whenua, and we all know where it is, you know what I mean, and it's all looked after, and it's taken care of. Sometimes depending on iwi affiliations, you might have the whenua go one way and the pito go another. I've heard of that. (Mātanga kaikōrero)

A whānau kaikōrero referred to burying pito as rongoā and as a function of being well. Rongoā refers to Māori understandings of remedy, solution, medicine or healing treatments. Their kōrero made it clear that the pito is part of the remedy and solution for māuiui. Tikanga was reiterated in terms of how to heal and how to feel well through burying the pito and whenua around the home as a spiritual protection and barrier to māuiui: "In terms of the pito ... it is the rongoā for us, for when our kids would be māuiui ... to be placed around them" (Whānau kaikōrero).

Mauri ora

The second subtheme of mauri ora highlighted that taiao is strongly connected to mauri ora, with kōrero canvassing areas such as whanaungatanga, equilibrium and wellbeing. For Māori to be well, all that is around must also be well, and in a context where all living things are in balance, mauri ora is a natural occurrence and consequence. A mātanga kaikōrero, for example, described land, culture and connections as regulating mauri, and this regulation is dependent on the level of connection to the whenua. Returning to whenua is explained as holistically healing and important to mauri ora:

> Without our land, without our culture, things that connect us to our tīpuna and our atua, we become unwell, and it may not necessarily manifest itself physically, but it could manifest itself culturally, spiritually, emotionally, mentally. Physically on the face of things they might be looking very well, but culturally, spiritually, emotionally and mentally that person may be having a difficult time. (Mātanga kaikōrero)

A rangatahi kaikōrero described a similar rationale for why they would return home. They referred to different mauri states, including feeling stress, feeling overwhelmed, feeling relief and feeling okay. Going home is an important part of the process of returning to a state of mauri ora and mental wellbeing:

> I can't think of any specific times, but I just know whenever I am stressed out, or I feel overwhelmed by things, I know it is time for me to go home … then it's just like a relief, like everything is going to be okay. (Rangatahi kaikōrero)

Another mātanga kaikōrero explained how taiao is connected to healing, connectedness, balance, wairua and the metaphysical, linking the spiritual dimension to taiao and discussing how this aligned to being well. They described how their river is a guardian, thus illustrating the kaitiakitanga of this awa. They explained that conducting karakia was the way to connect spiritually with the awa and self. Finally, this kaikōrero emphasised that when outside of one's area, one must continue to enact tikanga to be able to access mauri ora:

> When I have certain things that I need to do, or there are certain things that I have on me, I go to the river here, I conduct karakia and this river here becomes a kaitiaki for me … you create a spiritual connection between something … I have no whakapapa to this river, I am not from this area, but this area has cared for me for near on 10 years, and I am indebted. It is that relationship back to the place. I am responsible for ensuring that I conduct myself in a particular manner while being in this area … Then the awa becomes my kaitiaki as well. I go to the awa, and I will conduct karakia and if something has happened, I will do a karakia over myself. I've done it a number of times, so it is not as if because I am not living somewhere. I cannot have a practice. I just make the practice where I am from. (Mātanga kaikōrero)

When this kaikōrero disclosed "there are certain things that I have on me", there is an inference that visiting the awa, and the power of the awa itself, will help free them from matters that relate to not feeling well spiritually and to attain a level of mauri ora. "I will do a karakia over myself" is a tikanga they practise as part of a process of being well or returning to a place of tau. Karakia is about freeing oneself, another or any context or situation from infliction in this respect, but also about acknowledging atua or kaitiaki. This balance, rongoā, māuiui, whakanoa te tinana and reciprocation were also described by other kaikōrero:

> It is like a balance ... the rongoā is huge ... go into the bush and just be silent; we still have a connection there and sometimes too we need to take

> time out to go back to those connections. (Whānau Kaikōrero)
>
> Even being able to go inside to just whakanoa te tinana. (Rangatahi Kaikōrero)

The shift from a spiritual, metaphysical connection with taiao to a human-centric understanding is a key point made in the following kōrero. The kaikōrero warned against shifts in ideology for Māori because these will affect our understanding and experience. Both the physical and the metaphysical environments were referred to by this kaikōrero:

> This connection to the physical and metaphysical environment is arguably changing in an Aotearoa context for Māori, driven largely by the tools of colonisation. I think for me one of the biggest changes has been, in my experience, is that a shift into thinking about kaitiakitanga as human beings being the centre of all things has been really significant, but I think that's a whole issue for te ao Māori generally. For far too long we have bought into, which is a very colonial, a Western way of viewing the world, that human beings are the ultimate species of the world and that we roll over and that we dominate everything. This has shown to have impact on our health across all sectors. (Mātanga kaikōrero)

In contrast to connection, the next kaikōrero spoke of the impact of disconnection, which is equally important when discussing the continuum of mauri ora. This kaikōrero clearly identified the misuse of power and control by the Crown. Also inherent in this kōrero is a clear distinction between the ideology and cultural interest of one group against another—in this case Pākehā—which is inferred in the "they":

> Donna Awatere in Māori sovereignty, and it always stuck in my head, talked about colonial ways as being the mowed lawn mentality, and the mowed lawn mentality was about having control over your environment. That is what they first did when they came. They cleared the land, so we all had lawns and not ngahere. Her thinking was that this is embedded in a colonial understanding of their environment—we have to tame it, we have to control it, we have to keep it in shape, but the shape has to be the particular kind of mowed lawn view of the world. That means that you can divvy up the land, that means you can portion it up, you can sell it, you can commodify it, all those things. (Mātanga kaikōrero)

Several themes are present in the above quote, including colonialism, stolen land, commodification and urbanisation, and how that has affected the idea of belonging and connection versus the colonial idea of ownership and control.

Conclusions

The philosophy of kaitiakitanga plays a significant role in these contemporary times in advancing practices related to our overall sense of identity, mauri ora and connectedness to time, place and space. In the larger study, there is an assertion that kaitiakitanga must be understood through connection to taiao and that a shift away from a whakapapa and metaphysical connection to a human-centric one will undermine the integrity of kaitiakitanga. Understanding the environment and ancestral ways of knowing and being through a whakapapa lens plays a significant role in being healthy and maintaining a sense of wellbeing and positivity. For Māori, whakapapa encompasses memories, relationships, experiences and a sense of self, and kaikōkero expressed this connectivity and interdependence. What interrupts this connection was also identified by kaikōkero, namely, power and control differentials. Maintaining cultural integrity was seen as critical: kaikōrero warned against shifts in ideology that affected how Māori understand and express our own tikanga and mātauranga.

Kaikōrero expressed and explained that taiao was crucial to the navigation of tension, stress and problems. Being with and in te taiao generates healing, connectedness, balance and wairua. Positive health outcomes for Māori include a holistic spectrum of variables such as the person's social environments, their connection to land and place, and ancestral ways of knowing and being. These variables play a significant role in being healthy and maintaining an overall sense of identity and wellbeing. Kaikōrero affirmed that mauri ora includes conditions of positivity, flourishing, knowing themselves, knowing their world as Māori, having relationships with taiao and happiness generally, which reduced feelings of anxiety and isolation and which contributed to strengthening relationships and identity. Several of these conditions across the most specific domains of mental, emotional, cultural and spiritual wellbeing were highlighted in this part of the study. The findings show that kaitiakitanga practices and a relationship with taiao are important to attaining a higher sense of purpose, hope and provision of assurance, and to feeling part of a much larger meaning of life.

Kaikōrero in this study discussed taiao and mauri ora in ways that help them make sense of their lives, make sense of te taiao and make sense of their experiences they have as Māori. They confirmed that the interdependency among humans and nature, the physical and spiritual worlds, the ancestors, past present and future, and all living things, animate and inanimate, are bound to one another in an interconnected way, deeply reflecting spiritual and cultural cosmology tied to place (Johnson-Jennings et al., 2020).

Acknowledgements

This article was supported through the Titiro Whakamuri, Kōkiri Whakamua Project (Tū Tama Wāhine o Taranaki), which is a part of the Health Research Council of NZ Programme number HRC 19/694, Tangata Whenua Tangata Ora: Investigating Health Gain through Whenua Initiatives, hosted by the Whariki Research Centre, Massey University.

Glossary

akī	encouragement
ako	to learn, learning
aroha	kindness, affection, love, compassion
āta	careful, deliberate, purposeful
āta titiro	look with deliberation
āta whakaaro	think purposefully, carefully
atua	a god, ancestor, deity
awa	river
ā wairua	spiritual form
hapū	subtribal group
hinengaro	mind
hoa-haere	valued companions, constant companions
hua	finding, result, outcome
hui	to gather, meet, meeting
iwi	tribal group
kai	food
kaiako	teacher
kaikōrero	speaker(s), the person or people speaking, participant(s)
kaitiakitanga	the act of minding, guarding, caring, keeping, trusteeship—connected to the physical, metaphysical and human realms
karakia	prayer, incantation, spiritual guiding words to Māori deity
kare-ā-roto	feelings and emotions
kaumātua	grandparents/older people
kaupapa	floor, stage, platform, topic, policy, matter for discussion
Kaupapa Māori	Contexts that are Māori, Māori theoretical underpinnings, Māori praxis
kererū	New Zealand pigeon, *Hemiphaga novaeseelandiae*—a large green, copper and white native bush pigeon
kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga	socio-economic mediation principle
koha	gift, token
kōrero	conversation, talk, talking
kuia	older woman, grandmother
mahi	work
mākutu	witchcraft, magic, sorcery, spell
māmā	mother
mana motuhake	separate identity, autonomy, self-government, self-determination
Māori	native, Indigenous person of Aotearoa, New Zealand
mātanga	experienced person, professional, skilled, expert
mātauranga	knowledge, information that is Māori, education
māuiui	sick, weary, fatigued, sickly, unwell, illness
maunga	mountain
mauri	lifeforce, vitality, special nature, measure of emotion, state of being
mauri ora	happiness, flourishing, wellness, being alive
mihimihi	speech of greeting
mokopuna	grandchildren
mōteatea	lament
ngahere	bush, forest
noho	sit, be still
oho	awaken
ora	to be alive or well
oriori	lullaby
Pākehā	a person of predominantly European descent
Papatūānuku	the earth
pātai	questions, inquiry
pepeha	tribal saying or proverb, expressing ancestors, where you are from, information about tribal affiliations and whakapapa

pēpi	baby
pito	navel, section of umbilical cord nearest the baby's body
pōhutukawa	New Zealand Christmas tree, M*etrosideros excelsa*, *Metrosideros kermadecensis*, *Metrosideros bartlettii*—trees found in coastal areas that bear large red flowers about Christmas time and have leaves that are velvety-white underneath.
poroaki	leave-taking, farewell
pūrākau	narrative, story, messages of kaupapa and whakapapa
rākau	tree
rangahau	research
rangatahi	youth
Ranginui	the sky
rongoā	medicine, healing, traditional Māori treatments, connected to health and wellbeing
taiao	the environment
tāngata	people
taonga	treasures of importance to Māori, objects, resources
taonga tuku iho	treasures of importance gifted from ancestors
tapu	sacred, prohibited, forbidden, holy, under spiritual protection
tau	wellness, balance
tauira	example, student
te ao Māori	Māori worldview
te ao tūroa	light of day, world, Earth, nature, enduring world, natural world
te reo Māori	Māori language
te tiriti o Waitangi	the treaty of Waitangi
tikanga	practices, to be right, method, habit, purpose, technique
tinana	body
tino rangatiratanga	absolute authority, self-determination, sovereignty
tīpuna	ancestors, grandparents
titiro	to look at, inspect, examine, observe, survey, view
tuakiritanga	identity
tuhi	to write, draw, record
tūpuna	ancestors
urupā	burial ground, cemetery
wāhi tapu	a sacred place or sacred site
waiata	song, chant
wairua	spirit, spiritual
wetewete	to untie, unravel, release, set free
whaikōrero	formal speech, oratory
whakaaro	to think, plan, consider, decide
whakamārama	understandings
whakanoa te tinana	to remove tapu from the physical body and make the body balanced and at peace again
whakapapa	genealogy, to layer, lay flat upon one another, ancestral and current relationships, recite genealogies
whakataukī	proverb
whānau	to be born, give birth, family, be connected familiarly
whanaungatanga	relationships, kinship, connections within whānau, whānau diversities and whakapapa
whenua	earth, land, ground, placenta
whiriwhiri	to select, choose, pick

References

Beverland, M. (2022). *Kaitiakitanga: Māori experiences, expressions, and understandings* [PhD thesis, Massey University]. Massey Research Online. http://hdl.handle.net/10179/17681

Blair, N. (2002). Kaitiakitanga in the concrete jungle. In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Whenua: Managing our resources* (pp. 62–74). Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd.

Carney, G., & Smith, J. (2020). Ko te kai he rongoā, ko te rongoā he kai, motherhood, soil, and wellbeing. In J. Hutchings & J. Smith (Eds.), *Te mahi oneone hua parakore: A Māori soil sovereignty and wellbeing handbook* (pp. 177–183). Freerange Press.

Che's Channel—Te Paepae Waho. (2020). *Te Kōkōmuka: Mana tiaki: Protecting ourselves, our spaces and our culture* [Video]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/TePaepaeWaho/video

Durie, M. (1998). *Te mana, te kāwanatanga: The politics of Māori self-determination*. Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (2001). *Mauri ora: The dynamics of Maori health*. Oxford University Press.

Forster, M. (2012). *Hei whenua papatipu: Kaitiakitanga and the politics of enhancing the mauri of wetlands* [PhD, Massey University]. Massey Research Online. http://hdl.handle.net/10179/3336

Forster, M. (2019). He tātai whenua: Environmental genealogies. *Genealogy*, *3*(3), Article 42. https://doi.org/gnkvst

Harmsworth, G. R., & Awatere, S. (2013). Indigenous Māori knowledge and perspectives of ecosystems. In J. R. Dymond (Ed.), *Ecosystem services in New Zealand—conditions and trends* (pp. 274–286). Manaaki Whenua Press.

Henwood, W., & Henwood, R. (2011). Mana whenua kaitiakitanga in action: Restoring the mauri of Lake Ōmāpere. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *7*(3), 220–232. https://doi.org/gqq8wb

Hond, R., Ratima, M., & Edwards, W. (2019). The role of Māori community gardens in health promotion: A land-based community development response by Tangata Whenua, people of their land. *Global Health Promotion*, *26*(Suppl. 3), 44–53. https://doi.org/gg2qdh

Hutchings, J., & Smith, J. (Eds.). (2020). *Te mahi oneone hua parakore: A Māori soil sovereignty and wellbeing handbook*. Freerange Press.

Johnson-Jennings, M., Billiot, S., & Walters, K. (2020). Returning to our roots: Tribal health and wellness through land-based healing. *Genealogy, 4*(3), Article 91. https://doi.org/ghnf4r

Jones, P. T. H. (2013). *He tuhi mārei-kura: A treasury of sacred writings, a Māori account of the creation, based on the priestly lore of the Tainui people* (Version 1.018 ed.). Aka & Associates Limited.

Kawharu, M. (1998). *Dimensions of kaitiakitanga: An investigation of a customary Maori principle of resource management* [Unpublished PhD thesis]. Oxford University.

Kawharu, M. (2000). Kaitiakitanga: A Māori anthropological perspective of the Māori social environmental ethic of resource management. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society, 109*(4), 349–379.

Kawharu, M. (Ed.). (2002). *Whenua: Managing our resources*. Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd.

Kingi, T. K. R., Durie, M. K., Durie, M., Cunningham, C., Borman, B., & Ellison-Loschmann, L. (2015). *Te puawaitanga o ngā whānau. Six markers of flourishing whānau. A discussion document*. Massey University.

Lee, J. B. J. (2015). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as method. In L. Pihama & S. Tiakiwai (Eds.), *Kaupapa rangahau: A reader* (pp. 95–103). Te Kotahi Research Institute.

Marsden, M., & Henare, T. A. (1992). *Kaitiakitanga: A definitive introduction to the holistic world view of the Maori*. Ministry for the Environment.

Marsden, M., & Royal, T. A. C. (2003). *The woven universe: Selected writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*. Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden.

Mataamua, R., & Temara, P. (2010). Ka mate kāinga tahi, ka ora kāinga rua. Tūhoe and the environment: The impact of the Tūhoe diaspora on the Tūhoe environment. In R. Selby, P. Moore, & M. Mulholland (Eds.), *Māori and the environment: Kaitiaki* (pp. 95–107). Huia Publishers.

Mead, H. M. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values*. Huia Publishers.

Mead, H. M., & Grove, N. (2001). *Ngā pēpeha a ngā tīpuna: The sayings of the ancestors*. Victoria University Press.

Moewaka Barnes, H., & McCreanor, T. (2019). Colonisation, hauora and whenua in Aotearoa. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, *49*(Suppl. 1), 19–33. https://doi.org/d23v

Muru-Lanning, M. (2016). *Tupuna awa: People and politics of the Waikato River*. Auckland University Press.

Mutu, M. (2010). Ngāti Kahu kaitiakitanga. In R. Selby, P. Moore, & M. Mulholland (Eds.), *Māori and the environment: Kaitiaki* (pp. 13–35). Huia Publishers.

Penetito, K. (2021). Te whakanuia te whenua. In C. Hill (Ed.), *Kia whakanuia te whenua* (pp. 37–39). Te Kohanga Reo National Trust Board.

Pere, R. (1994). *Ako: Concepts and learning in the Maori tradition*. Te Kohanga Reo National Trust Board.

Pere, R. (1997). *Te wheke: A celebration of infinite wisdom* (2nd ed.). Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand.

Pihama, L., Beverland, M. J. H., & Cameron-Raumati, N. (2023). Whenua Ora Tangata Ora. In L. Pihama & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Ora: Healing ourselves—Indigenous knowledge, healing and wellbeing*. Huia Publishers.

Pihama, L., & Lee, J. B. J. (2019). Colonization, education, and Indigenous peoples. In E. A. McKinley & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of Indigenous education*. Springer. https://doi.org/km9v

Pohatu, T. (2003). Maori worldviews: Source of innovative social work choices. *Social Work Review: Te Komako*, *15*(3), 16–24.

Pohatu, T. (2011). Mauri: Rethinking human wellbeing. *MAI Review*, (3). https://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/view/380/680.html

Potter, H. (2020). Whare uku: Living in a home made of Papatūānuku. In J. Hutchings & J. Smith (Eds.), *Te mahi oneone hua parakore: A Māori soil sovereignty and wellbeing handbook* (pp. 132–149). Freerange Press.

Roberts, M., Norman, W., Minhinnick, N., Wihongi, D., & Kirkwood, C. (1995). Kaitiakitanga: Maori perspectives on conservation. *Pacific Conservation Biology, 2*(1), 7–20. https://doi.org/fgfz

Royal, T. A. C. (2010). Papatūānuku: The land. In T. Ara (Ed.), *Te taiao: Māori and the natural world*. David Bateman Ltd.

Ruru, J., Stephenson, J., & Abbot, M. (Eds.). (2011). *Making our place*. Wendy Harrex.

Simmonds, N. (2014). *Tū te turuturu nō Hine-te-iwaiwa: Mana wahine geographies of birth in Aotearoa New Zealand* [PhD thesis, The University of Waikato]. Research Commons. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/8821

Smith, T. (2019). *He ara uru ora: Traditional Māori understandings of trauma and healing*. Te Atawhai o Te Ao.

Te Aho, L. (2011). Waikato: River of life. In J. Ruru, J. Stephenson, & M. Abbot (Eds.), *Making our place* (pp. 145–158). Wendy Harrex.

Te Ara. (2010). *Te taiao: Māori and the natural world*. David Bateman.

Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262). (2011). *Ko Aotearoa tēnei: A report into claims concerning New Zealand law and policy affecting Māori culture and identity*. Legislation Direct. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_68356054/KoAotearoaTeneiTT1W.pdf

Walker, R. (1990). *Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end*. Penguin Books.

Walker, R. (2004). *Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end*. Penguin Books.

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP

DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.8

MĀUI TINIHANGA

Transformation through education

Heperi Harris[*]
Mariechen Ngarotata[†]
Reimana Tutengaehe[‡]
Katie Marr[§]
Niki Hannan[‖]
Faye Wilson-Hill[¶]

Abstract

The Māui Mua project investigated the experiences of six tauira Māori graduates who were the first in their whānau to enter tertiary education. Successful graduates of the Bachelor of Māori Language and Indigenous Studies at Te Puna Wānaka at Ara Institute of Canterbury Ltd (Ara) were interviewed about their learning experience, from their first day through to graduating, and commented on their motivation to study, their times of struggle and pressure, and their supports and strategies to overcome barriers to successfully complete their qualification. The learning experiences of tauira Māori were analysed using a framework informed by the Māui narrative. An outcome of this analysis was a better understanding of key factors that influence the learning journey at Ara for tauira Māori. In addition, the findings of this study informed the Māui Te Tauira pastoral support and mentoring programme and teaching practice at Ara, and guided programme design and delivery to support Māori achievement.

Keywords

equitable, frameworks, learning journey, Māui Mua, tauira, Te Whare Tapa Whā

Introduction

The vision of Ara Institute of Canterbury Ltd (Ara) is to transform lives through education. For tauira Māori, this is embodied in the Ara Framework for Māori Achievement (Ara Institute of Canterbury Ltd, 2020). The framework outlines a range of principles leading to tauira Māori success. Success for tauira Māori is about achieving

* Ngāti Mutunga, Moriori, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Whātua. Te Tumu Whakahaere—Manager, Te Puna Wānaka, Ara Institute of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.
† Ngāti Maniapoto, Hāmoa. Kaiako, Te Puna Wānaka, Ara Institute of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.
‡ Ngāi Te Rangi. Kaiako, Te Puna Wānaka, Ara Institute of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.
§ Tangata Tiriti. Kaiako, Ara Institute of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.
‖ Tangata Tiriti. Kaiako, Ara Institute of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand. Email: Niki.Hannan@ara.ac.nz
¶ Tangata Tiriti. Kaiako, Ara Institute of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

equality in educational outcomes, being confident in their culture, engaging with Māori frameworks of knowledge in the learning journey, finding meaningful employment with equitable incomes, and contributing towards an equitable society (Prendergast-Tarena & Mahara, 2020).

To achieve tauira success at Ara, Māui Te Tauira, a pastoral support and mentoring programme at Ara, was developed. It is a philosophical approach to guide programme design, delivery, tauira support and development. It arose out of the need for an Ara mātauranga Māori model that would draw all the individual Māori initiatives at Ara together. The programme uses peer mentoring to create models of culturally specific learning spaces where Māori values and tikanga are central to learning. In the model, learners are socially and academically connected to support through regular contact with academic staff, role models and peers (Winitana, 2012). The literature advises that such a model requires strong input and oversight from staff knowledgeable in tikanga (Bishop et al., 2007).

A further potential outcome of Māui Te Tauira is that it will become part of the Ara fabric of programme design, delivery, tauira support and development because of the potential benefit to all tauira and staff. The Māui Mua project informed one aspect of this culturally responsive provision, namely, the connections between the cultural narratives of Māui and the lived experiences of recent Māori Ara Graduates.

Review of literature

Māui Te Tauira responds to national and regional strategy documents, namely, the *Māori Strategy of Ka Hikitia* (Ministry of Education, 2013), the *Tertiary Education Strategy 2014–2019* (Ministry of Education, 2014) and, locally, Ngai Tahu's workforce development strategy (Prendergast-Tarena & Mahara, 2020).

In 2004, G. Smith argued that for education to achieve transformational outcomes, learning needed to be informed by the cultural preferences of Māori in response to their critical circumstance (p. 51). This notion of culturally responsive pedagogies and practices has been consistently identified in literature as fundamental to Māori doing well in educational settings (Chauvel & Rean, 2012; Webber et al., 2021).

Māori researchers have reported that culturally responsive practice includes demonstrating to tauira that they are cared for, valued and believed in (Greenhalgh et al., 2011; Tomoana, 2012); incorporating tauira knowledge and experiences in teaching and learning; and facilitating early engagement with parents and whānau to welcome and encourage their active involvement in, and support for, tauira learning. Furthermore, staff need to actively demonstrate their belief in Māori learners' abilities, and support and encourage learners to progress and to succeed (Macfarlane, 2015).

Māui Mua used a framework derived from the Māui narrative (Robinson, 2008) and "The Hero's Journey" (Campbell, 1968). The project targets the internal journey undertaken by tauira in their learning, how they surround themselves with supportive people, how they equip themselves for success, and how they navigate and confront a new status quo. Narratives are powerful tools evoking deep learning through archetypes, myth and metaphor (Campbell, 1968). Narratives for Māori are traditional messages of inspiration and of tikanga gifted by tīpuna (Webber et al., 2021; Winitana, 2012). The deeds of Māui come from ancient Māui mythology. As the youngest brother, Māui had a tempestuous relationship with his older brothers, but he managed to negotiate and mediate certain positions so that they achieved the wondrous tasks recited in Māui's genealogy (Winitana, 2012).

The framework used in Māui Mua follows the journey of a learner similar to Māui and can be described in a cycle (see Figure 1). It begins in the ordinary/normal realm, Te Ao, but the quest passes through to the unknown world, Te Kore. There is a call to adventure, Te Whakatika ki te Haere, or challenge put before the learner. To continue the journey, the tauira require assistance from someone older or wiser—a mentor, Te Kāhu Kōrako—which enables them to cross the threshold from their normal home into the unfamiliar adventure known as Te Uruuru Whenua (entering the unknown). In this realm, tauira often experience Ngā Taero a Tūtekoropanga (trials and failure), which with the appropriate support and motivation leads to Te Aranga Ake (rebirth) and Te Whai Hua (revelation) of how to overcome the trials and move forward. At this stage of the journey, tauira re-enter Te Ao, having "redeemed" their view of themselves as able to succeed (Te Puāwaitanga). With this new knowledge and understanding, tauira have "returned" (Te Hokinga) and apply their learning as they embark on the next Te Whakatika ki te Haere.

At Ara, education is the context for this journey. Education is often the site of struggle for the redevelopment and transformation of Māori (G. Smith, 2004). By using the culturally preferred

FIGURE 1 The Māui Cycle created by Hemi Hoskins and Hūmarie Chick for the Māui Te Tauira mentoring programme journal (2020).

pedagogy of storytelling (G. Smith, 2004; Webber et al., 2021), the project enacts culturally appropriate responses and investigates the connections between recent graduates' lived experiences and the guiding process outlined in the Māui narrative. This will lead to better understanding of how tauira engage with their transformation and learning journey. It will also inform educators about how to foster the attributes of learners to further their success within tertiary education in Waitaha.

Another Māori framework that contributes to understanding the tauira journey is Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1994). Te Whare Tapa Whā was designed as a Māori Health model and has been extensively adapted and explored within education as a holistic approach to responding to ākonga. The model is based on the metaphor of a whare, whose four walls and the roof form a holistic view of a person and each part of the building represents a dimension of a person's overall hauora.

The model was groundbreaking in that it drew on more than physical wellness as a consideration in health care and incorporated the World Health Organization's definition overlooked in mainstream health of health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease of infirmity" (as cited in Durie, 1994, p. 69). Thus, the model included four dimensions: taha wairua, taha hinengaro, taha tinana and taha whānau (p. 70). The assumption is that if one part of the whare is compromised, the whole structure will be compromised, or, to frame a more balanced view of health, to "ensure strength and symmetry" (p.70).

Ako Aotearoa (2012) provides an adapted version of Te Whare Tapa Whā for use in tertiary education to support Māori learner success. This model holds to the four dimensions developed in Durie's (1994) original model. More recently, a fifth dimension has emerged in the model: taha whenua (Health Navigator, 2020). This accords with Durie's (1994) original explanation of taha wairua, in which spirituality and the connection between people and the environment are inextricably linked. In this later model, the whenua dimension is the ground on which the whare sits, thus making the environment the foundation on which hauora is built (see Figure 2).

For Māui Mua, the five-dimensional model of Te Whare Tapa Whā was also included in the exploration of the graduates' journey to better understand how they were able to establish their

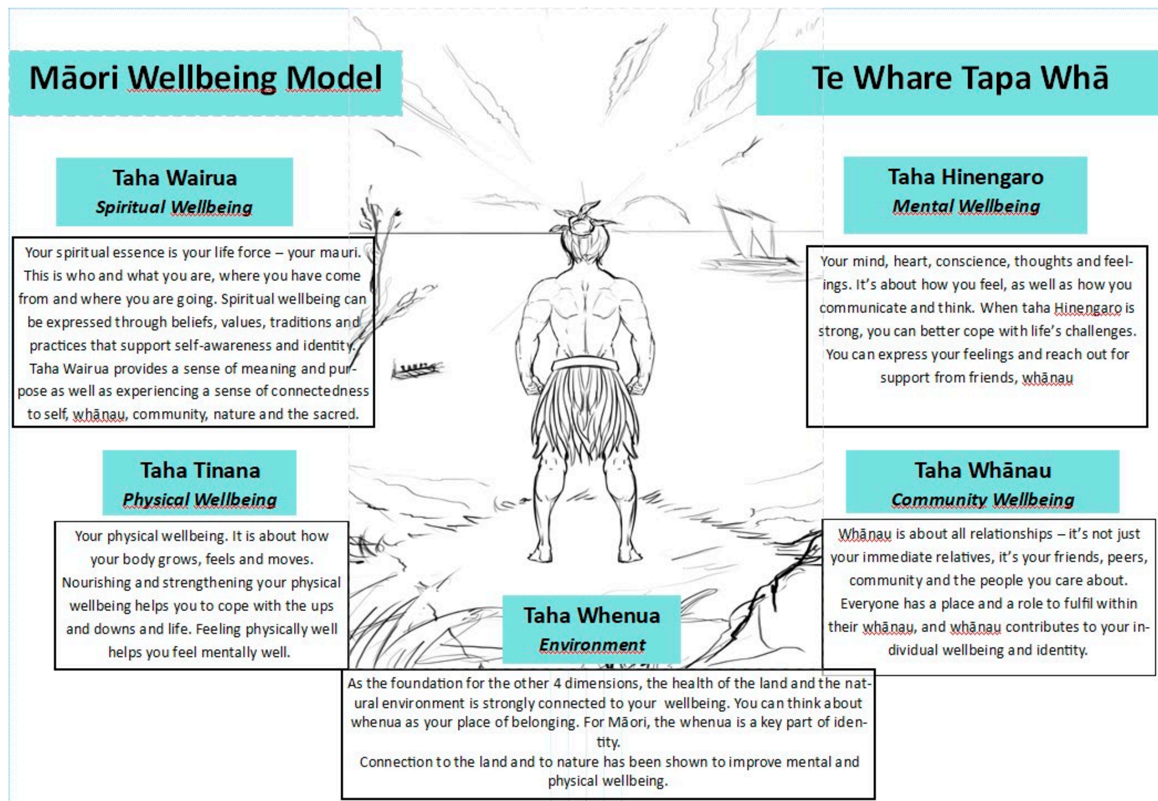


FIGURE 2 Te Whare Tapa Whā, adapted by Hemi Hoskins and Hūmarie Chick for Māui te Tauira

foundations in the whenua in order to ensure the balance of the other four dimensions so that they would achieve success as first-generation Māori tertiary graduates. Previous studies have shown factors that hinder and facilitate Māori learner success in tertiary settings (Greenhalgh et al., 2011; Theodore et al., 2017); however, this study situates itself in a deliberate positive outlook, as in Durie's (1994) holistic view, to explore the use of the Māui narratives in developing frameworks for tauira success within the Ara context. This project seeks to contribute to culturally mediated education provision in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Methodology

The Māui Mua (Graduate Interviews) research project was designed as a qualitative inquiry using a case study (Punch, 2009; Yin, 2009). A case study methodology helps discover causal relationships and understand how and why everything has happened in a certain way (Yin, 2009). As in this project, case studies aim to develop an in-depth understanding of a real-life situation by identifying initial questions that determine the data methods and collection strategies (Punch, 2009).

The theoretical framework for the data collection and analysis strategies (George & Bennett, 2005; Yin, 1994) came from a framework informed by Joseph Campbell's (1968) *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, the Māui narrative (Robinson, 2008) and Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1994).

The Māui Cycle (see Figure 1) provided a structure for the interview questions and initial analysis, enabling checking of themes and patterns to emerge. Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1994) was also used to analyse and synthesise the data.

As appropriate for a case study methodology, the primary data were derived from semi-structured interviews 45–60 minutes in length. Questions were asked relating to the interviewees' learning experiences, including the challenges they faced and the skills and attributes they needed to succeed. The interviews were conducted kanohi ki te kanohi and were voice recorded. The interviews were transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis.

Purposeful sampling (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; L. Smith, 2012) was used to identify the cohort for the research. Because of the nature of the research aims and questions, the interviewees were tauira Māori, first-generation learners, who

graduated with a Māori language degree from Ara and were willing to articulate their learning journey, its challenges and how they overcame them. The interviewees graduated three to seven years ago, so their learning experiences were still current and they have had opportunities to further develop. Given the small sample, it was envisaged that 6–10 participants would accept invitations to be part of this project. Possible research participants were identified through staff knowledge and student records via appropriate institutional sources. Possible participants were contacted by email and by follow-up phone call.

Given the small sample, generalisability was interpreted as the deepening of understanding of the learner journey in relation to the Māui narrative and the benefit this brought to the education. Elliott and Lukeŝ (2008) say that the benefit of this type of research increases the "power of the community to which the research belongs" (p. 94).

Findings

The reporting of findings focuses on the themes that emerged from the thematic analysis of the interview data. The study revealed common themes in relation to the Māui Te Tauira cycle and Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1994).

