Kaitiakitanga:

Māori experiences, expressions, and understandings.

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Dedicated to my Nana

Mrs Lakhi Tapu

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Abstract

This doctoral thesis investigates Māori experiences, expressions, and understandings of kaitiakitanga. Kaitiakitanga is understood as a philosophy connected to three realms, the metaphysical, physical, and human realms. Whether the practice of kaitiakitanga has morphed from its customary understanding situated within the metaphysical, physical, and human realms to a human centric practice is a key focus explored in this study.

Kaitiakitanga is considered an environmental ethic and concerns Māori responsibilities and obligations regarding land, water, wāhi tapu, and taonga. Kaitiakitanga is often defined to justify the Māori worldview regarding the environment, resource management, and sustainability. There is a solid and growing base of literature concerning Kaitiakitanga as an environment, sustainability, and productivity ethic, which is derived primarily from hapū, iwi, Waitangi Tribunals, and legal contexts. However, further research is needed regarding the human realm and human experiences, expressions, and understandings of kaitiakitanga and its practice. Kawharu (1998) argued in her seminal work on kaitiakitanga, that its implementation is as much about managing people as it is about managing resources and specifically noted that kaitiakitanga is not simply an environmental ethic but a socio-environmental ethic. The human realm is explored throughout this thesis to identify areas to grow and develop kaitiakitanga in ways that enable consistent, accurate, and clear use of this Māori body of knowledge.

The study is underpinned by a Kaupapa Māori methodology. Application of Kaupapa Māori requires honouring and privileging Māori people and knowledge and this carried an obligation to apply Māori ways of knowing and being across all areas of this study. Kaupapa Māori principles provided signposts to organise ideas, views, and experiences in a way that carried cultural integrity. The principles also provided the base for organising and theming the information gathered from the kaikōrero. All 24 kaikōrero are Māori and their experiences and knowledge spanned a range of contexts such as mātauranga Māori, education, rongoā, rangatahi, social work, and whānau. Both individual and group hui were held with the kaikōrero.

Regarding the human realm, there are several key findings. Whānau and kuia are considered key knowledge holders in the human realm, and they are crucial to maintaining and sustaining kaitiakitanga practices. This study identifies human beings as 'kaitiaki', where traditionally kaitiaki were understood only as spiritual beings and guides, and these roles are determined by whānau, hapū, and iwi. Whakapapa and mana whenua is the precursor to being a kaitiaki or carrying kaitiakitanga roles in the human realm. When kaitiakitanga is enacted within the human realm it is not isolated or separate from the metaphysical and physical realm. Te reo, whakaaro,

tikanga and mātauranga are critical to the Māori experience, expression and understanding of kaitiakitanga in the human realm. Finally, the practice of kaitiakitanga in the human realm engages all parts of the self which includes the inner being, personality, attributes, values, qualities, emotions, and feelings.

This thesis extends on the three realms of kaitiakitanga and adds further layers of discussion related to tikanga and mātauranga. It contributes to the kaitiakitanga literature regarding whānau understandings, taiao, taonga tuku iho and tino rangatiratanga. The use of kaitiakitanga, by who and in what contexts are also presented. New knowledge is highlighted regarding te tuakiritanga, whānau, and kaitiaki understandings and roles. The study reaffirms that the three realms of kaitiakitanga are an inseparable part of its understanding and practice and that, when situated outside of kaupapa that is Māori, kaitiakitanga becomes divorced from its traditional understanding and its underpinning elements, and therefore loses integrity. Traditionally and in contemporary times Māori understand kaitiaki as spiritual beings and guides, this is extended on here by naming people as 'kaitiaki'. This thesis provides a significant contribution to the human realm of kaitiakitanga or what is described by Forster (2012) as active kaitiaki and by Kawharu (1998) as social spheres. This study affirms kaitiakitanga as an environmental ethic but adds that it is underpinned by Kaupapa Māori whereby whakapapa is a pre-cursor to kaitiakitanga, and kaitiakitanga is led, defined, experienced, and practiced by Māori.

Karakia

Kia tau ngā manaakitanga a Te Mea Ngaro

Ki runga ki tēnā, ki tēnā o tatou

Kia mahea ngā hua mākihikihi

Kia toi te mana, toi te kupu, toi te aroha, toi te reo Māori

Kia tūturu, ka whakamaua kia tina, haumie, hui e, taiki e

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Glossary

Āhuatanga	Attributes, qualities, aspects, characteristics, properties, features, functions
Ako	Learning and teaching. Pedagogy. Refer Chapter 2
Arataki	To conduct, lead or guide
Aroha	To show compassion, love, connection, warmth
Aotearoa	The original name for New Zealand. New Zealand is a name put in place by colonists. Aotearoa will be referred to in this thesis.
Ā kānohi	Face to face, in person
Āta	Careful, deliberate, purposeful
Āta kōrero	Speak carefully/deliberately
Āta titiro	Look with deliberation
Āta whakarongo	Listen carefully
Āta whakaaro	Think purposefully, carefully.
Atua	A God, ancestor, deity
Haka	Cultural posture performance/dance
Heitiki	Greenstone pendant for the neck – usually a human image
Hinengaro	Consciousness/intellect/thought
Hoa haere	Constant companion, considered companion, friend/s who travel with you in a journey
Hui	To gather, meet.
Ihi	Essential force, psychic force as opposed to spiritual power.
Iho Matua	The umbilical cord, connection to atua
Kaikōrero	Speaker, the person who is speaking, participant. This term can be considered both singular and plural without pluralistic identifiers such as 'these' kaikōrero and 'three' kaikōrero. The context of the paragraph will determine the singular or plural understanding,
Kairaranga	Weaver
Kaitiaki	Minder, guardian, caregiver, keeper, spiritual guide
Kaitiakitanga	The act of minding, guarding, caring, keeping, trusteeship. Although has a larger philosophical meaning as noted within this thesis.
Kākahu	Clothing. Māori cloak. Garment
Karakia	Prayer, incantation, spiritual guiding words to Māori deity
Kapahaka	Māori cultural group, performing group, traditional performance

Kaumātua	Elderly, older, aged
Kaupapa	Floor, stage, platform, topic, policy, matt er for discussion
Kaupapa Māori Theory	Contexts that are Māori. Māori theoretical underpinnings. Māori praxis.
Kēhua	Spirit, Ghost
Kōrero	Conversation, talk, talking
Kuia	Older woman
Kupu	Word/s
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori total immersion primary schools
Mana	Prestige, power, spiritual power, charisma, authority
Manaakitanga	Hospitality, kindness, generosity, support for others
Mana Atua	Sacred spiritual power from the atua
Mana Tangata	Power and status accrued through one's leadership, talents, human's rights, the mana of people
Mana Whenua	Power from the land, authority over land, jurisdiction over land
Manaaki	Hospitality, uplifting one's mana
Māori	Native, indigenous person of Aotearoa, New Zealand
Marae	Gathering place of Māori, to be generous or hospitable
Marae ātea	The courtyard in front of the Wharenui where formal welcomes take place on the Marae.
Mātanga	Experienced, expert, or skilled in a, or several areas. Five Mātanga, each skilled and experienced in education, te reo, rongoā, rangatahi, education and hapū/iwi were chosen here.
Mātauranga	Māori knowledge and ways of knowing. Refer to Chapter 2.
Matauranga-ā-whānau	Knowledge transmission within whānau. Refer to Chapter 2.
Māuiui	Sick, weary, fatigued, sickly, unwell, illness
Mauri	Lifeforce, vitality, special nature, measure of emotion, state of being
Mauri Ora	Happiness, flourishing, wellness, being alive
Mere	Form of weaponry
Mihi, mihimihi	To greet. Pay tribute. Acknowledge. Thank. Speech to start.
Moana	Ocean, sea
Moko	Traditional tattoo
Mokopuna	Grandchild/ren
Mōteatea	To grieve, lament, chant
Ngai	Prefix for a tribal area
Ngākau	The seat of affections, surface emotions
Ngāti Maniapoto	King Country – a geographical area of Aotearoa New Zealand