Te whakatika ki te haere: The call and motivations for study

The key motivations to study for the tauira interviewed included needing to learn or reconnect with te reo ōna tikanga, to gain a qualification, to support whānau and tamariki, and to regain cultural identity for themselves and their whānau:

> I wanted to find out more about me. About my Māori side. Dad is Māori but he doesn't know anything. So he couldn't really help that way so I just thought I had to do it for me. And the most inspirational thing was my son. Doing it for him. (Tauira 1)

> … I think during the time I didn't have any connection to ... like you know like my Māori side. (Tauira 2)

> … all of that culminated in me started here to get my reo … I was on a path where this was necessary and at the same time I think because I was older and a parent and surrounded by younger ones who were struggling as well, I felt like it was important for me. (Tauira 4)

> I was sort of challenging myself to understand my own whakapapa, being a displaced urban Māori, also realising actually what I needed personally and that was about my identity and feeling connected to a Kaupapa Māori space. (Tauira 5)

Te kāhu kōrako: Supports and mentors

It was found that the tauira interviewed needed many forms of support to be successful in their study. Key supports mentioned were classmates—tuakana and teina, kaiako, learning advisors and kaitaunaki Māori:

> I did turn to my uncle a lot because he's the only one really connected to that side. So he was probably a big support and help throughout it. (Tauira 1)

> I have never written like an academic essay … it is important to have good solid group of friends, friends, that support and you are all on the same journey … Like relationship building, like being able to talk to people, like create connections. (Tauira 2)

> I was able to bring my baby to class because that is like the crucial part for me. (Tauira 3)

> However, there were great support systems like learning services, like the tutors, like the tuakana. We established a study group so that we could support each other. That meant also too that at the end of the day, I wasn't getting in my car and going home; I was going to the library to study, because that's where we all were. So I set up little oasis for myself, little kāinga. (Tauira 4)

> I'm not too scared to ask for help, so being able to connect into learning services a number of times was really useful … and also having some key fellow hoa mahi that could actually help out as well, so it became very much a whānau kind of approach to some of the aspects of the study. (Tauira 6)

Ngā taero a tūtekoropanga: Key barriers

Key struggles for learners were personal, whānau issues and other commitments to work due to financial struggles and juggling study and work. Other barriers included health problems, injuries, mental health and death in whānau. Lack of personal support systems and difficulties with academic skills led to a loss of confidence, feelings of inadequacy and whakamā:

> … because I was going through a lot at the time … coming into Ara was really daunting and it is kind of like whakamā to say you don't know how to write an essay … I felt like I jumped off the waka for a wee bit … I felt like I was sinking. (Tauira 1)

> Oh, sometimes I just wanted to quit … because sometimes I didn't have that support from my family … So with having a kid was really hard, he was only two … it was really tough because you know we had the likes of having a house and having those bills and rent and stuff. (Tauira 2)

> Well, I'm not going to lie, there was a couple of times when I was like, man, I should just go, like I should actually just drop out, like it would probably be easier for everyone. (Tauira 3)

> … put quite a lot of pressure on, because I was trying to understand my material at the same time as I was trying to explain it in te reo Māori. (Tauira 4)

> … before I started building some of these resilience factors for myself, in the past I would have just flagged it, I would have gone, no, it is too hard, this isn't for me. (Tauira 4)

> … when I injured myself, quite badly and I actually did want to quit, actually made an appointment with … to withdraw and actually he just told me to suck it up. (Tauira 6)

Te aranga ake: Getting back on the waka

Tauira talked about the support that helped them to keep on studying in spite of being tempted to give up when feeling the struggles were too overwhelming:

> I always knew there was support here. Especially with kaiako … I suppose I was just whakamā and didn't want to let others know that I need a hand. (Tauira 1)

> … moving past the struggles when falling off the waka, what helped getting back on was support from other learners and tuakana, kaiako giving clear and consistent expectations and support from kaiako with some tough love too, te mātauranga Māori and Te Puna Wānaka providing whānau network and a safe haven for tauira to connect culturally to who they are. (Tauira 4)

Ka whai hua: Transformations in the journey

Key transformations in the tauira learning journey that connect strongly to each aspect of Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1994) included building connections and relationships (taha whānau), developing language and leadership skills, developing cultural competency skills around karanga, tikanga marae and pōwhiri (taha wairua), employing a Māori world view and using it to navigate life (taha hinengaro), and developing academic skills such as reading and writing and time management and planning. Personal transformations valued by tauira were increased self-awareness, expanding relationships and networks, and increased confidence to engage with Māori kaupapa and becoming grounded in cultural identity (taha whenua):

> But when I came out of it, I came out—what do you call it?—proud to be Māori. Not ashamed to be and I think—I look at Māori different from when I started to when I finished. You know feeling some of the mamae that they get. You know that you see Māori being portrayed in media and stuff like that. It opened my eyes a lot more, so yeah, I'd go from being not connected to fully connected yeah. (Tauira 1)

> …a lot of my time studying, I think I grew more working here, like the working side of it. Because I had the tools, like the language and an understanding of the culture, but I didn't truly like blossom into the skills ... utilising the skills until I was put into a position where I had to use them and that was teaching … I am just so proud of myself that I can put it into a Māori perspective. (Tauira 2)

> By like having ... feeling like there was a lack of connection, say, to like my whakapapa and my knowledge gave the drive to actually keep going and to go harder … I think it just made me even more like empathetic but able to navigate that in a way, so I would say like my, not communication skills, but like those personable skills of like uplifting other people and not being a dick about it. (Tauira 3)

> Yes, yeah, yes it did, so my world expanded … that's te reo Māori operating all around me all the time and that was, oh, suddenly I am part of that. That was really cool. It opened up all sorts of interesting worlds for me, like Māori theatre and education and all sorts of stuff … I would absolutely treasure everything that I learnt here and gained here. … so this is the home that taught me how to be at home. (Tauira 4)

> Yeah, so much more connected now, I felt like I wasn't just acquiring a language, I was acquiring navigational skills and an understanding of the world that I come from … I have been to the Hokianga twice and met my whānau … I have

> relationships with the leadership of my hapū … I feel very culturally connected about that … leadership role in my iwi at home here in Christchurch. (Tauira 4)

> Yeah, I think I have just learnt to embrace who I am a little bit more and just own it and if I am caught in a space where it is not comfortable or where I don't feel safe, I will call it how it is now ... Where I didn't think I had the language before coming here to do that, so now I feel like I'm equipped, and I can just be like, nah, that is not how we are going to roll ... and planning has been something that has been transferred into my mahi. Started becoming more engaged than I had ever … we also did a family reunion back at our marae, which we had never done either and I was a huge driver to do that, because a lot of the time we go back and are not really for the good occasions, so I wanted to create those memories and to do that was to actually go back … yeah, I want to do it again hopefully. (Tauira 5)

> In terms of my community connections, they have definitely developed, and I have still got obviously the old networks but now feeling somewhat more comfortable moving into a kaupapa Māori space. So after studying, being able to move into a kaupapa Māori mental health provider, which then actually helped me to connect into some other providers and so a sort of snowballing effect. So, the connection to those, bridging of those both worlds has been really useful, and I suppose I use that analogy often is that being Pākehā and Māori, I actually have the ... the space of being able to connect two worlds … in my current experience working in another kaupapa Māori space. (Tauira 6)

Te hokinga: Graduate destinations and continued impacts of the learning

Since graduating, all tauira interviewed have moved into Māori professions. They have connected with education, youth development and community organisations. They have also connected with whānau, iwi, hapū, marae, kaupapa Māori communities and kapa haka taura here.

Discussion

The findings of this project show that the tauira interviewed progressed from not knowing to knowing and transformed from struggling learners to confident leaders, whether within whānau, the workplace or the community. The tauira journey aligned with the hero's journey (Campbell, 1968) embodied in the Māui narrative (Robinson, 2008) and Māui Te Tauira programme (Figure 1). The tauira had many motivations for beginning their learning for the degree and responding to the call—Te Whakatika ki te Haere. The tauira spoke of being close to falling off the waka and the challenges and barriers they faced—Ngā Taero a Tūtekoropanga. They shared what helped them overcome trials and to get back on the waka—Te Whai Hua—including the support they needed from each other, kaiako and learning advisors. Culturally appropriate assistance was pivotal for ensuring tauira academic success (Watkins et al., 2022). The tauira described their transformation in relation to kaupapa Māori and mātauranga Māori approaches. This research is comparable to the literature about Māori pedagogies and practices that have been consistently identified as fundamental to Māori doing well in tertiary settings (Chauvel & Rean, 2012; G. Smith, 2004; Webber et al., 2021).

It is evident that all tauira were close to dropping out of study, showing the need for increased wraparound support for tauira Māori to be successful graduates (Watkins et al., 2022). Education is a confronting journey (G. Smith, 2004), and increased targeted assistance is needed. This project explored a three-year tauira transformation in which pastoral care was provided using kaupapa Māori and mātauranga Māori approaches. The achievements of the tauira interviewed validate mātauranga Māori tikanga, and this also means heightened support is needed in terms of aspects of Te Whare Tapa Whā, to ensure the same valuable results if Māori tauira are studying in shorter programmes or studying in programmes without mātauranga Māori approaches.

Conclusion

This project sought to contribute to the body of culturally responsive practice and pedagogy in several ways. First, it explored the Ara tauira Māori graduate journey and thus is responsive to the critical circumstances that underpin that journey (G. Smith, 2004). The focus was on Māori graduates who were the first in their whānau to succeed in tertiary education. These graduates provided the perspective of breaking ground in their whānau and, therefore, provided valuable experience and insight on how they navigated the learner journey, how they equipped themselves for success and who they surrounded themselves with to support their success. Secondly, the findings contribute profoundly to a deeper understanding of Joseph Campbell's hero's journey in relation

to the narratives of Māui and how this connects to the learning journey at Ara. The interviews showed that the experience of the tauira paralleled the essence of the Māui Te Tauira programme as a process of self-discovery and awareness that can support learners in navigating the journey in tertiary study.

Therefore, there is an imperative in tertiary study to raise the visibility and use of mātauranga Māori, Māori pedagogies and tikanga to identify the benefits of this for tauira and staff, not only at Ara, but at all tertiary providers.

Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements go to Hemi Hoskins, Director Māori Achievement, as mentor and co-developer of the Māui Te Tauira concept and project at Ara Institute of Canterbury.

Glossary

ākonga	learners
haka	vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words
hapū	subtribe
hauora	wellbeing
hinengaro	thoughts and feelings, mind, psychological
hoa mahi	classmate
iwi	tribe
kaiako	mentor, teacher
kāinga	home
kaitaunaki	advocate
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
kapa haka	a group or team performing haka
karanga	ceremonial call, welcome call
kaupapa Māori	Māori research methods
ka whai hua	revelation
mahi	work
mamae	pain, hurt, wound
marae	tribal meeting grounds
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
ngā taero a tūtekoropanga	trials and failure
Pākehā	a person of predominantly European descent
pōwhiri	welcome ceremony
taha	side
tamariki	children
tauira	student, learner
taura here	urban-based iwi
Te Ao Mārama	the known realm
te aranga ake	the rebirth
te hokinga	the return
teina	younger sibling
te kāhu kōrako	meeting the mentor
Te Kore	the unknown realm
te reo Māori	the Māori language
te reo ōna tikanga	the Māori language and its customs
te whakatika ki te haere	the call to adventure
tikanga	associated practices of social position and responsibilities
tinihanga	trickster; change
tinana	physical, body
tīpuna	ancestors
tuakana	elder sibling
wairua	spiritual, spirit, soul
Waitaha	Canterbury
waka	canoe
whakamā	shy, ashamed, shame
whakapapa	genealogy, ancestry, familial relationships
whānau	family
whare	house
whenua	land, territory, environment

References

Ako Aotearoa. (2012, 30 October). *Māori learner success, Te Whare Tapa Whā* [Video]. YouTube. https://ako.ac.nz/knowledge-centre/maori-learner-success/te-whare-tapa-wha/

Ara Institute of Canterbury Ltd. (2020). *Framework for Māori achievement*.

Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Cavanagh, T., & Teddy, L. (2007). *Te Kotahitanga Phase 3 Whanaungatanga: Establishing a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations in mainstream secondary school classrooms. Report to the Ministry of Education*. Ministry of Education.

Campbell, J. (1968). *The hero with a thousand faces*. Princeton University Press.

Chauvel, F., & Rean, J. (2013). *Doing better for Māori in tertiary settings: Review of literature*. Tertiary Education Commission. http://hdl.voced.edu.au/10707/296853. Sage Publications.

Creswell, J., & Plano Clark, V. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*.

Durie, M. (1994). *Whaiora Māori health development*. Oxford University Press.

Elliott, J., & Lukeŝ, D. (2008). Epistemology as ethics in research and policy: The use of case studies. *Journal*

of Philosophy of Education, *42*(Suppl. 1), 87–119. https://doi.org/dp5msq

Greenhalgh, A., Walker, S., Tipa-Rogers, K., & Hunter, R. (2011). *Tutor practices that increase completion for Māori PTE tauira*. Ako Aotearoa. https://ako.ac.nz/knowledge-centre/tutor-practices-that-increase-completion-for-maori-pte-students/tutor-practices-that-increase-completion-for-maori-pte-students/

Health Navigator. (2020). *Te Whare Tapa Whā and wellbeing*. https://healthify.nz/hauora-wellbeing/t/te-whare-tapa-wha-and-wellbeing/

Macfarlane, A. (2015). Restlessness, resoluteness and reason: Looking back at 50 years of Māori education. *New Zealand Journal in Education Studies New Zealand*, *50*(2), 177–193. https://doi.org/kn3d

Ministry of Education. (2013). *Māori strategy of Ka Hikitia: Accelerating Success 2013–2017*. https://www.education.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Ministry/Strategies-and-policies/Ka-Hikitia/KaHikitiaAcceleratingSuccessEnglish.pdf

Ministry of Education. (2014). *The Tertiary Education Strategy 2014–2019*. https://www.education.govt.nz/further-education/policies-and-strategies/tertiary-education-strategy/

Prendergast-Tarena, E., & Mahara, R. (2020, July 8). *Whano—Towards futures that work: How Māori can lead Aotearoa forward*. Business and Economic Research Ltd. https://berl.co.nz/our-mahi/whano-towards-futures-work-maori#:~:text=A%20collaboration%20between%20Waikato%2DTainui,M%C4%81ori%20into%20low%2Dskill%20blue

Punch, K. (2009). *Introduction to research methods in education*. SAGE Publications.

Robinson, S. T. (2008). *Tohunga*. Penguin Press.

Smith, G. (2004). Mai i te maramatanga, ki te putanga mai o te tahuritanga: From conscientization to transformation. *Indigenous Education: Journal of the College of Education/University of Hawai'i at Mānoa*, *37*(1), 46–52.

Smith, L. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples*. (2nd ed.). Otago University Press.

Theodore, R., Gollop, M., Tustin, K., Taylor, N., Kiro, C. A., Taumoepeau, M., Hunter, J., Kokaua, J., & Poulton, R. (2017). Māori university success: What helps and hinders qualification completion. *Alternative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *13*(2), 122–130. https://doi.org/gddg9n

Tomoana, R. (2012). *Sharing successful teaching and learning strategies for Māori, Pacific, and youth learners*. Ako Aotearoa. https://ako.ac.nz/knowledge-centre/effective-teaching-maori-pacific-youth/successful-strategies-for-maori-pacific-and-youth-learners/

Watkins, S., Yielder, J., Bagg, W., & Curtis, E. (2022). The student narrative of undergoing academic difficulty and remediation in a medical programme: Indigenous Māori and Pacific Admission Scheme (MAPAS) and international student perspectives at the University of Auckland. *The New Zealand Medical Journal*, *135*(1551), 40–53.

Webber, M., Horne, R., & Meinders, R. (2021). Mairangitia te angitū. Ngāpuhi student role models and aspirations for the future. *MAI Journal*, *10*(2), 125–136. https://doi.org/10.20507/MAIJournal.2021.10.2.6

Winitana, M. (2012). Remembering the deeds of Māui: What messages are in the tuakana–teina pedagogy for tertiary educators? *MAI Journal*, *1*(1), 29–37. http://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/search/node/Winitana

Yin, R. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th ed., Vol. 5). Sage Publications.

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP

DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.9

CREATING A HĀ HABIT

Utilising Māori innovations in breathwork to alleviate and build resilience to the effects of trauma, PTSD and generalised anxiety

*Rawiri Waretini-Karena**
Julia Wikeepa†

Abstract

This article describes how the creation of a "Hā habit"—a breathwork practice that is inspired by the whakapapa of the Hā—can alleviate the debilitating effects of trauma, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and generalised anxiety. The article first conducts a literature review that examines the definitions and contributing factors of these disorders and their psychological and physical symptoms. An analysis of Aotearoa New Zealand mental health statistics is then carried out, which is followed by a description of breathwork and its benefits. Inspired by an existing breathing tool, co-author Julia Wikeepa explored the whakapapa of the Hā and developed a Māori innovation called the Hā tool—a stainless steel breathing tool that can be worn as a necklace. By using the Hā tool and creating a Hā habit, people can learn about the underlying causes and contributing factors of their poor mental wellbeing. The Hā habit acts as both an intervention strategy and a preventative strategy, building resilience against poor mental wellbeing, and supporting people to move from a place of trauma, PTSD or generalised anxiety to one of resilience, recovery and calm.

Keywords

trauma, PTSD, anxiety, breathwork, Hā habit, resilience, calm, Tū and Rongo

Introduction

This article begins by identifying and defining a range of debilitating disorders— trauma, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and generalised anxiety—and their symptoms before presenting a statistical analysis to give scope to the impact of the disorders. The article then explores the science behind breathing and breathwork as a valuable antidote to these disorders. The whakapapa of the concept of Hā, and how the Hā tool was developed, is then described. The article then describes how the creation of a Hā habit through intention, purpose, mindfulness and presence alleviates traumatic experiences and acts as both an intervention strategy and a preventative strategy to build resilience against poor mental wellbeing. Finally, the development of a new wellbeing measuring tool called Tū and Rongo is described, and positive feedback from users of the Hā tool is presented.

* Ngati Mahanga, Ngati Mahuta, Ngati Kaahu, Ngati Hine. Director, Tiaki Consultants NZ, Hamilton, New Zealand. Email: tiakiconsultantsnzltd@gmail.com

† Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Te Atihaunui-Ā-Pāpārangi. Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Hā Habit NZ, Tauranga, New Zealand.

Literature review

Current research clearly indicates that mental health issues such as trauma, PTSD and generalised anxiety are serious debilitating disorders (American Psychological Association [APA], 2022; Jenita & Soni, 2021). These mental health issues are impacting a large percentage of the New Zealand population, and the country has seen a significant increase in the proportion of people with poor mental wellbeing, up from 22% in 2018 to 28% in 2021 (Stats NZ, 2022).

Definitions

According to Jenita and Soni (2021, paras 7–21), *developmental trauma* can be defined as events in childhood like physical, sexual or emotional assault; abandonment; rejection; betrayal; or death of a family member. *Vicarious trauma* can occur when a person listening to someone who has experienced trauma firsthand absorbs the disturbing aspects of the traumatic event(s), which results in harm to their own mental health. *Acute trauma* occurs as a result of an accident or a natural disaster. *Complex trauma*, meanwhile, stems from multiple traumatic experiences, such as ongoing physical or sexual abuse, and violence.

PTSD can be defined as feelings of generalised anxiety stemming from past traumatic events. Co-author Rawiri Waretini-Karena observes that experiences of PTSD can also lead to flashbacks of abuse, hearing voices, and going into a trance as a coping mechanism for dealing with historical trauma (TEDx Talks, 2018, 1:25). *Historical intergenerational trauma* is defined by Duran (2006) as a "soul wound":

> Ancestral wounding that occurred in the community was passed down through the generations that gave accounts of genocide. . . . In addition they explained, how the earth had been wounded and how when the earth is wounded, the people who are caretakers of the earth are also wounded at a very deep soul level. According to the APA (2022, para. 1), *anxiety* is defined as an emotion characterised by feelings of tension, worried thoughts, and physical changes like increased blood pressure. People with anxiety disorders usually have recurring intrusive thoughts or concerns. They may avoid certain situations out of worry and they may also have physical symptoms such as sweating, trembling, dizziness or a rapid heartbeat. (p. 16)

Psychological symptoms

Whilst there is a wide variety of mental wellbeing issues that stem from trauma, their symptoms do have a lot in common. They range from a deep sense of dread and feeling stressed, scared, anxious and overwhelmed to intense experiences of fear, shock, horror and shame. Smith (2013, p. 11) builds on these symptoms by utilising kupu Māori.

Patu ngākau can be defined as a strike, assault or shock to the heart. It can also cause conditions of whakamā and pōuritanga.

Historical examples of whakamomori are described in Ngāti Kahungungu accounts. As Smith (2013) relates,

> Ngāi Tumapuhia-a-rangi, being besieged by a war party consisting of several thousands of warriors, decided to whakamomori and commit to the battle. This included preparations and rituals incorporating ceremonial dress, including hair dress, and the use of ceremonial paint. Similarly given is the story of Te Ao Huruhuru in an account given to Sir George Grey by the chief Te Potangaroa. . . . Te Ao Huruhuru committed to whakamomori after she considered a misdeed of her husband towards her. . . . There is a high rock that stands out with a cliff and the name of that rock is now called the flight of Te Ao Huruhuru. That young girl went and prepared herself, combing her hair, the feathers being that of the huia, kotuku and toroa. . . . She was up on the hill doing her song and when she finished, she became visible to the old man as she flew from that cliff face, he saw the cloak flashing white as she flew down. (pp. 13–14)

Whakamomori does not necessarily always result in death; however, it does appear to represent the final stage of pōuritanga prior to death, when the will to live is no longer present.

Suicide may be considered the only option available to escape the emotional turmoil someone is experiencing. In addition, those experiencing incapacitating thoughts may also turn to harmful substances, develop eating disorders, become addicted to pornography or work beyond their capacity and strength as a coping mechanism for suppressing uncomfortable emotions. Other psychological symptoms such as dread, worry, shame and fear can intensify due to biomechanical reactions manifesting in the body. Distressing psychological states can be relieved more effectively when those suffering begin to comprehend how to work with the physical symptoms of their body.

Physical symptoms

Traumatic experiences can have a variety of unexpected physical consequences. The US-based Newport Institute explains that what matters is the impact of the traumatic experience on the individual and how it continues to affect their life (Newport Institute, n.d.). The sympathetic nervous system prepares your body to either run from danger or fight back (Health Within, 2019). It is also activated in response to mental or physical stress. During the fight-or-flight response, the following occurs: blood pressure increases; blood flow increases to muscles, lungs and other areas essential for moving away from perceived danger; blood flow decreases to the digestive and reproductive systems; and concentrations of stress hormones, such as cortisol, and neurotransmitters, such as epinephrine, increase to make us stronger and faster. Finally, glucose is rapidly released to be burned for quick energy (Health Within, 2019).

Nunez (2020) describes three reactions—fight, flight, freeze—and notes that response can sometimes be overactive: "This happens when nonthreatening situations trigger the reaction. Overactive responses are more common in people who have experienced [trauma and anxiety]." Trauma responses have also been described in terms of four reactions: freeze, fight, flight and fawn (Gaba, 2020). The first reaction is to literally become incapable of moving or making a choice; the second is to become aggressive; the third is to run or flee the situation; and the fourth is to fawn or try to please a person to avoid conflict (Gaba, 2020, paras 3–4).

Aotearoa New Zealand mental health statistics

Figure 1 shows that experiences of poor mental wellbeing in Aotearoa grew significantly between 2018 and 2021 across all age groups. The percentage for those in the 15–24 age group grew from 19.7% in 2018 to 26% in 2021; for those in the 25–34 age group the percentage increased from 22.2% to 29.5%. The percentage for those in the 35–44 age group went up from 24.7% to 31.9%. The 45–54 age group saw an increase from 26.3% to 31.2%; the 56–64 age group percentage grew from 22.2% to 29.3%; and the percentage for the 65–74 age group grew from 18.8% to 20.5%. The final age group (75+) saw an increase from 19.6% to 24.9%. Although contributing factors are not included in the data, one should consider the potential role the COVID-19 pandemic played in these results.

Stats NZ (2022) also released data highlighting the percentage of specific demographics experiencing poor mental wellbeing in 2021 (Figure 2). Demographics selected included the region of Taranaki (18%), recent migrants (18.3%), those aged 65–74 years (20.5%); males without dependent children (21.7%); those living in a rural area (22.1%); males (22.8%); the country as a whole (28.2%); Māori (31.1%); females (33.4%); female parents in two-parent families (35.3%); those with household income of $30,000 or less (37%); solo parents (45.5%); LGBTQ (45.7%); and disabled people aged 15–64 (54%).

What is breathwork?

The term *breathwork* describes therapy that utilises breathing exercises to enhance spiritual, mental and physical wellbeing. The concept draws from Eastern philosophies and practices while incorporating Western and Indigenous knowledge systems. The ability of a person to deal with stress has a huge bearing on the way their body ages and functions. Brown and Gerbarg (2009) note:

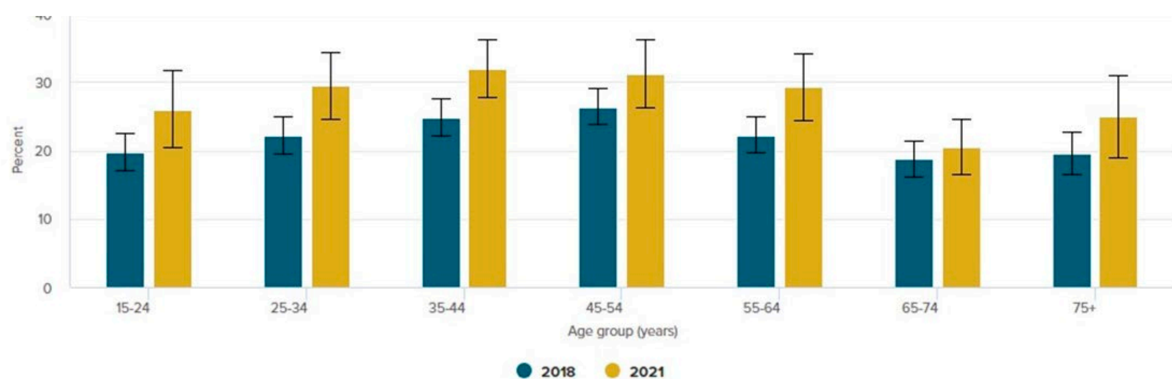


FIGURE 1 Proportion of people with poor mental wellbeing, by age group, 2018 and 2021 (Stats NZ, 2022).

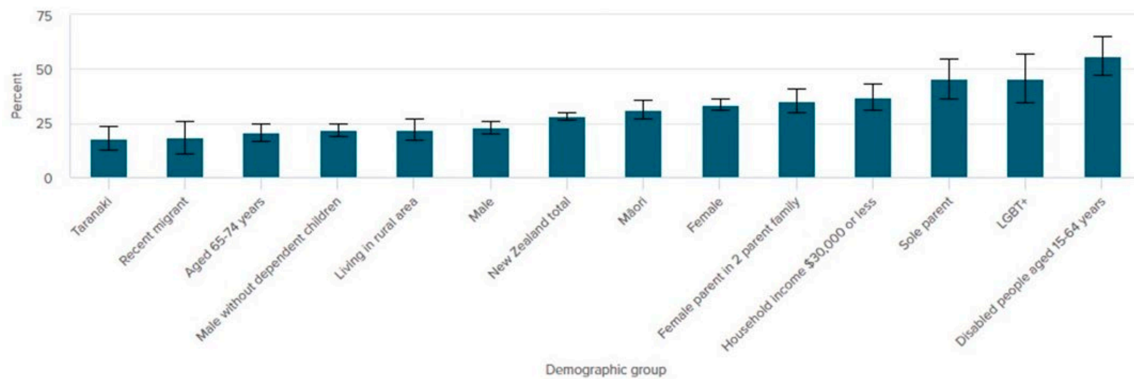


FIGURE 2 Proportion of people with poor mental wellbeing, by selected demographic groups, 2021 (Stats NZ, 2022).

> A Harvard Medical School study of 1,623 heart attack survivors found that when subjects became angry, their risk of further heart attacks doubled compared to those who remained calm. In a study of 5,716 middle-aged people, those with the best self-regulatory abilities were 50 times more likely to be alive and without chronic disease 15 years later than those with poor scores on measures of self-regulation. As the only autonomic function is easily controlled through voluntary effort, breathing serves as a portal through which imbalances in the stress-response system can be corrected. (p. 56)

Jarath et al. (2006) report that *pranayama* (the yogic practice of voluntary breath control, consisting of conscious inhalation, retention and exhalation) is often practised in conjunction with *dhyana* (meditation) and *asanas* (physical posture). Versions of *pranayama* vary from single nostril breathing to belly breathing, and it consists of three phases: *puraka* (inhalation); *kumbhaka* (retention) and *rec-haka* (exhalations) that can be either fast or slow (Jarath et al., 2006). Breathwork usually consists of inhaling the breath through the nose, holding the breath for a short period, and the exhaling the breath through the mouth. Brown and Gerbarg (2009) suggest that

> the emphasis is on the mindfulness of breathing. . . . The pursuit and development of mindfulness of in and out breathing leads to the culmination of the four frames of reference: 1. Focus on the body, 2. Focus on the feelings, 3. Focus on the mind, 4. Focus on mental qualities. (p. 55)

The aim of these frames of reference is to clear away anything hindering a person spiritually, mentally or physically.

The sympathetic nervous system

The sympathetic nervous system is part of the autonomic system. Grujičić (2022, para. 4) explains that the sympathetic nervous system is essential for preparing the body for an emergency response—fight-or-flight—in endangering situations. When a person perceives a threat (e.g., at work, in a relationship, finance- or health-related), they can experience symptoms of anxiety, such as fast or shallow breathing. Over time they can end up in a constant sympathetic state. This means that cortisol is constantly pumping through their body, impacting their mental health on a daily basis. Esler et al. (1988) state that "the regional sympathetic nervous activation present in patients with essential hypertension . . . suggests that mental stress is an important factor" (p. 14). Being in a constant sympathetic state is associated with anxiety, depression, irritability, fatigue, muscle tension, high blood pressure and weight gain. Kekre (2020) conveys that in an extremely stressful situation clavicular breathing may also become activated, dynamically speeding up and activating the intercostal muscles. The inhaling of the breath triggers the sympathetic state and initiates a fight-or-flight episode. This leads to hyperventilating due to fast and shallow breathing. Entering a parasympathetic state through the prolonged exhaling of the breath can counter the hyperventilating state, and slow breathing down. The practice of deep prolonged belly breathing into the diaphragm helps to relieve stress, boost metabolism and reduce pain; it also contributes to cell regeneration. People can be trained to be in a parasympathetic state, and the quickest way to do this is through breathwork. Grujičić (2022) notes that the sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous systems usually work antagonistically but in a well-integrated manner, balancing the actions

of both systems while simultaneously working to maintain a stable internal environment in the body.

The parasympathetic nervous system

The parasympathetic nervous system can be described as a network of nerves that can relax your body after it has experienced symptoms of stress, anxiety and overwhelm. Jarath et al. (2006) explain that "slow breathing pranayamic exercises show a strong tendency of improving or balancing the autonomic nervous system through enhanced activation of parasympathetic nervous system" (p. 2). Jarath et al. (2006) continue:

> Research has revealed pranayamic breathing to be a low risk, cost effective adjunct treatment that can be potentially applied to improve symptoms associated with cardiovascular disorders, autonomic disorders, and psychological disorders including those involving stress. Although slow pranayamic breathing is said to be one of the most practical relaxation techniques, *it also* holds a great deal of potential in the treatment of autonomic and psychological disorders. (p. 3)

The main nerves of the parasympathetic nervous system are called the vagal nerves. The vagus nerve system is the largest network of nerves in the body and can be manipulated through breathwork to activate the parasympathetic nervous system and systematically calm the body down.

Inspiration for the Hā tool

The Hā tool was inspired by the work of an American couple, Todd and Vanessa Steinberg. Their breathwork journey began in 2015 when a friend suggested Todd try meditating to relieve his generalised anxiety (Haines, 2021). Todd found meditation uncomfortable, so his friend suggested that he try breathing through a straw. Todd was immediately amazed by the result: "My heart rate slowed, my shoulders dropped, and I felt lighter and calmer" (Haines, 2021, para. 4). Todd became determined to come up with a practical way to integrate deep breathing into everyday routines. The couple's aha moment came when they met a local artisan at a neighbourhood fair who was selling shakuhachi flutes used by 17th-century Japanese Komuso monks as a meditation tool (Haines, 2021). Drawing on Vanessa's fashion design experience and Todd's entrepreneurial spirit, they created a necklace that replicates the straw-breathing technique. They wanted to create a minimalist piece—no technology, no batteries. The final product is a sleek stainless steel pendant with a Japanese inscription on the back that translates as "to be still"—a fitting sentiment for a necklace designed to support a 10-second exhale. The Steinbergs went on to found a company, Komuso Design. Their breathing tool, called Shift, has proven to be an effective solution for generalised anxiety and stress management for thousands of people around the world.

Co-author Julia Wikeepa is from Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Maniapoto and Te Atihaunui-Ā-Pāpārangi on her father's side, and has Dutch, English and Jewish ancestry on her mother's side. Just like Todd Steinberg, Julia silently suffered from the debilitating effects of generalised anxiety and other psychological disorders. As a result of employing the practice of breathwork for calming and soothing her anxiety, Julia came across the Steinbergs' concept design for the Shift necklace. She could see similarities between shakuhachi flutes and a traditional musical instrument native to her Māori cultural identity. This inspired Julia to adapt the Steinbergs' concept in two significant ways. The first thing she did was implement a Kaupapa Māori worldview over her idea, instead of adopting foreign concepts from overseas. The second thing she did was change the shakuhachi flute, which she has no whakapapa connection to, to a traditional musical concept indicative of her Indigenous identity.

Julia created and launched her company Hā Habit on 17 January 2022, introducing her breathing necklace concept using the notion of Hā (see FashioNZ, 2022). The company is an expression of Julia's life mission to destigmatise autonomic and psychological disorders, and to give people who suffer their debilitating effects access to the benefits of breathwork through a Māori lens. She encourages sufferers to put down technology and reconnect to their energy in an organic way using the Hā tool, and to develop, cultivate and sustain their health and vitality by developing an emotional awareness.

Hā Habit acknowledges that debilitating disorders impact people from all walks of life and cultures. As a result, Hā Habit applies a he kākano rua approach to engaging with Hā tool users. He kākano rua refers to two seeds of knowledge: one is Māori and the other is Pākehā; it also reflects Julia's diverse cultural background. The Kaupapa Māori approach of Hā Habit can be defined as applying Māori concepts in a Western societal construct to explain Māori notions and values around breathwork. This approach allows Hā Habit to engage with Hā tool users via Māori concepts

and culture in a multicultural environment with English translations, and explanations for Māori concepts in culturally diverse situations.

The whakapapa of Hā

Hā can be defined as air taken into or expelled from the lungs. It can also mean to gulp, to inhale, to inspire, to expire, to pant, to gasp and to wheeze. Hā relates to breath, breathing, life force and vitality. Yet from a Māori worldview the Hā means so much more.

The Reverend Māori Marsden (2003) relates that the supreme being Io "delegated various tasks to Tane and his brothers. So they became regents of Io to continue creation in the departments of nature" (p. 18). Many atua participated in the creation of Hineahuone, the first human life form: Tangaroa, atua of the sea, gave her blood; Tāwhirimātea, atua of the winds, gave her lungs; Tūmatauenga, atua of war, gave her sinews; Io gave her a heart; and, finally, Tāne Mahuta, atua of the forests, used the Hā to breathe the essence of life into her. Hineahuone awoke and sneezed the words "Tihei mauri ora" ("It is life") (Marsden, 2003, p. 11).

Wikeepa (2022) expands on why the Hā is so significant:

> Breath is so much more than a biological calmer and stress preventative. For me, the Hā is a reminder of my connection to my creator and every living creature in this universe. When you look at the word spirit, it is derived from the Latin word spiritus, meaning breath. With each breath I take, I can draw upon an unseen energy that gives me strength, power and guidance in this journey of life. (p. 14)

Wikeepa's (2022) account draws on traditional Māori creation narratives, and her own awareness and connection to atua, and to the Hā that encompasses every sentient being. Whakapapa is the fabric of those connections, meaning that atua can be called on for strength, power and guidance in times of need. (p. 14)

Other Māori discuss the power of combining the Hā with other elements. Te Whaati (2022), for example, discusses the concept of haka therapy:

> Hā is the breath and ka is the fire within. I liken that to . . . a taniwha that can build energy from the source of your pū, and build that up into an ihi that is blazing from your fingers, your toes, the ends of your hair, so everything is on fire. . . . You know fire jumps as soon as it connects to another flame, it grows into multiple sources of energy. . . . Therapeutically what it does to ones internal processes is that it gets to sterilise. If you are carrying so much mamae, all you have to do is sterilise it through haka therapy.

Whakapapa connection to the Hā tool

The same atua that combined to create Hineahuone also dwell within the elements of the Hā tool. As noted above, the Hā tool was inspired by a traditional Māori musical instrument. These instruments were customarily made from wood. The atua responsible for that area is Tāne Mahuta, whose name was later changed to Tāne-nui-a-Rangi because of a different role he had to perform. Hā equates to life essence and stems from Tāne-nui-a-Rangi. The hau, or "wind breath", comes from the lungs. That is the realm of Tāwhirimātea. The metal of the Hā tool is comprised of solid inorganic minerals found in the earth. The atua responsible for that realm is Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother.

The realms of atua are also involved when people use the Hā tool and develop a Hā habit. When commencing with the Hā tool, the person is encouraged to apply four concepts: intention, purpose, mindfulness and presence. These equate to ngākau, hinengaro and wairua, which are in the realm of Io. As the Hā tool user exhales air through the hole in the Hā tool, they are applying Hā and hau, invoking Tāne-nui-a Rangi and Tāwhirimātea. This affects the breath, the lungs, the nerves, the circulation and the muscles and sinews. The muscles and sinews sit within the realm of Tūmatauenga. The Hā tool's overall goal is to treat the hauora of the body, which is also within the realm of Papatūānuku.

As part of their alleviation and resilience plan, Hā tool users have invoked Io, Papatūānuku, Tāne Mahuta/Tāne-nui-a-Rangi, Tāwhirimātea, Tangaroa, Tūmatauenga and Rongo-mā-Tāne, atua of peace, to assist them in moving from trauma, generalised anxiety, fear and conflict to resilience, recovery and calmness. These are the very elements involved in remedying mate Māori, porangitanga and wairangi.

The Hā tool: A Māori-based breathwork innovation

What is the Hā tool? Put simply, it is a stainless steel breathing apparatus that can be worn as a necklace. Co-author and Hā tool creator Wikeepa (2022) had herself suffered from poor mental wellbeing: "I know all too well, what it's like to be trapped by overwhelming feelings of stress

FIGURE 3 The "Classic Silver" version of the Hā tool.

and anxiety" (p. 1). Wikeepa (2022) explains that the design was inspired by the taonga pūoro, specifically the koauau, a traditional Māori musical instrument. Flintoff (2014) states that taonga pūoro are seen as the children of the families of the gods who brought them into being (p. 1). "Rangi" means tunes as well as Father Sky, to whom music drifts up, so melodic instruments are from the world of Rangi. The heartbeats of Papatūānuku are the basis of musical rhythms.

The one major feature that is common across all psychological disorders and forms of anxiety is that they are all affected by, and can be addressed by, intentional breathwork. The main role and function of the Hā tool is therefore to address these issues by using the breath to activate the parasympathetic nervous system.

Intention, purpose, mindfulness and presence

Co-author Waretini-Karena explains that "all issues and behaviours have a whakapapa or genealogy. Those issues or behaviours came from somewhere for some reason, and didn't just manifest out of thin air" (TEDx Talks, 2018, 16:59). This is similar to psychological disorders. They too have a whakapapa. All the trauma definitions, including PTSD and depression, use the past tense. What this indicates is that a person experiencing these issues is dealing with trauma from their past. Alongside this, those suffering from anxiety disorders are dealing with perceived complications they may experience in their near future. Their worry about future events can become all-consuming. Consequently, psychological disorders can manifest based on a person's past trauma or future perception of events.

A person applying intention and purpose—the first two Hā tool concepts—whilst engaging with the Hā tool gives themselves a foundation for changing their trajectory of thought from disorder to resilience and recovery. This is based on the notion that you are not your disorder; you are a person *experiencing* the disorder. This recognises that disorders are learnt perceptions, and Hā tool users can be supported to unlearn those perceptions and take back power and control over their lives in meaningful ways.

Mindfulness, the third Hā tool concept, is also important because it encompasses compassion and supports a Hā tool user to be kinder to themselves. Mindfulness also encourages people to work towards changing the negative way they perceive themselves, and to work towards loving themselves and being more compassionate to themselves.The final Hā tool concept is presence. Psychological disorders can inflict painful triggers so overwhelming that coping mechanisms can make a person switch to autopilot as a vehicle for dealing with the stress and physical symptoms. The problem is that their minds are living in a painful past or in a debilitating future, and they have lost

sight of developing, cultivating and sustaining their lives by being present in mind, body, soul and spirit. The thing to understand about triggers is that they cannot physically hurt you. They are nothing more than indicators of issues, situations and emotions yet to be resolved. They are similar to when you are driving and the yellow light comes on indicating you are about to run out of petrol: the message is "Please take care of it as soon as possible."

Using the Hā tool

There are many ways to utilise the breath for wellbeing; however, the pursed lip method is used most frequently with the Hā tool to reduce generalised anxiety and stress. It helps to trigger the parasympathetic nervous system, which activates the vagus nerve and calms our mind and body. The user inhales through the nose (hā ki roto) for 4 seconds into the belly. On the exhale, they purse their lips around the Hā tool and exhale for 8+ seconds (hā ki waho). The key is to focus on the breath, and then repeat this process until a sense of calmness is experienced.

Applying the Hā tool in a scenario

There are many scenarios in which applying the Hā tool can help relieve tension, stress and anxiety. Below we describe a four-step process that can be applied during a tense situation such as a conflict with a partner. When a Hā tool user initially feels the onset of tension, anger or stress, they should follow these steps:

Step 1: Decide to breathe consciously. This will interrupt the habit of reacting.

Step 2: If you need to remove yourself from a situation to take a breather, then do this. Communicate this with your partner, and let them know, you will talk when you are calm. Reach for your Hā tool, and go through the breathing process using the pursed lip technique. Allow yourself to feel the emotion, but don't attach any meaning. Keep applying the technique until you are calm.

Step 3: Give your partner time to calm down as well, so that instead of reacting to each other, you respond in a respectful manner. When we are calm, we are more likely to have considerate conversations.

Step 4: Once you are in a position to respond, get on board with each other, and focus your energy on solutions.

Creating a Hā habit

Creating a Hā habit involves establishing specific rituals for the purpose of building resilience as both a prevention and an intervention strategy. Hā Habit offers a variety of workshops that run for either four or six weeks. Figure 4 shows the weekly planner for the "28 Day Challenge".

On any given day, take Rāhina: Monday for example, a Hā tool user ticks off each habit (1–8) as they do it throughout their day. For example, once they have completed five minutes of breathing, they cross off "1"; they then cross off "2" once they have worn their Hā tool and responded to stress with breathing; and so on. As they go, the Hā tool user applies the suggestion that goes with each number. This can be applied both during the day and at night. The *interventionist* approach involves applying the Hā tool breathing techniques when an episode occurs. This can begin to alleviate experiences of generalised anxiety. The *preventative* approach involves applying the Hā tool breathing techniques consistently at appointed times during the day and night to establish a continual calm throughout the day. Applying the Hā tool in this manner enables the Hā tool user to implement prevention as well as intervention strategies for addressing trauma, PTSD and generalised anxiety.

A measuring tool inspired by Tū and Rongo

Tū and Rongo are short forms of Tūmatauenga and Rongo-mā-Tāne, respectively. There are positive attributes that stem from Tū, including courage, tenacity, boldness and assertiveness. Hā Habit applies Tū and Rongo as Kaupapa Māori social science concepts to appraise a Hā tool user's transition from tension or conflict (Tū) to resilience, recovery and calm (Rongo). The Tū and Rongo measurement tool is inspired by the Māori creation story. After the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, the children were dispersed between both parents. Keane (2012) relates that Tāwhirimātea waged war against his brothers for separating their parents. He ended up subduing a number of them, but Tū proved to be his equal. Tū was angry at his other brothers for not helping him defeat Tāwhirimātea, so he fought, subdued and defeated them (Keane, 2012). Through his actions he made his brothers noa. Tū then set up two whare wānanga: the House of Tū and the House of Rongo (Keane, 2012). The Hā tool user can employ intention, purpose, mindfulness and presence to move their trauma, generalised anxiety, fear and conflict from the House of Tū to a

HĀ HABIT WEEKLY PLANNER: 28 DAY CHALLENGE

TE WIKI O-The week of: ___________________

Tahi: 1	Hā ki roto - hā ki waho. 5 min breathing. Set positive intentions, & purpose	Rua: 2	Wear Hā tool- respond to stress & anxiety with the breath
Toru: 3	Get used to sitting in discomfort	Wha: 4	Become aware of thoughts that don't serve you, hā ki roto, hā ki waho. Breath
Rima: 5	Get balance in your day – use Te Whare tapa whā	Ono: 6	Mahi ki te po: Night habit: Hā ki roto - hā ki waho-5min breathing, gratitude and reflections
Whitu: 7	Humarie: Mindfulness; be gentle on yourself. It takes time to rewire the mind	Waru:	Kanohi kitea-Presence: Focus on what you want. There is always a solution

Schedule:	
Rāhina: Monday 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Rātū: Tuesday 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Rāapa: Wednesday 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Rāpare: Thursday 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Rāmere: Friday 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Rāhoroi: Saturday 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Rātapu: Sunday 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Notes: Each day, review the eight reminders. Tick each number as you consciously practice them. e.g 1= Morning habit. 2= Wear Hā Tool

TE WHARE TAPA WHĀ GOALS

________________________ ________________________

________________________ ________________________

FIGURE 4 Weekly planner for Hā Habit's "28 Day Challenge" workshop (Wikeepa, 2022).

space of resilience, recovery and calm: the House of Rongo.

The Tū and Rongo measuring tool is comprised of a series of questions for the Hā tool user to ask themselves:

Question 1: Do these symptoms sit in the past or the future?

Question 2: What are the psychological symptoms they are currently experiencing?

Question 3: What are the physical symptoms they are currently experiencing?

Question 4: When a Hā tool user applies intention and purpose, does this resist the temptation to internalise being their symptoms, as opposed to being a person experiencing symptoms?

Question 5: In what way does a Hā tool user comprehend that learnt behaviours can be unlearnt?

Question 6: What are their understandings of triggers and indicators? What are issues, emotions, behaviours or situations in a Hā tool user's life that are yet to be resolved?

Question 7: When applying mindfulness, which part of a Hā tool user's life needs compassion?

i. To forgive self and others

ii. To be more loving of self and others

iii. To be more forgiving, loving or understanding of the circumstances

iv. To be more aware of your needs and how to address them in respectful ways—what does that look like?

Question 8: How do you move from being emotionally and psychologically unavailable to practise being present in mind, body, soul, spirit?

i. What are 5 things you can see? Call them out and name them!

ii. What are 4 things you can touch? Touch them and name them!

iii. What are 3 emotions you can feel? Name them and feel them!

iv. What are 2 things you can smell? Sniff, smell and name them!

v. What is one thing you can taste? Name it, imagine it, and taste it!

This process allows a Hā tool user to become grounded and present. The asking and answering of these questions can support a Hā tool user who is transparent and open to self-reflection to move from a place of trauma, PTSD and generalised anxiety (House of Tū) to one of resilience, recovery and calm (House of Rongo).

Where to from here?

The statistics cited earlier in the article highlight worsening mental wellbeing among New Zealanders and an increase in those experiencing trauma, PTSD and generalised anxiety across many demographics. The disabled, the LGBTQ community, single parents, low-income earners, females and Māori all reported high levels of poor mental wellbeing. It is Hā Habit's intention to pour energy, resources and research into this area to address these disparities, and to support those suffering from debilitating disorders.

Early feedback from Hā tool users, some of which is shared below with their permission, suggests Hā Habit is indeed having a positive impact:

> *"Being and feeling the now."* I absolutely love my necklace. I have a very hectic life and am constantly planning what's next. I have loads of anxiety that I don't know what to do with. I just want to slow down my thought processes and appreciate the "now". I have been told numerous times about the benefits of conscious breathing. The problem is I just forget to do it. Since I have had my necklace I am making a real effort to stop, look around my environment and breathe. My necklace reminds me to do it. I am feeling so much better too. This is a wonderful tool; it helps me reset when I need to just stop and be present with me. I don't take enough time for me, and this is teaching me how to make more time for me, thank you so much :) I have plenty of compliments too on my taonga. This is just what I have always needed. I have social anxiety and while I know to breathe deeply to calm my anxiety, once I'm in the midst of anxiety it's something I forget. Not only is it a stunning taonga, but a constant reminder to me to regulate my breathing. The booklet is also such an awesome resource to help create good breathing habits and tools and strategies which complement the taonga (Brigid Davidson)

> *"Absolutely love it."* I was gifted this by my māmā as I have pretty bad anxiety and it's really helped me with slowing down my breathing during anxious times. It's also helping me to cut down on how much I vape. I love that it's silent to use and beautiful to wear! Would highly recommend to anxious people! (Raven Maniapoto)

> *"Amazing."* I was sceptic[al] about whether or not this would help my problem. After just a couple of days, I felt more relaxed and calmer. It is helping with my anxiety which has got worse since Covid and I am a teacher. However, I am also a really bad asthmatic I was hoping this would help with my breathing and slow my breathing down. It has worked—my asthma is so much better. Thank you so much to Hā Habit. These are amazing; I cannot recommend them highly enough. (Mandy Veza)

Conclusion

This article has described how the creation of a "Hā habit" can alleviate the debilitating effects of trauma, PTSD and generalised anxiety. When those experiencing these disorders habitually use the Hā tool—whose creation was inspired by the whakapapa of the Hā—they become equipped with both an intervention strategy and a preventative strategy. In this way, they are supported to build resilience against poor mental wellbeing, and to move from a place of trauma, PTSD or generalised anxiety to one of resilience, recovery and calm. Early feedback indicates that Hā Habit,

the company behind the Hā tool, is already having a positive impact on the lives of those affected by these disorders.

No reira

Tēnā koutou, Tēnā koutou, Tēnā koutou katoa

Glossary

atua	deities, gods
Hā/hā	life essence, breath/to taste, to breathe
haka	traditional Māori war dance involving chanting, posture and rhythmic movements
hā ki roto	breathe in
hā ki waho	breathe out
hau	breath
hauora	health
he kākano rua	lit. "two seeds"; bicultural approach
Hineahuone	the first human life form
hinengaro	mind
huia	a glossy black bird, now extinct, which had prized white-tipped tail feathers and orange wattles
ihi	essential force
Io	supreme being
Kaupapa Māori	a Māori worldview applied in a Western societal construct
koauau	traditional Māori musical instrument
kotuku	white heron
kupu	words
mamae	pain, hurt
Māori	Indigenous peoples of New Zealand
mate Māori	Māori mental illness
ngākau	heart
noa	common
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Papatūānuku	Mother Earth
patu ngākau	an assault or strike to the heart
porangitanga	psychosis
pōuritanga	intense overwhelming state leading to whakamomori
pū	source, foundation
Ranginui	Father Sky
Rongo-mā-Tāne	atua of peace and cultivated food
Tāne Mahuta/ Tāne-nui-a-Rangi	atua of the forest who gave Hineahuone the Hā
Tangaroa	atua of the sea
taniwha	supernatural creatures in Māori tradition
taonga	treasure, prized object
taonga pūoro	traditional Māori musical instrument
Tāwhirimātea	atua of the winds
tihei mauri ora	lit. "it is life"; the sneeze of life
toroa	albatross
Tūmatauenga	atua of war
wairangi	mental/emotional distress
wairua	spirit, soul
whakamā	to be filled with shame
whakamomori	to become devastated
whakapapa	genealogy, ancestry, familial relationships
whare wānanga	houses of learning

References

American Psychological Association. (2022). *Anxiety*. *https://www.apa.org/topics/anxiety/*

Brown, R., & Gerbarg, P. (2009). Yoga breathing, meditation, and longevity. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, *1172*(1), 54–62. https://doi.org/cqp343

Duran, E. (2006). *Healing the soul wound: Counselling with American Indians, and other people*. Teachers College Press.

Esler, M., Jennings, G., Korner, P., Willet, I., Dudley, F., Hasking, G., Anderson, W., & Lambert, G. (1988). Assessment of human sympathetic nervous system from measurements of norepinephrine turnover. *Hypertension*, *11*(1), 3–20. https://doi.org/wpr

FashioNZ. (2022, 6 May). *Hā Habit breathwork tool launched to tackle generalised anxiety in Aotearoa*. https://fashionz.co.nz/ha-habit-breathwork-tool-launched-to-tackle-anxiety-in-aotearoa/

Flintoff, B. (2014). Māori musical instruments: Taonga pūoro. In *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. https://teara.govt.nz/en/maori-musical-instruments-taonga-puoro

Gaba, S. (2020, 22 August). Understanding fight, flight, freeze and the fawn response: Another possible response to trauma. *Psychology Today*.https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/addiction-and-recovery/202008/understanding-fight-flight-freeze-and-the-fawn-response

Grujičić, R. (2022). The sympathetic nervous system. *Kenhub*. https://www.kenhub.com/en/library/anatomy/sympathetic-nervous-system

Haines, A. (2021, 20 May). Wearing your therapy: This necklace wants you to breathe your way to better mental health. *Forbes*. https://www.forbes.com/sites/annahaines/2021/05/20/wearing-your-therapy-this-necklace-wants-you-to-breathe-your-way-to-better-mental-health/?sh=b7c5f6869f69

Health Within. (2019, 17 May). *Sympathetic versus parasympathetic state: How stress affects your health.* https://healthwithinent.com/sympathetic-vs-parasympathetic-state-how-stress-affects-your-health/

Jarath, R., Edry, J., Barnes, V., & Jarath, V. (2006). Physiology of long pranayamic breathing: Neural respiratory elements may provide a mechanism that explains how slow deep breathing shifts the autonomic nervous system. *Medical Hypotheses*, *67*(3), 566–571. https://doi.org/d63m8v

Jenita, J., & Soni, A. (2021, 17 May). 10 common types of trauma. *Icy Health*. https://icyhealth.com/types-of-trauma/

Keane, B. (2012, 20 June). Riri — traditional Māori warfare — Atua — origins of wars. In *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. https://teara.govt.nz/en/riri-traditional-maori-warfare/page-1

Kekre, A. (2020, 5 February). The link between breath and nervous system: Foundation of pranayama. *Yog Chikitsa*. https://yogchikitsa.com/link-between-breath-mind-nervous-system-pranayama/

Marsden, M. (2003). *The interwoven universe: Selected writings of Reverend Māori Marsden* (T. A. C. Royal, Ed.). Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden.

Newport Institute. (n.d.). *Big T versus little t trauma in young adults: Is there a difference?* https://www.newportinstitute.com/resources/mental-health/big-t-little-t-trauma/

Nunez, K. (2020, 21 February). Fight, flight, freeze: What this response means. *Healthline*. https://www.healthline.com/health/mental-health/fight-flight-freeze#in-the-mind

Smith, T. (2013). *He kokongā whare: Traditional Māori concepts relevant to intergenerational trauma*. Te Atawhai o te Ao Independent Māori Research Institute.

Stats NZ. (2022, 5 July). *New Zealanders' mental wellbeing declines*. https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/new-zealanders-mental-wellbeing-declines

TEDx Talks. (2018, 14 November). *Transforming lives through exploring histories | Rawiri Waretini-Karena | TEDxRuakura*. [Video file]. YouTube. https://youtu.be/NpXxzE4tW7g

Te Whaati, N. (2022). *The meaning of Hā and Ka* [Video]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/reel/1607143456373003/?s=single_unit

Wikeepa, J. (2022). *Hā Habit: Breaking cycles of stress and generalised anxiety*. Hā Habit.

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP

DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.10

ADJUSTMENT TO CHRONIC ILLNESS AS INFORMED BY MĀORI

A qualitative synthesis of studies and best practice guidelines

*Nikita Kirkcaldy**

Abstract

Supporting equitable healthcare outcomes in Aotearoa New Zealand requires urgent attention. Several models of Māori health and wellbeing introduce elements and strategies that may be central to adjustment to chronic illness. This article conducts a literature review of Māori health and wellbeing models and best practice guidelines to identify what Māori see as central to illness adjustment and determine practical strategies to inform better practice in the context of chronic illness. Two overarching themes were identified as central to the adjustment process: dimensions of health and wellbeing, and whanaungatanga. In addition, five strategies to support adjustment to chronic illness were identified: developing culturally safe practices, involving a patient in their care, involving whānau in care, developing trusting relationships and collective responsibility. By acknowledging elements that Māori see as important to illness adjustment and committing to aligned strategies, healthcare practitioners can better support Māori in the context of chronic illness.

Keywords

best practice, chronic illness, health, illness adjustment, Māori

Introduction

The impact of diagnosis and management of chronic illness can be associated with a raft of challenges and profound changes for a person and their whānau (Kidd et al., 2013). Chronic illnesses, such as diabetes and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, are often progressive, do not resolve spontaneously and require ongoing medical management to curb rather than cure illness (Megari, 2013). Medical management itself has the potential to disrupt the life of a person and their whānau via processes such as invasive or time-consuming surgical/treatment requirements, increased health-related costs, reduced functional status, fatigue, increased mortality and psychological distress (Houghton & Duncan, 2003; Li et al., 2012).

Due to the systemic challenges associated with chronic illness, researchers have long sought to define adjustment to chronic illness (Hoyt & Stanton, 2018). Western researchers have offered conceptualisations of positive adjustment to chronic conditions that incorporate cognitive, emotional, behavioural, social and physical processes. These

* Ngāti Pākehā. Health Psychologist, Te Whatu Ora Health New Zealand, Counties Manukau, New Zealand.
Email: nikita.kirkcaldy@middlemore.co.nz

interrelated domains include (a) the successful performance of illness-related adaptive tasks (e.g. adherence to medical and behavioural regimens), (b) the absence of psychological disorders, (c) the presence of relatively low negative affect and high positive affect, (d) the maintenance of adequate functional status and social roles, and (e) perceptions of high quality of life (Hoyt & Stanton, 2018). Although these domains offer a framework for understanding adjustment to chronic illness, cultural dynamics involving the intersection of ethnicity identity, colonisation, socioeconomic status and experiences of discrimination as they affect illness-related adjustment have received minimal attention (Stanton et al., 2007).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, ongoing health inequities between Māori and non-Māori highlight the inadequacy of Western medical models and frameworks alone to deliver effective healthcare for Māori. Documented health inequities between Māori and non-Māori include increased incidence, prevalence, and disability and mortality from chronic illness (Kahukura, 2015). Despite higher instances of chronic illness, Māori are less likely to access primary care, be referred for specialist care or receive elective surgical interventions (Aumua et al., 2018; Grey et al., 2016). Once in the healthcare system, Māori are more likely to have negative experiences, including encountering racism, discrimination and marginalisation in interpersonal interactions and via institutional structures (Cormack et al., 2018; D. Wilson et al., 2021). In addition, Māori are more likely to experience adverse medical events and receive poorer quality care (Rumball-Smith et al., 2013) and are less likely to receive best practice treatment interventions (Rahiri et al., 2018).

The failure of the current health system to provide equitable care for Māori directly conflicts with guarantees made in New Zealand's foundational documents. Te Tiriti o Waitangi | the Treaty of Waitangi guarantees Māori and English subjects equal rights and protections (Rolleston et al., 2020). In the context of healthcare, this means that Māori are entitled to have their culture, values and worldview equally represented when being cared for. Despite this promise, since the signing of te Tiriti in 1840, there has been a persistent devaluation and denial of mātauranga Māori within healthcare as dictated by legislation, including the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907, and the dominance of Western values within healthcare (Barton & Wilson, 2008; P. Reid et al., 2019). The failure of health systems in New Zealand to uphold Māori tino rangatiratanga has contributed to ineffective care and ongoing health inequities (Dyall et al., 2013; Levack et al., 2016).

To adequately address inequities in healthcare in Aotearoa and uphold promises made in te Tiriti o Waitangi, it is paramount that research and subsequent frameworks of health are directed by Māori worldviews and values (Graham & Masters-Awatere, 2020; Rolleston et al., 2020). In the context of chronic illness, it is fundamental that Māori are empowered to self-determine what adjustment to chronic illness looks like and what is needed to achieve adjustment from within a Māori cultural value system rather than being constrained by Western medical and scientific parameters. Knowledge generated in this manner provides an opportunity to better understand, acknowledge and educate the healthcare workforce on culturally different ways of thinking, interacting and supporting individuals and their whānau with chronic illness, and ultimately support the delivery of better healthcare.

A lack of literature on how Māori define adjustment to chronic illness creates the need for systematic research to help operationalise this construct. A literature review of Māori health and wellbeing models will help identify elements that Māori see as central to illness adjustment. There are three core benefits of conducting such a literature review. First, it will help to set the necessary foundations for future research to validate what Māori see as central to the adjustment process. Second, it will inform future research that aims to conceptualise how Māori define adjustment to chronic illness. Third, it will outline several strategies healthcare practitioners can adopt to better support Māori in the context of chronic illness.

This literature review has two aims:

1. Identify what Māori see as central to illness adjustment in the context of chronic illness.
2. Identify practical strategies that practitioners can adopt to better support Māori in the context of chronic illness.

Aim 1: Methods

The first aim involved three stages: (a) identification of key themes and word searches as guided by Māori model or framework of health; (b) identification of relevant qualitative and quantitative studies to support review aims; and (c) collation, summarisation and reporting results.

Identification of key themes and word searches

D. Wilson et al.'s (2021) review provided the foundations for the identification of core themes related to what Māori see as central to illness and adjustment. Specifically, D. Wilson et al. (2021) identified 10 papers that outlined nine unique Māori models or frameworks of healthcare. A thematic synthesis was adopted to combine and identify key themes according to the first aim of their review (Thomas & Harden, 2008). Two overarching themes captured core cultural concepts and values relevant to what Māori may see as central to illness adjustment. These themes were (a) dimensions of health and wellbeing and (b) whanaungatanga. During this process, two reviewers conferred and agreed on the key themes (see Table 1), which guided keyword searches.

Identification of relevant studies

Key themes guided keyword searches related to dimensions of health and wellbeing (e.g. "wairua", "whānau", "hinengaro", "tinana") and whanaungatanga (e.g. "whakapapa," "whenua" "tikanga", "mana", "aroha," "colonisation," "marginalisation"). Considering that literature on Māori perspectives is often not indexed in databases, a review was conducted across academic repositories. The following databases were searched: Medline, Embase, Google Scholar and the University of Auckland Library. No timeframe was specified in the search, as mātauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori do not begin and end at a particular time. Papers written in English and te reo Māori were considered for inclusion in this review, although no search results in te reo Māori were returned. Papers that aligned with Kaupapa Māori or those developed with Māori involvement were prioritised.

Collation, summarisation and reporting results

Qualitative and quantitative research yielded from keyword searches was sorted and mapped to core themes to address the first aim.

Aim 2: Methods

The second aim involved two stages: (a) identification and collation of best practice guidelines in New Zealand, and (b) identification of case studies and examples of applications of strategic themes.

Identification of best practice guidelines in New Zealand

Databases used to address the first aim were again consulted. In addition, publications available via the Ministry of Health and Te Whatu Ora Health New Zealand, the national public health agency, were reviewed. Literature needed to outline strategies or recommendations at the individual/community level in the context of New Zealand healthcare. In addition, guidelines needed to be authored or supported by Māori consultation and involvement. Five articles met the criteria for inclusion. Four overarching individual and organisational strategies were identified from these (see Table 2). Two reviewers conferred and agreed on the key themes.

Identification of relevant application of strategies and summary of results

Keyword searches related to these strategies were subsequently conducted to identify current applications and examples of strategies in practice within New Zealand. The identified literature was sorted and mapped to core themes to address the second aim.

Aim 1: Results

The results for Aim 1 are organised into two subsections. The first subsection reviews dimensions of health and wellbeing that may be crucial in illness adjustment. The second subsection considers the importance of whanaungatanga in the context of adjustment to chronic health.

Dimensions of health and wellbeing and adjustment to chronic illness

> Holistic wellbeing—that is what it means to be Māori. (Ministry of Health, 2020, p. 21)

Indigenous perspectives on wellbeing commonly draw on the unity of mind, body and spirit as a way of understanding health and wellbeing (Mark & Lyons, 2010). From a Māori perspective, health is invariably holistic, and includes wellbeing across wairua, whānau, hinengaro and tinana (Barton & Wilson, 2008; Durie, 1998). While tinana is the primary focus of the majority of healthcare services in Aotearoa (P. Reid et al., 2019), a holistic view of health suggests all elements are important to the wellbeing of a person and their whānau (Durie, 1998). Although these elements are not truly separable or independent in holistic thinking, in order to highlight the possible importance of each element in terms of adjustment to chronic illness, each is discussed in turn below.

TABLE 1 Summary of key themes within Māori models of health and wellbeing

	Hui process[1]	Kapakapa Manawa framework[2]	Meihana model[3]	Te Hā o Whānau[4]	Te Kapunga Putohe[5]	Te Punga Oranga[6]	Te Whare Tapa Whā[7]	Te Wheke[8]	Te Whetu[9]
Dimensions of health and wellbeing									
Wairua			*		*	*	*	*	*
Whānau	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Hinengaro						*	*	*	
Tinana			*			*	*	*	*
Whanaungatanga									
Connections	*	*	*	*	*			*	*
Sociopolitical			*						*
Whakawhanaungatanga		*	*	*	*			*	

Note: 1 = Lacey et al. (2011); 2 = Robinson et al. (2020); 3 = Pitama et al. (2007); 4 = Stevenson (2018); 5 = Barton and Wilson (2008); 6 = Murray (2010); 7 = Durie (1998); 8 = Love (2004); 9 = Mark and Lyons (2010).

TABLE 2 Summary of key strategies proposed to support Māori health

	Cram (2014)	bpac^{NZ} (2008)	Te Aka Whai Ora and Te Whatu Ora Health New Zealand (2022)	Te Whatu Ora Health New Zealand (2022)	Ministry of Health (2020)
Developing culturally safe practices	*	*	*		*
Involving a patient in their care	*	*	*	*	*
Developing trusting relationships	*	*			
Collective responsibility	*	*	*	*	*

Wairua

Prior literature indicates that wairua is a fundamental component of meaningful interactions with healthcare practitioners (B.-J. Wilson et al., 2022). Wairua can be defined as a person's spirit or soul that exists prior to a person's birth and extends beyond death (D. Wilson et al., 2021). Wairua is intertwined with identity, mauri, the universe and the cosmos (Kiyimba & Anderson, 2022). It is sometimes translated as "spirit" or "spirituality", with the understanding that all things embody this quality and that it can be affected by different activities, enhanced by karakia and disrupted by transgressions of tapu (Elder, 2017). Damage to wairua via illness or injury activates a series of culturally determined responses (Tate, 2012). People within whānau and whakapapa are recognised as having access to the most salient cultural resources because they are most closely linked via their wairua (Elder, 2013). Beyond whānau, healthcare practitioners and contexts can affect wairua and may play an important role in facilitating the wairua of a patient and their whānau (Pitama et al., 2014).

More specifically, when practitioners offer appropriate space and support around spirituality, religious beliefs, special attachment to people, places and taonga, the wairua of a person and their whānau can be better supported within healthcare contexts (D. Wilson et al., 2021). In line with this notion, recent qualitative research that interviewed bereaved families following the death of a loved one indicated that cultural and spiritual support for palliative patients was associated with a deep sense of comfort for patients and their whānau (Gott et al., 2019). Furthermore, being able to conduct spiritual customs in healthcare settings, either with or without healthcare professionals present, appeared to be integral in supporting patients and whānau, especially during challenging times (Moeke-Maxwell et al., 2020). Adjacent literature suggests that Māori palliative care workers emphasise respecting and enabling tikanga such as waiata and karakia to enhance the quality of care and facilitate wellbeing (Oetzel et al., 2015). While research has yet to explore the importance of wairua to Māori with chronic health conditions, research considered above suggests that wairua may be important for wellbeing and adjustment.

Whānau

The importance of whānau in healthcare provisions is commonly agreed upon (Elder, 2013; Kidd et al., 2013; Slater et al., 2013; D. Wilson et al., 2021). Whānau typically refers to an immediate and extended family network. Importantly, whānau exemplifies that Māori do not operate in isolation; rather, they exist within the collective whānau or community (Pitama et al., 2014). This collective orientation highlights the importance for healthcare practitioners to include whānau in the care of a person (B.-J. Wilson et al., 2022). Supporting this notion, several studies have indicated that patients value whānau as an important part of their health journey (Elder, 2013; Kidd et al., 2013; Slater et al., 2013; D. Wilson et al., 2021). A similar sentiment is reflected by Māori healers, who see whānau/whakapapa as an essential element in wellbeing and the healing journey (Mark & Lyons, 2010; Wirihana & Smith, 2019). Amongst other things, whānau have been described as important for health as they enable practical, informational, emotional and spiritual support (Elder, 2013; Kidd et al., 2013; Slater et al., 2013; D. Wilson et al., 2021). Considering that whānau is widely recognised as an important element of Māori health, it seems likely that the inclusion of whānau in healthcare that is oriented towards supporting chronic illness may share a similar importance.

Hinengaro

Hinengaro commonly refers to the mental or emotional dimension of an individual and can include thoughts, feelings and behaviours (Broughton et al., 2013). The diagnosis and management of chronic illness can put considerable strain on a person's hinengaro. For example, different medications and treatments may render someone unconscious, alter cognitions and feelings, and contribute to experiences of psychological distress (Fia'Ali'i et al., 2022; Lyford & Cook, 2005). Other elements that may strain a person's hinengaro include having to receive care in foreign environments, isolation from whānau during treatment, and complex and ongoing treatment information and requirements (Wepa & Wilson, 2019; D. Wilson, 2008). When hinengaro is strained, it may be particularly important for whānau and wairua to be involved to strengthen overall wellbeing (McNatty & Roa, 2002). Whānau may further be able to support hinengaro by helping to process health and treatment information, collaborate on decisions, and navigate foreign healthcare environments (Slater et al., 2013).

Being entrenched in healthcare systems, practitioners, too, have a unique opportunity to support hinengaro. Research indicates that Māori and their whānau typically find healthcare environments unfriendly and culturally foreign (Wepa & Wilson, 2019). In addition, Māori whānau report

not knowing the rules for engagement with healthcare practitioners (D. Wilson, 2008). In addressing these struggles, research suggests that Māori and their whānau value when practitioners take time to develop a relationship with them, keep whānau involved and informed with information, are clear with communication about treatment and medications, and respect knowledge generated from patients and their whānau (Carlson et al., 2019; Kidd et al., 2018). Overarching these processes, it is important to note that diversity in worldviews and needs exist among Māori. Thus, fundamental to the provisions of care is meaningful person-centred dialogue with Māori and their whānau (D. Wilson, 2008). In the context of chronic illness, person-/whānau-centred care may be particularly important, as patients are likely to interact with practitioners and healthcare systems regularly (Slater et al., 2013).

Tinana

Tinana commonly refers to a person's physical dimension. In te ao Māori, tinana is intricately linked with whakapapa, wairua and hinengaro (D. Wilson et al., 2021). Thus, the body can be viewed as a sacred shelter (tapu) and a source of substance for a person's health. Tapu involves a degree of sacredness and restriction. Its opposite, noa, is a state without restrictions (Russell, 2007). The status of bodily tapu often needs attending in medical contexts. Specifically, certain procedures, medications and environments may violate sanctions of tapu (Hart, 2013). Thus, to protect tapu, individuals and whānau may engage in processes and procedures to bring the body into a state of noa so that specific treatments may occur (Russell, 2007). Dedicated rongoā Māori practitioners and Māori health teams may also help safely navigate tapu and noa in medical contexts (Beaton et al., 2019; Gott et al., 2019; Lyford & Cook, 2005).

Beyond these specialist providers, all health professionals have an important role in acknowledging and upholding tapu in the context of healthcare. In particular, the utmost respect must be afforded to patients when engaging in bodily care (Broughton et al., 2016). In addition, it is vital that practitioners are aware of and implement appropriate tikanga in the context of a hospital and clinics by, for example, setting aside specific pillows for the head and others for the body (Waitemata District Health Board, 2003). Implementing appropriate tikanga may be particularly important in the context of chronic illness, as individuals are often exposed to invasive medical procedures such as dialysis or chemotherapy that may violate sanctions of tapu.

Whanaungatanga in adjustment to chronic illness

The notion of whanaungatanga or connectedness is a common theme in Māori models of health and wellbeing. Whanaungatanga conceptualises the relational aspect of Māori culture where health can be influenced by connections with whakapapa, whenua and whānau (D. Wilson et al., 2021). These connections highlight the importance of balancing the overall wellbeing of whānau members and their connection to each other, their wider community, ancestors and land with the physical, emotional and spiritual health of the individual living with a chronic illness (Kara et al., 2011). Hence, for Māori, adjustment to chronic illness is likely reflective of the wellbeing of their connections as a whole. Despite the importance of whanaungatanga, few mainstream healthcare services acknowledge or are oriented to meet these more systemic needs (Greaves et al., 2021).

An important area of whanaungatanga that is commonly overlooked in the context of healthcare is the influence of the sociopolitical health context on health and wellbeing. As introduced, whanaungatanga encompasses a broad range of connections and can include how Māori relate to events of the past and future (Lyford & Cook, 2005). Historical events and their current-day implications, including colonisation, migration, racism and marginalisation, affect adjustment to illness in a variety of ways, including access to resources, socioeconomic status, employment conditions, education opportunities, quality of housing and the financial ability to engage with the health system (D. Wilson et al., 2021). Thus, to support illness adjustment, practitioners must explore sociopolitical factors that whānau see as central to health. In addition, it is vital to acknowledge that institutional, organisational and procedural elements of healthcare may perpetuate deficit stereotypes, inequities and bias in clinical decisions (Pitama et al., 2014). In particular, it is pertinent to consider that healthcare systems are not culturally neutral; rather, they are embedded and often privilege Western worldviews (Simpson et al., 2022). To shift factors that perpetuate inequity, there is an enhanced need to integrate Māori expertise with non-Māori knowledge to better support illness adjustment (Macfarlane & Macfarlane, 2019; Simpson et al., 2022).

An aspect of whanaungatanga that has received more attention in healthcare is procedural elements

of establishment and maintenance of connections between kaimahi and patients and their whānau (Greaves et al., 2021). Elements central to building relationships include tikanga to ensure everyone's mana is acknowledged within the relational space (Stevenson, 2018). For this to occur, healthcare practitioners must be familiar with the fundamentals of te ao Māori along with their own worldview (D. Wilson et al., 2021). In addition, it is essential that practitioners act with aroha and manaakitanga, and in ways that acknowledge and uplift mana (Le Grice et al., 2017). Supporting this notion, the process of whanaungatanga has been cited as an important element of care of several chronic conditions, including cancer (Slater et al., 2013), cardiovascular disease (Carlson et al., 2019), end-stage renal failure (Kidd et al., 2013) and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (Levack et al., 2016). Considering the widespread support for the importance of whanaungatanga in the provisions of healthcare, it seems likely whanaungatanga plays an important role in adjustment to chronic health.