Ngāwari	To be affable, easy-going, permissive, simple, soft, easy, tolerant
Oriori	Lullaby
Owairaka	A place in the North Island of New Zealand
Pākehā	English, foreign, European, non-Māori
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
Pātai	To ask, question, enquire, cross-examine, provoke, challenge.
Patu	Weapon, club, to strike, hit
Pepeha	Tribal saying or proverb, expressing ancestors, expression of where you are from, information about tribal affiliations, and whakapapa
Pounamu	Greenstone, jade, dark green
Pōwhiri/Pōhiri	Formal welcome, invite, beckon
Pūmanawa	Inherited skills
Puna waihanga	Spring of creativity
Pupuri	To hold, retain, keep hold of grip
Pūrākau	Narrative. Story. Messages of kaupapa and whakapapa. Refer Chapter 2
Rāhui	Prohibitions, conservation
Rangatahi	Youth, younger person.
Rangatira	Chief, leader, one who can lead and gather others
Ranginui	Sky Father
Rongoā	Medicine, healing, traditional Māori treatments, connected to health and wellbeing
Taiao	The environment
Tākoha	To gift, to give
Tangata Māori	Māori person/people
Tangihanga	The funeral process
Taonga	Treasures of importance to Māori. Objects. Resources.
Tapu	Sacred, prohibited, forbidden, holy, under the spiritual protection
Tautoko	To support, prop up, verify, advocate
Te Reo Māori	The Māori language. Often abbreviated to reo or te reo.
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Te Whakakoha Rangatiratanga	Respectful relationships
Tiaki	Guard, keep, look after, care, protect
Tikanga	Protocols and practices. Ways of doing which is underpinned by whakaaro Māori, values, and principles

Tino rangatiratanga	Autonomy, self-determination, self-governing
Tino pou	Great leader, great support, leader, rangatira
Tohu	Message, sign, direction
Tohutohu	To instruct, advise, preserve, conserve
Tuku	Transfer, gift, release
Tūhoe	Tribal group of the Bay of Plenty
Tūhoetanga	The practice of being Tūhoe, living by Tūhoe ways, being of Tūhoe. A Tūhoe identity.
Turangawaewae	A person's originating place of birth, their place of standing. A place to stand.
Wai	Water
Wāhi tapu	A sacred place or sacred site
Waiata	Song, to sing
Wairua	Spirit, spiritual, ā wairua – spiritual form
Waka	Canoe, vehicle, conveyance
Wehi	To be awesome, afraid, fear
Whakaaro	Thought, thinking, consideration, decide
Whakapapa	Genealogy, to layer, lay flat upon one another
Whakapono	Knowledge of what is true, truth
Whakarite Marae	To organise. To arrange the Marae. To get ready the Marae.
Whakanoa	To remove tapu, free things from tapu. *Whakanoa tinana – free the body or mental, physical, spiritual from tapu.*
Whakatau	To decide, settle, prepare, go, and meet, adjudicate, welcome officially, informal welcome.
Whānau	To be born, give birth, family, be connected familiarly
Whanaungatanga	Relationships, kinship, connections within whānau, whānau diversities and whakapapa
Whare Kai	Place of eating at the Marae
Whatumanawa	The unconscious mind, holder of deep emotions
Whenua	Earth, land, ground, placenta
Whare Kai	Place of eating at the Marae
Whare Tupuna	Meeting house, large meeting house at the Marae

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Positionality

I know what kaitiakitanga feels like, looks like, and why it has importance in a Māori context through my Nana's teaching. At birth, Nana gave many of her mokopuna a greenstone necklace, a heitiki for females, a mere for males. When she gave this to us, she called it our 'kaitiaki'. I was in my late teens when others referred to my kaitiaki as greenstone, taonga, or pounamu, to which I would reply, "do you mean my kaitiaki?" At that time, I remember being somewhat confused about the other names. In my era it was not necessarily a normal thing for Māori to walk around wearing greenstone unless you were at a tangihanga, a large event, kapahaka or you were someone very important.

Greenstone, or kaitiaki as Nana taught us, is a relation to Papatūānuku, the earth. It connects to various deities and holds great spiritual importance to Māori people. Greenstone signifies mana as well as peace and can be used as both a spiritual adornment and carved into weapons. A 'kaitiaki' is purposefully placed on us, in our whānau, as a living thing, *something living* and personified, that takes care of us, protects us, guides us, and nurtures our spirit and energy or mauri. Whenever our spirit, energy, or health is low, our Nana encouraged us to hold onto our kaitiaki and ask for its assistance as well as utilise karakia as part of the process. However, the kaitiaki does this protective work without us asking for it, as it is intimately connected to us through mauri. Our kaitiaki is inherently linked to health, protection, and wellbeing spiritually, psychologically, emotionally, and physically.

The gifting of greenstone is a clear example of the practice of kaitiakitanga from our Nana to us, and it shows that our kaitiaki has a connection to the wider universe in terms of what exists outside of the realm of being human, like the spiritual and physical environs. Talking about greenstone as a kaitiaki and protector is normal in te ao Māori as expressed by Sir Mason Durie:

> *In an indigenous world, objects that appear to be inanimate are not regarded as lifeless or static since they also possess an identity of their own and are part of a wider network (Durie, 2018, p. 243).*

My understanding and experience of kaitiakitanga from a whānau perspective provided part of the rationale for choosing this kaupapa. How other people describe and utilise kaitiakitanga interests me also which includes the way it is being thought about in my profession of social work. My puku (instinct) has directed me to this kaupapa because I have felt that in its contemporary use in my profession of social work, components were missing, like the connection Māori have to whenua and the spiritual realm. In essence, what was missing in my view was how Māori

experience, express and understand kaitiakitanga through whakaaro, tikanga, and mātauranga Māori.

My position as a Māori woman in education drove this research too. I am cognisant of what Pihama (2019) suggests may occur with Māori academics who become a private individual commodity, producing a privatised individual who seeks self-gain and does not contribute to the wider agenda of collective wellbeing. I am in a position, as a Māori academic, and as a woman from Waikato Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa ki Wharepuhunga, and Ngāti Rereahu to contribute to the conversation about kaitiakitanga and it is an obligation and responsibility of all Māori in positions such as mine to ensure Māori knowledge is treated well within all contexts. In this way, I involve my whānau and other whānau Māori to contribute to this study. Māori from different fields of practice were invited to contribute to this research who brought with them their whakapapa, their mātauranga, their whānau, and their collective whakaaro which have strongly contributed to the kōrero regarding kaitiakitanga.

Lastly, my connection to my whakapapa and whenua in the Maniapoto, Maniaiti, region has instilled in me a strong sense of belonging and identity. I have walked on my whenua since I could, as did my mother, her parents, and so on. I know that it is an honour to still have whenua, largely because it was never stolen by the government and because we believe that our whenua should never, under any circumstances, be sold. The journey toward discovering and learning more about kaitiakitanga comes from being connected to whakapapa and whenua, and a strong sense of obligation and responsibility to protect us and protect our knowledge from misuse.

Context

Forster (2012) emphasised that in the Māori-State space, Māori must be ensured the right to actively participate in our world and to practice kaitiakitanga as defined from a customary context. Forster (2012) maintained that more work needed to be done to build on the practitioner's voice (or what she referred to as active kaitiaki) by documenting the kaitiakitanga practices in environmental, sustainability, and legislative spaces. This thesis does not engage with the legislative processes of kaitiakitanga, it also does not linger on the literature in an environmental space. This should be kept at the forefront when reading this thesis. Rather, this thesis engages and explores the practitioner voice of kaitiakitanga within contexts such as whānau, hapū, and iwi, engaging the human realm, or the social sphere as highlighted by Kawharu (2000) below.

> *Kaitiakitanga is a body of lore maintained by sanctions and by careful observation of appropriate rituals so that relationships, not only between the group and the environment but also within the kin group, are regulated. For this reason alone, kaitiakitanga cannot be*

interpreted as simply an ethic whose relevance is found only in relation to the bio-physical environment. Put another way, kaitiakitanga philosophies concern sustainability principles in environmental and social spheres. (p. 352)

Further to this, it is important to acknowledge that kaitiakitanga is grounded in Aotearoa and as such, this thesis, both in terms of the literature and the sharing by kaikōrero, is focused on Māori understandings. Therefore, there is limited use of wider international indigenous literature.