Aim 2: Results

> Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi.
> *The old net is cast aside while the new net goes fishing.* (Elder, 2020, p. 159)

Thus far, the literature review has revealed several elements that Māori may see as central to illness adjustment. Yet, despite this information being widely available, health inequities for Māori continue to persist (Kahukura, 2015). One factor that may contribute to ongoing disparities is a breakdown in the operationalisation of research. While the need to address systemic factors contributing to inequities cannot be overstated (Ministry of Health, 2014; J. Reid et al., 2014), every person working in healthcare has the opportunity to act in ways to bridge the gap in inequities faced by Māori. To support healthcare professionals to translate the reviewed research into everyday actions, five strategies are outlined below.

Plan to develop culturally safe practices

> Poipoia te kākano kia puāwai.
> *Nurture the seed, and it will bloom.*
> (Elder, 2020, p. 23)

Change does not happen by accident. It needs a plan. To effectively support adjustment to chronic illness, kaimahi should plan to develop culturally safe practices. A simple plan to review Māori health models and appropriate tikanga within healthcare contexts can help set the foundations for practising in ways that enable patient-led change and better health outcomes (Ministry of Health, 2020). Further, it is vital that practitioners reflect on who they are and their own culture. Conscious and non-conscious culture-based expectations can influence interactions, thoughts and decision-making. Thus, being familiar with who you are and your cultural views and expectations can help to identify and shift automatic responses that may perpetuate unhelpful ways of interacting and decision-making (McClintock & McClintock, 2018). A powerful quote collected in the recent *Whatua* report echoes the importance of genuine engagement in cultural safety: "Tick boxes no longer work, we want action" (Ministry of Health, 2020, p. 19). An organisation that offers a range of courses that are aimed at strengthening cultural safety for both Māori and non-Māori practitioners within the mental health and addiction sector is Te Rau Ora (n.d.). Providers such as these should be a point of reference for kaimahi across all sectors to upskill their cultural competency.

Ensure patients have the opportunity to be part of their treatment

> Nā te iho ko te korero, nā te whakairo nui ko te mūmū.
> *Talking comes naturally, silence comes from wisdom.* (Elder, 2020, p. 187)

"We hoped that by telling our story about our concerns, then there would be someone to hear us—truly hear us. A place that doesn't hear our stories is a place that doesn't allow us to hope" (Wepa & Wilson, 2019, p. 4). To ensure care is individualised and patient-centred, it is important that kaimahi allow the space for patients to express their views, concerns and treatment preferences (Wong et al., 2022). Further, it is essential that formulation around illness and treatment planning is a collaborative process that is sensitive to diverse realities and needs (Ministry of Health, 2020). Supporting this notion, Dr Rawiri Tipene-Leach, a Māori general practitioner, has stated, "As a clinician, your skill is to reflect that anecdotal evidence and incorporate both views into a management plan—your view which includes the clinical and scientific perspective and that of your patients which may have a particular cultural slant" (bpac^{NZ}, 2008, p. 12). As part of the collaborative care process, there may be

times when patients express a desire for culturally specific care. To support this desire, it may be pertinent to consider a referral to services that are equipped to support cultural needs (Ministry of Health, 2020). Several marae services, including Te Manu Aute Whare Oranga (Manurewa Marae, n.d.) and Te Whare Marie (Te Whatu Ora Health New Zealand, 2021), offer healthcare embedded in a te ao Māori perspective. In a recent move, ACC (2023) has paired with several rongoā Māori services to provide funded services entrenched in mātauranga Māori as part of rehabilitation.

Involve a patient's whānau in care

> Ki te kotahi te kākaho, ka whati; ki te kāpuia, e kore e whati.
> *If a reed stands alone, it can be broken; if it is in a group, it cannot.* (Elder, 2020, p. 119)

"Whānau are the ultimate kaitiaki for Māori health and wellbeing" (Te Whatu Ora Health New Zealand, 2022, p. 56). As indicated throughout this review, whānau is an integral component of health, wellbeing and adjustment. The Ministry of Health (2014, 2020) has long documented the importance of embracing whānau, hapū, iwi and community involvement within care. In particular, it has been noted that a collaborative approach enables Māori to connect with strengths and develop their own initiatives that are tailored to meet their own health needs (Ministry of Health, 2014, 2020). An example of a successful programme that leveraged whānau involvement to support the management of diabetes is He Pikinga Waiora Kimi Ora. Specifically, the programme invited clients with either pre-diabetes or type 2 diabetes to participate in an 8-week programme that focused on support around nutrition, meal planning, budgeting and exercise. Importantly, participants were encouraged to include whānau (whether in the same household or not). Post-intervention results were promising, with 100% of participants being retained. Further, results showed an average reduction in weight, waistline measurements and body mass index, along with reports of participants feeling improvements in their physical health and energy levels. These results offer a stark comparison with the poor uptake of interventions that focus on individuals while ignoring whānau (Masters-Awatere et al., 2021).

Build trusting therapeutic relationships

> Waiho i te toipoto, kaua i te toiroa.
> *Let us keep close together, not wide apart.* (Alsop & Te Rau Kupenga, 2016, p. 75)

Relationships are central to te ao Māori and play an important role in individual and collective wellbeing. Used in healthcare, relationship building is an important step in creating helpful care experiences for Māori. Amongst other things, trusting relationships can help to manage power imbalances inherent in relationships between kaimahi and patients and their whānau. In turn, reducing relational power can help Māori to navigate healthcare services more easily (Mitchell, 2014) and enable Māori and their whānau to fully participate in their care (D. Wilson et al., 2011). As discussed earlier in this article, whanaungatanga, tikanga, aroha and manaakitanga are important elements in building trusting therapeutic relationships (Le Grice et al., 2017). In addition, it is valuable to clearly outline the purpose and process of interventions or treatments. This explanatory practice can offer opportunities to clarify the "why" and "how" of treatment along with preferences and expectations between kaimahi and patients and their whānau. Communicating this way can help break down barriers related to medical jargon, complex treatments and cumbersome self-management expectations (Carlson et al., 2019).

Take on the wero

> Ehara! Ko koe te ringa e huti punga!
> *Yes, yours is the arm best suited to pull up the anchor!* (Elder, 2020, p. 59)

The road to change may be difficult, with systemic barriers entrenched in a medical system built on the oppression and marginalisation of Māori. Change also stirs barriers from within that stem from a lack of awareness, engagement, reflection and powerful emotions such as whakamā. Yet, progress must be achieved in the face of challenge; and now, more than ever, there is a call for change. So, wherever health practitioners are in their journey, now is the time to commit to developing their skills to act in ways that support Māori adjustment to chronic illness.

Limitations

Being scoping in nature, the current review did not include an appraisal of the quality of the papers

included. Furthermore, there is potential for bias in paper and theme selection; although there was input from two reviewers, independent analysis was not conducted. To ensure the cultural relevance of findings, a cultural review process was followed when writing out this manuscript with Māori practitioners, fluent Māori speakers and experts on Māori health.

Conclusion

This review has highlighted several elements that Māori view as important in illness adjustment, including the dimensions of health and wellbeing and whanaungatanga. While there remains a need for future research to explore how Māori define adjustment to chronic illness and to validate the current findings, the current review offers a platform for practitioners to better understand wider determinants of adjustment to illness from a Māori perspective. Further, it signals five strategies for healthcare practitioners to adopt to better support Māori in the context of illness adjustment. Finally, in a context of ongoing health inequities, the current review offers a call to action for all healthcare professionals to commit to the ongoing journey of developing the skills, competency and necessary reflection to better support Māori in the context of chronic illness.

> Kua tawhiti kē to haerenga mai, kia kore e haere tonu. He nui rawa o mahi, kia kore e mahi tonu.
> *You have come too far not to go further; you have done too much not to do more.*
> — Tā Himi Henare

Acknowledgements

A special thanks to Eva Morunga, Caran Barratt-Boyes and Lisa Hoyle for supporting and guiding this rangahau. Mei kore ake ko koutou i kore rawa ēnei kaupapa.

Glossary

aroha	empathy and compassion
hapū	subtribe
hinengaro	mind, thoughts, consciousness
hui	meeting
iwi	tribe
kaimahi	health practitioners
kaitiaki	guardians, stewards
karakia	prayers, chants
Kaupapa Māori	Māori based topic/event/ enterprise run by Māori for Māori
mana	status, power
manaakitanga	kindness and generosity
marae	tribal meeting grounds
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge, wisdom
mauri	life force
noa	a state without restrictions
rangahau	research
rongoā Māori	traditional Māori medicine
Tā	Sir
taonga	treasure, anything prized
tapu	sacred/state of restriction
te ao	Māori worldview
te reo	the Māori language
tikanga	correct procedure, custom
tinana	physical health
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
waiata	songs
wairua	spirt, soul, spirituality
wero	challenge
whakamā	embarrassment/shame
whakapapa	genealogical connections, descent
whakawhanaungatanga	building relationships
whānau	extended family
whanaungatanga	connectedness
whenua	land, familiar land

References

ACC. (2023, March 20). *Rongoā Māori services*. https://www.acc.co.nz/about-us/rongoa-maori-services/

Alsop, P., & Te Rau Kupenga. (2016). *Mauri ora: Wisdom from the Māori world*. Potton & Burton.

Aumua, C., Krishna, S., Samarakkody, U., & de Lore, D. (2018). Racial disparity in an outreach pediatric surgical service. *Journal of Pediatric Surgery*, *53*(5), 1069–1072. https://doi.org/khk6

Barton, P., & Wilson, D. (2008). Te Kapunga Putohe (the restless hands): A Maori centred nursing practice model. *Nursing Praxis in New Zealand*, *24*(2), 6–15.

Beaton, A., Manuel, C., Tapsell, J., Foote, J., Oetzel, J. G., & Hudson, M. (2019). He Pikinga Waiora: Supporting Māori health organisations to respond to pre-diabetes. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, *18*(1), 1–11. https://doi.org/ggbf8m

bpac[NZ]. (2008). *Practical solutions for improving*

Māori health. https://bpac.org.nz/bpj/2008/may/docs/bpj13_solutions_pages_10-14.pdf

Broughton, J. R., Lawrence, H. P., & Jamieson, L. (2016). Tikanga Māori (Māori customary practices) in oral health research. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, *27*(1), 101–109. https://doi.org/f782jh

Broughton, J. R., Maipi, J. T. H., Person, M., Thomson, W. M., Morgaine, K. C., Tiakiwai, S.-J., Kilgour, J., Berryman, K., Lawrence, H. P., & Jamieson, L. M. (2013). Reducing disease burden and health inequalities arising from chronic disease among indigenous children: An early childhood caries intervention in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *BMC Public Health*, *13*(1), 1–8. https://doi.org/gbfg55

Carlson, T., Moewaka Barnes, H., & McCreanor, T. (2019). Health literacy in action: Kaupapa Māori evaluation of a cardiovascular disease medications health literacy intervention. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *15*(2), 101–110. https://doi.org/khk8

Cormack, D., Stanley, J., & Harris, R. (2018). Multiple forms of discrimination and relationships with health and wellbeing: Findings from national cross-sectional surveys in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, *17*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/gc3qmm

Cram, F. (2014). *Improving Māori access to health care: Research report*. https://www.katoa.net.nz/past-projects/hauora---health/maori-access-to-health-services

Durie, M. (1998). *Whaiora: Maōri health development*. Oxford University Press.

Dyall, L., Skipper, T., Kēpa, M., Hayman, K., & Kerse, N. (2013). Navigation: Process of building relationships with kaumātua (Māori leaders). *Journal of the New Zealand Medical Association*, *126*(1368), 65–71. https://journal.nzma.org.nz/journal-articles/navigation-process-of-building-relationships-with-kaumatua-maori-leaders

Elder, H. (2013). Indigenous theory building for Māori children and adolescents with traumatic brain injury and their extended family. *Brain Impairment*, *14*(3), 406–414. https://doi.org/khmc

Elder, H. (2017). Te waka kuaka and te waka oranga: Working with whānau to improve outcomes. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy*, *38*(1), 27–42. https://doi.org/c5r9

Elder, H. (2020). *Aroha: Māori wisdom for a contented life lived in harmony with our planet*. Penguin.

Fia'Ali'i, J., Law, M., O'Donovan, C., Skinner, J. R., & Broadbent, E. (2022). Cultural differences in psychological distress and illness perceptions amongst people living with cardiac inherited diseases. *Heart, Lung and Circulation*, *31*(9), 1255–1262. https://doi.org/khmf

Gott, M., Robinson, J., Moeke-Maxwell, T., Black, S., Williams, L., Wharemate, R., & Wiles, J. (2019). "It was peaceful, it was beautiful": A qualitative study of family understandings of good end-of-life care in hospital for people dying in advanced age. *Palliative Medicine*, *33*(7), 793–801. https://doi.org/hntm

Graham, R., & Masters-Awatere, B. (2020). Experiences of Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand's public health system: A systematic review of two decades of published qualitative research. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, *44*(3), 193–200. https://doi.org/gk86sm

Greaves, L. M., Le Grice, J., Schwencke, A., Crengle, S., Lewycka, S., Hamley, L., & Clark, T. C. (2021). Measuring whanaungatanga and identity for wellbeing in rangatahi Māori. *MAI Journal*, *10*(2), 93–105. https://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/sites/default/files/Greaves.pdf

Grey, C., Jackson, R., Wells, S., Randall, D., Harwood, M., Mehta, S., Exeter, D. J., & Kerr, A. J. (2016). Ethnic differences in coronary revascularisation following an acute coronary syndrome in New Zealand: A national data-linkage study (ANZACS-QI 12). *Heart, Lung and Circulation*, *25*(8), 820–828. https://doi.org/khmk

Hart, S. L. (2013). An intertextual reading of Torah and Māori spirituality: From the perspective of a New Zealander. *Seachanges*, *6*, 1–24.

Houghton, F., & Duncan, B. (2003). Diabetes and deprivation: A small area study in Te Tairawhiti. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *116*(1170), Article U371.

Hoyt, M. A., & Stanton, A. L. (2018). Adjustment to chronic illness. In T. A. Revenson, & R. A. R. Gurung (Eds.), *Handbook of health psychology* (pp. 179–194). Routledge. https://doi.org/khmn

Kahukura, T. (2015). *Māori health chart book 2015*. Ministry of Health.

Kara, E., Gibbons, V., Kidd, J., Blundell, R., Turner, K., & Johnstone, W. (2011). Developing a kaupapa Māori framework for Whānau Ora. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *7*(2), 100–110. https://doi.org/b7qf

Kidd, J., Black, S., Blundell, R., & Peni, T. (2018). Cultural health literacy: The experiences of Māori in palliative care. *Global Health Promotion*, *25*(4), 15–23. https://doi.org/gdh2br

Kidd, J., Gibbons, V., Kara, E., Blundell, R., & Berryman, K. (2013). A whānau ora journey of Māori men with chronic illness: A Te Korowai analysis. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *9*(2), 125–141. https://doi.org/khmq

Kiyimba, N., & Anderson, R. (2022). Reflecting on cultural meanings of spirituality/wairuatanga in post-traumatic growth using the Māori wellbeing model of Te Whare Tapa Whā. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, *25*(3), 345–361. https://doi.org/khms

Lacey, C., Huria, T., Beckert, L., Gilles, M., & Pitama, S. (2011). The hui process: A framework to enhance the doctor-patient relationship with Māori. *The New Zealand Medical Journal, 124*(1347), 72–78. https://journal.nzma.org.nz/journal-articles/the-hui-process-a-framework-to-enhance-the-doctor-patient-relationship-with-maori

Le Grice, J., Braun, V., & Wetherell, M. (2017). "What I reckon is, is that like the love you give to your kids they'll give to someone else and so on and so on":

Whanaungatanga and mātauranga Māori in practice. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, *46*(3), 88–97. https://www.psychology.org.nz/journal-archive/Whanaungatanga-and-m%C4%81tauranga-M%C4%81ori-in-practice-private.pdf

Levack, W. M., Jones, B., Grainger, R., Boland, P., Brown, M., & Ingham, T. R. (2016). Whakawhanaungatanga: The importance of culturally meaningful connections to improve uptake of pulmonary rehabilitation by Māori with COPD—A qualitative study. *International Journal of Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease*, *11*(1), 489–501. https://doi.org/f85fp4

Li, M., Fitzgerald, P., & Rodin, G. (2012). Evidence-based treatment of depression in patients with cancer. *Journal of Clinical Oncology*, *30*(11), 1187–1196. https://doi.org/f3wwt5

Love, C. (2004). *Extensions on Te Wheke* (Working Paper No. 6-04). Open Polytechnic of New Zealand. https://repository.openpolytechnic.ac.nz/handle/11072/182

Lyford, S., & Cook, P. (2005). The Whanaungatanga model of care. *Nursing Praxis in New Zealand*, *21*(2), 26–36.

Macfarlane, A., & Macfarlane, S. (2019). Listen to culture: Māori scholars' plea to researchers. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, *49*(Suppl. 1), 48–57. https://doi.org/f54h

Manurewa Marae. (n.d.). *Te Manu Aute Whare Oranga*. https://www.manurewamarae.co.nz/te-manu-aute-whare-oranga.html

Mark, G. T., & Lyons, A. C. (2010). Maori healers' views on wellbeing: The importance of mind, body, spirit, family and land. *Social Science and Medicine*, *70*(11), 1756–1764. https://doi.org/fdwg2n

Masters-Awatere, B., Cassim, S., Tamatea, J., Scott, N., Simpson, C., & Paekau, C. (2021). He Pikinga Waiora Kimi Ora lifestyle programme: Case study of a successful community-based Indigenous diabetes intervention. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *134*(1545), 68–78. https://journal.nzma.org.nz/journal-articles/he-pikinga-waiora-kimi-ora-lifestyle-programme-case-study-of-a-successful-community-based-indigenous-diabetes-intervention

McClintock, K. K., & McClintock, R. (2018). *Tuku iho, tuku iho: Culture in Māori health service provision*. Te Rau Matatini. https://terauora.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Tuku-Iho-Tuku-Iho.pdf

McNatty, W., & Roa, T. (2002). Whanaungatanga: An illustration of the importance of cultural context. *He Puna Korero: Journal of Maori and Pacific Development*, *3*(1), 88–96.

Megari, K. (2013). Quality of life in chronic disease patients. *Health Psychology Research*, *1*(3), Article e27. https://doi.org/gf8z64

Ministry of Health. (2014). *The guide to He Korowai Oranga: Māori health strategy*. https://www.health.govt.nz/publication/guide-he-korowai-oranga-maori-health-strategy

Ministry of Health. (2020). *Whatua: Summary report: Engagement for the development of Whakamaua: Māori Health Action Plan, 2020–2025: A summary of key themes from engagement activities*. https://www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/publications/whatua-summary-report.pdf

Mitchell, A. (2014). *E kore au e ngaro, he kakano ahau: Whakapapa sharing in the context of therapy* [Doctoral thesis, Massey University]. Massey Research Online. http://hdl.handle.net/10179/6535

Moeke-Maxwell, T., Collier, A., Wiles, J., Williams, L., Black, S., & Gott, M. (2020). Bereaved families' perspectives of end-of-life care. Towards a bicultural Whare Tapa Whā older person's palliative care model. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, *35*(2), 177–193. https://doi.org/khmt

Murray, L. (2010). Tau Ora for our people. *Toroa-te-Nukuroa*, *5*, 112–117. https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE6427401

Oetzel, J. G., Simpson, M., Berryman, K., & Reddy, R. (2015). Differences in ideal communication behaviours during end-of-life care for Māori carers/patients and palliative care workers. *Palliative Medicine*, *29*(8), 764–766. https://doi.org/khmv

Pitama, S., Huria, T., & Lacey, C. (2014). Improving Māori health through clinical assessment: Waikare o te waka o Meihana. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *127*(1393), 107–119. https://assets-global.website-files.com/5e332a62c703f653182faf47/5f0529a9a1ec56bf525964c9_content.pdf

Pitama, S., Robertson, P., Cram, F., Gillies, M., Huria, T., & Dallas-Katoa,. (2007). Meihana Model: A clinical assessment Framework. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 36*(3), 118–125. https://www.psychology.org.nz/journal-archive/Pitamaetal_NZJP36-3_pg118.pdf

Rahiri, J. L., Alexander, Z., Harwood, M., Koea, J., & Hill, A. G. (2018). Systematic review of disparities in surgical care for Māori in New Zealand. *ANZ Journal of Surgery*, *88*(7–8), 683–689. https://doi.org/khmw

Reid, J., Taylor-Moore, K., & Varona, G. (2014). Towards a social-structural model for understanding current disparities in Maori health and well-being. *Journal of Loss and Trauma*, *19*(6), 514–536. https://doi.org/dvjr

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

Robinson, J., Moeke-Maxell, T., Parr, J., Slark, J., Black, S., Williams, L., & Gott, M. (2020). Optimising compassionate nursing care at the end of life in hospital settings. *Journal of Clinical Nursing, 29*(11–12), 1788–1796. https://doi.org/hrbb

Rolleston, A. K., Cassim, S., Kidd, J., Lawrenson, R., Keenan, R., & Hokowhitu, B. (2020). Seeing the unseen: Evidence of Kaupapa Māori health interventions. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *16*(2), 129–136. https://doi.org/h9vc

Rumball-Smith, J., Sarfati, D., Hider, P., & Blakely, T. (2013). Ethnic disparities in the quality of hospital care in New Zealand, as measured by 30-day rate of unplanned readmission/death. *International*

Journal for Quality in Health Care, *25*(3), 248–254. https://doi.org/f42wpw

Russell, K. (2007). Ko ka mea ki te tinana: Body matters. *Childrenz Issues: Journal of the Children's Issues Centre*, *11*(2), 5–8.

Simpson, M. L., McAllum, K., Oetzel, J., Berryman, K., & Reddy, R. (2022). Māori elders' perspectives of end-of-life family care: *Whānau* carers as knowledge holders, weavers, and navigators. *Palliative Care and Social Practice*, *16*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/grjq4b

Slater, T., Matheson, A., Davies, C., Tavite, H., Ruhe, T., Holdaway, M., & Ellison-Loschmann, L. (2013). "It's whanaungatanga and all that kind of stuff": Maori cancer patients' experiences of health services. *Journal of Primary Health Care*, *5*(4), 308–314. https://doi.org/khmx

Stanton, A. L., Revenson, T. A., & Tennen, H. (2007). Health psychology: Psychological adjustment to chronic disease. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *58*, 565–592. https://doi.org/bj9zrm

Stevenson, K. (2018). *Mā te wāhine, mā te whenua, ka ngaro te tangata. Wāhine and whānau experiences informing the maternal-infant health care system* [Doctoral thesis, University of Otago]. OUR Archive. http://hdl.handle.net/10523/8474

Tate, H. (2012). *He puna iti i te ao Mārama*. Libro International.

Te Aka Whai Ora and Te Whatu Ora Health New Zealand. (2022). *Te Pae Tata Interim New Zealand Health Plan 2022*. https://www.tewhatuora.govt.nz/publications/te-pae-tata-interim-new-zealand-health-plan-2022/

Te Rau Ora. (n.d.). *Mental health*. https://terauora.com/mental-health/

Te Whatu Ora Health New Zealand. (2021). *Cultural care supports Māori mental health*. https://www.ccdhb.org.nz/news-publications/news-and-media-releases/2021-12-14-cultural-care-supports-maori-mental-health/

Te Whatu Ora Health New Zealand. (2022). *Nōku te ao: Sovereignty of the Māori mind*. https://www.hpa.org.nz/sites/default/files/MH189%20Noku%20te%20Ao_Sovereignty%20of%20the%20M%C4%81ori%20mind_from%20print%20files.pdf

Thomas, J., & Harden, A. (2008). Methods for the thematic synthesis of qualitative research in systematic reviews. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, *8*(1), Article 45. https://doi.org/c73jf5

Waitemata District Health Board. (2003). *Maori values and concepts (tikanga)*. https://www.healthpoint.co.nz/download,e2e4af27-50eb-4a69-8b08-7912d702e98e.do

Wepa, D., & Wilson, D. (2019). Struggling to be involved: An interprofessional approach to examine Māori whānau engagement with healthcare services. *Journal of Nursing Research and Practice*, *3*(3), 1–5. https://doi.org/khmz

Wilson, B.-J., Bright, F. A., Cummins, C., Elder, H., & Kayes, N. M. (2022). "The wairua first brings you together": Māori experiences of meaningful connection in neurorehabilitation. *Brain Impairment*, *23*(1), 9–23. https://doi.org/khm2

Wilson, D. (2008). The significance of a culturally appropriate health service for Indigenous Māori women. *Contemporary Nurse*, *28*(1–2), 173–188. https://doi.org/fsmvmn

Wilson, D., McKinney, C., & Rapata-Hanning, M. (2011). Retention of Indigenous nursing students in New Zealand: A cross-sectional survey. *Contemporary Nurse*, *38*(1–2), 59–75. https://doi.org/fqtmfx

Wilson, D., Moloney, E., Parr, J. M., Aspinall, C., & Slark, J. (2021). Creating an Indigenous Māori-centred model of relational health: A literature review of Māori models of health. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, *30*(23–24), 3539–3555. https://doi.org/gj8mcz

Wirihana, R., & Smith, C. (2019). *Historical trauma, healing and well-being in Māori communities*. Te Atawhai o Te Ao: Independent Māori Institute for Environment & Health. https://teatawhai.maori.nz/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/He-Rau-Murimuri-Aroha.pdf

Wong, G., Lim, W. H., & Hughes, J. T. (2022). Breaking down the silence: Call for action to address access disparities to transplantation in Indigenous Māori peoples with kidney failure. *American Journal of Kidney Diseases*, *80*(1), 4–6. https://doi.org/khm3

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP

DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.11

REVIEWING FLEXIBLE LEARNING SPACES FOR MĀORI-MEDIUM EDUCATION

Jo Mane[*]
Jenny Lee-Morgan[†]
Ruia Aperahama[‡]
Jo Gallagher[§]

Abstract

Situated within a mainstream primary school in inner-city Auckland, Te Akā Pūkaea accommodates two Māori-medium education pathways: Te Awahou (bilingual) and Te Uru Karaka (total immersion). Te Akā Pūkaea is now in its fifth year of working as a flexible learning space (FLS). With the increasing presence of FLSs in the school landscapes of Aotearoa New Zealand, researchers have begun to explore the significance of spatial design on classroom teaching and learning. The vast majority of this research has been undertaken in English-medium schools, and the participation of Māori voices in the discussion of FLSs over the last 20 years has been minimal at best. Consequently, this article reviews the relevant literature with a focus on the benefits and challenges of FLSs within Māori-medium education settings and contributes another Māori voice to this discussion.

Keywords

dual pathways, flexible learning spaces, Māori-medium education

Introduction

In Aotearoa New Zealand, schooling is experiencing a "spatial turn" (Benade, 2019), as more large and open classroom spaces, often called flexible learning spaces (FLSs), are built by the Ministry of Education. At the same time, there has been a momentous "right-shift" (Higgins et al., 2014) towards learning Māori language and culture. The second official acknowledgement and celebration of Matariki this year, including a public holiday, is indicative of the groundswell of interest in the Māori world. These two important educational shifts are being explored in the research project entitled "A Māori Modern Learning Environment:

* Ngāpuhi nui tonu. Senior Researcher, Pūrangakura Kaupapa Māori Research Centre, Auckland, New Zealand. Email: jo.mane@purangakura.co.nz

† Waikato-Tainui, Ngāti Mahuta, Te Ahiwaru. Managing Director/Lead Researcher, Pūrangakura Kaupapa Māori Research Centre, Auckland, New Zealand.

‡ Ngāti Pikiao, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Tutemohuta, Ngāti Tūrangitukua, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Kurī, Te Aupōuri, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Whātua. Kura-based Researcher, Pūrangakura Kaupapa Māori Research Centre, Auckland, New Zealand; and Kura-based Researcher/Advisor, Te Aka Pūkāea, Newton Central School, Auckland, New Zealand.

§ Te Aupōuri, Ngāti Whātua ki Kaipara. Research Coordinator, Pūrangakura Kaupapa Māori Research Centre, Auckland, New Zealand.

Ko Te Akā Pūkaea Kia Ita, Ko Te Akā Pūkaea Kia Eke" (see Lee-Morgan et al., 2022), which this article forms part of.

Background

With a global focus on 21st-century learning, FLSs and innovative learning environments (ILEs) have fast become the norm for schools in Aotearoa. Over the last decade or so, the incorporation of reconfigurable, large, open plan teaching spaces has become standard in many new school builds. The Ministry of Education (2016) describes FLSs as:

> consist[ing] of multiple spaces for many types of individual and group-based teaching and learning practices. These spaces also enhance and enable innovative learning environments, where student-centred learning and collaborative teaching practices are at the core of a school's educational vision. (p. 5)

FLSs, also referred to as modern learning environments and quality learning spaces, not only change the physical environment and its impact on learning and student achievement; they are also precipitating a shift from traditional learning and teaching practices to a more facilitated, co-constructive teaching and learning style (Stewart & Benade, 2020).

While open learning spaces can accommodate a variety of learning activities and allow for flexibility of instruction, there are no consistent findings as to whether open learning spaces influence student achievement or engagement negatively or positively (Wall, 2015). Hattie (2009), for example, concluded that open classroom settings make either little or no substantial difference to student learning outcomes. Hattie (2009) and Wall (2015) both surmise that there is no guarantee that the principles of open learning teaching are present in open space builds, and that teaching practice within these spaces can vary widely in implementation.

With the increasing presence of FLSs in the school landscapes of Aotearoa, researchers have begun to explore the significance of spatial design on classroom teaching and learning. Most of this research has been undertaken in English-medium schools, and the participation of Māori voices in the discussion of FLSs over the last 20 years has been minimal at best. Consequently, this article reviews the literature with a focus on the benefits and challenges of FLSs within Māori-medium education settings and contributes another Māori voice to this discussion.

Methodology

The primary aim of the overarching research project is to investigate the ways that two Māori-medium education pathways—Te Awahou (bilingual) and Te Uru Karaka (total immersion)—work together in the FLS of Te Akā Pūkaea, in order to progress te reo Māori and the aspirations of tamariki and whānau. Situated within a mainstream primary school in inner-city Auckland, Te Akā Pūkaea is now in its fifth year of working as an FLS.

Our key research question asks: How does a Māori modern learning environment (MMLE) successfully facilitate dual Māori-medium (immersion and bilingual) pathways that respond to learner and whānau aspirations in an English-medium primary school? As part of this project, this review of the related literature seeks to improve our understanding of the impact of large, open teaching spaces on teaching and learning, and the benefits, challenges and potential of FLSs for Māori-medium education (MME).

Kaupapa Māori (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Hutchings & Lee-Morgan, 2016; Nepe, 1991; Pihama et al., 2002; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999) is the primary methodological approach utilised in this review. As Kaupapa Māori theory initially came about to transform educational outcomes for Māori, there is an expectation that research undertaken is both pragmatic and transformative to ensure practical outcomes for Māori (G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999). This review also draws from critical theory as an approach that seeks emancipation, liberation and freedom in exploring existing power relations (Freire, 1972; G. H. Smith, 1997). Community-based participatory research (CBPR; Strand et al., 2003) is also drawn on, particularly its principle of self-determination that focuses on research being by, for and with the key communities of interest. Importantly, the methodologies used in this review accentuate transformative praxis as a critical driver of Māori educational success, where Kaupapa Māori and CBPR approaches involve the communities of interest to bring about positive change through creating new knowledge.

This review looks at the key benefits and challenges of FLSs for MMLEs and focuses on existing literature specific to the use of FLS. The purpose of the review is to inform future developments for Te Akā Pūkaea specifically and Māori-medium pathways more generally, so as to share valuable insights for future Māori-medium builds that support broader participation in Māori-medium and kura kaupapa pathways (Ministry of Education, 2022). The review contains a selection of journal

articles, books, reports and theses specific to the development of FLSs over the last 10 years.

Flexible learning spaces: The gap

FLSs have been avidly promoted as providing open space environments to foster skills of collaboration, critical thinking, communication, creativity, problem-solving and digital literacy that are essential to everyday learning (Benade, 2019). Benade (2019) states, "Flexible learning environments encourage and enable teachers to exchange 'front-of-the-room', single teacher presentational approaches for collaborative, dispersed and facilitative styles, often in teams, working with multiple students in shared, common learning spaces" (p. 53). However, with attention and resources often expended on the building of open plan classrooms, there is a "significant silence in the role of space and place in the educational environment" (Fisher, 2021, p. 10).

With a paucity of pedagogical literature informing the development of these new learning space builds, the edited collection *Teacher Transition into Innovative Learning Environments: A Global Perspective* (Imms & Kvan, 2021) gathers together recent research that details what is and is not working with ILEs. This volume is valuable in that it has brought together a global perspective from 25 projects in 15 countries examining best practice in the construction and use of ILEs. The collection offers multiple insights from teaching and design perspectives, from discussion of adapting, collaboration, agency and structural organisation in ILE settings to the design innovation, spatial considerations and possible improvements of these sites.

Nelson and Johnson (2021) suggest that "ILEs hold the capacity to re-conceptualise both the social relationships and spatial arrangements of learning and teaching" (p. 293). While this implies a shift in student–teacher interactions, it also includes interactions between teachers, between teachers and whānau, and between students themselves. Although the emphasis is on the criticality of social relationships as equal and reciprocal with the respectful facilitating of power, the organising and use or occupancy of the learning space is further relevant in terms of how space is negotiated and used (Nelson & Johnson, 2021). Imms and Kvan (2021) stress that a focus on teachers' input in the design and use of space is crucial. While this study provides much-needed insights into ILE, there are significant gaps in its focus, especially with respect to exploring Indigenous experiences and the impact and use of te reo Māori and other Indigenous languages in these spaces.

Māori-medium learning environments

In order to apply a Kaupapa Māori lens and provide context, this section briefly outlines language development in MME with a focus on the way te reo has progressed in these schools. May and Hill (2005) found that Level 1 immersion programmes associated with kura kaupapa Māori and total immersion are the settings that are most likely associated with successful MME. The same research also raised concerns about the ad hoc development of many bilingual units in mainstream schools, citing a lack of appropriate pedagogical understanding, consistency and resources with which to teach te reo Māori (May & Hill, 2005). The report *Tautokona te reo: The Wellbeing of te reo Māori in Kura and Schools* (Hunia et al., 2018) also highlighted the lack of resourcing and professional development for teachers of te reo Māori in MME more generally as a constraint. The lack of te reo Māori relievers in particular further impacts on teachers' access to much-needed professional development.

Despite recommendations from the Waitangi Tribunal for specific targets to retain students and improve the quality of MME, and to bolster whānau confidence in choosing Māori-medium pathways for their tamariki (Hunia et al., 2018), government inaction has created a barrier for whānau to gain access to Māori-medium pathways. While the government had stated a key focus of its Māori language in education strategy was to strengthen and grow the MME sector (Ministry of Education, 2013), their failure to act with expediency inhibited the growth of MME such that it has not been accessible to many whānau (Hunia et al., 2018). Hunia et al. (2018) further report that little research has been done in relation to Māori pedagogy and other education innovations in MME settings. Despite this lack of research and literature, Edmonds (2021) found that the research that has been undertaken indicates that MMLEs are successful learning environments.

In exploring the literature, we are reminded of the struggle that Māori and other Indigenous peoples face in not only creating spaces where culture, language and identity count (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Nepe, 1991; Pihama et al., 2002; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999), but also in decolonising of educational settings (Hutchings & Lee-Morgan, 2016). This is indicated not only in terms of how speaking te reo Māori was at one time punishable in schools by physical discipline (Awatere, 1984), but also in that speaking Māori became seen as a disadvantage across multiple generations (de Bruin & Mane, 2015; Selby, 1999).

This is further reflected in research undertaken by Hill (2020), who states that the impact of historical assimilationist policies continues to affect the ability of schools to form cohesive programmes that produce highly proficient bilingual students.

In "Bilingual Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand", Hill (2016) highlights that while bilingual education has made a significant contribution to reducing Māori language shift over the last 30 years, it has not significantly improved Māori language regeneration in wider society. Hill's (2016) research highlights that it tends to be only Level 1 programmes (kura kaupapa Māori and Māori immersion) which offer a genuine bilingual learning context. Hill (2016) further contends that although there is an expectation that students who are taught 50% through Māori instruction achieve fluency, students enrolled in Level 2–5 programmes where English is the language of instruction rarely achieve proficiency in te reo Māori. Hill (2016) also notes that Level 1 programmes in English-medium schools that pursue a clear Māori language revitalisation aim by prioritising te reo Māori also view English language instruction as a barrier towards attaining proficiency in te reo. While the teaching space where English is used in these settings is commonly separated from Māori language speaking zones (May & Hill, 2005), concerns for the impact of English on Māori speaking environments is signalled. The matter of how Māori demarcate space in these settings, as with Te Akā Pūkaea, is an important consideration to factor into planning and design to ensure that Māori speaking environments are safeguarded and protected.

With many children and teachers in MME being second language speakers (May & Hill, 2005), the struggle to sustain the language is constant and often relies heavily on the perseverance of the teachers themselves. Although these settings also have expectations that whānau speak Māori at home (King et al., 2017), this is often challenging. May and Hill (2005) found that most children entering MME classrooms are likely to speak English as their first language and Māori as their second language. This was also indicated by Rau (2005, as cited in King et al., 2017), who found that most new entrants to MME had low levels of Māori language proficiency. Though nearly two decades have passed since Rau's study, research in terms of MME students' language proficiency remains sparse. King et al. (2017) found there to be no national database of children's productive language in Māori, with little known about the stages of language development for children in MME. Given what it has taken to forge Māori language educational pathways, the accumulation of these research findings indicates a dire lack of government foresight, planning, commitment and resourcing. As this study is specific to understanding how large, open spaces are used in teaching and learning in Te Akā Pūkaea, a pertinent question emerges: To what extent is te reo Māori valued?

Spatial biculturalism

One explorative pathway into the topic of MME and FLSs is through the notion of "spatial biculturalism" (Stewart & Benade, 2020). Biculturalism in Aotearoa emerged in the 1980s, and signalled a shift from the monocultural colonial mindset embedded in government policy since early settler occupation (Fleras & Maaka, 2005; Walker, 1987). At a national level, this discourse progressed and evolved from a space of celebrating Māoritanga in the 1980s to enacting aspirations of tino rangatiratanga articulated in the Treaty of Waitangi, in the years that followed.

Marae-ā-kura were part of the shared kaupapa Māori agenda (Penetito, 2010) of cultural regeneration and a response to educational policies of assimilation and integration. From the late 1970s, marae were established in schools, usually fought for by key Māori teachers and community leaders, as well as non-Māori allies. By the new millennium, the Ministry of Education reported that there were nearly 100 marae-ā-kura in secondary schools throughout Aotearoa (Lee, 2012), and despite the pressures of the English-medium secondary school on the cultural integrity of marae-ā-kura, many have provided a much-needed safe haven to teach, learn and live *as* Māori at school (Lee, 2012). Demarcating cultural space in the form of a marae, with an often tenuous but relatively significant level of autonomy, can be seen as a call for Māori space with clear cultural boundaries in which te reo, tikanga Māori and te ao Māori are not only normalised but highly valued. The Māori educational push for marae-ā-kura signalled the need for Māori-specific spaces within mainstream/English-medium schooling as part of schools' official responsibility under the Treaty of Waitangi (Lee, 2012).

According to Stewart and Benade (2020), "The idea of bicultural education as a form of social justice can be aligned with the concept of spatial justice to give rise to the novel concept of *spatial biculturalism* in education" (p. 130). The concept of spatial biculturalism draws from Soja's (2010) writing on spatial justice that speaks to "developing a critical spatial perspective and consciousness

as a significant force in shaping social action" (p. 3), where "spatial justice" is a means in which to stimulate or transform "new ways of thinking about and acting to change" (p. 6). Gibson (2011) contends that spatial justice is about people having greater control over how their lives are socially produced and asserts the importance of Soja's work for increasing awareness of how social injustices are created through histories of spatial inequalities. The emphasis is on how the built environment shapes social life (Gibson, 2011). Paradoxically, it is the concepts within the history of geography and the study of landscapes that detail discussions of spatiality and how the built environment is determined. Stewart and Benade (2020) emphasise the importance of "incorporating place-based cultural narratives, culturally responsive pedagogy, and bicultural curriculum into the structures and spatial relationships of the built environment within schools" as a major consideration in build design (p. 130). Stewart and Benade (2020) assert that "the potential of bicultural education remains unrealised" and that "current school building policy in Aotearoa New Zealand presents opportunities to work towards realising the goals of educational biculturalism, as part of Māori political aspirations for Māori futures more generally" (p. 129).

Culturally responsive pedagogies

While reference to "space" is often concerned with physical space, Benade (2015) talks of a focus on "the practice in a space rather than the space itself" (p. 10). In regard to "practice" as it relates to Māori learners, Glynn (2015) argues that "there is still a very great deal of work to be done by educational professionals in the mainstream. In order to increase the academic success of Māori students all educators need to develop and deploy a culturally relevant pedagogy" (p. 111). Glynn (2015) further maintains that "there is a great deal to be done in terms of adopting into mainstream education pedagogical strategies that are consistent with Māori-preferred practices" (p. 105). Māori continue to have relatively limited power to effect cultural change within the mainstream education system, and Glynn (2015) describes this lack of culturally responsive pedagogy as "institutional suppression" (p. 105).

The pedagogical practices of ako (Hemara, 2000; Metge, 2015) and tuakana–teina (Nepe, 1991) are cultural practices commonly associated with Māori-medium and kura kaupapa settings. Hemara (2000) refers to Māori pedagogy as locating the learner and the teacher in the same place; it is "a reciprocal approach where teachers and learners learn from each other" (p. 40). As illustrated by the teaching and learning that occurs with Te Akā Pūkaea and with Māori-medium settings more generally, the pedagogy of tuakana–teina is commonly used, where older students or students who have acquired a particular level of skill support or scaffold the learning of students that have yet to master the skill to be learnt. This same model is also utilised in team teaching environments, where more experienced teachers support new or less experienced teachers. The ako reciprocal relationship with both parties learning from each other is not explicitly featured in the FLS-related literature we reviewed for this article. Similarly, the inclusion of the Māori concept of whanaungatanga is sparsely mentioned in the literature reviewed, although it is a familiar term in many education settings in Aotearoa. Over the last 20 years or so whanaungatanga has also gained credence as an essential pedagogical practice (Bishop, 2012; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Rau, 2002), with the dynamics of power shifting to a more even distribution between teachers and students, in which a focus on reciprocal relationships creates the point of difference for successful learning environments. Effective teaching in these settings facilitates the sharing of power and knowledge. Bishop (2012) discusses whanaungatanga as a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations where students participate on their own terms, building agency in their own learning.

One of the few reports that focused on open learning settings inclusive of bilingual pathways found that the biggest impact on student achievement is teacher collaboration (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). This included teachers' sharing the planning, teaching and assessments. Oliver and Oliver (2017) interviewed principals and teachers from two schools, and visited several other schools that had open plan settings. In a survey of 20 students in Years 5 and 6 in one school, responses indicated they enjoyed learning in open plan settings and looked forward to being at school. Students also felt that they benefited from having a variety of teachers. All students reported that they enjoyed the mix of learning styles. While 100% of the students indicated that they enjoyed working independently some of the time, they also felt that working in a group or with another student was helpful, and useful in terms of prompting their ideas. Teachers in these schools felt that ILEs provided greater student agency. Although several older teachers expressed the shift to ILEs was challenging for them, they also observed that

the open space environment worked in the best interests of the students. The study acknowledges that the transition to this style of teaching can be challenging. Another theme highlighted was that teachers needed to be highly organised when teaching in these environments.

Another study of FLSs and Māori-medium pathways was undertaken with a focus on teaching pāngarau in open plan classrooms involving 106 students in total (Haawera & Herewini, 2020). The study draws on two focus group interviews with 15 Year 4–6 students. Though the study signals the importance of teacher–learner relationships to motivate and engage Māori students with learning, students themselves primarily talked about the noise level in open plan classrooms as both challenging and distracting. This required teachers to plan how quiet spaces could be organised away from noisier group activities. While the higher noise levels in open plan settings are a challenge for students with hearing difficulties (Benade, 2019), students with other learning disabilities are also impacted. Notably, Rose-Munro (2021) advocates for the built environment to be fit for purpose with specific attention given to acoustic design to ensure a wholly inclusive setting for learning.

Built environments

Discussion regarding spatial design and the built environment is complex. A simple definition provided by the open space Danish designer Bøjer (2021) is that "space shapes us but we are also affected by the way we interact with and act within the space" (p. 33). In this regard, Kiddle et al. (2018) argue that "place making" might be defined "as spaces that have been created with the people for whom these places hold, or will hold, meaning and connection" (p. 45). With most place-making professionals such as designers, architects and engineers being non-Māori, certain tensions can arise. Positioned as "experts" in their roles, building professionals can come into conflict when trying to integrate Māori concepts into build design (Kiddle et al., 2018). Notably, the ideology of architecture is also commonly located in Western knowledge systems and is associated with affluence, privilege and whiteness, and a space where Indigenous voices can struggle to be heard (Kiddle et al., 2018). In line with such concerns, Stewart and Benade (2020) pose the following questions:

> Do FLS honour the cultural particularities of place? Do they contribute meaningfully to enhance and acknowledge the communities they serve, in ways that redress past neglect of these communities and their cultural histories? How do schools with Māori identities use FLS to support tikanga Māori, and how can FLS in Māori schools honour the local environment and Indigenous knowledge within education practice? How might the experiences of Māori schools inform learning environment theory and practice more generally? (pp. 130–131)

In this regard, a doctoral study undertaken in Aotearoa called *Innovative Learning Environments as Agents of Change* (Wells, 2018) investigated the establishment of two ILEs, and included interviews with school leaders, teachers, students and architects. The study found two significant barriers were a lack of planning and the involvement of key stakeholders. A disconnect between all concerned parties, including between key Ministry of Education staff, was further noted. This study advances the discussion around ILEs by stressing the importance of whole-community input in the design process. Wells (2018) contends that there are often tensions between architect perceptions and educator perceptions in relation to building design and that largely this is due to teachers not being included at the planning stage.

The report *Modern Learning Environments to Support Priority Learners* (Wall, 2014), prepared for the Ministry of Education, highlighted how the most successful projects were those where architects had actively engaged with teachers, students and whānau. This report is a design guide for schools considering future builds or the reconfiguration of existing buildings with a focus on the physical building design and spaces that support culturally responsive practice. The emphasis should be on creating "spaces and physical artefacts to support language, identity and culture for Māori and Pasifika students" (Wall, 2014, p. 12). Successful projects were ones in which participants were able to describe "how the spaces would feel or function in a particular way, or have a particular wairua" (Ministry of Education, 2014, p. 12). Notably, participants also spoke of the "professional development and learning needed to teach confidently within larger learning spaces" (Ministry of Education, 2014, p. 22). Nelson and Johnson (2021) argue that "implementing ILEs involves more than a simplistic assumption that changes to buildings will shift and support changes to pedagogy" (p. 292). All too often, teachers are unprepared for this transition (Wells, 2018).

In relation to teacher preparedness, the Post-Primary Teachers Association (PPTA, 2017) identified the feelings of uncertainty amongst

teachers about FLSs, emphasising that it would seem that "building structures are determining the direction of pedagogy, rather than the other way around" (p. 6). Its report further raises questions as to how FLSs "impact on learners with diverse learning needs, such as Māori and Pasifika, students who are noise sensitive, hearing impaired, easily distracted or simply introverted" (PPTA, 2017, p. 6). With the paucity of research on FLSs, these questions are left hanging. Consequently, the need to "identify trends in gauging impact of space types on learning" is signalled as an important area for future research (Imms & Fisher, 2021, p. 184).

Conclusion

The aim of this review was to provide insights for Te Akā Pūkaea and to inform Māori-medium settings more generally through exploring the literature specific to FLSs and MMLEs. Our analysis reveals a stark absence of Māori voice. The vast majority of research has been undertaken in English-medium schools, and Māori voices are only minimally represented in the discussion of FLSs over the last 20 years. If we are to understand the importance of our spatial realities in shaping social life as part of the built environment of schools, we must further understand that it is our relationships and the trust built through these relationships that is critical. In Indigenous spaces, pedagogies are bound by people, their relationships, culture, values and practice. As we consider the use of space within MME, te reo Māori, tikanga Māori, mātauranga Māori and ways of doing and being Māori must be positioned always at the forefront of practice. This analysis of the literature also provides various insights relative to the experiences of MMLEs. The relative absence of research in Māori-medium settings highlights the need for more research to better understand how FLSs can be effectively used in these environments, and how these spaces are best positioned to contribute to innovative pedagogies that progress and strengthen te reo Māori pathways.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the Teaching & Learning Research Initiative and the New Zealand Educational Research Council for funding "A Māori Modern Learning Environment: Ko Te Akā Pūkaea Kia Ita, Ko Te Akā Pūkaea Kia Eke".

Glossary

ako	teach, learn
Aotearoa	lit. "Land of the Long White Cloud"; Māori name for New Zealand
Kaupapa Māori	Māori approach, Māori-led
kura	school
kura kaupapa Māori	Māori language school, special character school with te reo Māori as the language of instruction
Māoritanga	Māori ways of being
marae	communal open meeting area
marae-ā-kura	school marae
Matariki	Māori name for the cluster of stars also known as the Pleiades; it rises in midwinter, heralding Māori New Year
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
pāngarau	maths (subject)
tamariki	children
Te Akā Pūkāea	lit. "The Trumpet Vine" (*Tecomanthe speciosa*), a native plant; Māori modern learning environment within Newton Primary School
te ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Awahou	lit. "The New Stream"; bilingual te reo Māori and English learning pathway at Te Akā Pūkāea
teina	younger sibling
te reo Māori	the Māori language
te Tiriti o Waitangi	the Treaty of Waitangi
Te Uru Karaka	"Karaka Grove"; total immersion te reo Māori learning pathway at Te Akā Pūkāea
tikanga	cultural protocols
tikanga Māori	Māori cultural protocols
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
tuakana	older sibling
tuakana–teina	mentorship of a younger sibling by an older one
wairua	spirit

Waitangi	"Crying Waters"; place where te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed in 1840
whānau	family, kinsfolk
whanaungatanga	relationships

References

Awatere, D. (1984). *Māori sovereignty*. Broadsheet.

Benade, L. (2015). The transformative educative prospects of flexible learning environments. *Teachers' Work*, *12*(1), 9–13. https://doi.org/kn2g

Benade, L. (2019). Flexible learning spaces: Designed for inclusion? *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *54*, 53–68. https://doi.org/gg6dpq

Bishop, R. (2012). Pretty difficult: Implementing Kaupapa Māori theory in English-medium secondary schools. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *47*(2), 38–50.

Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). *Culture counts: Changing power relations in education*. Dunmore Press.

Bøjer, B. (2021). Creating a space for innovative learning: The importance of engaging the users in the design process. In W. Imms & K. Fisher (Eds.), *Teacher transition into innovative learning environments: A global perspective* (pp. 33–45). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/kn3b

de Bruin, J., & Mane, J. (2015). Decolonising ourselves: Language learning and Māori media. *Critical Arts*, *30*(6), 770–787. https://doi.org/kn2h

Edmonds, K. (2021). *Final report*. Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga.

Fisher, K. (2021). Co-creating innovative learning environments: LEaRN's decade of discovery. In W. Imms & K. Fisher (Eds.), *Teacher transition into innovative learning environments: A global perspective* (pp. 9–21). Springer Nature.

Fleras, A., & Maaka, R. (2005). *The politics of indigeneity: Challenging the state in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand*. Otago University Press.

Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Penguin Books.

Gibson, K. (2011). [Review of the book *Seeking spatial justice*, by Edward W. Soja]. *Social Service Review*, *85*(3), 524–526. https://doi.org/b2p94w

Glynn, T. (2015). Bicultural challenges for educational professionals in Aotearoa. *Waikato Journal of Education*, *20*(3), 103–114. https://doi.org/gsb76n

Haawera, N., & Herewini, L. (2020). Student voice: Learning paangarau in a Maaori-medium modern learning environment. *MAI Journal*, *9*(3), 286–294. https://doi.org/kn2k

Hattie, J. (2009). *Visible learning: A synthesis of over 800 meta-analyses relating to achievement*. Routledge.

Hemara, M. (2000). *Māori pedagogies: A view from the literature*. New Zealand Council of Educational Research. https://www.nzcer.org.nz/system/files/8988.pdf

Higgins, R., Rewi, P., & Olsen-Reeder, V. (Eds.). (2014). *The value of the Maori language: Te hua o te reo Māori* (Vol. 2). Huia Publishers.

Hill, R. (2016). Bilingual education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In O. Garcia, A. Lin, & S. May (Eds.), *Bilingual and multilingual education* (pp. 1–17). Springer. https://doi.org/kn2n

Hill, R. (2020). The pedagogical practices of Māori partial immersion bilingual programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *25*(3), 895–904. https://doi.org/kn2q

Hunia, M., Keane, B., Bright, N., Potter, H., Hammond, K., & Ainsley, R. (2018). *Tautokona te reo: The wellbeing of te reo Māori in kura and schools*. New Zealand Centre of Educational Research. https://www.nzcer.org.nz/system/files/Tautokona_te_reo_report_0.pdf

Hutchings, J., & Lee-Morgan, J. (Eds.). (2016). *Decolonisation in Aotearoa: Education, research and practice*. NZCER Press.

Imms, W., & Fisher, K. (2021). Introduction to Part III: Measurement. In W. Imms & K. Fisher (Eds.), *Teacher transition into innovative learning environments: A global perspective* (pp. 183–186). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/kn2t

Imms, W., & Kvan, T. (Eds.). (2021). *Teacher transition into innovative learning environments: A global perspective*. Springer Nature. https://doi.org/kn2r

Kiddle, R., Stewart, L. P., & O'Brien, K. (2018). *Our voices: Indigeneity and architecture*. Oro Editions.

King, J., Boyce, M., & Brown, C. (2017). Tuhinga Māhorahora: Tracking vocabulary use in children's writing in Māori. *New Zealand Studies in Applied Linguistics*, *23*(1), 5–16.

Lee, J. B. J. (2012). Marae ā-kura: Tracing the birth of marae in schools. *Set: Research Information for Teachers*, (2), 3–11. https://doi.org/kn2w

Lee-Morgan, J., Mane, J., Gallagher, J., & Aperaha, R. (2022). A Māori modern learning environment: Ko Te Akā Pūkaea kia ita, ko Te Akā Pūkaea kia eke! In E. Papoutsaki & M. Shannon (Eds.), *Proceedings: 2021 ITP Research Symposium, 25 and 26 November* (pp. 222–235). ePress, Unitec, Te Pūkenga. https://doi.org/kpc5

May, S., & Hill, R. (2005). Māori-medium education: Current issues and challenges. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *8*(5), 377–403. https://doi.org/c4btj4

Metge, J. (2015). *Tauira: Māori methods of learning and teaching*. Auckland University Press.

Ministry of Education. (2013). *The Māori education strategy: Ka Hikitia Accelerating Success 2013–2017*. https://www.education.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Ministry/Strategies-and-policies/Ka-Hikitia/KaHikitiaAcceleratingSuccessEnglish.pdf

Ministry of Education. (2016). *Flexible learning spaces: Making spaces work for everyone* [Fact sheet]. https://www.education.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Primary-Secondary/Property/Design/Flexible-learning-spaces/FLS-Making-spaces-work-for-everyone.pdf

Ministry of Education. (2022). *Growing Māori medium education*. https://www.education.

govt.nz/our-work/information-releases/issue-specific-releases-growing-maori-medium-education/

Nelson, E., & Johnson, L. (2021). Addressing the socio-spatial challenges of innovative learning environments for practicum: Harmonics for transitional times. In W. Imms & T. Kvan (Eds.), *Teacher transition into innovative learning environments* (pp. 291–303). Springer. https://doi.org/kn29

Nepe, T. (1991). *E hao nei tenei reanga, te toi huarewa tipuna: Kaupapa Maori, an educational intervention system* [Master's thesis, University of Auckland]. ResearchSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/2292/3066

Oliver, C., & Oliver, S. (2017). *Māori learners in innovative learning environments* [Sabbatical report]. Ministry of Education.

Penetito, W. (2010). *What's Māori about Māori education?: The struggle for a meaningful context*. Victoria University Press.

Pihama, L., Cram, F., & Walker, S. (2002). Creating methodological space: A literature review of Kaupapa Māori research. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, *26*(1). https://doi.org/kpc6

Post-Primary Teachers' Association. (2017). *Flexible learning spaces: An experiment on our education system?* https://www.ppta.org.nz/publication-library/document/547

Rau, C. (2002). *Te ahutanga atu o toku whānau* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Waikato.

Rose-Munro, L. (2021). Innovative learning environments, are they inclusive? Why evaluating the speaking, and acoustic potential of the space matters. In W. Imms & K. Fisher (Eds.), *Teacher transition into innovative learning environments: A global perspective* (pp. 151–165). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/kn3c

Selby, R. (1999). *Still being punished*. Huia Publishers.

Smith, G. H. (1997). *The development of Kaupapa Māori: Theory and praxis* [Doctoral thesis, University of Auckland]. ResearchSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/2292/623

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonising methodologies, Research and Indigenous peoples*. Zed Books.

Soja, E. W. (2010). *Seeking spatial justice*. University of Minnesota Press. https://doi.org/bfpt

Stewart, G., & Benade, L. (2020). Spatial biculturalism for schools in Aotearoa New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *55*, 129–131. https://doi.org/kn23

Strand, K., Cutforth, N., Stoecker, R., Marulto, S., & Donohue, P. (2003). *Community-based research and higher education: Principles and practices*. Wiley.

Walker, R. (1987). *Nga tau tohetohe: Years of anger*. Penguin Books.

Wall, G. (2014). Modern learning environments to support priority learners. *Ministry of Education*. https://westernsprings.school.nz/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/MLE-to-support-priority-learners.pdf

Wall, G. (2015). *Modern learning environments: Impact on student engagement and achievement outcomes*. Ministry of Education.

Wells, A. (2018). *Innovative learning environments as agents of change* [Doctoral thesis, Auckland University of Technology]. Tuwhera Open Access. https://hdl.handle.net/10292/12058

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP
DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.12

ENSURING EQUITY FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES USING A MĀORI MODEL OF HEALTH

*Kylie McKee**

Abstract

Systemic inequity and homelessness among Māori in New Zealand is explored, highlighting the disproportionate impact of poverty, overcrowding and homelessness on this population. This paper examines the historical context of colonisation and societal changes contributing to the housing strain and homelessness faced by Māori. The research study conducted by an Indigenous navigation service using secondary analysis and the Te Whare Tapa Whā framework revealed insights from 60 Māori participants. Emphasising the Indigenous context, including the Treaty of Waitangi, the paper explores Māori well-being, cultural values and the importance of marae. It concludes by discussing challenges faced by impoverished families in Rotorua and the strain on social service providers. The paper advocates for a holistic approach that honours Māori culture and prioritises Māori perspectives in addressing these complex issues.

Keywords

COVID-19, equity, homeless, Māori, Te Whare Tapa Whā

Introduction

This paper explores the issue of systemic inequity and homelessness faced by Māori in New Zealand. Highlighted are the disproportionate impacts of poverty, overcrowding, and homelessness on Māori compared with the rest of the population. It discusses the historical context of colonisation and the rapid societal changes experienced by Māori, which contribute to the current housing strain and homelessness. The paper also examines the potential differences in perspectives among authors, focusing on systemic inequities, land confiscation, and broader societal factors.

The methodology section presents a research study conducted by an Indigenous navigation service to address the increasing housing strain faced by Māori, exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. The study used secondary analysis and unobtrusive measures to gather insights from 60 Māori participants. It employed the Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985) framework to assess the well-being of individuals experiencing homelessness and develop tailored interventions.

There is an emphasis on the importance of considering the Indigenous context in New Zealand, including the Treaty of Waitangi and its implications for Māori rights and governance. The concept of well-being for Māori is explored, which encompasses cultural values, connections to whānau, and the significance of marae. The

* Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Hine. General Manager, Coastal Medical Ltd, Taranaki, New Zealand. Email: contact@kyliemckee.com

need for a holistic approach that honours Māori culture and privileges Māori voices in addressing inequities is underscored.

The paper concludes by discussing a project in Rotorua, a city with a high Māori population, where deprivation and poverty are prevalent. Challenges faced by families in poverty are highlighted, including inadequate housing, limited access to essential resources, and the impact on children's well-being. The strain on social service providers and the need for comprehensive support services are also addressed.

Overall, this paper provides a comprehensive overview of the issue of systemic inequity and homelessness faced by Māori in New Zealand, exploring historical factors, housing strain, and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. It emphasises the importance of cultural perspectives, Indigenous frameworks, and collaborative approaches to address these complex challenges.

Literature review

New Zealand has systemic inequity, with many Māori living in poverty and overcrowded housing, and facing homelessness in far higher proportions than the rest of the New Zealand population (Cram, 2019; Groot et al., 2011). Both Groot et al. (2011) and Cram (2019) highlight the systemic inequities faced by Māori in New Zealand, particularly in relation to poverty, overcrowding, and homelessness. They emphasise the disproportionate impact of these issues on Māori compared with the rest of the population.

Groot et al. (2011) and Cram (2019) further enhance our understanding of the link between colonisation and the rapid societal changes experienced by Māori, which are identified as contributing factors to homelessness. Their works provide historical context and shed light on the underlying causes of the issue.

The literature describes homelessness as a byproduct of colonisation and the rapid changes in society Māori experienced following the arrival of British settlers. There has been a steady increase in housing strain across New Zealand in the past decade (Norris & Nandedkar, 2020). Norris and Nandedkar's (2020) work supports the notion of a steady increase in housing strain across New Zealand in the past decade through the addition of empirical evidence. Their research helps strengthen the understanding of the broader housing strain issue in New Zealand, which is relevant to the context of homelessness and inequities faced by Māori.

This is a multifaceted, complex issue that has disproportionately affected Māori as the Indigenous population of New Zealand (Johnson, 2009). Johnson (2009) provides insights into the specific challenges faced by Māori in relation to housing strain and homelessness, enhancing our understanding of the issue within the Māori context.

Some of the participants within this research have never lived in family-owned property, and Māori home ownership has dramatically decreased since colonisation and confiscation of land was enacted (Lawson-Te Aho et al., 2019). Lawson-Te Aho et al. (2019) provide a deeper understanding of the historical factors that have contributed to the decline in Māori home ownership, giving important context for understanding the inequities and homelessness experienced by Māori. Māori, however, have their own view of "home" and "ownership", and the New Zealand Government must allow Māori to live on their own ancestral lands in a way that meets their cultural and well-being needs (Boulton et al., 2022). Boulton et al. (2022) expand our understanding of the importance of cultural perspectives and the significance of Māori views of home in addressing homelessness and inequities.

Māori have historically had worse experiences during pandemics. In 2009, during the H1N1 influenza outbreak, Māori were infected at twice the rate of non-Māori and suffered more severe effects. Māori experienced poorer outcomes during the COVID-19 pandemic, with fewer Māori seeking medical assistance from healthcare professionals. Those who did faced barriers such as appointment unavailability and affordability issues. Russell et al. (2023) found that compared with non-Māori, Māori had more severe illnesses, requiring oxygen, longer hospital stays and intensive care or high dependency unit admissions. Additionally, Māori were more likely to face difficulties in accessing basic needs, relying on established relationships with iwi, Māori health providers and their communities for support when the public health system fell short. Economic constraints, limited support networks and lack of access to essential services in rural areas further hindered Māori communities' ability to follow self-isolation guidelines. Instances of racism experienced in healthcare settings also highlighted the disparities faced by Māori individuals during the pandemic.

There have been other ongoing negative effects for Māori, who make up a disproportionately high number of the homeless population in many of our cities. Adding the effects of a global pandemic to

the disempowerment already experienced has led to harmful social and psychosocial impacts that include but are not limited to post-traumatic stress disorder and depression, loneliness, frustration, and financial loss as immediate consequences. Medium-term impacts resulting from disconnection, severe illness, and loss of employment are likely to lead to increased isolation and loneliness (Anderson et al., 2020), compounding the harmful effects of the pandemic experience.

People coping with frustration, mental illness, prolonged stress and economic strain may respond with maladaptive coping mechanisms that could include family harm, substance abuse, and violence. All of these are known to negatively affect the psychosocial well-being of children and can have devastating effects on their mental and physical development (Härkönen et al., 2017).

At the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, a newly established Indigenous navigation service set out to ensure young children and their families had the right supports offered, at the right time, to mitigate the trauma of unemployment, housing stress, family violence, and poverty. The existing, scattergun approach to funding for homelessness in New Zealand has had a detrimental effect on efforts to achieve positive outcomes. Instead of adopting a focused and coordinated strategy, the funding allocation for homelessness initiatives appears to have been dispersed in a haphazard manner. In 2022 the Government announced a further injection of "millions of dollars" to address housing strain, seeking applications from community groups across New Zealand to find new ways to address the problem (Davidson, 2022). Various organisations and agencies working on homelessness issues receive sporadic funding, some of it philanthropic, generally from year to year. This could be argued to result in a lack of stability and continuity in their programmes. This approach can make it difficult for organisations to plan and implement long-term solutions, hindering their ability to make significant progress in addressing homelessness effectively (McIntyre, 2017; Zussman & Cairncross, 2017).

This uncoordinated approach has led to duplication of efforts and inefficiencies in resource allocation. With multiple organisations vying for limited funding, there is often unnecessary overlap in services provided, causing confusion and fragmentation. This fragmentation not only leads to a waste of resources but also hampers the collaboration and coordination necessary for a comprehensive approach to tackling homelessness. Consequently, the lack of a unified and strategic funding approach has impeded the achievement of positive outcomes, perpetuating the cycle of homelessness and preventing meaningful progress in improving the lives of those experiencing homelessness in New Zealand.

Māori have centuries of expertise in ensuring the well-being of ngā tamariki, and the whānau-centred approach has evidenced positive impacts for Māori experiencing the negative effects of Western systems. (Boulton et al., 2018). The knowledges and strengths from within Māori culture offer a way through the layers of inequities enacted upon them (Smith et al., 2019).

The literature above lays a comprehensive overview of the issue of systemic inequity and homelessness faced by Māori in New Zealand. It includes historical factors, the impact of colonisation, housing strain, the lack of coordinated efforts and funding, and the effect of the pandemic. There are, however, some potential areas where the authors may differ:

- Groot et al. (2011) and Cram (2019) have a deeper focus on the systemic inequities and social factors contributing to homelessness, while Lawson-Te Aho et al. (2019) emphasise the specific impact of colonisation and land confiscation on Māori home ownership.
- Groot et al. (2011) and Cram (2019) approach the issue from a broader societal perspective, while Lawson-Te Aho et al. (2019) provide a more focused analysis of the historical factors affecting Māori housing ownership.
- Boulton et al.'s (2022) emphasis on Māori living on their ancestral lands may suggest a preference for addressing homelessness through cultural and land-related solutions.
- Norris and Nandedkar's (2020) focus on housing strain across New Zealand provides a broader perspective that encompasses the experiences of diverse populations, not solely Māori.

The above potential differences should be further examined by referring to the authors' original works.

Methods/Methodology

This research examines the efforts of a newly established Indigenous navigation service to respond to the increasing housing strain Māori are facing, exacerbated by the advent of COVID-19. Research questions included: What additional barriers and challenges did COVID-19 put in the way of accessing affordable, warm, dry and safe housing? What

responses worked well? What did not? What learnings were important to inform responses for future crises affecting community safety, stability and overall wellbeing? A request for research assistance was based on a trusting partnership relationship between personnel from the Indigenous navigation service and Kainga Ora—New Zealand's public housing agency. This research was completed using secondary analysis, and unobtrusive measures to gather insights from 60 participants, all identifying as Māori. Thematic analysis of the observations and collated information was then completed, with key concepts compared, then used to develop a theoretical framework.

Following the initial strengths-based assessment that each individual was asked to undertake, key areas of strengths were noticed, discussed, and ideally used to support conversations about the person's goals and dreams—what their preferred future is. Goals were set for each domain of Te Whare Tapa Whā, and individuals were encouraged through coaching to be aspirational. A pathway was then mapped using a back-casting approach, setting milestones that are visualisable and describable.

The following case study demonstrates the use of Te Whare Tapa Whā as an assessment tool for participants.

Participant information

Name: Hine (not her real name)
Age: 42
Ethnicity: Māori
Homeless situation: Sleeping in car, no stable housing

Background

Hine is a woman of Māori descent who has been experiencing homelessness for the past two years. She lost her job and was unable to afford rent, leading to eviction. Hine has been facing challenges in accessing basic necessities, and experiencing physical and mental health issues. She has been referred for support through an agency that incorporates Te Whare Tapa Whā as an assessment tool for well-being.

Application of Te Whare Tapa Whā

Taha tinana (physical well-being): Hine's physical health has been adversely affected by living in unstable conditions. She struggles with poor nutrition, lack of access to regular healthcare, and exposure to harsh weather conditions. An assessment of taha tinana included conducting a health check-up to assess any immediate medical needs; referring Hine to a primary care provider for ongoing healthcare; ensuring access to nutritious food, clean water, and appropriate clothing; and identifying safe and secure emergency housing options.

Taha wairua (spiritual well-being): Hine's spiritual well-being could have been affected by the loss of stability and connection with her cultural roots. An assessment of taha wairua included facilitating conversations to explore Hine's spiritual beliefs and practices; connecting Hine with cultural resources and support, such as Māori cultural events and ceremonies; and encouraging Hine to engage in activities that bring her a sense of spiritual fulfilment, such as art, music, or nature.

Taha whānau (family well-being): Hine has been struggling with homelessness, and assessing her whānau well-being is relevant and important. An assessment of taha whānau included identifying Hine's support network, including extended family members, friends, or community organisations; exploring ways to reconnect with whānau, fostering positive relationships and support; and addressing any family-related issues or conflicts that may have contributed to Hine's homelessness.

Taha hinengaro (mental well-being): Homelessness often leads to mental health challenges, including depression, anxiety, and feelings of isolation. An assessment of taha hinengaro for Hine included conducting a mental health assessment to identify any underlying mental health conditions; providing access to counselling services, therapy, or support groups to address emotional well-being; and facilitating connections with peer support networks to combat feelings of loneliness and isolation.

Conclusion

Through application of Te Whare Tapa Whā as an assessment tool, Hine's overall well-being was evaluated holistically, considering physical, spiritual, family, and mental aspects. Through this assessment, appropriate support services and interventions were identified, and tailored to Hine's unique needs. The aim was to address the root causes of homelessness, restore her well-being, and support her journey towards stable housing and towards her newly identified, preferred future.

Indigenous context

Te Tiriti o Waitangi, first signed in February 1840, sets out the framework of governance for Māori and non-Māori. Written in an era when New Zealand was seen as an attractive place for trading and settlement, it was drafted to establish

the Crown as a governor of New Zealand and give Māori the rights of British subjects. An area of contention arose quickly when it became apparent that the English version of the Treaty gave the Crown full rights and sovereignty, whereas the original te reo Māori version provided for simple governance (Stokes, 1992).

The original articles of Te Tiriti include kawanatanga, tino rangatiratanga, and mana orite. While a full overview of the breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi is beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to the context and setting that there remains "top of mind" consideration of the inequities faced by Māori today (Severinsen et al., 2021). Government departments are required to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Came et al., 2017) and this requires acknowledgement, co-design, and outcomes that privilege the voice of Māori across New Zealand.

Well-being for Māori must by definition allow Māori to walk in the two worlds of New Zealand, living comfortably as Māori and as human citizens of the global community (Durie, 2001). The literature explains there is no single category that can be labelled "Māori", but there are common values and concepts that describe features of cultural experiences and attitudes (Durie, 2001; Panelli & Tipa, 2007; Patterson, 1992).

An example of this is the importance of marae—a sacred space that is an amalgamation of whakapapa, spirituality, the associated hapū, and the buildings themselves (Bennett, 2007)— to the way principles, approaches and foundational beliefs are shaped (Durie, 2001), all of which contribute to a balanced and stable family unit. The notion that self is interconnected with whānau or extended family connections (King et al., 2017) also features differently for Māori, and is distinct from the typical nuclear family unit of the Western world (Durie, 1985; Panelli & Tipa, 2007).