Across the kaitiakitanga literature that I have canvassed, further research is needed specifically about how Māori experience, express and understand kaitiakitanga related to social spheres or as I am languaging it within this thesis, the human realm. How kaitiakitanga is understood, expressed, and experienced within hapū and iwi and in the context of the environment and resource management is more prevalent (Baker, 2019; Forster, 2012b; Hutchings, Smith, Taura, Harmsworth, & Awatere, 2020; Ruru, Stephenson, & Abbot, 2011; Selby, Moore, & Mulholland, 2010a; Te Aho, 2011; Walker, 2016). I am interested in how we, as Māori, experience, express, and understand kaitiakitanga, and what tikanga, whakaaro, and mātauranga underpins this. More expansion on my pātai (research questions) and overarching aims, and objectives are located in Chapter 2. Because my study did not specifically focus on the environment, I was able to elicit layers of understanding within the human realm that add further contributions to the kaitiakitanga discourse. These understandings spread across areas such as whānau, taiao, taonga tuku iho and tino rangatiratanga.

Since colonisation began in Aotearoa, various aspects of the Māori language have been integrated into the wider Aotearoa vernacular. Over time, their meanings have shifted to reflect their continued use from a non-Māori worldview, and arguably a Māori worldview. The word 'whānau' for example, is translated in dominant discourse as "family", however, for Māori, whānau has a much deeper understanding. Whānau relates to birth, being born, a sense of spiritual connection, connection to land, obligations to others, and close familial relationships, as well as there, are varied whānau diversities (Durie, 2001; Mead, 2003) which extend to practices such as whāngai. Whānau, like many Māori concepts, has multiple meanings. To reduce whānau to a western domestic notion of 'family' or the idea of a nuclear family does not align with Māori ways of being or whakaaro.

In social work, Whānau Hui drawn from mātauranga Māori (Department of Social Welfare, 1988), later restructured as Family Groups Conferences (FGCs), is another example of a kaupapa Māori concept that was changed and became divorced from its original intent whilst continuing to be utilised for whānau Māori (Moyle, 2013). While it has been argued that it is important in one way to promote the wider use of the Māori language and frameworks that incorporate te ao Māori, it is also important that the underlying meanings continue to reflect the lived experiences and

thinking of Māori. Māori thinking and experiences have been at the forefront of my analysis for this study as has the utilisation of our frameworks and knowledge.

Translation of parts of the Māori language in isolation to tikanga, whakaaro and kaupapa creates issues when that meaning becomes "debased and divorced from its traditional cultural setting so that its proper functioning is impaired" (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995, p. 77). Kaitiakitanga in a dominant discourse is being translated to mean guardianship or stewardship (Ministry for the Environment, 1991), however, the literature shows that it has multiple meanings and understandings which stretch across the metaphysical, physical and human realms (Forster, 2012a, 2019; Kawharu, 2000; Selby, Moore, & Mulholland, 2010b). As Māori knowledge is becoming more visible in parts of Aotearoa, in my profession of social work, and other government departments, it is important to continue to provide meanings and understandings from Māori ourselves.

As noted previously, I also have a particular interest in how kaitiakitanga is understood outside of Māori contexts or kaupapa, and in particular how my profession of social work understands kaitiakitanga. The Social Workers Registration Board (SWRB), a Crown entity, has published a kaitiakitanga framework for competence to work with Māori in Aotearoa, New Zealand (NZ) (Social Workers Registration Board., 2019). The framework was developed by the SWRB and involved contributions from the Tangata Whenua Voices in Social Work (TWVSW). The TWVSW is a group that is committed to the assertion of rangatiratanga and supporting Māori practitioners and the group was developed to ensure a Māori voice was incorporated into social work in Aotearoa. The kaitiakitanga framework developed by the SWRB and TWVSW defines kaitiakitanga as the taking care of, protecting, and safeguarding of space, integrity, respectfulness, and wellbeing. The SWRB states that the kaitiakitanga framework will apply to new social work graduates entering the profession, existing social workers without competency to work with Māori, those who have qualifications outside of the profession and social workers seeking recertification. The utilisation of the philosophy of kaitiakitanga, by who and for who is a discussion that is engaged in this thesis.

This thesis extends on the literature regarding the three realms of kaitiakitanga and adds further tikanga and mātauranga. It contributes to the kaitiakitanga discourse regarding whānau, taiao, taonga tuku iho and tino rangatiratanga. Māori experiences, expressions, and understandings of kaitiakitanga within the human realm is the key focus of this study and this is explored throughout the entire thesis. What is clear is that in a contemporary context people consider kaitiakitanga as being present in the human realm and as such this thesis has investigated how that occurs and the tikanga, whakaaro and mātauranga inherent. The use of kaitiakitanga, by who and in what contexts has been a key focus highlighted by the kaikōrero. This thesis expands

on the discussions of kaitiakitanga through te tuakiritanga, whānau and kaitiaki roles each of which were highlighted by kaikōrero. The study emphasises that the three realms of kaitiakitanga are an inseparable part of its understanding and practice and that, when situated outside of kaupapa Māori, kaitiakitanga becomes divorced from its traditional understanding and its underpinning elements, and therefore loses integrity.

This study affirms kaitiakitanga as an environmental ethic and adds that it is underpinned by Kaupapa Māori whereby whakapapa is a pre-cursor and kaitiakitanga is led, defined, experienced, and practiced by Māori. Nine chapters are presented within this thesis, and I now provide an overview of each of these chapters.

Thesis Organisation

This section provides an overview of the thesis structure. The thesis is spread across nine chapters. The second chapter concentrates on the methodology, questions, aims and objectives and the methods employed in this study. The third and fourth chapters lay the foundation of kaitiakitanga and present a literature review of the three realms of kaitiakitanga, the metaphysical, physical, and human realms. Chapter's 5-8, referred to throughout as substantive chapters, provide analysis of what has been shared by the kaikōrero. The final chapter draws together the conclusions, findings, constraints and limitations, further research, and reflections of this study.

The methodology, research questions, aims and objectives, and the methods that inform this research are outlined in Chapter 2. This chapter outlines the methodology, Kaupapa Māori Theory, and its principles, which affirm Māori ways of knowing and being. This research required a decolonising approach that was self-determined, acknowledges collective knowing, mobilised Māori knowledge and which sought transformational and positive outcomes. The methods for this research are also outlined. Āta has been used to frame the methods for this research which includes: Āta Haere - the process of ethics and ethical behaviour, Āta Whakarite - the selection of kaikōrero, Āta Hui- the process of gathering to kōrero, and Āta Whakaaro – the process of reflection. The development of a kaupapa Māori process for analysis provides a key contribution to methods within this chapter.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature concerning the foundation of kaitiakitanga, from a traditional understanding to how it is being expressed today. Whakapapa begins the chapter as a key understanding which underpins kaitiakitanga as a philosophy. The literature concerning the metaphysical and physical realms are then reviewed. The metaphysical section includes an analysis of 'kaitiaki' and overviews kaitiakitanga elements such as wairua, mana, tapu, tohu and

mauri ora. The physical realm is reviewed in the last section and focuses on iwi and hapū experiences of engaging kaitiakitanga as an environmental ethic and then moves to discuss whenua understandings and tikanga elements such as raupatu, tuku, rāhui and whenua and pito.

Not all writers agree that kaitiakitanga occurs between people, with some saying that it occurs from humans outward into the universe and back (Marsden & Henare, 1992) and others saying very clearly that kaitiaki are not human (Che's Channel Te Paepae Waho, 2020; Gloyne, Papa, Maataamua, & Wilson, 2020; Roberts et al., 1995). Chapter 4 considers the human realm of kaitiakitanga and outlines how kaitiakitanga is defined and experienced in a customary and contemporary way between and by people. The literature regarding the use of kaitiakitanga between and by people is examined through mōteatea, whakataukī, as well as representations of kaitiakitanga in other contexts such as tourism, health, and social work. Māori frameworks of kaitiakitanga as well as the SWRB Kaitiakitanga framework are analysed.

The discussions from kaikōrero regarding key members of the whānau who engage in kaitiakitanga practices and what roles they hold is presented in this first substantive data chapter, Chapter 5. In the first theme, kaikōrero identified kuia or grandmothers as key knowledge holders of mātauranga and tikanga across several different contexts. The second theme illustrates the importance of whānau roles. Kaikōrero discussed roles within whānau specific to kaitiakitanga alongside characteristics, principles, and values of that role.

Chapter 6, Taiao, affirms that Māori relationships with taiao are fundamental to how kaitiakitanga is understood and experienced and this is expressed through mediums such as pūrākau, whakataukī and intergenerational knowledge and practice transmission. The first theme outlines kaikōrero conversations regarding tikanga that underpins their relationships with taiao. This moved to the kaikōrero discussion of the whenua (afterbirth) and pito (umbilical cord) of children and their understanding of this as it relates to taiao. The second theme outlines the importance of taiao to mauri ora. The kaikōrero discussed how being on land, by their respective waterways or mountains, or being able to access their own cultural resource, brought them balance, connection, and wellness.

Discussion regarding taonga tuku iho is presented in Chapter 7. This chapter engages key conversations about whether Māori regard kaitiaki as human or as something spiritual and external to humans. Kaikōrero discussed kaitiaki as being manu, tūpuna and spiritual beings or guides. The emotions and feelings that are experienced and expressed when engaged in kaitiakitanga are also shared by kaikōrero in this chapter. Feelings and emotions are experienced when connected to kaitiakitanga, and the kaikōrero offer te reo Māori descriptors and explanations of these experiences. Te Tuakiritanga is highlighted by the kaikōrero which

essentially includes emotions, feelings and the spiritual essence felt through a Māori lens when considering kaitiakitanga and kaitiaki. Finally, many kaikōrero throughout the hui utilised te reo Māori to fully represent their understandings of kaitiakitanga. Throughout this theme, several descriptors were offered by the kaikōrero and expansion on their understanding of kaitiakitanga.

The impact of colonisation and the assertion of tino rangatiratanga regarding kaitiakitanga is outlined in Chapter 8. The first theme outlines the impact of colonisation on kaitiakitanga and on Māori more broadly. The kaikōrero discussed how colonisation has impacted identity, language, trust, tikanga and mātauranga. Many stated that because of these disconnects, philosophies such as kaitiakitanga have become debased from traditional knowledge, that engagement in non-Māori contexts is about responsiveness, and that there is constant tension with defining. The second theme, the assertion of tino rangatiratanga, presents kaikōrero conversations regarding the need for Māori to control our understandings. The kaikōrero identify what has been a growing assertion in Aotearoa, and a well-known articulation of tino rangatiratanga, that Māori frameworks are led by, written by, governed by, defined by, practiced by designed by and experienced by Māori.

Chapter 9 concludes the research and provides a discussion on each of the findings as they relate to the substantive chapters and literature. This chapter aims to present the main findings of this study concerning whānau, taiao, taonga tuku iho, tino rangatiratanga and the implications for social work. This chapter provides further clarity on the clear and accurate use of kaitiakitanga and ends by summarising the key findings, the constraints and limitations of the research and further research opportunities. After writing my final reflections, a karakia closes the writing of this thesis. Having provided the overview of the thesis and the chapter structure, I now move to discuss the methodological approach to this thesis which is grounded in Kaupapa Māori Theory and its principles.

Chapter 2: Kaupapa Rangahau – Methodology

Kaitiakitanga is not an obligation which we choose to adopt or to ignore; it is an inherited commitment that links mana atua, mana tangata and mana whenua, the spiritual realm with the human world and both of those with the earth and all that is on it (Selby et al., 2010a, p. 11).

Introduction

The opening quote by Selby et al. (2010) describes kaitiakitanga as an inherited part of us as people which indicates our responsibility to take care of all that is seen and unseen within the world. Selby et al. (2010) note three realms that are crucial to understanding kaitiakitanga: mana atua, mana tangata and mana whenua, which link to the spiritual, human, and physical realms. Māori wellbeing is inextricably linked to the physical and metaphysical environments. When the balance of these three realm is affected, so is our health (Kawharu, 2000; Mutu, 2010). Kaitiakitanga is the practice, by Māori, of addressing and taking responsibility for everything that exists between Ranginui (Sky) and Papatūānuku (Earth).   Sadly, this practice is often thwarted by Government, local and regional councils, treaty breaches, institutional and systemic racism (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Selby et al., 2010a; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 291), 2019).

Since the arrival of Pākehā in Aotearoa, colonisation and assimilative tools have caused damage to the equilibrium of the physical, human, and metaphysical realms. Research shows that this has affected our spirit, health, connection, identity, language, education, and relationship to whenua (Durie, 1998, 2001; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 291), 2019; Walker, 1990).   This destructive behaviour in an Aotearoa context has been an important consideration in choosing the methodology for this research.   This research required a decolonising approach that was self-determined, acknowledges collective knowing, mobilised Māori knowledge and which sought transformational and positive outcomes for Māori. At the centre of this study, is the understanding that my work should contribute back to Māori and build upon cultural systems and values.

Like Burgess, Cormack, and Reid (2021), I believe we should not use theorists in our work as Māori, that have sought to oppress us and other Indigenous peoples on any level unless to analyse, critique, contrast or they are ally theorists. Paulo Freire (Freire, 1993) and Antonio Gramsci (Gramsci, Bordiga, Tasca, & Hoare, 1977) for example have often been used by Māori in line with their thoughts on oppression, marginalisation, education, hegemony, war of position and war of manoeuvre (Freire, 1993; Gramsci et al., 1977; Smith, 1997).   Western theories can critique

western theories, but in my view, they are inadequate to help answer the questions related to kaitiakitanga posed in this research.

This chapter presents the methodology which includes the research questions, aims and objectives, research design and methods used in this study. The chosen methodology is Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) which affirms and validates Māori ways of knowing and being. Kaupapa Māori theory is outlined and defined in the first section alongside its principles which frame this research. Section Two outlines the research questions, aims and objectives. The methods are presented in the third section. Āta has been utilised to frame the methods for this study. The process of ethics, behaviour, selection of kaikōrero, the process of gathering information, analysis and reflection is outlined in detail in section three.

Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT)

Kaupapa Māori as theory and praxis was the title of a PhD thesis written by Graham Hingangaroa Smith in 1999. His ideas regarding KMT grew from relationships forged during a period of tension and challenge within the educational context in Aotearoa (Smith, 2020). A key reason KMT was designed was as a means by which to theorise from a Māori perspective. Education was a particular site of struggle noted by Smith (1997), who drew attention to the operation of subtle controls with underpinning values, norms and beliefs based on dominant cultural interests, which continue to oppress and deny Māori in educational spaces. Kaupapa Māori Theory emerged from the direct challenge by Māori to the mainstream Pākehā education system and the assimilation policies and approaches upon which it is based (Smith, 1997). The development of colonial schooling and education systems in Aotearoa for example have been central to the marginalisation of Māori language, culture and knowledge systems (Simon, 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). A key component of those assimilative approaches was a deliberate process of individualisation within education to align with wider colonial systems that privileged a nuclear family construct over the collective relationships that were embedded within Māori societal structures of whānau, hapū and iwi (Pihama & Cameron, 2012). Through the tools of colonisation, Māori were also "systematically alienated from their homelands and livelihoods" (O'Regan, 2006, p. 157; Royal-Tangaere, 1997) which further affected Māori ability to practice, experience and live as Māori (Durie, 2001). The impact of this on whānau and mātauranga-ā-whānau (intergenerational knowledge and practice transmission within whānau) [1] (Lipsham, 2020;

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[1] As part of the PhD journey- published peer-reviewed article (Appendix 6): Lipsham, M. J. H. (2020). Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: Constructing a methodological approach centred on whanau pūrakau. *Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work, 32*(3), 17.

Pihama, Lipsham, Simmonds, & Johnson-Jennings, 2021) has been significant and for many whānau highly destructive (Durie, 2001).

A significant shift came in the 1980s through the language and cultural revitalization movements that were established as a part of Kaupapa Māori approaches. Kaupapa Māori educational initiatives have been instrumental in both the challenging of dominant schooling systems and in the articulation of Kaupapa Māori theory and practice (Smith, 2003). Māori have clearly defined spaces and pedagogical approaches to learning and teaching with multiple sites, both formal and informal (Hohepa, 1999; Lee, 2015; Nepe, 1991; Pere, 1994; Royal-Tangaere, 1997). More specifically, Kaupapa Māori educational sites such as Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori language nest), Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori immersion schooling), Whare Kura (Māori immersion secondary schooling) and Whare Wānanga (Māori higher education organisations) have been central to the implementation within the education sector of a Māori led response to the erosion of Māori language, knowledge, and culture (Hohepa, 1990; Royal-Tangaere, 1997; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999).

Kaupapa Māori Theory provides a platform whereby the researcher who is Māori, works with Māori and on behalf of Māori to effect transformation, promote tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake (Pihama, 2010; Smith, 1997). If the research is not being carried out for enhancement, transformation and the promotion of tino rangatiratanga of whānau, hapū and Iwi, then it does not fit the context of KMT (Pihama, 2011). Promoting tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake means honouring Māori and applying Māori ways of knowing and being. In this way, KMT is not just about our beliefs or knowledge, but a way to process, critically analyse, organise, and frame research, structures, and systems.