The project

Rotorua, a small city in the central North Island of New Zealand, has a higher than average Māori population. A significant trending increase in deprivation has been evident, with Māori consistently experiencing the poorest outcomes (Yong et al., 2017). Families are living in poverty without enough money to obtain the necessities of life (e.g., enough food, clothing, petrol, car maintenance, quality kai, fresh fruit and vegetables, meat). Motel living consists of a tiny bar fridge for most of the families, so a big shop, or even a weekly shop, is out of the question. Children living in emergency housing have no outside spaces to play in and do normal childhood activities, and many of the motels where the study population live have people doing drugs and drinking, as well as a number of active gang members. Most families we worked with have a poor credit history, as well as current debt against their names, which does not work well for them when applying for rental properties. Several of the families are experiencing domestic violence and are reluctant to seek help—it is likely low self-esteem and having children in the mix makes it harder to leave.

Some of the families say they find working with their Work and Income case managers can be a challenge, and quite stressful at times, because of the obligations and pressures they feel are being applied. Attention to health is often left until it becomes urgent, and we have enrolled several of our whānau into a general practice, supporting them to take their tamariki in sooner rather than later. Children under two can only access nine hours of early education, which is not providing sufficient respite for the primary caregiver as we work through their goal plans. Mental health, addiction issues and gang affiliations all affect our whānau. The situation can lead to a lack of motivation with the feeling of being stuck—hopelessness because of the lack of available affordable housing. Finally, maladaptive coping for tamariki in trauma results in escalated difficult behaviours, and there are severe limitations on accessing early learning support through the Ministry of Education. This puts the project team's creativity to the test and is a strain on teachers in the community trying to provide a quality learning environment for all tamariki.

In 2020, following the onset of COVID-19 and an increase in housing strain in the area, an agreement was formed between an early childhood association with 10 kindergartens in the region, and both the Ministry of Social Development and the Ministry of Education, to develop an Indigenous navigation service. This agreement was for the delivery of wrap-around services to single parents who were either in emergency housing (usually motels) or fully homeless—that is, sleeping in their car or on the street.

Because 100% of the referrals received were of Māori descent, it was important that there was an appropriate cultural response. To this end, an assessment and planning tool was developed using the domains of Durie's (1985) model of health, Te Whare Tapa Whā, to support coaching conversations with clients (see Figure 1). Te Whare Tapa Whā was developed to help explain to non-Māori the concept of well-being as a whole person.

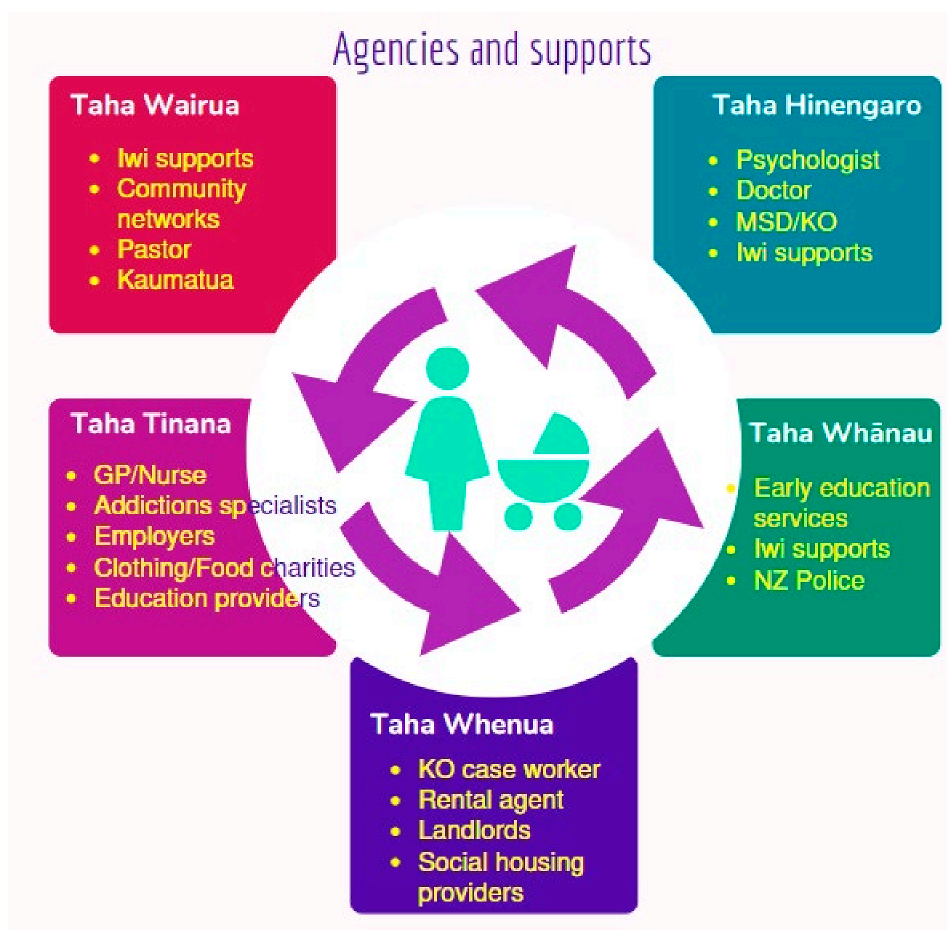


FIGURE 1 Conceptual model showing the wrap-around supports within the Te Whare Tapa Whā framework

Te Whare Tapa Whā explains well-being using the analogy of a four-walled-house. These walls are: taha tinana (physical wellbeing), taha hinengaro (mental wellbeing), taha whānau (connection with family), and taha wairua (spiritual wellbeing). In recent times a fifth domain has been included—taha whenua (security of land). This has become particularly relevant as the housing crisis grows across New Zealand.

The model was used to provide a snapshot of the overall well-being of a project participant at a given time, which would then support goal planning and a pathway towards the person's preferred future. Durie (1994) proposed that if one or more of the walls of Te Whare Tapa Whā is out of balance, the whole house (or person) is potentially unstable and therefore at risk.

By identifying the specific domains that are under pressure, goals can be set that will contribute to stabilising the whole—with the goal of Māori able to live as Māori, "being fully human, and living in health and prosperity" (Cram, 2019, p. 1507.

Results

The model has been delivered since it was first established in 2020, and many of the participants have gone on to secure employment, education and even housing. These positive outcomes are over and above the original intent of the initiative to mitigate the effects of lockdown and closed borders (see Table 1).

All of the 60 participants identified as Māori. Each individual was the primary caregiver for at least one child under six years old, and 80% of these children had behavioural challenges. All participants were homeless, and were eligible for emergency housing. By 12 months, self-reported improvements were shown across all of the domains of well-being under the Te Whare Tapa

Outcomes	Substance abuse	Mental Health challenges	Physical Health challenges	Isolation/ Lack of Social Connection	Dis-ease in Wairua
			Baseline		
Number of participants in Emergency Housing during the study: 60	self-reported: present in N=22	self-reported on TWTW model: N=28 moderate - severe; N=20 mild-moderate	self-reported on TWTW model: N=4 moderate - severe; N=10 mild-moderate	self-reported on TWTW model: N=57	self-reported on TWTW model: N=44
			End reporting (18 months)		
N=36 <6yo only; N=24 6-18yo also in household	self-reported: present in N=12	self-reported on TWTW model: N=16 moderate - severe; N=8 mild-moderate	self-reported on TWTW model: N=4 moderate - severe; N=7 mild-moderate	self-reported on TWTW model: N=13	self-reported on TWTW model: N=13

Table 1 self-reported outcomes at 18 months

Whā model, and a recent progress report demonstrated specific education, employment, housing and overall well-being outcomes. It is noted that there was the least improvement seen in the area of taha tinana. The conditions reported by most of the participants were chronic or congenital in nature, and although some "felt better in themselves" the underlying condition was often largely unchanged.

Findings showed that improvement began very early after planning commenced, and suggest that high intensity case management under Te Whare Tapa Whā provides more lasting changes, rather than an approach of providing a family emergency housing and requiring individuals to effect their own change unaided.

In summary, the findings overwhelmingly suggest that coordinated and culturally appropriate services can help to provide a sustainable pathway for people to identify and make progress toward their own preferred future.

Discussion

Te Whare Tapa Whā provides for a comprehensive and culturally sound response and has shown itself to be customisable to a wide range of situations—including a global pandemic. It required dedicated training and close fidelity to the programme design, which is challenging in a sector responding to crisis and enacting the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff approach rather than focusing on prevention.

Key challenges include the dramatic escalation in homelessness in a country where there was virtually none until the past decade, and the ever-changing government response to this emerging and wicked problem. Funding of interventions has been scattergun, and focused on exiting people from emergency housing rather than reducing barriers to sustainable housing.

It was noted:

- Early discharge/withdrawal showed a higher proportion of return to emergency housing.
- Case load numbers affected engagement and withdrawal rates.
- 100% of participants who withdrew were re-engaged at a later date, either with the original navigator or with another.
- A tailored approach to supports showed greater overall self-reported well-being across the domains of Te Whare Tapa Whā.
- Intensive case management and "no firm exit" appears to be superior to the 12-week maximum funded by government through other agencies we have worked alongside.
- Helping whānau to walk in two worlds—connected to their heritage and culture as well as moving within a Western paradigm—was embedded in the mahi.
- Solutions focus with a future lens was more often reported to be helpful in relieving feelings of being trapped.
- It is absolutely vital that each whānau identifies their own preferred future, that *they* know best, not anyone else.

Conclusion

This paper provides an overview of the issue of systemic inequity and homelessness faced by Māori in New Zealand. It looks at the historical factors, housing strain, and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, shedding light on the disproportionate impacts experienced by Māori compared with the rest of the population. The paper emphasises the importance of considering the Indigenous context, including the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori cultural values, and the significance of ancestral lands.

There are multiple challenges for families living in poverty and facing housing strain. This project directly worked with families living in poverty, who did not have enough money to provide the necessities of life.

Overall, the success of the services delivered on such a small scale through the Indigenous navigation service demonstrates the need for improved funding for similar programmes that use Indigenous models of well-being, and an increase in support for strengths-based, solution-focused approaches.

Glossary

hapū	subtribe
hinengaro	mind
iwi	tribe
kai	food
kawanatanga	governance
mahi	work
mana orite	equity
marae	tribal meeting grounds
taha	side, part
tamariki	children
tapa	side, wall
te reo Māori	the Māori language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	the Treaty of Waitangi
tinana	body
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
wairua	spirit, soul
whā	four
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	family; extended family
whare	house
whenua	land

References

Anderson, D., Dominick, C., Langley, E., Painuthara, K., & Palmer, S. (2020, July). *The immediate and medium-term social and psycho-social impacts of COVID-19 in New Zealand*. Rapid Evidence Review Report. Ministry of Social Development. https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/statistics/covid-19/social-impacts-of-covid-19.pdf

Bennett, A. J. T. P. K. (2007). *Marae: A whakapapa of the Maori marae* [PhD thesis, University of Canterbury]. UC Research Repository. http://hdl.handle.net/10092/1027

Boulton, A., Allport, T., Kaiwai, H., Harker, R., & Potaka-Osborne, G. (2022). Māori perceptions of "home": Māori housing needs, wellbeing and policy. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, *17*(1), 44–55. https://doi.org/kjh5

Boulton, A., Cvitanovic, L., & Cropp, T. (2018). A Māori-informed approach to health social work. In M. Petrakis (Ed.), *Social work practice in health* (pp. 256–276). Routledge Press.

Came, H. A., McCreanor, T., Doole, C., & Simpson, T. (2017). Realising the rhetoric: Refreshing public health providers' efforts to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi in New Zealand. *Ethnicity & Health*, *22*(2), 105–118. https://doi.org/gpjt8w

Cram, F. (2019). Kaupapa Māori health research. In P. Liamputtong (Ed.), *Handbook of research methods in health social sciences* (pp. 1507–1524). Springer Singapore. https://doi.org/dkw5

Davidson, M. (2022, 13 October). *Extra support for community solutions to homelessness* [Press release]. New Zealand Government. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/extra-support-community-solutions-homelessness.

Durie, M. H. (1985). A Maori perspective of health. *Social Science & Medicine*, *20*(5), 483–486. https://doi.org/bmnd48

Durie, M. (1994). *Whaiaora—Maori health development*. Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (2001). *Mauri ora: The dynamics of Māori health*. Oxford University Press.

Groot, S., Hodgetts, D., Nikora, L. W., & Leggat-Cook, C.. (2011). A Māori homeless woman. *Ethnography*, *12*(3), 375–397. https://doi.org/bfsjvq

Härkönen, J., Bernardi, F., & Boertien, D. (2017). Family dynamics and child outcomes: An overview of research and open questions. *European Journal of Population*, *33*, 163–184. https://doi.org/f96qbj

Johnson, D. (2009). *Looking past the mess: Māori homelessness and mental health care* (MA thesis, The University of Waikato). Research Commons. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/2774

King, P., Hodgetts, D., Rua, M., & Morgan, M. (2017). Disrupting being on an industrial scale: Towards a theorization of Māori ways-of-being. *Theory & Psychology*, *27*(6), 725–740. https://doi.org/kjh6

Lawson-Te Aho, K., Fariu-Ariki, P., Ombler, J., Aspinall, C., Howden-Chapman, P., & Pierse, N. (2019). A principles framework for taking action

on Māori/Indigenous homelessness in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *SSM—Population Health*, *8*, Article 100450. https://doi.org/kjh7

McIntyre, S. (2017). Responding to homelessness in Aotearoa New Zealand through home-grown best practice. *Parity*, *30*(8), 28–29.

Norris, A. N., & Nandedkar, G. (2020). Ethnicity, racism and housing: Discourse analysis of New Zealand housing research. *Housing Studies*, *37*(8), 1331–1349. https://doi.org/kb4f

Panelli, R., & Tipa, G. (2007). Placing well-being: A Maori case study of cultural and environmental specificity. *EcoHealth*, *4*(4), 445–460. https://doi.org/fcr3zz

Patterson, J. (1992). *Exploring Māori values*. Dunmore Press.

Russell, L., Jeffreys, M., Cumming, J., Churchward, M.; Ashby, W., Asiasiga, L., Barnao, E., Bell, R., Cormack, D., Crossan, J., Evans, H., Glossop, D., Hickey, H., Hutubessy, R., Ingham, T., Irurzun Lopez, M., Jones, B., Kamau, L., Kokaua, J., Ellison-Loschmann, L. (2022). *Ngā kawekawe o mate korona | Impacts of COVID-19 in Aotearoa*. Te Hikuwai Rangahau Hauora|Health Services Research Centre | Victoria University of Wellington. https://covidaotearoa.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Nga-Kawekawe-o-Mate-Korona-Full-Report-2023-01-24.pdf

Severinsen, C., Ware, F., Came, H., & Murray, L. (2021). COVID-19 and Indigenous knowledge and leadership: (Re)centring public health curricula to address inequities. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, *45*(1), 6–8. https://doi.org/gk72km

Smith, V., Moore, C., Cumming, J., & Boulton, A. (2019). Whānau Ora: An Indigenous policy success story. In J. Luetjens, M. Mintrom, & P. ‘t Hart (Eds.), *Successful public policy: Lessons from Australia and New Zealand* (pp. 505–529). Australian National University Press. https://doi.org/fd9s

Steyn, N., Binny, R. N., Hannah, K., Hendy, S. C., James, A., Lustig, A., Ridings, K., Plank, M. J., & Sporle, A. (2021). Māori and Pacific people in New Zealand have a higher risk of hospitalisation for COVID-19. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *134*(1538), 28–43. https://doi.org/kjjb

Stokes, E. (1992). The Treaty of Waitangi and the Waitangi Tribunal: Māori claims in New Zealand. *Applied Geography*, *12*(2), 176–191. https://doi.org/cjwkdn

Yong, R., Browne, M., Zhao, J., Lee, A. C. L., Shackleton, N., Crengle, S., & Exeter, D. (2017). *A deprivation and demographic profile of the Lakes DHB*. Health Research Council of New Zealand. https://www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/assets/fmhs/soph/epi/hgd/docs/dhbprofiles/Lakes.pdf

Zussman, D., & Cairncross, A. (2017). We need a strategy to address homelessness. *Parity*, *30*(8), 11–12.

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP

DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.13

WHENUA KI TE WHENUA

Indigenous naming of the land and its people by reconnecting the past to the present and the future

Lesley Rameka[*]
Mere Berryman[†]
Diana Cruse[‡]

Abstract

This article reports on the second stage of the three-year Marsden-funded research project "Languaculture within Te Ao Māori: Learning from Infants, Whānau and Communities", undertaken with Māori hapū in Aotearoa New Zealand. It presents the voices of kaumātua and whānau from the hapū speaking on their worldviews, values, experiences and practices related to naming tamariki. Their narratives of experiences provide insights into motivations, influences and understandings concerned with naming practices from traditional pre-European to contemporary times.

Keywords

hononga, naming, revitalising traditional practices, whakapapa

Kupu arataki | Introduction

This article reports the findings of the second stage of a three-year Marsden-funded research project entitled "Languaculture within Te Ao Māori: Learning from Infants, Whānau and Communities" and undertaken with Māori hapū in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the title of this article, we have used the phrase "whenua ki te whenua", which refers to a Māori precolonial practice following childbirth of returning the whenua (here meaning "placenta") to the whenua (here meaning "land") through burial (Berryman et al., 2022). In this research project, we have found that the resurgence of this tikanga—making direct connections, whenua ki te whenua—is becoming increasingly common with the new generation of Māori babies. Both metaphorically and in practical terms, the whakapapa of the child to the land is also being honoured and maintained through the process of naming.

The article begins with a brief overview of the first arrivals in Aotearoa and how settlement in these new lands established a process of reclaiming or developing new localised narratives and namings. We then explain our methodology and research procedure before presenting a

[*] Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tukorehe. Marsden Research Associate Investigator, The University of Waikato, Tauranga, New Zealand. Email: lesley.rameka@waikato.ac.nz

[†] Ngāti Tūhoe, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Whare. Professor, Te Kura Toi Tangata School of Education; Director, Poutama Pounamu Education Research and Development Centre; and Marsden Research Principal Investigator, The University of Waikato, Tauranga, New Zealand.

[‡] Ngāti Kahungunu. Marsden Research Assistant Investigator, The University of Waikato, Tauranga, New Zealand.

collaborative story using the voices of kaumātua and whānau from the hapū. These kaikōrero are research participants who shared their cultural experiences and practices related to naming their tamariki. We conclude by sharing insights into their motivations, influences and understandings concerning traditional and contemporary naming practices.

Early arrival and settlement

When the earliest Polynesian explorers first arrived in Aotearoa around 1300 AD, they would have found a land that was vastly different to the islands they had come from. The climate would have been much colder, with a more pronounced seasonal climatic change and vastly different fauna and flora (King, 2003). From their homelands they brought with them their own beliefs and social structures, which were maintained through this time of innovation and adaptation from hunter, fisherman and gatherer to horticulturist and settler (King, 1997; Orbell, 1985).

Whakaingoa | The act of naming the land and tribal groupings

The links to the newly discovered land began from the specific waka on which key ancestors first travelled to Aotearoa from the Pacific. From their arrival, settlements emerged around whānau and hapū groupings, with iwi or larger tribal groups emerging later (Berryman, 2008). Often these groups became known by the name of the leader with whom whakapapa were shared; their descendants would take this bloodline and tribal name into the future (Mahuika, 2019). Entirely dependent upon each other and their immediate environment for their survival, they soon developed new skills, knowledge and abilities with which to harness resources from the land upon which they had settled. An enduring body of knowledge emerged with the arrival and settlement of these tangata whenua, including how they named their new social structures and homeland (Berryman, 2008; Steed, 1999).

Today, several different tribes are known to have descended from separate important ancestors said to have travelled on the same waka. This common ancestry linking people from different whānau or hapū then began to connect them to specific areas of land and landscape features where their waka landed and/or their iwi originally settled (Graham, 2009; Mead, 2003). Therefore, waka and tribal groupings, together with explicit links to the land and waterways, to tūrangawaewae and marae, provided and continue to provide the very foundations of a person's cultural and social identity (Mead, 2003; Walker, 1996). And, as understood from a Māori worldview, the whakataukī "E kore koe e ngaro, he kakano I ruia mai Rangiātea (Do not forget, you are a seed descended from Rangiātea)" enables those with Māori blood to trace their whakapapa back to the beginning of time and to the creation of the universe (Mead, 2003).

These linkages are still maintained by many today in the saying of pepeha, or tribal sayings that make geographical connections to the names of the lands of one's tribe and thus to who one is. These names or oral mappings ensured that each hapū knew their lands and their connections to their history, relationships and identity (Healy, 2019). Collectively, Polynesians settled in this new land and learned new skills which enabled them to adapt to the very different demands of the new environment, soon developing highly specialised knowledge of this new land and its resources (King, 2003; Lewis, 1980; Orbell, 1985), including developing names for these new places, events, resources and technologies. At the same time, many of the narratives and names that they had known in their previous lives were transplanted and localised.

Accordingly, traditional naming beliefs and practices employed by tangata whenua have their foundations in pūrākau and the storying of ancestral knowledge (Steed, 1999). In fact, there did not appear to be any distinction between pūrākau and historical stories. Steed (1999) states, "Springing as they do from an oral tradition, these stories have been tenaciously retained by the people who own them, regarded by them as the earliest records of their ancestors" (p. 12). A strong oral heritage and the practice of keeping history and genealogy alive through stories, songs, static images and other art and craft forms has helped to ensure that, in spite of colonisation, many of these traditional practices and understandings continue, to varying degrees, to this day (Dewes, 1977; Kāretu, 1977).

The relationships of tangata whenua with their environment on a physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual level shaped both the very form and the processes of their ways of being. Thus, the origin and nature of the universe and all who lived therein were named, explained and understood through their relationships with their environment and to the land (Marsden, 2003; Orbell, 1985).

First contact with colonisation

Naming of the land by tangata whenua was severely undermined with the determined claiming and

renaming of the land by early European explorers (Healy, 2019). These European names have continued into the present day, "New Zealand" being one of the most notable. This name began as "Nova Zeelandia", the Latin equivalent of the Dutch "Nieuw Zeeland", which originated with the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman in 1642. Captain James Cook later introduced numerous place names in the 18th century. With Cook not knowing the land nor the people well, many of these were based on mistaken assumptions. Poverty Bay, for example, was named by Cook with the belief that there was no food there. However, to this day it is known to be an important and rich producer of food because of its temperate climate.

Other important landmarks were renamed to enhance the power of the coloniser. As an example, for the southern tribe of Ngāi Tahu, Aoraki represents a most sacred ancestor from whom this tribe descends, and, as the highest mountain in Aotearoa, it represents the link between the supernatural and natural worlds. After the arrival of the British, Aoraki became Mount Cook. Some places retained their Māori names but because of incorrect pronunciation were misspelt and have continued to be wrongly pronounced. Fortunately, today many tribes and communities are fighting to have the authentic names corrected and reclaimed, with some success (Severinsen et al., 2020).

From tangata whenua to Māori

Drawing on 18th-century records from Cook, Joseph Banks (Cook's botanist) and Marc-Joseph Marion du Fresne (leader of a French expedition in 1772), Hemara (2000) contends that initial contacts between tangata whenua and European explorers were by and large driven by curiosity and trade. He and others (Consedine & Consedine, 2005; King, 2003), however, suggest that records from 1820 onwards show that the European explorers' attitude towards the people had begun to change as European numbers grew and the powers began to vie for the establishment of colonies by acquiring land and resources. Hemara (2000) writes that these records "appear to be driven by colonial enterprise, Darwinian theories and theological dogma" (p. 7).

In these early colonial times, Cunningham (1998) contends, the term "Maori" was introduced as a settler-devised construct designed to collectivise and amalgamate the different Indigenous populations and distinguish them from the colonial population. This process was supported by the pervasive belief of early European colonists that, based on the so-called Doctrine of Discovery, the races of the world ranged from savage to civilised, from inferior to superior, with the British in particular associating being civilised with being Christian (Jackson, 2021; Ngata, 2019; Simon, 1998). These beliefs underpinned not only the amalgamation and renaming of tribal peoples into one homogeneous group for the convenience of the coloniser but also a determined effort to redefine tribal peoples in other ways through the colonial education system. Undoubtedly, schooling provided by the coloniser played a major role in continuing to damage Māori identity by renaming and redefining what it meant to be Māori via education, at the same time supporting settlers to remain blind and silent about the lands that they were claiming and people they were systematically subordinating.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa for Māori continues to be a fundamental form of knowing and being in the world. Whakapapa identifies the genealogical descent of Māori from the celestial conception of the universe to the existing world (Berryman, 2008). As earlier stated by Barlow (1991), "Whakapapa is the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time; whakapapa is a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things" (p. 173). Therefore, whakapapa outlines the creation process from the beginning of time to the primal parents, Ranginui and Papatūānuku, and their offspring, including Tāne, from whom Māori descend. This whakapapa connects Māori from the spiritual realm to the natural world and to the land, to life and to humanity:

I te tīmatanga, ko te kore	*In the beginning there was a void.*
Ko te pō	*Within the void was the night.*
Nā te pō	*From within the night, seeds were cultivated.*
Ka puta ko te Kukune	*It was here that movement began—the stretching.*
Ko te Pupuke	*There the shoots enlarged and swelled.*
Ko te Hihiri	*Then there was pure energy.*
Ko te Mahara	*Then there was the subconsciousness.*
Ko te Manako	*Then the desire to know.*

Ka puta i te whei ao	*Movement from darkness to light, from conception to birth.*
Ki te ao mārama e	*From learning to knowing.*
Tihēi Mauri ora	*I sneeze and there is life.*

(Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 48)

Whakapapa, as an articulation of relationships, provides the foundation for inherent connectedness and interdependence to all things (Cheung, 2008). It entails a placing in layers, with multiple layers and interpretations that provide the heart of Māori values and beliefs (Cheung, 2008; Te Rito, 2007; Walker, 1993). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2000) makes the point that "whakapapa is a way of thinking. A way of learning, a way of storing knowledge, and a way of debating knowledge. It is inscribed in virtually every aspect of our worldview" (p. 234), which lays out the importance of whakapapa acts as an epistemological prototype. For Māori the significance of whakapapa cannot be overestimated (Whitt et al., 2003). It is central to Māori worldviews and is at the very heart of what it means to be Māori (Barlow, 1991; Berryman, 2008).

Prior to colonisation, tangata whenua understood that the whakapapa of all living beings was connected and interwoven. Whakapapa illuminated the world and afforded a structure that provided understandings, stories and concepts pertinent to culture, religion, politics, identity and language. Furthermore, according to Mahuika (2019), whakapapa was a "lived experience taught orally" by experts who maintained prominent positions in their hapū and iwi (p. 4).

With the arrival of colonisation, traditional approaches to whakapapa changed, due to the colonisers' belief of "their own superiority, and desire to own indigenous culture" (Mahuika, 2019, p. 4). The transference of whakapapa to a print form, where it was subject to Pākehā inspection and interpretation, resulted in whakapapa being deemed to be untrustworthy superstitions and myth. The result of this undermining of whakapapa, which had always been perceived as sacred, something to be treasured, and specific to iwi and hapū, was a redefining of whakapapa by the coloniser as fables, legends, fairy tales or myths.

The late 20th century saw a strong desire by Māori to reclaim ownership of Māori knowledge and how it was defined, including whakapapa. Māori demonstrated ways that whakapapa could be utilised as a culturally entrenched approach to a variety of disciplines, highlighting its relevance to Māori epistemologies and Māori ways of understanding our world. As Mahuika (2019) contends:

> Whether referring to abstract concepts, deities, physical and material objects, practices, people, or places, Māori prior to and after the arrival of Europeans, maintained genealogies that traced all things to living beings in complex interwoven connections. Whakapapa first and foremost explained the world and served as a framework upon which Māori could hang all of the concepts and narratives pivotal to their identity, culture, politics, language and religions. (p. 4)

Whakaingoa | The act of naming people

From a Māori perspective, personal names and the naming of tamariki is another important factor in supporting pride, mana and one's sense of belonging. The naming process acknowledges past generations by connecting tamariki with tūpuna through whakapapa. Maintaining whakapapa links between and within generations was considered crucial to acknowledging those who had passed on (Cameron et al., 2013). Naming a tamaiti after tūpuna was a way of supporting the tamaiti to develop a deeper sense of their identity as Māori. Being associated with the tūpuna also provided spiritual strength and protection for the tamaiti (Cameron et al., 2013).

Stevens (2012) makes the point that Māori names were held in high esteem, with a great deal of thought and consideration put into the naming process. In fact, "ingoa", the Māori word for name, also has the meaning of "acquiring distinction". The importance of the name was therefore rooted in the cultural contexts of the language, and insults to a name were seen as insults to the owner of the name. Steed (1999) adds:

> At group and at personal level, Maori society named its members with a carefulness and thoroughness, never naming merely at whim or random, but always with the group in mind. Neither the meaning nor the origin of the names was obscured by time and language change, as in the case of tauiwi. Individuals were therefore more conscious of the latent power in the name, of the strength its bearer could summon from the pronouncement of it. (p. 144)

Māori naming traditions and practices were profoundly impacted in the 19th century by both "colonisation and missionisation" (Steed, 1999,

p. 2). Indeed, it was the activities of the Christian missionaries that had the most profound consequences on Māori naming practices from first contact. Steed (1999) explains that when one culture believes its own worldviews and religious beliefs are absolute, little value is given to other cultures' worldviews and religious beliefs. As a consequence of the imposition of colonial and missionary values and worldviews, traditional Māori naming practices were undermined, replaced by Christian names and patriarchal notions, such as requiring a surname. By the mid-1800s surnames and/or baptismal names were beginning to be inculcated into naming practices, and were later written into law through the requirement to register births (Steed, 1999).

As with the mispronunciation of place names, Māori naming practices have also been impacted negatively over many generations. Māori began to stop using Māori names, or started to accept the anglicisation of Māori names, as a response to mispronunciation and lack of respect accorded their traditional Māori names and therefore to important ancestors. Correct pronunciation of Māori names has always been viewed as critical to self-esteem and a sense of worth. Mispronunciation, changing names to English ones and the bastardisation of names resulted in whakapapa being continuously undermined by colonisation, with tamariki and whānau often suffering serious cultural, emotional, physical and spiritual harm as a result (Stevens, 2012).

Te mahi rangahau | The research

The overall aim of the three-year Marsden-funded research project entitled "Languaculture within Te Ao Māori: Learning from Infants, Whānau and Communities" is the reclamation and revitalisation of important understandings and practices from te ao Māori that relate to conception, birth and infancy. Understandings drawn from three marae communities were analysed to comprehend the inter-relationships between language and culture ("languaculture") for groups of infants and those who care for them. The research sought to better understand early languaculture experiences as foundational features for hauora and ongoing literacy learning. These understandings are generally held by a small pool of knowledge-holders, mainly kaumātua. However, there is, and has been for some time, much interest in the revitalisation of these practices.

Working with kaumātua and whānau to revitalise important traditional cultural understandings and practices relating to conception, birth and infancy led to their identifying the importance of naming their tamariki as essential to this research.

Methodology | Tikanga

Kaupapa Māori theory provided the methodological framing for the research project. "Kaupapa" can be translated into English as "philosophy", "principle", "strategy" or "proceeding purposely and strategically" (L. T. Smith, 1999). As a theory for transformation, Kaupapa Māori critiques and contests existing structures as a means to centralise Māori cultural perspectives and progress Māori knowledge to a status equivalent to Western knowledge (G. H. Smith, 1997). Kaupapa Māori theory accepts Māori and Māori processes as reality and uses them within a Māori philosophical framework. Integral to the research was the acknowledgement of traditional Māori ways of knowing the world and the tamaiti/mokopuna. Key to the expression of Māori ways of knowing is the need to question and unlearn the pervasive societal constructs of colonisation. One of the first steps in this process of unlearning is the articulation of alternatives that challenge the current power of colonial norms and practices.

Kaupapa Māori rejects the notion of researchers imposing themselves on the lives and experiences of Māori; rather, researchers must appreciate Māori cultural knowledge and demonstrate deep respect, and act as equal partners with participants. Kaupapa Māori research reprioritises and renormalises the epistemologies, knowledge and ways of being of pre-colonial tangata whenua. It involves reclaiming and revitalising Māori research methodologies by decolonising research practices. For researchers, this requires not only the creation of contexts where participants are able to control their stories and the ways they are narrated, legitimated and authenticated, but also that whānau determine and shape the research.

Our research centred on "research as whānau" as well as "research by and with whānau" (Berryman, 2008). Four of the five researchers involved had whakapapa and/or whanaungatanga relationships with participants, developed over many years of living in and contributing to the marae communities. Identification of possible participants was a straightforward process, based on relationships and knowledge of who might be interested in participating in the research. It required understandings of "traditions of encounter" and the status of kaumātua in marae communities. Hui were set up with kaumātua from each of the three marae, where the research aims, objectives, methods and expectations were discussed. From

this point on, it was the kaumātua who determined which whānau members might be interested in participating. They also took the lead in contacting whānau and arranging research hui. One of the benefits of this emphasis on whānau was the number of intergenerational members of the same whānau who participated in the research.

Research procedure | Tukanga rangahau

The initial community hui were held face to face on the marae, except for one, which was held on Zoom, due to COVID-19 restrictions. Subsequent hui were held wherever the whānau wished to meet, including homes, early childhood services, community hubs and marae health centres. Focus group interviews were held with groups such as whānau, fathers, kaiako and midwives. All of the hui discussions were audio recorded, transcribed, checked, annotated and agreed upon through a dialogic process involving kaikōrero and researchers as part of a collective, interdependent dialogic endeavour. This involved returning the transcripts to kaikōrero to ensure they were comfortable with them and any questions researchers or whānau had could be clarified.

All participants completed consent forms prior to participating in the research, including consent to use their names as opposed to pseudonyms. It has been the experience of the researchers that if there are strong, trusting relationships between participants and researchers that have been developed over time, the huge majority of Māori kaikōrero want their names and their hapū/iwi and marae identified. Many appreciate the opportunity to have their voices heard and valued, which had not been their experience in the past. Videos of mokopuna/tamariki interacting with whānau were also captured by whānau, and their consent was given to collectively analyse these videos as part of the research.

Data generation | Hanga raraunga

Data were generated from community wānanga and hui which involved pōwhiri/whakatau, whakawhanaungatanga, karakia and kai. Researchers provided an overview of the research rationale, goals, objectives and methods, and then the wānanga/hui was open for kaikōrero to contribute their experiences, knowledge, perspectives, voices. The wānanga were facilitated with and by kaumātua and whānau. These conversations were transcribed by the research team and later verified and annotated by the kaikōrero themselves.

As three of the researchers lived within the communities, checking transcriptions was not a major task—in fact, it was often completed during everyday activities, such as whānau dropping tamariki off at the early childhood education (ECE) centre or the kairangahau going to the office at the marae health centre. In the particular marae community that forms the basis of this article, five whānau groupings were involved, with a total of 15 kaikōrero.

Analysis | Tātari

Kaumātua and whānau identified or confirmed what they considered to be the main themes and findings from their shared conversations and discussed how these should be understood using Māori knowledge and metaphors. Their one-to-one and collaborative sensemaking at these community wānanga forms the basis of the collaborative story that follows. Due to the whakapapa and whanaungatanga connections researchers had with participants, accessing kaumātua and whānau perspectives often began with a phone call to meet. Sometimes it was no more than catching up for a "cup of tea" or when nanny comes to pick up her mokopuna from the ECE centre. These varied methods of accessing participant contributions allowed perspectives to be layered in and integrated over time. The actively co-constructed themes complemented the researchers' more traditional thematic analysis in interpreting the overall interviews.

Ngā hua | The findings

Whakapapa connects the spiritual realm with the various deities beginning at the time of the primal parents, Ranginui and Papatūānuku, to their offspring, including Tāne, from whom Māori can claim descendancy to this day. The findings of this research are presented against this whakapapa pathway. They begin by making connections (hononga) to the spiritual realm (te ao wairua), to the land (te whenua), to the natural world (te taiao), and the life that is supported thereon (ngā tūpuna), and finally to humanity and the more contemporary world (te whānau).

Hononga ki te ao wairua | *Connecting to the spiritual realm*

A range of examples of spirituality and spiritual understandings such as tapu were highlighted by kaikōrero when considering the appropriateness of names for their pēpi. Spiritual connectedness and spirituality have always been inextricably coupled with whakapapa and being Māori (Ihimaera, 2004; Tse et al., 2005). Cody (2004) states that "Māori spirituality is that body of practice and

belief that gives the spirit (wairua) to all things Māori. It includes prayer and spirit. It pervades all of Māori culture (tikanga) and ways of life" (p. 21).