In terms of this critical engagement, Smith (1997) proposes several tests of the veracity of a Kaupapa Māori approach which includes: positionality, criticality, structuralist and culturalist levels of analysis, praxicality and transformability. Positionality relates to several questions which consider purpose, reason, and integrity within kaupapa. For example, why one speaks, where the speaker is located, level of experience, connection to topic and audience, whose interests are served. Criticality relates to one's understanding of critical contexts which includes knowledge regarding history, power, theory, language, equity, colonisation, and indigenous communities. Structuralist and culturalist considerations involve research needed to understand human agency as well as systems and structural impediments that constrain Māori culturally, socially, and economically. Praxicality involves the researcher's ability to be in a continuous cycle of reflective practice which then leads to action, testing and negotiating theory and practice. Transformability concerns the researcher's intention toward positive changes for Māori as a result of the research. The importance of transformability for a researcher is to recognise and

move beyond reproducing the status quo whereby it is no longer about describing pathology but enacting meaningful outcomes (Smith, 2021).

The principles or elements of KMT as proposed by Smith (1997) have provided signposts for me to organise ideas, views and experiences in a way that is consistent and carries cultural integrity. The principles of KMT are: tino rangatiratanga, taonga tuku iho, ako Māori, kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga, whānau, Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi) and kaupapa. Kaupapa Māori Theory and its principles have been expanded on by others including Leonie Pihama (2001) with Mana Wahine, Jenny Lee-Morgan (2015) with Pūrākau and Taina Pohatu (2004a) with Āta. The theory is constantly evolving and has multiple expressions. Each of the principles is underpinned by theory and have been derived from active Māori participation (Smith, 1997). The principles of KMT are now explained as they relate to this research.

Principles of Kaupapa Māori Theory

Tino Rangatiratanga - The Principle of Self-determination

Tino Rangatiratanga relates to sovereignty, autonomy, control, self-determination, and independence. The notion of Tino Rangatiratanga asserts and reinforces the goal of Kaupapa Māori initiatives, which is to allow Māori to control our own culture, aspirations and destiny (Pihama et al., 2020). The term 'rangatira', is commonly known to refer to someone who has chiefly status. Another way of looking at rangatira is to separate 'ranga' and 'tira', and this then becomes a notion regarding being able to gather a group. It is considered that when one can gather groups together for a specific purpose and in the right way, it shows leadership – and therefore the collective decides who has nobleness and chiefly status. The point here is that tino rangatiratanga in its varying understandings refers to us (Māori) as a collective.

Tino rangatiratanga should not be considered as an individual notion because the word 'self' is attached to its English translation. The self refers to Māori or Māori self-determination. Tino Rangatiratanga is not an individualistic term, but a collective one. In this way, I argue that tino rangatiratanga should not be translated as self-determination unless the word 'Māori' is its precursor. This is extremely important for non-Māori to consider, as tino rangatiratanga is often misrepresented and referred to as the determination, autonomy, and control of one person which is not then extended on about or considering the Māori collective. Tino Rangatiratanga is the authority that Māori have to exercise and assert kaitiakitanga and it is explained in the literature as going hand in hand (Forster, 2012a; Hutchings et al., 2020; Kawharu, 1998).

Tino Rangatiratanga has been applied within this research by inviting only Māori to participate and through choosing a kaupapa that is Māori. Inviting only Māori to participate in this research

means that the research is defined and controlled by Māori and only our views are privileged and given priority. This reinforces tino rangatiratanga in that Māori definitions, explanations and experiences can only be sought through our collective lens. For Māori by Māori is a tino rangatiratanga statement that has been central to the processes I have carried out in this research (Irwin, 1992).

Choosing a doctoral kaupapa that is Māori is the application of tino rangatiratanga. Choosing to concentrate on kaitiakitanga has been a deliberate decision to contribute to our people. Multiple contexts were canvassed to research kaitiakitanga which included mātauranga Māori, education, rongoā, rangatahi, social work and whānau. The areas canvassed align to the idea of multiple expressions (there is more than one understanding) whereby Māori understandings cross into different contexts such whānau, hapū and Iwi, but also contexts such as Māori within universities or other organisations (Pihama, 2001).

The incorporation of tino rangatiratanga as a principal philosophy within this research requires me to challenge structures and systems that oppress Māori. Tino rangatiratanga is the process of asserting Māori self-determination, authority, and control, and identifying the issues that bind and block our progress. This is discussed in Chapter 8 where the kaikōrero contributed their thoughts on colonisation and its impacts, but also what can help alleviate these impacts.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi, The Treaty of Waitangi (1840)

Throughout this thesis, there will be reference to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi) and the Waitangi Tribunal. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is regarded as New Zealand's founding document whereby it gave the British Crown and other people of the world, the right to live on these lands of Aotearoa. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is recognised in Aotearoa as being agreed to on 6th February 1840 at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands, Aotearoa, as an agreement between the British Crown and representatives of hapū and iwi Māori. It was an exchange of promises between these parties to 'treat' with one another regarding settlement, law and land in part (Orange, 1987). Te Tiriti o Waitangi is in two languages, te reo Māori and English. It is a strongly contested and challenged document today because the promises laid down within it were not upheld by the British Crown and many would argue every successive government since (Jackson, 1987, 1989, 2015; Jackson & Project Waitangi (N.Z.), 1989; Walker, 2004).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi was entered into because at that time, Māori believed Britain needed to control the lawlessness of its citizens and Britain was concerned about land purchases between its British subjects and other Europeans such as the French and Americans (Orange, 1987). For Māori, the benefits included trade relationships, the promise that Britain would take care of its citizens and that Māori retained their absolute sovereignty, or tino rangatiratanga, over its lands

and all taonga (Walker, 2004). Te Tiriti o Waitangi was the initial agreement by which Britain became established here in Aotearoa.

Since Britain established authority here, concreted by the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852, successive Governments have sought to alienate Māori from their lands (Walker, 2004). Essentially, over time, successive Governments, through the powerful tools of imperialism and colonialism, have stolen land, water and resources from Māori through conquest, war, legislation, systemic racism, education, assimilative policies and laws, acculturation and religion (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Mikaere, 2003; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Pihama, 2019; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 143), 2013; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 291), 2019; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 788) (Wai 800), 2013). For years Māori have suffered at the hands of colonial governments which has resulted in historical trauma and inequitable disparities across all sectors of society including health (Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2575), 2019), education (Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999), economics (Bargh, 2007), justice and corrections (Jackson, 1987).

In 1975, the Waitangi Tribunal was established to inquire into and address breaches by the Crown about Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Initially, these claims could only be brought to the Tribunal from 1975 onwards. However, this was later extended to include claims back to the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 because it was directly following this event that much of the damage and theft of land, in particular, occurred (Walker, 2004). While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to engage the many different debates regarding Te Tiriti o Waitangi, it is necessary to indicate that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is considered central to how Māori view a relationship with the Crown (Orange, 1987). It also affirms whānau, hapū, and iwi as tāngata whenua, and guarantees the maintenance of fundamental rights such as tino rangatiratanga and taonga. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a document that affirms not only Māori as tāngata whenua but also defines the basis for Māori - Pākehā relations. It is specified here in the methodology because it is highlighted in the literature chapters and is crucial to the kaitiakitanga discourse. Kawharu (1998) for example identifies Te Tiriti o Waitangi claims as part of the reason that kaitiakitanga became a necessary tool to define Māori relationships in an environmental context in particular. Regarding kaitiakitanga, every Waitangi Tribunal Claim has investigated and addressed the metaphysical, physical, and human realms in some way, shape or form. It has been the only outlet for Māori to speak back to grievances, racism, systemic and structural violence and many other forms of oppression and marginalisation (New Zealand Government, 2021).

Taonga Tuku Iho - The Principle of Cultural Aspiration

The principle of Taonga Tuku Iho asserts the centrality and legitimacy of te reo, tīkanga and mātauranga (Pihama et al., 2020) or language, culture and knowledge. Taonga means treasures or gifts, taonga tuku iho means, bequeathed treasures (Marsden & Royal, 2003). Taonga Tuku Iho is a process whereby knowledge, language and taonga are passed through sequenced levels, not necessarily linear, as part of its bequeathment, with a purposeful destination and reason. This knowledge can arrive by way of the living, ancestors, whakapapa, and atua. The transmission of knowledge by our ancestors, for example, can arrive through moemoea (dreaming), tohu (signs) and meditative states such as karakia, pure (rites) and wānanga. This knowledge is deliberately, purposefully, and consciously passed through to us. On its arrival to us, intergenerational knowledge transmission is required to ensure its survival and maintenance (Pere, 1994).

Marsden and Royal (2003) further write that taonga are the foundation of our identity, self-esteem, and dignity and that it is in these things that we find our sense of psychological identity. Taonga are so important to Māori that they have been a contested part of Te Tiriti o Waitangi where it is quoted as "me o rātou taonga katoa" (Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011). Taonga is defined in Te Tiriti o Waitangi as everything tangible and intangible. Māori asserted tino rangatiratanga over everything considered taonga which included in part: te reo, tikanga, mātauranga, whenua (land), all that is seen and unseen, flora, fauna and water (Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011). Asserting tino rangatiratanga regarding taonga is not about ownership or asset building, but about the need to be cared for and protected for the overall wellbeing of the earth and people. The principle, Taonga Tuku Iho asserts that te reo, tikanga and mātauranga are key taonga when engaging in research regarding Māori. These three areas are now expanded upon below in terms of how they are applied in this research.

Te Reo – The Māori language

Colonisation, assimilation, and racism by successive governments in Aotearoa since the 1800s has seen every aspect of te ao Māori (the Māori world) affected, including Te Reo Māori (Coxon, 1994; Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Jackson, 1987; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 291), 2019). The Waitangi Tribunal recognised in 1986 that the Māori language is a taonga under Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi and since this time, Māori have implemented strategies to reflect this and work towards te reo being accessible and recognised in systems and structures (Higgins & Rewi, 2014). Two such strategies included the Rautaki Reo Māori (Māori Language Strategy) 2003 and its 2011 Review, Te Reo Mauriora, and, the Waitangi Tribunal 262 Claim (the report from this claim was named 'Ko Aotearoa Tēnei'). These reports and strategies "evaluate and critique the Crown's performance regarding the current state of

health of te reo Māori" and the need for Māori communities to exercise tino rangatiratanga concerning the revitalisation of te reo Māori and the part the Crown needed to play (Stephens, 2014, p. 54). As explained earlier, Māori educational learning sites have also played a significant role in the revitalisation of mātauranga Māori and te reo Māori alike.

Pere (1994) and Marsden (2011) contend that only Māori can adequately reflect Māori thought as Pere (1997, p. 99) states "Language is the life-line and sustenance of a culture … Language is not only a form of communication, but it helps transmit the values and beliefs of a people". This has been a crucial consideration when researching kaitiakitanga. There is also a discussion about the need to protect our indigenous culture from over-commodification so that the use and application of te reo Māori and Māori culture does not risk becoming transactional (Durie, 2019). This thinking has been at the forefront for me in terms of the use of te reo Māori within this research, and the use of te reo by non-Māori. Te Reo Māori is considered a taonga and is therefore essential to our physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual wellbeing and is critical to the experience of being Māori. Te reo 'has been created and moulded to express our feelings and sentiments and no other medium of speech can take its place' (Te Rangihiroa as cited in Sorrenson, 1986, p. 182).

Each part of this research journey affirmed te reo Māori from preparing for the PhD journey to writing the thesis, conducting the hui, engaging te reo speaking whānau members as hoa-haere (considered and constant companions) and ensuring the transcriber was a te reo Māori speaker. I completed two years of te reo courses (including total immersion reo) so that the whānau that I engaged with could if they preferred, speak in te reo during the hui. This commitment was central for me and central to the application of Taonga Tuku Iho as a principle.

Tikanga

Tikanga is defined by Durie as guides to moral behaviour which are usually "determined by a process of consensus, reached over time and based both on tribal precedent and the exigencies of the moment" (1998, p. 23). In relation to mātauranga and tikanga, Mead (2003) advises that tikanga is a system that considers ethics, morals, the correct ways of behaving and it has processes for correcting and compensating for bad behaviours. It is a means of social control which is firmly embedded in every situation of life itself, reaching into many different spaces, pervading whatever we do with tentacles reaching far and wide and that it is the practice of mātauranga.

> *Tikanga Māori cannot be understood without making use of Mātauranga Māori. All tikanga Māori are firmly embedded in mātauranga, which can be seen as Māori philosophy as well as Māori knowledge. Whilst mātauranga Māori might be carried in the minds, tikanga Māori puts that knowledge into practice and adds the aspects of correctness and ritual*

support. Tikanga Māori then can be described as Māori philosophy in practice as it is the practical face of Māori knowledge. (Mead, 2003, p. 77)

Tikanga is therefore the practice, underpinned by Mātauranga that has been developed over generations dating back to Polynesia and trans-Pacific migrations, to primeval parents and ultimately to the beginning – or Te Timatanga – with Io Matua the supreme-being. These tikanga guide Māori and help steer any kaupapa in any context. Both tikanga and mātauranga are also linked to the past in terms of relationships with ancestors and their wisdom. Mead (2003) writes that there are many conceptual regulators of tikanga which include whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga, aroha, mana tūpuna, tapu, wairua and utu. Many of these regulators are highlighted throughout the thesis. Throughout the thesis, the reader will note that I have utilised the kupu 'tikanga' as well as the notion of tikanga regulators. Tikanga within this thesis relates mostly to practices that are underpinned by mātauranga and 'regulators' relate to how one would engage with the tikanga (though regulators may also be a standalone tikanga, in which case I have named what I mean) (Mead, 2003). For example, aroha underpins the tikanga of whanaungatanga and acts as a regulator in that context.

The application of tikanga, or behaviour that is consistent with doing things in the right way, has been a pivotal part of this research process. For example, kaitiakitanga was chosen only after speaking with my whānau and seeking permission from my kaumātua (Nana). Their input and involvement were a crucial part of this doctoral journey and so permissions were sought as that is considered tikanga from a Māori lens. The conceptual regulators as proposed by Mead (2003) have been incorporated throughout the research process in terms of respecting the space, the kaikōrero homes, different environments, and locations. The methods section provides further expansion on tikanga that were engaged in this study in terms of the behavioural and ethical strategies employed in relationships and kaupapa.

Mātauranga

Māori identity extends beyond human and terrestrial spheres to embrace wider environments that are distant in time, in space and understanding (Durie, 2001). Across all these spheres, tikanga and mātauranga are central foci that are expressed, experienced, and understood in a variety of different ways within whānau, hapū and Iwi. Mātauranga and tikanga are passed through intergenerational knowledge transmission in ways such as kōrero, whakairo, pūrākau, raranga, pepeha, waiata, mōteatea and other oral, written, and artistic works as well as modelled practices. Kaikōrero within this study provided mātauranga from their own contexts, whānau, hapū and iwi regarding kaitiakitanga. The mātauranga gathered within this study from the kaikōrero aligns with the many definitions and contexts of mātauranga provided below.

Mātauranga Māori is embodied knowledge, understanding, wisdom and practices that are distinctive to Māori (Mead, 2003; Nepe, 1991; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999). Against a backdrop of colonisation, assimilation, hegemony, and imperialism, mātauranga Māori has been progressed by each upcoming generation and has survived regardless albeit arguably in different forms (Hokowhitu, 2004; Lee-Morgan et al., 2019; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Pihama, 2019; Smith, 1999; Walker, 2004) as noted by the Waitangi Tribunal (2011):

> *The State damaged Mātauranga Māori and its traditional system of transmission and it did so intentionally. That was the objective of government education policy for a significant period (Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011, p. 559)*

Mātauranga Māori was a common term used in schools in the 1950s and in that context, it meant 'schooling' or 'education' (Mead, 2017). Mead (2017) notes, however, that 'mātauranga' was not thought about or worth inclusion in the 1957 version of the Williams Māori Dictionary. Pere (1994) adds that mātauranga was a word chosen by the then Department of Education to depict and interpret education and that for Māori it can mean, 'to know something, to learn and acquire skills, to be acquainted with, to have some understanding, or to be certain of' (p. 73).

It is argued that the term mātauranga came into favour during the 1980s (Smith, 1986). Other terms, which included, taha Māori, Māoritanga, te ao Māori and Tikanga Māori, were more commonly used before mātauranga when discussing a Māori worldview, perspective, philosophy, dimension or ideology (Smith, 1986). Regardless of its form throughout the years, today mātauranga Māori is the term utilised to describe Māori knowledge and theory and it is normally coined with its hoa-haere, Tikanga Māori as noted in the previous section (Mead, 2003). Mātauranga is not set in stone, it grows and develops and needs to have flexibility, but whakapapa and being Māori are key to its direction. Mātauranga is not seen as something that is static or isolated but is open-ended and with no definitive boundaries (Pere, 1994). Each generation includes and excludes, grows, enhances, and names as required, dependent on the context and the different challenges inherent (Mead, 2003; Winiata, 2020).