One of our kaikōrero, a first-time mother, told us: "It was the knowing who pēpi was connected to and who had looked after him ā-wairua [in the spiritual realm] before he came to us." Her partner, the father of the pēpi, explained:

> I experienced some kind of dream or vision one night, which was an entirely new experience for me. I remember seeing a koroua and a pēpi. I didn't know who they were at the time. But I felt quite a strong connection to them.

This sense of whakapapa connectedness was further strengthened when the couple had a mirimiri session together: "We received mirimiri and spiritual healing from a tohunga. She actually explained to us that during the session, she could feel the presence of our great grandfather, Kapuaiwaho." They were told that their koro, whom they called Koro Kapua, had said: "I'm here, looking after your future son." This information confirmed the child's name even before he was born:

> When we knew it was Koro Kapua and our future son, the dream experienced earlier also made sense now, and the name "Te Hono ki Īhipa" was decided, meaning "The Connection to Egypt", because our Koro Kapua is buried there with the Māori Battalion.

The soon-to-be parents were, however, a little unsure about whether naming the pēpi before his birth was in accordance with tikanga Māori. As explained by the father, "Naming him then, I wasn't sure whether that was appropriate from a Māori perspective, naming the pēpi before they're born. I wasn't sure whether that was in line with tikanga, but the name felt right." He further clarified:

> You know, naming a baby is quite a tapu process. Because they grow up with that name as part of who they are. It's their identity and even after they die, you always remember that person by their name. And we wanted to be very careful about what and how we named him and what the name represented. We were quite conscious about not giving him a name that was not too heavy and wanted his name to align with his whakapapa, identity and personality.

Another kaikōrero described how his appreciation of the importance of names was heightened when listening to one of his nannies talking about her sister who was now a bishop:

> The one thing she said was her [sister's] full name. . . . Waitohiariki, and that's a beautiful name. It has really important significance to te ao Māori, in terms of birthing children and the role of a tohi. A tohi is—blessing children. So wai is the waters—the place where you would give the blessing—and the blessing would come from an ariki or a tohunga. And so I just think one, that's a beautiful name, and two, it's so right, she has that name.

The appropriateness of names was also highlighted by another kaikōrero, who stated: "A lot of the names of ancestors in my whakapapa represent their characteristics; Kahumatamomoe, for example, had a sleepy eye when he was born, and so they named him Kahumatamomoe, Kahu with the Sleepy Eye."

Other kaikōrero talked about taking the time to ensure you had the right name, and sometimes changing names if needed:

> We tried a couple [of names]. We really loved the name Raiātea as well, regarded by some as the Hawaiki for the Te Arawa people. We really liked that. And what was the other one? Tātaiwhenuakura, another place in Hawaiki. But neither of them were him.

Another kaikōrero explained that changing names due to events, fit and circumstances was common in their whānau: "They changed his name to Te Wera. Yeah, lots in our line have had their name changed based on circumstances and things that have happened in their lifetime."

Hononga ki te whenua | Connecting to the land

The importance of recognising and connecting with whakapapa and whenua was also an important feature of naming pēpi. According to Graham (2009), whakapapa identifies not only who one is, but where one is from, and the place one belongs (see also Ministry of Justice, 2001; Williams, 2004). Graham (2009) states:

> Whakapapa identifies who I am, where I am from and in doing so identifies a place that I can proudly call my tūrangawaewae. It is this whakapapa knowledge that gives an individual or collective a sense of purpose that . . . grounds us

> to Papatūānuku. . . . My whakapapa and iwi affiliations are my biological and kinship credentials that form my Māori identity and by alluding to my tūrangawaewae I have established a connection to my wāhi tapu. (pp. 1–2)

The importance of not losing these whakapapa and whenua connections was strongly emphasised by most kaikōrero. They acknowledged the critical importance of maintaining these relationships with the whenua, especially if they lived outside their tūrangawaewae. As one young mother explained, "I'm down here in Masterton, and all my whānau and whakapapa are in the Far North, so I'm quite far away from my kāinga." Her partner shared his thinking on the importance of his pēpi having connections both physical and spiritual to his tūrangawaewae:

> You know, we just need to find a place where he connects to. We had options, we had up North. We thought, because we're living down here, it might be nice for him to have a physical connection and a spiritual connection with the North, given that most of our life is likely to be spent down here.

To ensure the connections to the North were cemented for their pēpi, the couple decided to give their pēpi the mother's surname. The mother explained:

> With my whānau, when my poppa died, the reo died with him so my whānau lost a lot of our knowledge and reo. But one thing that we've retained is the name Hauraki which comes from one of our rangatira, Te Wera Hauraki. When you are up North with the name Hauraki, everyone knows that's where you're from. So, because he's growing up down here, we gave him my last name, and my dad's last name, so he would always have his own hononga to the Far North. And that's what we landed on with his last name, so his full name is Te Hono ki Īhipa Hauraki.

This desire to connect to whenua was not just confined to Aotearoa, but also included whenua outside of Aotearoa, where tūpuna were buried. A number of kaikōrero expressed the desire to connect to whenua tāwāhi, where tūpuna who died during World War II were buried. In this way, remembrance was given to those tūpuna who never had the opportunity to return home, but who were united with whānau and whenua through the names of their mokopuna.

One kaikōrero shared his desire to connect to his grandfather's resting place:

> He is buried . . . in El Alamein in Egypt, and . . . we thought that we'd name our boy after our grandfathers, but not literally, more in relation to where our grandfathers are buried, which connects us to that land. . . . So, my grandfather is Aperahama, his father is Te Kapuaiwaho, who was in B Company of the Māori Battalion, and died during World War II and is buried in El Alamein in Egypt. And also, that's where her great-grand uncle is buried too [indicating his partner]. He was in A Company and died alongside Koro Kapua.

He also highlighted the whakapapa connection to Rarotonga:

> Te Hono ki Īhipa is partly named after one of his tūpuna whare in Tokomaru [Bay], called Te Hono ki Rarotonga, which commemorates the connection that whare has to Rarotonga, and so [we] just took the structure of that name, Te Hono ki Rarotonga, and switched out Rarotonga for Īhipa [Egypt], because of our tūpuna koroua being buried there.

Remembrance of tragedies faced by the hapū and iwi of kaikōrero, such as the Mount Tarawera eruption, were also commemorated in the naming of pēpi for one whānau, who explained:

> Following the Tarawera eruption in 1886, one of our ancestors was named that because of his birth. . . . So, he was born during the eruption. And apparently in the kōrero he was wrapped in a whatu pōkeka and put up into a tree for safety as everyone was kind of running out of space. And when they came back, almost everything was covered in soot, our maunga, parts of our roto and of course, our Pink and White Terraces, and most of the pā, but according to the story, there was this patch of grass with the tree in full bloom and baby safely wrapped up there.
>
> So, they call them Te Hurihanganui, as a way of thinking about hope, looking forward. And then of course, it was fitting because the movement of our hapū from that area into Ōhinemutu, near the city of Rotorua, was a massive change, you know, having to rebuild their lives and restart.
>
> Another name we were considering was Otukapuaarangi, which was one of the Pink and White Terraces that erupted in the Tarawera eruption. And we thought, oh well, that's kind of associated with lots of the tragedy of it. . . . So

> you've still got all that hononga, and that whakapapa, but without it being that direct.

Hononga ki te taiao | *Connecting to the natural world*

A number of whānau accounts also made connections to te taiao. Māori worldviews are modelled on associations between humans with and within the natural world (Marsden, 2003). Concepts of identity and connectivity to nature are essential to Māori ways of knowing and being, as are epistemologies of caring for and interacting with the natural world. Caring for the world strengthens a sense of place and connectivity with ancestors and histories. Connectivity is the foundation of the ordering of the world, the organising tenet of knowledge, the foundations of whakapapa, and the source of rights and obligations (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011).

Kaikōrero shared their reasoning for tamariki names that would hononga ki te taiao:

> Named after the weather or like if there was a big storm or the moon phase when babies [are] born, like stuff like that. But yeah, that was something we thought about too. Ngatuere—he is called Ngatuere because the *ere*, or the tuna, came to his birth in that pool and celebrated this chief who lived to be like 100 and something years old, and was asked actually to be the king for the Kingitanga movement. They came to Ngatuere, who was well into his old age at that point, and he said, "No, that's a young man's game, go ask somebody else."

Another mother, whose baby has an Italian father, shared a multilingual connection that comes from the family also having connections to Spain:

> My most recent baby was Amowai. We had our wānanga—it was Ahuru Mowai [the name of the local Kaupapa Māori parenting rōpū; it means "sheltered haven"]—those are the waters that surround pēpi in the womb, so that's where I got Amowai from. And "amo" is also Spanish for love. And "wai" is waters, so the waters of love, so Amowai was my first water birth.

Hononga ki ngā tūpuna | *Connecting to ancestors*

For many kaikōrero, a strong desire to uphold whakapapa connections to their tūpuna was the motivation for choosing the names of their pēpi. The whakaingoa process allowed kaikōrero to uphold and validate whakapapa links through past generations to tūpuna, the present through whānau and the future through their pēpi. Whānau felt confident that unifying through whakapapa to tūpuna, whānau and future generations would enhance the personal and collective identities and connections of their pēpi (Berryman, 2008).

Whānau provided two examples of names that connected to their whakapapa. One father explained that, because of its importance, the naming of his son was handled by the grandparents:

> I think kind of early on even when he was still in the kōpū, we were calling him Īhipa for short. It was always his name, even though we were tossing up some others. There was no doubt that his name was going to be Māori, and we also wanted for it to be in some way connected to his whakapapa. One thing I've seen and heard and learnt is about when names are given for a child, it's an important part of the process [of having children]. Our old people were very careful, how the mokopuna is named. . . . My son, he's the first mokopuna. My father said to my mother, "You name him. You name our first mokopuna." My mother rings my grandmother . . . [and] the name our grandmother gave was Rangihouhiri. . . . My grandmother gave that name because it's back through the Ngāti Tapu side to Rangihouhiri, to the mokopuna who comes off [descends from] Tamapahore. Sometimes names are for a purpose. I learnt a good reason as to how you get a name. So now I understand how my son got his name, because [Rangihouhiri III] is the mokopuna of Tamapahore.

Talking to elders often revealed important historical narratives about their own names:

> Talking to our Uncle Kara, he gave us a cultural lesson. It was awesome. So he's asking each of us our Māori names. I gave him my name, Matakōkiri ["meteor" or "shooting star"]. He said, "Oh yeah boy, your name came from the Battle of Te Ranga." "How did it happen?" I said. "Our Taranaki whanaunga came up to help. During the battle, during the murder, they [the British] were firing on our people, as they [our people] were walking out and being killed. That Taranaki warrior threw his taiaha. And that's one thing you don't do is throw your taiaha. That's why you're called that today, Matakōkiri." And that's how I got my name.

An associated aspect of whakapapa connections to tūpuna was the significance of both maternal and paternal whakapapa being recognised in the naming of pēpi. Kaikōrero emphasised the importance

of bringing both whakapapa together so that the pēpi could connect with their tūpuna no matter where they happened to live. Kaikōrero explained how critical these connections were:

> The joining of our whakapapa, there's quite a history between Ngā Puhi and Te Arawa . . . particularly with my tūpuna who went down to Te Arawa. So, it was important to whakahono anō.
>
> I know this is through my whakapapa, that a lot of it was the maternal whakapapa, and it's just carrying that on, and we know that there's been a big influence of colonisation, particularly on gender roles and how that looks in naming, and so that was important for us.
>
> Māhina, she for us was like a light in those trying times, and that's where part of the name came from. We also thought about the tipuna Mahinarangi, and Mahinarangi is a descendant of Kahungunu, but she married Tūrongo of Tainui, and the Waikato area. And my wife is actually from Waikato. And so there's that hononga, and it's a remembrance of that connection, to our connection. And so she gets her name from that as well.

Hononga ki te whānau | Connecting to humanity

Ensuring the maintenance of kinship ties to whānau was also a powerful theme that ran through many of these conversations. Walker (1996) makes the point that, for Māori, social kin-based connections and belonging to the social unit are central to one's sense of wellbeing. Māori society was traditionally organised around kin-based descent groupings. Identity formation and maintenance within these contexts was a fairly straightforward practice, founded on kinship and living in a community.

Whanaungatanga entails the development and maintenance of close relationships between members of the whānau (Berryman, 2008; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1984). Whanaungatanga relates to establishing whānau connections and reinforcing the commitment, responsibilities and obligations that whānau members have to each other in a "unified network of relationships" (Berryman, 2008, p. 223). Whakaingoa can be viewed as one of the philosophies and practices that strengthen the physical and spiritual harmony and wellbeing of the group by connecting the past with the present and taking it into the future.

One kaikōrero shared the following:

> In our whānau, my husband is Davide, which is where the Italian comes in. They have the tradition of naming the first-born boy after Nono [*Nonno* is Italian for granddad], after the granddad in that line, and so Mario was always going to be Mario for us. Like you, I was really considered and purposeful in his naming; that he would somehow tie back into our whakapapa, whakapapa that was Māori. And so, his middle name is Kapua for that reason. So, we kept with the sky names, but also, he hononga tona ki ona Matua, ki ona Matua kēkē; so while he stands really proud in his Mario Italian heritage, he's also got that hononga ki te Kapuaiwaho, and all the other Kapua.

Another whaea highlighted the importance of her tamariki carrying the names of her grandparents, thereby enhancing their whakapapa connections:

> For me, it was important that I named my children after my nannies, my kuia, all my koro, just so they can carry that ingoa on, and whakapapa—strong connections to whakapapa. Her middle name is Te Atawhetu, so it was important that I had part of my mum, as well as my partner's mum in there. Her middle name is Te Ata. And my mother's middle name is Whetu, which is also "the morning star". Te Atawhetu. And then I've got my nanny's name, Tikirangi—so she would be great-great-grandmother to my pēpi, and she's 86 years old. She's still alive so she's met pēpi, but I wanted her name because it was significant to me that I came home and had baby.

One kaikōrero explained that the name of his pēpi was a way of remembering those who had passed, so that name could live on into the future:

> She's named after Marion's kuia, who unfortunately passed away in Australia, just after Te Waimarino was born. We couldn't get back to that [funeral], but her mum was here, and had to shoot back early. That was a hard time. Giving her that name is to help us remember those things as well. I think our tīpuna understood those kinds of things, how important it is to have names like that for us to remember them and for these ones to live that way.

Kupu whakamutunga | Conclusion

Pre-colonial Māori naming practices were markedly transformed by early missionary and colonial naming conventions. Often these practices invalidated not only the names that had been used but also how whakapapa and Māori knowledge were maintained and transmitted. Colonial renaming began with the "discovery" and claiming of the land, but soon included the names Māori were

known by and what Māori were prepared to call their children.

However, despite these colonial naming constructs designed to discover, claim, assimilate and uphold white privilege, Māori are enduring. They are well aware of the importance of traditional names, practices, values and connections to the identity, belonging and wellbeing of their children and their whānau. Kaikōrero comments are clear about the critical importance of hononga or connecting through whakapapa to their beginnings, including their connections to the spiritual realm, to the natural world, to the land, to life and to humanity.

Today, many can still demonstrate descent from waka and key ancestors, enabling them to claim their iwi identity and their hapū standing back to the land. This allows Māori to establish functional whānau relationships and share a common heritage with a large number of people. Naming one's attachments to waka, iwi and hapū is deeply important to defining one's identity as Māori and subsequently to one's spiritual, intellectual, social and emotional wellbeing. In this quest, these whānau are resilient in reclaiming what is their children's birthright. Indeed, in terms of whenua ki te whenua, connecting through naming to whakapapa at birth ensures these babies will not lose who they are.

Kuputaka | Glossary

ariki	chief
hapū	subtribe
hauora	wellbeing
Hawaiki	ancient homeland—the places from which Māori migrated to Aotearoa
hononga	making connections
hononga tona ki ona Matua, ki ona Matua kēkē	connecting to his/her parents and uncles and aunties
hui	meetings that follow Māori cultural procedures
iwi	larger tribal groups
(Ngāti) Kahungunu	iwi associated with the eastern coast of the North Island of New Zealand
kai	food
kaiako	teachers
kaikōrero	participants, speakers
kāinga	home
kairangahau	researchers
karakia	prayers
kaumātua	elders both male and female
Kaupapa Māori	theoretical approach to doing research for Māori, by Māori
kōpū	womb
kōrero	story
koro/koroua	elderly man, grandfather
kuia	elderly woman, grandmother
mana	status and power
marae	cultural spaces
maunga	mountain
mirimiri	traditional Māori healing practice
mokopuna	grandchild
Ngā Puhi	iwi associated with the Northland regions of New Zealand
Ngāti Tapu	hapū of Ngāi Te Rangi, an iwi associated with the Tauranga region of New Zealand
pā	fortified village
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
pepeha	tribal saying
pēpi	baby, infant
pōwhiri	official welcome ceremonies
pūrākau	narratives
rangatira	chiefs
Rangiātea/Raiātea	ancient name strongly associated with Hawaiki; both a physical place and a spiritual realm
Ranginui	Sky Father
reo	(Māori) language
rōpū	group
roto	lake
taiaha	wooden fighting staff
Tainui	ancestral waka; tribal confederation associated with the central North Island of New Zealand
tamaiti	child
tamariki	children
Tāne	god of the forests and birds
tangata whenua	people of the land
tapu	sacred

tauiwi	foreigner
te ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Arawa	ancestral waka; tribal confederation associated with Central Lakes region of North Island of New Zealand
tikanga	cultural practice
tipuna	ancestor
tohunga	specialist
Tokomaru (Bay)	a small community located on the East Coast of New Zealand
tūpuna/tīpuna	ancestors
tūrangawaewae	birthplace/one's place to stand
wāhi tapu	sacred place
waka	canoe
wānanga	meetings that follow Māori cultural procedures
whaea	mother
whakahono anō	connect again
whakaingoa	naming
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatau	official welcome speeches
whakataukī	adage, wise saying
whakawhanaungatanga	process of establishing relationships
whānau	family and extended family
whanaunga	wider whānau
whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship, sense of family connection
whare	house
whatu pōkeka	woven baby blanket
whenua	land; placenta
whenua tāwāhi	land overseas

Ngā tohutoro | References

Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture*. Oxford University Press.

Berryman, M. (2008). *Repositioning within indigenous discourses of transformation and self-determination* [Doctoral thesis, The University of Waikato]. Research Commons. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/2565

Berryman, M. , Rameka, L., & Togo, T. M. (2022). Unlearning colonial constructs: Conception, pregnancy, birth and infancy. *AlterNative, An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 18*(1), 173–181. https://doi.org/kpcv

Cameron, N., Pihama, L., Leatherby, R., & Cameron, A. (2013). *He mokopuna he tupuna: Investigating Māori views of childrearing amongst iwi in Taranaki*. Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki Inc.

Cheung, M. (2008). The reductionist—holistic worldview dilemma. *MAI Review*, (3), Research Note 5. https://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/download/186/186-992-1-PB.pdf

Cody, P. (2004). *Seeds of the word: Ngā kakano o te kupu*. Steele Roberts.

Consedine, R., & Consedine, J. (2005). *Healing our history: The challenge of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Penguin Books.

Cunningham, C. (1998, July 7–9). A framework for addressing Māori knowledge in research, science and technology. In Te Pūmanawa Hauora (Ed.), *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference* (pp. 394–405). Massey University.

Dewes, T. (1977). The case for oral arts. In M. King (Ed.), *Te ao hurihuri = The world moves on: Aspects of Māoritanga* (pp. 46–63). Methuen.

Graham, J. (2009). Nā Rangi tāua, nā Tūānuku e takoto nei: Research methodology framed by whakapapa. *MAI Review*, (1), Article 3. https://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/download/199/199-1200-1-PB.pdf

Healy, S. (Ed.). (2019). *Listening to the people of the land: Christianity, colonisation and the path to redemption*. S. Healy.

Hemara, W. (2000). *Māori pedagogies: A view from the literature*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Ihimaera, L. (2004). *He ara ki te ao Mārama: A pathway to understanding the facilitation of taha wairua in mental health services* [Master's thesis, Massey University]. Massey Research Online. http://hdl.handle.net/10179/990

Jackson, M. (2021, May 9). Decolonisation and the stories in the land. *E-tangata*. https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/moana-jackson-decolonisation-and-the-stories-in-the-land/

Kāretu, S. (1977). Language and protocol on the marae. In M. King (Ed.), *Te ao hurihuri = The world moves on: Aspects of Māoritanga* (pp. 31–45). Methuen.

King, M. (1997). *Ngā iwi o te motu: 100 years of Māori history*. Reed Publishing.

King, M. (2003). *The Penguin history of New Zealand*. Penguin Books.

Lewis, D. (1980). *The voyaging stars: Secrets of the Pacific Island navigators*. Fontana/Collins.

Mahuika, N. (2019). A brief history of whakapapa: Māori approaches to genealogy. *Genealogy*, *3*(2), Article 32. https://doi.org/gnkvsw

Marsden, M. (2003). *The woven universe: Selected writings of Rev. Māori Marsden* (T. A. C. Royal, Ed.). Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden.

Mead, H. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values*. Huia Publishers.

Ministry of Education. (2009). *Te Whatu Pōkeka. Kaupapa Māori assessment for learning: Early childhood exemplars*. Learning Media.

Ministry of Justice. (2001). *He hinatore ki te ao Māori: A glimpse into the Māori world: Māori perspectives on justice*. https://www.justice.govt.nz/assets/he-hinatora-ki-te-ao-maori.pdf

Ngata, T. (2019, June 1). James Cook and the Doctrine

of Discovery: 5 things to know. *The Non-Plastic Maori*. https://thenonplasticmaori.wordpress.com/2019/06/01/james-cook-and-the-doctrine-of-discovery-5-things-to-know/

Orbell, M. (1985). *The natural world of the Māori*. Collins.

Patterson, J. (1992). *Exploring Māori values*. Dunmore Press.

Pere, R. (1984). *Ako: Concepts and learning in the Māori tradition*. Department of Sociology, The University of Waikato.

Severinsen C. A., Mika J. P., & Hutson R. (2020). What's in a name? Māori student success through culturally responsive practice. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 55*(2), 431–447. https://doi.org/kpct

Simon, J. A. (Ed.). (1998). *Nga Kura Māori: The Native Schools system 1867–1969*. Auckland University Press.

Smith, G. H. (1997). *The development of Kaupapa Māori: Theory and praxis* [Doctoral thesis, The University of Auckland]. ResearchSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/2292/623

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples*. Zed Books.

Smith, L. T. (2000). Kaupapa Māori research. In M. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision* (pp. 225–247). UBC Press.

Steed, G. (1999). *Māori naming in transition: How Māori have named from earliest times, through colonisation and missionisation, to the present* [Master's thesis, Massey University]. Massey Research Online. http://hdl.handle.net/10179/7177

Stevens, A. (2012). *Power of my Maori name: Stories of indigenous struggles in white New Zealand* [Master's thesis, University of Otago]. OUR Archive. http://hdl.handle.net/10523/7532

Te Rito, S. (2007). Whakapapa: A framework for understanding identity. *MAI Review*, (2), Article 2. https://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/download/56/56-65-1-PB.pdf

Tse, S., Lloyd, C., Petchkovsky, L., & Manaia, W. (2005). Exploration of Australian and New Zealand indigenous people's spirituality and mental health. *Australian Occupational Therapy Journal*, *52*, 181–187. https://doi.org/ffvpfg

Waitangi Tribunal. (2011). *Ko Aotearoa tēnei: A report into claims concerning New Zealand law and policy affecting Māori culture and identity* (WAI 262). https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_68356054/KoAotearoaTeneiTT1W.pdf

Walker, R. (1993, August 24). *A paradigm of the Māori view of reality* [Paper presentation]. David Nichol Seminar IX, Voyages and Beaches: Discovery and the Pacific 1700–1840, Auckland, New Zealand.

Walker, R. (1996). *Ngā pepa a Ranginui: The Walker papers*. Penguin Books.

Whitt, L., Roberts, M., Norman, M. W., & Grieves, V. (2003). Indigenous perspectives. In D. Jamieson (Ed.), *A companion to environmental philosophy* (pp. 3–20). Blackwell. https://doi.org/fsghh6

Williams, J. (2004). Paptūānuku—Attitudes to land. In T. M. Ka'ai, J. C. Moorfield, M. P. J. Reilly & S. Mosley (Eds.), *Ki te whaiao—An introduction to Māori culture and society* (pp. 50–60). Pearson Education.

MAI Journal A NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS SCHOLARSHIP
DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2023.12.2.14

TE WHARE TAPA WHĀ AND FACEBOOK

Online communication with Māori postgraduate students during the 2020 COVID-19 lockdown

*Rachel Jane Sizemore**

Abstract

In 2020, New Zealand Māori made up 6.8% of postgraduate students at the University of Otago (Sizemore, 2020). These students are supported by the author in her role as Māori Postgraduate Support Adviser (hereafter "the Adviser"). During the country's first COVID-19 lockdown in 2020, the Adviser used Facebook—specifically the University of Otago's page for Māori postgraduate students—to communicate with this cohort. She adapted the kaupapa Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985) into a communication tool, and its success is evaluated in this article by tracking engagement online and through autoethnographic analysis by the Adviser. Engagement with the page by students and staff was frequent but decreased over time. Given the average number of people reached was 50, the posts were deemed to be effective. Whānau was the most important pillar of Te Whare Tapa Whā in getting students to engage, and this was stimulated by the introduction of the Adviser's pets. Pet posts helped maintain and form relationships with students. The Facebook page continues to be used to communicate with students in the post-COVID-19 environment.

Keywords

COVID-19, Facebook, Māori postgraduates, Te Whare Tapa Whā

Introduction

> He aha te kai a te rangatira? He kōrero, he kōrero, he kōrero.
>
> *What is the food of the leader? It is knowledge. It is communication.* (Revington, 2015, p. 14)

Despite Māori making up around 16.5% of the population of Aotearoa New Zealand (StatsNZ, 2019), Māori are under-represented in the postgraduate cohort at the University of Otago, accounting for 6.8% of students (Sizemore, 2020). The current cohort of 312 is supported by the author in her role as Māori Postgraduate Support Adviser (hereafter "the Adviser") who engages, supports, advocates for and fosters Māori postgraduate student success by providing equitable programmes. Inequities or disparities for Māori in postgraduate study often stem from their coming from low-socioeconomic backgrounds or areas, or lower-decile schools, or their being the first in their family to attend university. Equitable programmes for Māori exist because Māori are often

* Ngāi Tahu. Māori Postgraduate Support Adviser, Graduate Research School, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.
Email: rachel.sizemore@otago.ac.nz

over-represented in negative education outcomes (Theodore et al., 2017).

Inequity for Māori postgraduate students can be attributed to the colonisation of New Zealand in the 1800s by the British Crown and settlers (Smith, 2012). Colonisation subsequently led to the loss of Māori cultural knowledge, language and land. Te Tiriti o Waitangi | Treaty of Waitangi, a governance agreement signed in 1840 between some Māori chiefs and representatives of the British Crown, has, from its implementation, been subject to different interpretations. Māori chiefs anticipated protection and partnership, while the British Crown anticipated sovereignty and colonisation of the Indigenous peoples.

Formal education in New Zealand has followed a European model and has, over the colonised history of the nation, been used as a tool to assimilate Māori to Pākehā cultural, linguistic and economic norms (Pihama & Lee-Morgan, 2018; Smith, 2012). Negative education outcomes for Māori have followed, and Māori students are over-represented in exclusion, attrition and underachievement rates (Theodore et al., 2017). The historical exclusion of Māori language and culture from publicly funded education, and the unacceptable outcomes for Māori, have meant that education has become a site of resistance for Māori (Walker, 2016). Māori activism and leadership, alongside Treaty reparations resulting from the Waitangi Tribunal, have seen a rise in equity programmes for Māori in education settings.

Equity programmes run by the Adviser include social hui, writing days, writing retreats, one-on-one consultations, workshops, and the nationwide Māori and Indigenous (MAI) programme doctoral student conferences. All of these programmes add equity for our students and help them to complete their postgraduate degrees. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, all of these programmes were held in person, kanohi ki te kanohi.

During the first COVID-19 wave (March–July 2020), all teaching, learning and communication went online in New Zealand universities. Level 4 lockdown (whereby all schools, institutions and businesses except for essential services were closed) lasted for four weeks, from March 23 to April 27. As then Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern (2020) stated, this move was to “contain the spread and prevent the worst”. Following Level 4, the country moved to Level 3, but even at this level access to universities was restricted, and this lasted another 2.5 weeks.

At the University of Otago, the lockdown required the Adviser to shift her support of Māori postgraduate students to online communication. Consequently, the Adviser shifted all equitable programmes (social hui, writing days, office hours and workshops, MAI and Hono MAI conferences) online. This article presents an evaluation of the effectiveness of the Adviser’s communication via Facebook to determine whether there were clear lines of communication regarding administrative information, online services, and health and well-being for Māori postgraduate students during the 2020 lockdown. Before considering the methods of evaluation, the article first discusses what communication for Māori looks like and how it is best delivered, which is followed by an outline of the framework that was chosen to deliver this communication. Finally, online learning approaches and their success with Māori during this intervention are discussed.

Communication for Māori

As te reo Māori was originally a spoken language (Best, 1931), communication for Māori has traditionally worked best face-to-face—te kanohi kitea—to develop relationships and maintain whanaungatanga. With the advent of the internet, social media platforms such as Facebook, and the development of video calling, Māori have increased access to social networking, allowing them to develop and maintain relationships virtually (O’Carroll, 2013). During COVID-19, kaumātua and kuia were able to connect online in a way that incorporated Te Whare Tapa Whā, a holistic health model devised by Durie (1985). It was found that whānau elements were helpful in connecting with others and maintaining existing relationships (Tinirau et al., 2021). Successful online programmes for Māori include culturally appropriate communication and pastoral care (Ferguson, 2008; Hudson, 2020). Unfortunately, whanaungatanga cannot always be fully recreated online, and some programmes have had mixed success achieving virtual connectedness (Karaka-Clarke, 2020).

Theoretical framework guiding communication

As Aotearoa went into lockdown in March 2020, the Adviser used a Kaupapa Māori approach to adapt Sir Mason Durie’s (1985) holistic health model Te Whare Tapa Whā into an online communication tool. The pedagogy of Te Whare Tapa Whā addresses the person’s well-being holistically, using the metaphor of the four walls/pillars of a house. The walls respectively represent wairua, hinengaro, tinana and whānau involvement. While

it was initially designed as a health model for Māori, Te Whare Tapa Whā has been successfully adapted to other contexts beyond the health sector, such as mathematics in secondary schools (Averill, 2011), and as a form of online communication for kaumātua and kuia (Tinirau et al., 2021). The Adviser adapted this holistic model for the tertiary sector to inform her communication with University of Otago Māori postgraduate students during lockdown.

Online learning for Māori

Online learning for Māori is not new, with some systems in place pre-COVID-19. For example, the Indigenous tertiary education provider Te Whare Wānanga ō Awanuiārangi established a Māori e-learning framework for Māori studying for a Bachelor of Teaching and Learning in 2008, providing culturally appropriate education online (Ferguson, 2008). These programmes used a Kaupapa Māori "by Māori for Māori" approach. Ferguson (2008) noted that for an e-learning framework to work there had to be clear direction from the lecturer, or students would disengage. Once disengagement happened it was difficult to get students to re-engage. Engaging is easier if students can engage face-to-face; Skype was used to recreate this effect online (Ferguson, 2008), similarly to how kaumātua and kuia used Facebook in Tinirau et al. (2021). Two key te ao Māori values were also required:

- Manaakitanga: If the online environment was safe and welcoming students were more likely to engage.
- Maintaining students' spirituality: This was achieved through tikanga, such as karakia and waiata.

As part of Ferguson's (2008) programme, there was an online pastoral care component which used a holistic approach by incorporating Te Whare Tapa Whā principles (Durie, 1985, 2015). With this holistic approach in mind, recent research has looked at reproducing wairuatanga online for distance Māori undergraduates learning te reo Māori (Karaka-Clarke, 2020). There is also research on Indigenous Māori postgraduate students engaging online during COVID-19 (Simati-Kumar & Rangiwai, 2020). An online teaching and learning plan for a Master of Applied Indigenous Knowledge programme was developed in Māngere, Auckland (Simati-Kumar & Rangiwai, 2020). This programme allowed Māori postgraduate students to continue to succeed at their studies. COVID-19 has potentially prepared tertiary providers for a future of teaching online. For these online programmes to work, clear communication is key.

By weaving Te Whare Tapa Whā and Māori values into her Facebook posts, the Adviser's aim was to design a platform for clear lines of communication which would help with student retention and success during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Methods

Study context

This study is part of a larger project evaluating all of the University of Otago's equity programmes that shifted online during the COVID-19 pandemic. This section describes the broader context that the Facebook study fits into. With the advent of the pandemic, and in line with the university switching to online teaching, all in-person programmes were cancelled. Students were initially informed of the shift to online programmes via emails and the monthly postgraduate panui. These emails and panui contained links to the scheduled Zoom sessions that students could register for online. As mentioned previously, the equity programmes consisted of office hours, writing days, workshops, social hui and conferences (MAI and Hono MAI). Office hours became weekly Zoom sessions students could drop in on. Writing days were offered on Zoom for half a day instead of two days in person. Workshops occurred as Zoom meetings with breakout rooms for group discussions, and the chat function was used as a forum for questions. The planned Hono MAI conference went online. The social hui took the form of the Facebook page. A Facebook page for MAI ki Otago Māori postgraduate students already existed but had not been utilised in this way. This page was re-imagined as an online forum for all Otago Māori postgraduates by providing key information for students, as well as an advertising platform for the programmes described above.

The following sections provide information on the cohort of Māori postgraduate students, how they were recruited, communication via the Facebook page, and how data were collected and analysed.

Participants

This study was conducted with Māori postgraduate students who were enrolled in postgraduate programmes at the University of Otago. In 2020, 312 Māori were enrolled in a postgraduate programme, including 215 females and 97 males. Ethical approval was obtained from the University

of Otago Human Ethics Committee (Ref. D20/105), and research consultation with Māori was sought through the university's Ngāi Tahu Consultation Committee.

Postgraduate students were recruited via emails containing specific information about Facebook and through monthly postgraduate panui. Students were provided with a study information sheet and a consent form. All student participation in the research was voluntary, and the gathering of personal information was optional. In the reporting of the findings, no personal information is disclosed. Nineteen students engaged with the Facebook page; four of these students were not previously known to the Adviser. This number does not include the number of people ultimately reached, however, because posts were sometimes shared, and the names of the people reached in this way were not included in Facebook's statistics.

Communication via Facebook

The Adviser established an online hui/forum on social media by adapting an existing Facebook page for Māori postgraduates to provide a clear and effective line of communication to Māori postgraduate students about health and well-being, administrative information updates, and any changes to study and research during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic. Messaging used the Māori pedagogy of Te Whare Tapa Whā to appeal to those students who had not already engaged with the Adviser, and to maintain support for other students to continue to engage. The Adviser's dog Jagi and cat Easta were used to convey health messaging such as washing your hands to prevent the spread of COVID-19. Posts that did not include pets focused on providing advice, clear guidelines and/or information for students during the lockdown. Examples of posts were how to make a self-plan, how to set up a workspace, how to rescope your research, and how to adapt and stay motivated in the "new normal" working environment.

Data collection and analysis

All Facebook posts to the support page during lockdown (March 18, 2020–July 10, 2020) were harvested. Facebook allows evaluation of the effectiveness of these types of communication through built-in statistics. These included the number of people reached, the number of engagements (e.g., clicks on the post), and the number of comments, shares, likes and loves for each post. In order to fully evaluate the posts, I collated all the data for each individual post together in an Excel spreadsheet, and then analysed the number of responses in relation to the type of posts, which wall(s) of Te Whare Tapa Whā these posts related to and how these related to the lockdown situation. I also calculated the average number of posts, engagements and people reached, as well as the number of comments, shares, likes and loves over the lockdown period.

One limitation of the Facebook statistics was that it was hard to determine which data originated from Māori postgraduates. Both staff and non-Māori students also saw the Facebook posts, which were then shared on other university and personal Facebook pages. For reactions that named people, such as likes and loves, the Adviser was able to run names through the university database eVision to determine if they were Māori postgraduate students. In addition to the Facebook statistics, the Adviser undertook an autoethnographic analysis of a descriptive account she wrote about curating the Facebook page and her experiences of using Facebook during lockdown.