Winiata (2020) emphasises that mātauranga Māori is "a body of knowledge that seeks to explain phenomena by drawing upon concepts handed down from one generation of Māori to another" (p. 1) and is a process of intergenerational transmission that contributes to both the maintenance and growth of mātauranga Māori:

> *Accordingly, mātauranga Māori has no beginning and has no end. It is constantly being enhanced and refined. Each passing generation of Māori make their own contribution to mātauranga Māori. The theory or collection of theories, with associated values and practices, has accumulated mai i te ao Māori/from Māori beginnings and will continue to accumulate providing the whakapapa of mātauranga Māori is not broken (p. 1).*

Mead (2003) emphasises the expansiveness of mātauranga Māori and the contribution made to the growth of Māori knowledge by each generation. Mead (2003, pp. 320-1) writes:

> *The term 'mātauranga Māori' encompasses all branches of Māori knowledge, past, present, and still developing. It is like a super subject because it includes a whole range of subjects that are familiar in our world today, such as philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, language, history, education and so on. And it will include subjects we have not yet heard about. Mātauranga Māori has no ending: it will continue to grow for generations to come.*

The definitions provided here are from different authors and therefore different Iwi, which is important to note, because as Roberts et al (1995) argue when discussing kaitiakitanga, "there is no single Māori perspective on this subject – nor indeed any other. Māori are composed of discrete groups, each group (iwi or tribe) having its own distinct, although recognisably similar, perspective" (p. 8). Keeping in mind that hapū and iwi may have differing opinions on what mātauranga is or is not, all the definitions above lend themselves to being able to understand mātauranga as knowledge and that this is based on phenomena, experiences, intergenerational knowledge, exposure, context, and whakapapa and that 'Māori knowledge is created by Māori to 'explain their experience of the world' (Royal, 1998, p. 2; Pere, 1994).

Mātauranga Māori is the term given to Māori ways of knowing and understanding developed in this thesis. It is utilised within this study to indicate knowledge and intergenerational knowledge transmission, both traditional and contemporary. Mātauranga Māori has premised why I became engaged in this topic. The work of protecting and maintaining Mātauranga remains in our hands, it is our work to do. As identified in the above quotes, no one else will be doing this work for us colonisation is ongoing albeit in different forms, and it is a constant threat to the transmission and maintenance of mātauranga and Māori ways of living and being.

Ako Māori - The Principle of Culturally Preferred Pedagogy

This principle acknowledges teaching and learning practices that are inherent and unique to Māori, as well as practices that may not be traditionally derived but are preferred by Māori. The key to thinking about this principle is that the learning and teaching is carried out for collective well-being and collective outcomes. Four important elements of the Ako Māori principle that were applied within this research were: pūrākau, mātauranga-ā-whānau, hui and āta. These are all spaces of teaching and learning that are part of Māori knowledge development and maintenance. They are extended on below.

Pūrākau

In research, a pūrākau approach unlocks epistemological constructs, cultural codes, philosophical thought and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori (Lee, 2015). Pohatu (2015)

states that cultural thought and cultural patterns are readily recognisable through pūrākau. Pūrākau is a traditional Māori storytelling approach that engages Māori voice, heart, mind, and soul. Pūrākau includes stories from now and from the past, ancestral knowledge, whakataukī, whakatauākī, waiata, oriori, mōteatea and such. Māori value knowledge and engage in pūrākau for sharing, knowledge transmission, developing, learning, and teaching. Pūrākau is relational, political and through a Māori lens can often be utilised to draw on the past for healing in the present. Further, our own stories can help to deconstruct gendered and colonised versions of ourselves (Cavino, 2019). Kovach (2019, p. 11), from an indigenous perspective, adds a further layer to this idea of storying by explaining the conversational method as significant:

> *The conversational method is of significance to Indigenous methodologies because it is a method of gathering knowledge based on oral storytelling tradition congruent with an Indigenous paradigm. It involves dialogic participation that holds a deep purpose of sharing story as a means to assist others. It is relational at its core.*

In this study, pūrākau has been the vehicle through which knowledge has been received, transmitted, engaged, and understood. The philosophy of kaitiakitanga has many pūrākau with which to draw on and this is shown throughout the literature review, for example, through mōteatea and whakataukī, but also through whakapapa kōrero and creation stories.

All kaikōrero were invited to share their answers in whichever way they felt comfortable, and without exception, they utilised a range of pūrākau within their hui to draw on their experiences and understandings regarding kaitiakitanga. These pūrākau formed a large part of the substantive chapters to contribute to the kaitiakitanga space.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau

Pohatu (2015, p. 37) states that Mātauranga-ā-Whānau "is an important site and source where Māori have the daily opportunity to use our images, sources, people, experiences, words and knowing, locating messages, then interpreting them into our contexts". Mātauranga-ā-whānau brings forward the capacity for Māori to support, through the affirmation of whānau knowledge, a wider revitalization agenda that focuses on the reconnection of our whānau to ourselves, our lands, our language, and our cultural ways of being. Literally, Mātauranga-ā-whānau is mātauranga that is derived from whānau. This knowledge is usually passed through a conscious process of Ako, including intergenerational knowledge transmission.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau has been utilised within this research as a basis for understanding and incorporating tikanga and for identifying mātauranga regarding kaitiakitanga. Many kaikōrero spoke of their whānau, their whānau roles and members, their pūrākau and remembered images of their past. Mātauranga-ā-whānau encourages examination of pūrākau and within this research, the pūrākau and mātauranga from my own whānau provides context in some areas. Mātauranga-

ā-Whānau as a research approach brings a focus upon Māori knowledge that is learned within whānau, and this ensures that the research process is affirming and validating of the cultural relationships, values and practices that are critical to Māori (Lipsham, 2020; Pohatu, 2015).

Hui

Hui can be explained as qualitative and has some similarities to interviews and focus groups. These similarities include studying personal constructs, oral histories, and human interaction. However, the inclusion of hui as an element of Ako Māori means ensuring tikanga are within the process of meeting with the kaikōrero as Western qualitative research has not always allowed for a cultural dimension (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996). Pere (1984) notes that whānau hui were held regularly as a means by which whānau members had "the opportunity to transmit the genealogy, history, legends and mythology of their own descent-lines, and the hapu as a whole" (p. 42). Other events like weddings, birthdays and ceremonial occasions have also become part of the Māori make-up of hui (Salmond, 1975). As a research method, hui has been increasingly utilized as a culturally defined process by which to share and gather information (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Lipsham, 2012; Pihama et al., 2020).

Whaikōrero is one process by which knowledge and information is shared and is an integral practice within hui. Whaikōrero includes "a blend of political bluntness, diplomatic tact, artful expression … it serves to illustrate the several layers of communication which constitute Māori interaction" (Durie, 2001, p. 81). Durie further states that kōrero is clear often has patterns that are linear and are about the establishment of a mutually beneficial relationship whilst avoiding risk. The following excerpts examples whaikōrero and hui (it is quoted as 'huihuinga' in the below te reo Māori excerpt) which involved my tupuna, my Great Grandfather, Wiremu Putoetoe, concerning an issue of importance in 1862, the building of a road through their respective areas for the Overland Postal Route (Te Hookioi e Rere Atu Na, 1862):

Te reo Pākehā	Te reo Māori
Up stood Wiremu Toetoe, of Waikato, and he said: Listen to me, all you tribes of this meeting. I was the bad man in the days of the reign of King Pōtatau (the first); but I have been to the countries of Europe, and I have seen the kings, each one who is sitting (or ruling) in that great country of Europe. The power or jurisdiction of one king does not overlap the power or jurisdiction of another king. From having seen these things. I first became aware that the idea of the natives in	Kei runga ko Wiremu Toetoe no Waikato, ka mea whakarongo mai e te iwi katoa o tēnei huihuinga, ko ahau te tangata kino rawa i nga rā o te Kingitanga o Pōtatau, na, kua tae ahau ki nga whenua o ta wāhi, kua kite ahau i nga kingi e noho mai rā i te rā whenua nui i Uropi. Kaore te mana o tetahi Kingi i eke ki runga ki tetahi Kingi, no reira kātahi au ka mahara (au e! he tika anō te mohiotanga o te iwi ki te whakatu i tetahi Kingi mo ratou, koia ahau ka mea me kati te rori, ka huri.

setting up a king for themselves was correct. Therefore, I say, stop the road.	