Results

First an overview of the study period is given, with commentary about the situation and some overall statistics from the Facebook posts and engagement with these. The results are then presented in chronological order, according to the timeline of the pandemic in 2020 in Aotearoa. In order to understand the needs of the Māori postgraduate cohort and the pressure they felt during lockdown, I will describe the use of Te Whare Tapa Whā, the types of posts and engagements, and the reactions to these posts using a mix of quantitative and qualitative data.

Overview of the study period

The Facebook page was used leading up to the countrywide lockdown. Aotearoa had its first confirmed case of COVID-19 on February 28, 2020 ("Timeline: Coronavirus", n.d.). After this, the border was closed to international travellers. As New Zealanders started returning home from COVID-ravaged countries, the number of cases in New Zealand spiked. Community transmission started to occur, causing clusters of COVID-19 cases to spring up around the country. This sent the country into Level 4 lockdown on March 25, 2020, in an attempt to slow the spread, "flatten the curve" and ultimately to eliminate the virus. As the then Prime Minister put it, "We're in this together and must unite against COVID-19. . . . We will get through this together, but only if we stick together. Be strong and be kind" (Ardern, 2020).

The frequency of posting remained steady across all alert levels, but the number of posts was highest when the need was greatest in Level 4, with 22 posts (see Figure 1). Overall, especially given the size of the postgraduate cohort, comments, engagements and reactions were quite few, with between 0 and 5 reactions or comments per post. A total of 19 students were identified as engaging with the page via emoji (loves, likes, hahas) or comments. As noted above, four students were previously unknown to the Adviser. Nineteen students represents just over half of the cohort (52%) that engaged face-to-face (36 students) during the rest of 2020. Again, as noted above, Facebook statistics do not provide names of the people reached or those who engaged by clicking on the page, and therefore I was unable distinguish who were staff and who were students. Despite this, the number of people reached on average for posts in Level 4 and Level 3 were 39.7 and 60.9, respectively. This dropped over Level 2 to 31 but climbed to 71.7 during Level 1, with the overall average reach being 50 people.

As expected, average engagement was highest at Level 4 at 41 people, before dropping off gradually from Level 3 to Level 1. This could be indicative of need for COVID-related posts decreasing over time. The number of interactions with, or reactions to, posts (shares, loves and likes) was higher in pre-lockdown and in the first week of Level 4 lockdown, with another surge at Level 2. During alert level changes, students were trying to find details about the current alert level, including what they could and could not do as part of their postgraduate studies. The Adviser categorised the posts according to Te Whare Tapa Whā walls based on the content of the post. For example, a post about going for a walk helps with one's tinana and hinengaro. While reactions occurred across all wall types, hinengaro was the most common, either on its own or in combination with other walls, to help maintain mental wellbeing in this new environment where COVID-19 is present (Figure 2). Liking a page was the most common type of interaction or reaction, followed by loves. Despite low overall engagement with the Facebook page, the development of the page was evident, and is detailed below.

Pre-lockdown: March 21–24, 2020

Before mandating nationwide Level 4 lockdown, the government gave the population time to prepare. Restrictions started pre-lockdown (e.g., physical distancing of 2 metres was required, including at universities) and ramped up through Level 3 (e.g., businesses could use click and collect, takeaways could open, and universities started allowing staff back onto campus) before entering

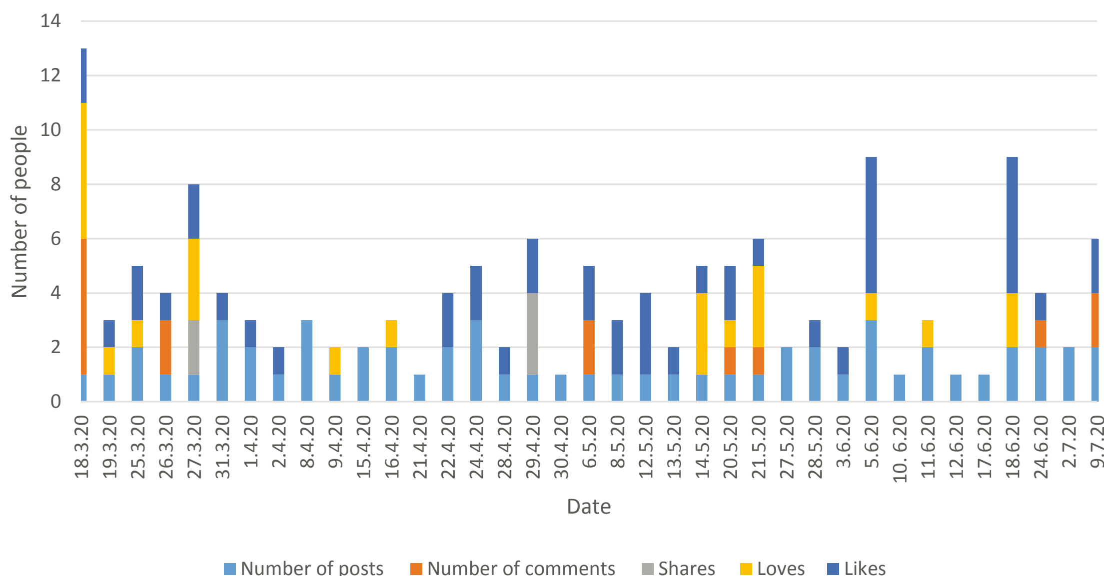


FIGURE 1 People reached by, and reactions to, Facebook posts on the MAI ki Otago Māori Postgraduate Support page by COVID-19 alert level (first wave of the pandemic, 2020). Source: Facebook Statistics (March 18–July 8, 2020).

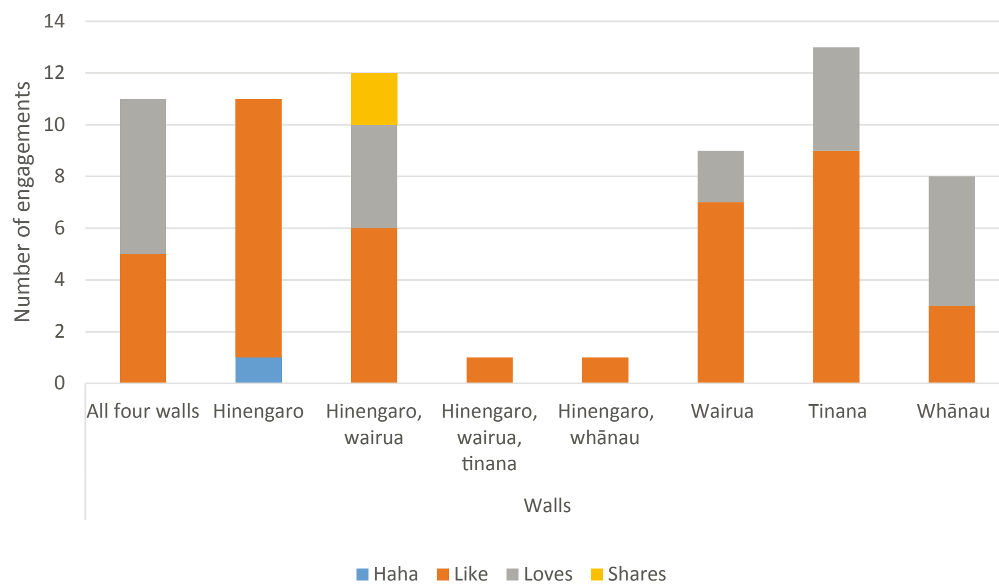


FIGURE 2 Number and type of engagement elicited by posts referencing the Te Whare Tapa Whā walls

Level 4. On March 18, in anticipation of the Level 4 lockdown, the Adviser used this time to shift equity programmes online. She commented that "while information about Level 4 was available the detail was not. Therefore, students had queries and questions around what Level 4 would look like and what they would and would not be able to do." She decided to use the Facebook page "as a platform to share information, provide new information as well as offer pastoral support and promote online equitable programmes to try and lessen the feeling of isolation for Māori postgraduates during the pandemic." Her first post (on March 18) read: "Kia ora e te whānau, In light of the current COVID-19 situation, I will be posting more information and a bit of light relief on our Facebook page. Keep your eyes peeled for these posts. Nā Rachel." Directly after this initial post, the Adviser added a second post to introduce her dog Jagi (Figure 3); she would subsequently introduce her cat Easta as well.

The Adviser explained her reasoning behind the use of her pets in her posts:

> Initially I chose to use my pets in Facebook posts because they were part of my whānau bubble in Lockdown. I also needed something to catch the attention of my students to the Facebook posts. . . .

FIGURE 3 The Adviser's dog, Jagi. The following text accompanied this image in a Facebook post: "Introducing our honorary Māori Postgrad Jagi (pronounced Yargie). Jagi is going to be helping me with posts on Facebook. Feel free to share pics of your furry companions below" (posted March 18, 2020).

> Creating this Facebook page acted as a distraction for me and I wanted to share my experience of Lockdown with others to try and normalise it. I got a lot reassurance, love and attention from my pets while in Lockdown. They acted as a type of distraction from what was happening outside of my bubble. Students have told me on more than one occasion that they miss their pets while they are studying so sharing my pets virtually with them in my Facebook posts also helped to a maintain a common ground during Lockdown and a feeling of whānau.

The post introducing Jagi was one of the most popular posts, reaching 88 people and generating 22 engagements. Not only did it communicate the intention of the page; its number of reactions was among the highest over the lockdown period. These included five comments (see Figure 4), five loves and two likes. All five comments were pictures of other people's pets, three from students and two from staff. Interestingly, Jagi posts resulted in the highest number of comments by post type and alert level. Comments across all alert levels were low, but the posts of Jagi instantly connected students to the Adviser, with people asking for more Jagi and Easta posts.

Instigating engagement through comments helped create a platform to launch the page with a whānau focus at its centre. The Jagi post was aligned to the Te Whare Tapa Whā wall of whānau, and, as Figure 5 shows, whānau produced the highest number of comments relating to all walls or combinations of walls.

Introducing Jagi instantly created a sense of whānau, togetherness and unity online, something which the Adviser had not anticipated. The other posts in pre-lockdown were mainly of Jagi and continued to cement the feeling of whānau.

Level 4: March 25–April 27, 2020

Upon entering Level 4 on March 25, the focus of the posts changed to providing information. These posts addressed all four walls of the whare (whānau, tinana, wairua and hinengaro) by providing students with information on how to look after themselves in lockdown and how to keep up their studies. It is therefore no surprise that information posts were the most common type of post across alert levels (Figure 6), with 12 during Level 4. During Level 4, there was the highest number of such posts (22) and the page reached more people than those who had physically engaged before lockdown, or interacted with or reacted to the page, indicated by commenting, liking, haha-ing, loving or sharing (Figure 1).

At Level 4, only essential workers (e.g., maintenance staff) were allowed on campus. So the second week of Level 4 focused on getting into a routine and working from home. By week 3 of Level 4, students were getting used to lockdown but were also experiencing tiredness and feeling

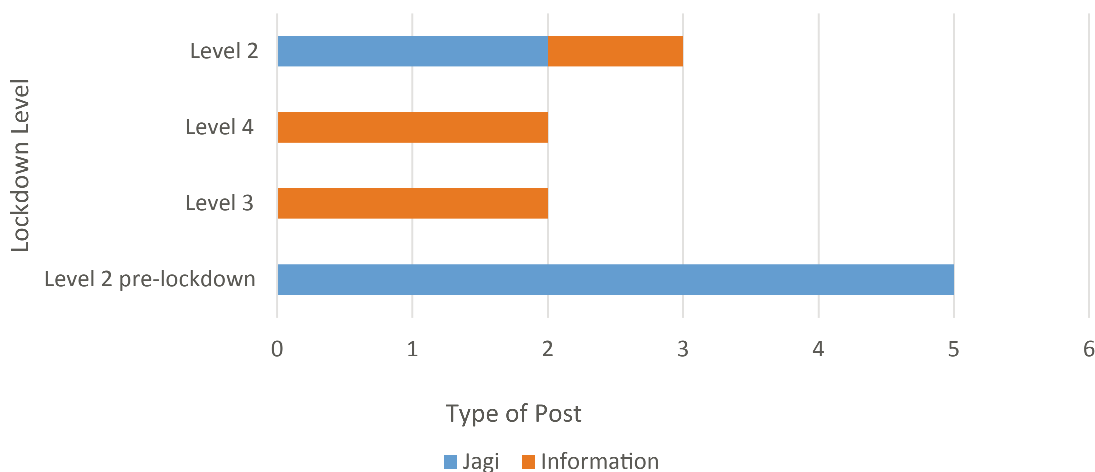


FIGURE 4 The number of comments elicited by type of post (Jagi or information) and alert level

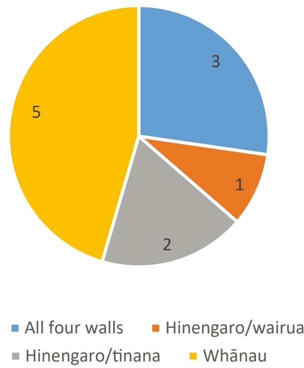


FIGURE 5 The number of comments elicited by Te Whare Tapa Whā wall

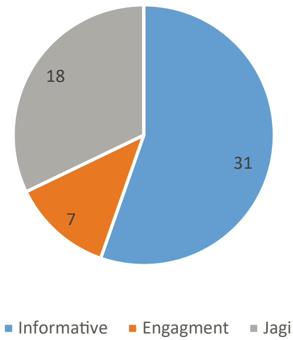


FIGURE 6 Number and type of posts for the study period

drained by the upheaval and fast transition into it. Students with tamariki had some interruptions to their work as their tamariki were also shifting to online learning at home. The Adviser commented: "It was clear to me that students did not know how to prepare for their studies to be online, to rescope their research or move things around so that field work would take place later once lockdown was over."

Consequently, the Adviser generated a post with a lockdown plan consisting of three parts: the self-plan, the whānau plan and the neighbourhood plan (Figure 7). This plan incorporated all four pillars of Te Whare Tapa Whā, particularly the importance of connectedness to whānau or whānau groups such as supervisors and research teams. Addressing all four whare walls in the plan created balance for students and the Adviser during uncertain times at the beginning of the Level 4 lockdown. The Adviser noted that the use of Te Whare Tapa Whā in her posts "was as much for myself as for the students as I recognised that for me to be of help to students I also needed to look after my own well-being."

The self-plan guided students to examine their research, rework their current plan to be able to work in lockdown, possibly rescope their research, contact their supervisors, hold regular meetings and revisit their plans when Level 4 ended. While the self-plan was in place to help students manage their research during and after lockdown, the other two plans—the whānau plan and the

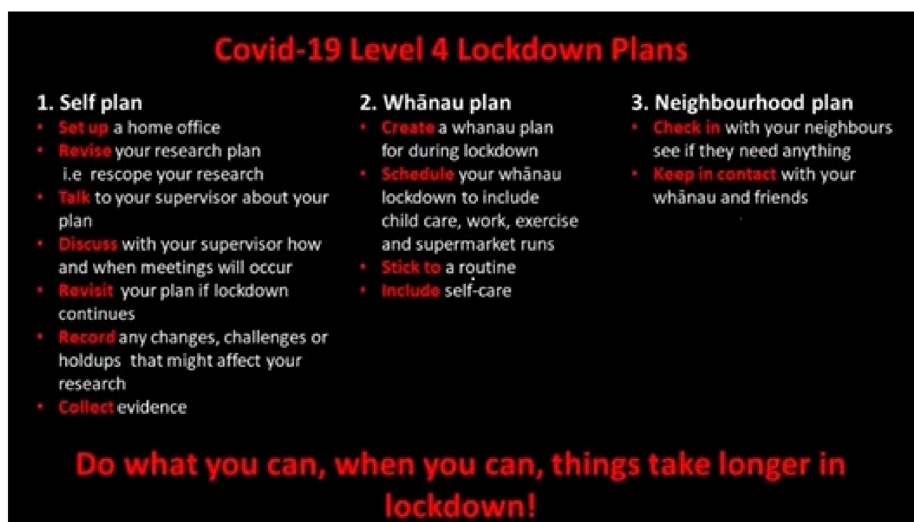


FIGURE 7 Image from a Facebook post describing a self-plan, whānau plan and neighbourhood plan for students to follow during lockdown (posted March 26, 2020)

neighbourhood plan—were more about looking after the well-being of oneself and others and added to the holistic approach taken. The importance of this post is reflected in 371 people being reached, 22 engagements, three loves and two likes. This post was also shared twice on the Otago Graduate Research School's Facebook page and on wider forums.

The remainder of the Level 4 posts were a mixture of Jagi posts and information posts. Information posts tended to cover all four walls of Te Whare Tapa Whā, or a combination of them. Information posts were used at the times of greatest need or when levels changed. The Jagi posts, on the other hand, continued to be steeped in whānau but also became health-related reminders in Level 4. These addressed students' tinana and hinengaro around things like social distancing, washing your hands and getting daily exercise. For example, Easta the cat was introduced for the first time to maintain interest in the page and create an antagonist for Jagi, whilst conveying the need for social distancing (Figure 8). Images of other dogs from the Adviser's whānau were also used to reinforce a point, statement or piece of information, normally in a more positive light, as illustrated in Figure 9.

Level 3: April 28–May 12, 2020

At Level 3, access to the university was heavily restricted. If students needed to get back into laboratory or fieldwork, they were able to do so with social distancing, hand sanitising and scheduling in place. During this period there was a total of 15 posts, all of which contained Jagi and/or Easta. Three embraced all four walls, while six related specifically to looking after students' hinengaro and the other six to the students' tinana. In Level 3, students consistently engaged with posts (see Figure 1), with the highest level of engagement occurring on April 29 in relation to a post on motivation (Figure 10). That post reached 413 people and inspired three loves and two likes. At Level 3, many posts were about looking after yourself in response to COVID fatigue. By this stage the Adviser was creating posts that combined Jagi posts with information posts, with an underlying message of long-term well-being and particularly hinengaro.

Level 2 (May 13–June 7, 2020) and Level 1 (June 8–August 11, 2020)

At Level 2, restrictions were eased and most postgraduate students were allowed back on campus. The number of comments on posts increased again, and engagement included likes, loves, hahas and shares.

Level 1 started on June 8, 2020. At this level, all restrictions were lifted except those on the border, which remained closed. People were encouraged to sign or scan into places of businesses using a COVID Tracer app. Reactions to the Facebook page remained constant but were mainly made up

FIGURE 8 Jagi and the Adviser's cat (Easta) displaying the importance of social distancing. The following text accompanied this image in a Facebook post: "Today's Te Whare Tapa Whā tip is looking after our tinana! Jagi says 'practice socially distancing, especially with cats'" (posted March 25, 2020).

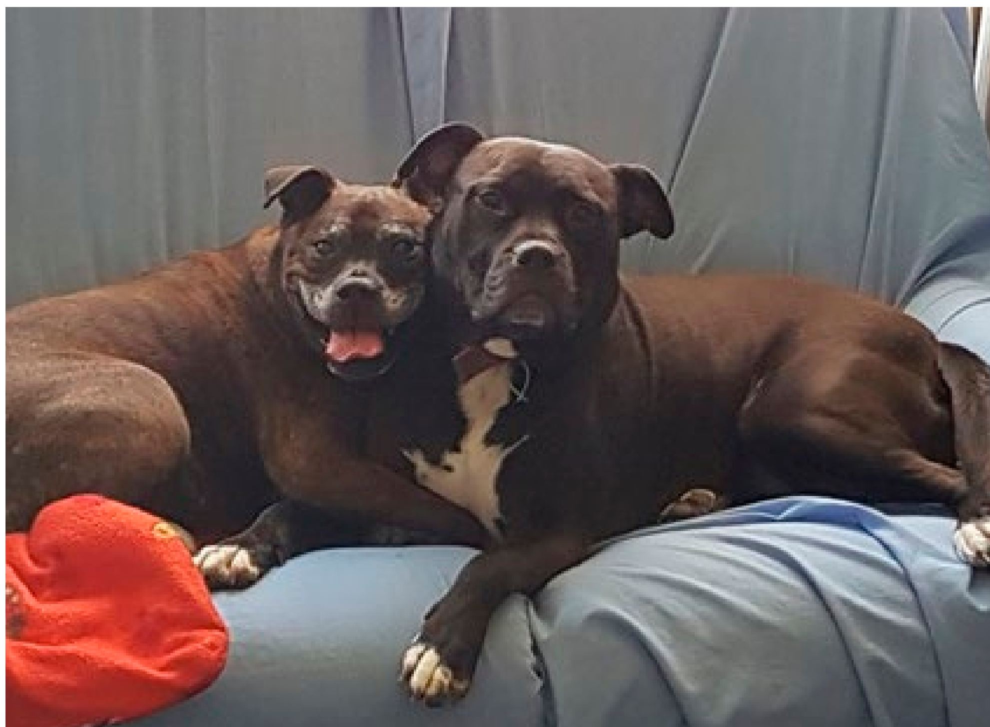


FIGURE 9 Jagi and the Adviser's relative's dog Jazz emphasising the importance of connecting with whānau. The following text accompanied this image in a Facebook post: "Looking after our hinengaro and wairua in Lockdown is important particularly over Easter as we can't see our whānau. Jagi says 'make sure you catch up with your whānau over the break, even if it isn't in person'" (posted April 4, 2020).

of likes and loves (see Figure 1). Te Whare Tapa a Whā was used in posts up to June 8, 2020. After that posts continued; however, they were mainly information posts advertising events. During Level 1, the need for posts waned so the Adviser emailed students asking them whether posts should continue. Due to a lack of demand, posting for the first wave of COVID-19 in Aotearoa was ended on July 9, 2020.

Discussion

The aim of this article was to evaluate the effectiveness of the Adviser's communication via Facebook to determine if there were clear lines of communication regarding administrative information, online services, and health and well-being for Māori postgraduate students during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic in Aotearoa. The existing face-to-face programmes for Māori postgraduates were already steeped in the Māori kaupapa of whānau and based on Sir Mason Durie's (1985) Te Whare Tapa Whā pedagogy. Therefore, converting face-to-face hui into an online Facebook page was relatively straightforward. The Adviser's inclusion of her dog Jagi in posts not only served as a form of introduction to the Adviser's whānau; it made an instant connection with people and was a focal point of online interest.

Aotearoa's first dogs, kurī, are now extinct, but they played an important role in Māori society. They are the only domesticated species successfully introduced to Aotearoa (Greig et al., 2015). Māori used kurī as guard dogs, for hunting, and as companions. Once dead, kurī were consumed as food in some cultural ceremonies. Teeth, bones and hair were used. Their skins were prized and made into dog skin cloaks which were worn by rangatira to imbibe them with mana (Greig et al., 2015). This suggests that kurī held their own mana and symbolised power.

The fact that kurī were useful to Māori would add to their mana and that of their owner. The importance of kurī in Māori culture is alluded to in several pūrākau involving kurī. The deity of kurī is Irawaru, who was turned into a dog by his brother-in-law and demigod Maui (Keane, 2008). The explorer Kupe brought kurī to Aotearoa. It is said he left a kurī waiting so long in the Hokianga harbour that it turned to stone (Keane, 2008). Young Nick's Head was originally named Te Kurī-a-Pāoa,

FIGURE 10 Facebook post on information pertaining to motivation, featuring both Jagi and Easta (posted April 29, 2020).

after Pāoa, the captain of the Horouta canoe, lost his kurī (Keane, 2008). The importance of companionship with kurī is described in the pūrākau of Houmaitawhiti's dog Pōtaka Tawhiti. The chief Uenuku saw Pōtaka Tawhiti eat his discarded bandage so he killed and ate him. Houmaitawhiti's son Tamatekapua heard Pōtaka Tawhiti's spirit howl inside of Uenuku. This led to skirmishes and eventually warfare. As a result, Tamatekapua left Hawaiki and came to Aotearoa in the Te Arawa canoe (Keane, 2008).

Based on historical records and pūrākau it could be said that kurī were considered important enough to be part of the extended whānau structure. The Adviser considers her dog and cat part of her whānau, so they could be considered mōkai, which can be defined as pet. Through this autoethnographic analysis, the Adviser inadvertently realised that she had based the Facebook page on whānau by including her pets as her extended family. The value of whānau was continually reinforced throughout the alert levels by posting photos of Jagi, Easta and Jazz (a dog of the Adviser's relative), while additionally conveying information about working online at home and health and well-being.

Te Whare Tapa Whā was effective on Facebook as it allowed the Adviser to convey up-to-date information in a holistic manner. Te Whare Tapa Whā is a proven model that is well established in te ao Māori, and is used in other areas, most commonly health. The decision of which walls to emphasise in each post was based on the alert level at the time of posting, as well as feedback from students. The Adviser used her own experiences living through lockdown and what she felt she personally needed at the time as a further resource in the creation of Facebook posts. This was a natural process for the Adviser because she is Māori, and has a background in science and an understanding of te ao Māori. Underlining all of these posts was a sense of whānau established by using the Adviser's pet family. Whānau is considered one of the hardest Te Whare Tapa Whā pillars to recreate in an online environment (Karaka-Clarke, 2020), but perhaps the use of pets provides an opportunity to garner engagement.

The number of people reached, and the level of engagement that was evident from the Facebook statistics, showed that this type of online communication can be effective. Facebook not only worked as a communication tool; it also allowed people to engage with the page. The shares, likes, loves and comments show people reacted to the page and replied to the posts positively, indicating the page to be a true platform for two-way

communication. Receiving feedback in the form of comments, likes, loves and shares informed the Adviser about what posts were needed and what worked.

As noted above, the Adviser was unable to determine which engagements were coming from Māori postgraduates, as university staff could also interact with posts. Staff also shared posts more widely to other staff members and non-Māori students. This had not been anticipated and was particularly true for posts such as setting up your workspace at home, as it was relevant to all postgraduate students, not just Māori, since all students were struggling with the impacts COVID-19 (Hume & Soar, 2020). This brought to mind the Kaupapa Māori approach of He Kākano, a school-based professional development programme that focuses on improving culturally responsive leadership and teacher practices to ensure Māori learners enjoy educational success as Māori. The mantra of He Kākano (n.d.) is "What works for Māori works for everyone. But what works for everyone does not necessarily work best for Māori." Overall, it was clear that this communication platform, inspired by Te Whare Tapa Whā, could be useful in the future for a variety of communities and situations.

With pandemic fatigue setting in during Levels 3 and 2, it became important to keep students engaged (Corbera et al., 2020), so communications from the Adviser used Jagi and Easta to promote hinengaro and tinana. While messages were based on holistic well-being and providing information to students, they also had a storytelling marketing element to encourage students to keep engaging with the page. As mentioned above, the Adviser did not initially realise the added value of using animals in communications. Nor did she anticipate the marketing power dogs held. Animals, especially dogs, have been used in marketing campaigns and have been found to effect positive feelings in humans towards adverts (Lancendorfer et al., 2008). The marketability of dogs in particular is founded on the idea that social bonding between dogs and humans has a positive outcome on human health, well-being and physiological state (Garrity et al., 1989; Ory & Goldberg, 1983; Serpell, 2003).

The Adviser's Facebook communications contained historical, cultural and marketing concepts, and appealed to intrinsic human behaviours. Using a holistic Māori health approach to convey information in a culturally appropriate but also relevant way assisted Māori postgraduate students with their studies during lockdown. Although the posts reached over 400 people at times, initially 41 people were regularly reading the posts; this figure decreased over time to 2.5. Only 0 to 5 people were engaging with the content on average. For online communications to be successful, the te ao Māori value of whanaungatanga needs to be an underlying value. Whanaungatanga creates a sense of commonality between a peer group who are geographically dispersed, have different circumstances, and yet are engaging in an online programme (Karaka-Clarke, 2020). Generating a sense of whanaungatanga is challenging in an online environment because you do not get the same sense of connection with people virtually as you do in person, and carrying out the physical forms of tikanga, like hongi, is not possible. This may be why engagement was low compared to the postgraduate population.

The Adviser used Facebook to communicate with students in specific ways to complement the ongoing emails and panui that the Adviser sent prior to and during the COVID-19 pandemic. One challenge of this study, however, was not being able to separate out the number of people engaged/reached into staff and students due to the limitations of Facebook statistics. This meant that the effectiveness of communication solely with Māori postgraduate students had to be evaluated from students' reactions to posts. I was able to identify how many Māori postgraduate students reacted to posts by checking individual posts for names. It would be beneficial to evaluate the effectiveness of communication further using other forms of data collection, such as focus groups, exit surveys or comparing the effectiveness of Facebook to other social media platforms such as Instagram to triangulate the success of the communications.

Conclusion

A countrywide lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic led to the Adviser adapting the University of Otago Māori postgraduate student Facebook page into a communication platform based on the principles of Te Whare Tapa Whā. The Adviser evaluated the effectiveness of communications via Facebook through analysis of the posts and how the audience engaged and reacted. Despite the limitations of Facebook statistics, the Adviser was able to determine that her posts were successful in delivering clear lines of communication. The posts reached a high number of people—well beyond the Māori postgraduate population at times—and inspired reactions, engagements and comments, albeit limited in number. The use of Te Whare Tapa Whā to promote engagement with the page and

the sharing of information was intended to convey messaging that was familiar to Māori students and representative of te ao Māori at a time when much of daily life had become unfamiliar.

The most important Te Whare Tapa Whā wall appeared to be whānau, despite it being the hardest wall to recreate in an online environment. Although unpremeditated by the Adviser, the use of the her pets in posts created a sense of whānau. Future research could explore whether pets can be used to help generate whānau values in other online settings for Māori. The culturally responsive benefits of Te Whare Tapa Whā will be applied to other postgraduate services provided by the University of Otago. The Adviser plans to use the model's walls as underlying tenets for online activities, such as writing programmes for distance students. As this article has demonstrated, online platforms like Facebook can be used in culturally appropriate ways to communicate effectively with Māori students, even in situations like the COVID-19 pandemic.

Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand
Hawaiki	ancient Polynesian homeland
hinengaro	mental well-being
hongi	pressing noses in greeting
Hono MAI	an online conference for Māori doctoral students
hui	meeting
kanohi ki te kanohi	face-to-face
karakia	blessing
kaumātua	male elder
kaupapa	platform
Kaupapa Māori	Māori approach
kuia	female elder
kurī	Māori dog
MAI	Māori and Indigenous programme
MAI ki Otago	the Māori and Indigenous doctoral support programme at the University of Otago
mana	mana
manaakitanga	hospitality
mōkai	pets
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
panui	newsletter
pūrākau	myth/traditional story
rangatira	chief
tamariki	children
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te kanohi kitea	the seen face
te reo Māori	the Māori language
Te Whare Tapa Whā	Māori health model developed by Sir Mason Durie; lit. "the four walls of the house"
tikanga	custom
tinana	body
waiata	song
wairua	spirit
wairuatanga	spirituality
whare	house
whānau	family
whanaungatanga	creating a sense of family

Acknowledgements

The author would like to acknowledge her colleagues Dr Kim Brown and Professor Rachel Spronken-Smith from the Graduate Research School, University of Otago, for their guidance on this research and help with editing the article for publication. Research consultation with Māori was sought through the university's Ngāi Tahu Consultation Committee.

References

Ardern, J. (2020, March 23). Prime minister: COVID-19 alert level increased. *Beehive.govt.nz*. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/prime-minister-covid-19-alert-level-increased

Averill, R. (2011). Teaching practices for effective teacher-student relationships in multi-ethnic mathematics classrooms. In J. Clark, B. Kissane, J. Mousley, T. Spencer, & S. Thornton (Eds.), *Mathematics: Traditions and (new) practices* (pp. 76–81). Australian Association of Mathematics Teachers and the Mathematics Education Research Group of Australasia.

Best, E. (1931). Education among the Māori folk: How the young were trained. In P. Jackson (Ed.), *Māori and education, or, The education of natives in New Zealand and its dependencies* (pp. 63–72). Ferguson & Osborne.

Corbera, E., Anguelovski, I., Honey-Rosés, J., & Ruiz-Mallén, I. (2020). Academia in the time of COVID-19: Towards an ethics of care. *Planning Theory & Practice*, *21*(2), 191–199. https://doi.org/gg5vc3

Durie, M. H. (1985). A Māori perspective of health. *Social Science & Medicine*, *20*, 483–486. https://doi.org/bmnd48

Durie, M. (2015, March 12). *Te pae tāwhiti Māori 2040* [Presentation]. Tauranga Boys' College, Tauranga, New Zealand.

Ferguson, S. L. (2008). Key elements for a Māori e-Learning framework. *MAI Review*, (3), Article 3. https://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/view/173/176.html

Garrity, T. F., Stallones, L., Marx, M. B., & Johnson, T. P. (1989). Pet ownership and attachment as supportive factors in the health of the elderly. *Anthrozoos: A Multidisciplinary Journal of the Interactions of People & Animals*, *3*(1), 35–44. https://doi.org/dnwgrr

Greig, K., Bookcok, J., Prost, S., Horsburgh, K. A., Jacomb, C., Walter, R., & Matisoo-Smith, E. (2015). Complete mitochondrial genomes of New Zealand's first dogs. *PloS One*, *10*(10), Article e0138536. https://doi.org/gf57vt

He Kākano. (n.d.). *How does it work?* https://hekakano.tki.org.nz/The-programme/How-does-it-work

Hudson, P. W. (2020). *Can te ao Māori worldviews exist within a Western institute's online teaching and learning environment?* [Master's thesis, University of Waikato]. Research Commons. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/13880

Hume, E., & Soar, M. (2020). *Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on research students in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Te Pūnaha Matatini. https://cpb-ap-se2.wpmucdn.com/blogs.auckland.ac.nz/dist/d/75/files/2020/10/Impact-of-covid-19-on-research-students-TPM-Wh%C4%81nau.pdf

Karaka-Clarke, T. H. R. (2020). *Ngā whenu ranga tahi: Drawing from Māori principles of wellbeing: Transforming online synchronous teaching and learning of te reo Māori* [Doctoral thesis, University of Canterbury]. UC Research Repository. https://hdl.handle.net/10092/100072

Keane, B. (2008). Kurī—Polynesian dogs. In *Te Ara: The encyclopedia of New Zealand*. http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/kurī-polynesian-dogs/print

Lancendorfer, K. M., Atkin, J. L., & Reece, B. B. (2008). Animals in advertising: Love dogs? Love the ad! *Journal of Business Research*, *61*, 384–391. https://doi.org/cnzxgb

O'Carroll, A. D. (2013). Virtual whanaungatanga: Māori utilizing social networking sites to attain and maintain relationships. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *9*(3), 230–245. https://doi.org/gj3k

Ory, M. G., & Goldberg, E. L. (1983). Pet possession and well-being in elderly women. *Research on Aging*, *5*(3), 389–409. https://doi.org/dr38dr

Pihama, L., & Lee-Morgan, J. (2018). Colonization, education, and Indigenous people. In E. McKinley & L. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of Indigenous education* (pp. 19–27). Springer. https://doi.org/g6xr

Revington, M. (2015). He kōrero, he kōrero, he kōrero = What is the food of the leader? It is knowledge, it is communication. *Te Karaka*, (68), 14–15.

Serpell, J. A. (2003). Anthropomorphism and anthropomorphic selection: Beyond the "cute response". *Society and Animals*, *11*, 83–100. https://doi.org/fpg949

Simati-Kumar, B., & Rangiwai, B. (2020). A plan for online teaching and learning for the Master of Applied Indigenous Knowledge (MAIK) programme in Māngere: Responding to COVID-19. *Te Kaharoa*, *15*(1). https://doi.org/kdpk

Sizemore, R. (2020). *Ethnic composition of postgraduate students at the University of Otago* [Unpublished report].

Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). Zed Books.

StatsNZ. (2019, September 23). New Zealand's population reflects growing diversity. https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/new-zealands-population-reflects-growing-diversity

Theodore, R., Taumoepeau, M., Kokaua, J., Tustin, K., Gallop, M., & Taylor, N. (2017). Equity in New Zealand university graduate outcomes: Māori and Pacific graduates. *Higher Education Research & Development*, *37*(1), 206–221. https://doi.org/c9cn

Timeline: Coronavirus. (n.d.). *New Zealand Doctor*. https://www.nzdoctor.co.nz/timeline-coronavirus

Tinirau, R., O Te Rangi Allen, A. T. P., Cribb, M., Maraku, H., & Wakefield, S. (2021). Te Whare Tapa Whā: The impact of physical distancing on the health and well-being of kuia and koroheke. *MAI Journal*, *10*(1), 41–45. https://doi.org/kdpm

Walker, R. (2016). Reclaiming Māori education. In J. Hutchings & J. Lee-Morgan (Eds.), *Decolonisation in Aotearoa: Education, research and practice* (pp. 19–38). NZCER Press.