Table 2.1 - Te Hookioi e Rere Atu Na (1862)

Twenty people were present at this hui. Each person including those present from Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Maru and Kahungunu stood, in turn, to give their official word on the decision to build the road. Each part of the hui was prefaced by pōwhiri, whakatau, whanaungatanga, mihimihi, pepeha, outlining the kaupapa. As shown in Table 2.2, pātai/questions were posed to find out exactly what needed to be considered as part of the decision-making processes and the outcomes. The hui were held around Aotearoa and pātai (or questions) were an important part of the hui process as they indicated that a subject needed analysis, extension, more information, provoking, challenge, resolution, or discussion. Outcomes and resolutions, as shown below in the second column, were decided upon collectively.

Questions posed at the Hui	The outcome/resolution to the discussions
Up stood Wiremu Waharoa, and he said: We have sufficient on the former subjects (the roads) Now listen to me, this meeting. I have three routes of talk (subjects for discussion), to lay before you. Rent: Shall we rent, or shall we not? Shall we take credit, or shall we not? The old debts, shall we pay for them, or shall we not? The Europeans who are living within the bounds of the Māori's, shall we expel them, or shall we not? It is for you to consider these matters	These things being accordingly considered by all the people, it was written down on paper: 1. We must love the pakeha who are remaining within our bounds who are of good appearance (well behaved), but the pakehas of an evil appearance we must expel them. 2. Rent is not to be consented to, at least at the present time (land not to be leased), because these days are days of trouble and confusion. 3. Old debts are to be paid. 4. Credits must no longer be taken. 5. All disputed lands are to be inquired into by the Court (Whakawa) which shall examine and decide upon them.

Table 2.2 - Te Hookioi e Rere Atu Na (1862)

Like the hui exampled above, the processes of pōwhiri, whakatau, mihimihi and whanaungatanga were key tikanga when engaging with kaikōrero in this study. Throughout the hui, pātai were posed in line with the interview schedule which were sent to the kaikōrero in advance (see the Interview Schedule at Appendix 4). Time was given for kaikōrero to ponder those questions in advance of the hui to allow reflection, analysis and thought. Hui processes should enable everyone involved to be equally informed of the topic and to be respected equally in the process without power and authority at play. Kaikōrero were given the opportunity to lead the hui in

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their preferred way, many opting to sit at the kitchen table and share food whilst in conversation. Throughout the hui, many engaged pūrākau from their whānau depositories which showed a level of comfort within the hui. It is acknowledged, as with my example from the great grandfather, that not all hui are comfortable, that tension and challenge is often very much a part of the hui. However, having regard for the kaikōrero in advance of the hui through constant updates, staying in contact before the hui and after, and checking on thoughts and feelings throughout the hui, helped to alleviate some of the tension that research can often bring.

Āta

Āta, initially formulated as a social work practice framework by Pohatu (2004), focuses on respectful relationships, negotiating boundaries and creating āhurutanga (safety of space). Āta, as a single word, can mean carefully or deliberately. The framework consists of 13 āta phrases and these are described in the methods section. Pohatu (2004) explains that Āta is an applied principle and that the framework was developed from phrases, songs, chants, and knowledge from tūpuna and that it is counter-hegemonic in its pursuit. Āta as a working and applied framework requires effort and energy, gently reminds one how to engage in kaupapa, needs to be planned and requires reflection as part of the practice. Āta kōrero for example is defined as speaking with clarity which requires the speaker to prepare to deliver their communication and then to give that delivery quality. Quality ensures focus and conviction. What is important when one practices or utilises āta phrases is that at the centre is relationships and the creation of wellness within all relationships. To effectively utilise āta, one must be able to model, enact and practice these takepū (applied principles) toward the goal of functioning well together (Pohatu, 2004). Āta is not considered a directive or an order, but an invitation to exchange viewpoints openly in a considered manner that respects the integrity of the other (Lipsham, 2012).

As a Kaupapa Māori principle, Āta has framed the methods section, as well as it is utilised to show how ethics and behaviour were important to carrying out the research and engaging in relationships. Several āta phrases will be expanded on in the methods section to show their relevance to this study. Underpinning āta is the idea that relationships and research take planning and strategizing in ethical ways and with the right tools.

Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga - The Principle of Socio-Economic Mediation

'Kia piki ake' means to uplift or to move in an upward direction. 'I ngā raruraru' means many issues. 'O te Kainga' means, within or of the home. Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga can mean, to rise above, or move beyond the issues within the home or within the place that you live. This, therefore, asserts the need to mediate and assist in the alleviation of negative pressures and disparities experienced by Māori communities and asserts a need for Kaupapa Māori research to

be of positive benefit to Māori communities. This principle acknowledges the relevance and success that Māori derived initiatives have as intervention systems for addressing socio-economic issues that currently exist (Smith, 1997). Smith (1997, p. 469) further identifies kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga in the context of education and states that the mediation lies within Māori ways of knowing and being:

> *No claim is made here to the complete overthrow of the debilitating effect of socio-economic circumstances. However, what does happen most often, is that the otherwise negative impact of the socio-economic background of Māori students is able to be mediated by Māori cultural customary practice, values, and knowledge.*

Kaitiakitanga is a preventative intervention system from a Māori lens (Kawharu, 2000; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Mutu, 2010). As explained in the introduction, it is often related to fighting the State in Aotearoa for rights to assert tino rangatiratanga over what we consider taonga tuku iho. Despite the impediments and refusal of the State to ensure tino rangatiratanga for Māori, this study shows that Māori takes seriously their relationship and whakapapa to the environment and are constantly in a battle to take care of this relationship. In part, this battle is intervened and mediated by customary practices, values, and principles (see Chapters 5-8).

In this study, an exploration of how Māori mediate kaitiakitanga is carried out. This includes how whānau engage in kaitiakitanga at physical, metaphysical, and human levels. Questions posed regarding this principle included: What interventions do Māori have in place in a kaitiakitanga context and in what ways do Māori alleviate and mediate issues. For example, in Chapter 8, the kaikōrero discussed the impact of colonisation and the assertion of tino rangatiratanga which identifies what the issue is, what the impact is and how to alleviate and mediate the issue through the assertion of tino rangatiratanga strategies.

Whānau - The Principle of Extended Family Structure

The principle of Whānau sits at the core of Kaupapa Māori. It acknowledges the relationships that Māori have with one another and the world around them. Whānau and the process of whakawhanaungatanga are key elements of Māori society and culture. What this means in this research is that I must nurture and care for whānau and build relationships knowing that at the core of these relationships is whakapapa.

Whānau within this context refers to a Māori model of extended family that is inclusive of at least 3-4 generations and which stretches across multiple layers of relationships that are grounded within whakapapa (Māori cultural genealogical template). Whānau refers to both extended family and to give birth. As such it is both a concept and practice that affirms intergenerational and intragenerational relationships. For Māori, whānau is a source of knowledge and experiences

should be drawn from this source of "potentiated power" for the purpose of fashioning frameworks (Pohatu, 2015, p. 39). Pohatu (2015) states:

> *When asking the question, "where is the first place that we would go to, to draw experience of mātauranga from?", this small piece proposes that whānau is an obvious 'first place' to turn to. It proposes that for Māori, whānau is an acknowledged rich source of applied knowing and experience to draw from, where there is a willingness to invite it as a highly valued companion (hoa haere) in kaupapa, no matter what it is, where we are and who we are with (p. 32).*

Pohatu (2015) highlights that whānau wisdom offers us well-tried ways of working and that this knowing can be invited into spaces as signposts for our research approach. My whānau knowing is invited into the space of research moving it from the margins to assume its position "in guiding us at all levels of our lives … so that deep discussion can be invited, reflected upon, endorsed by cultural thought" (Pohatu, 2015, p. 42). The affirmation of whānau as key to Māori approaches is highlighted by the inclusion of whānau as a key principle within Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology. Kaupapa Māori gave some urgency to revitalising, validating, and inviting intergenerational knowledge into the research space in the 1990s, and continues to do so today (Nepe 1991; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999). Smith (1997) expands on this by highlighting several layers where whānau mediation is important:

> *This 'extended family' social structure supports the ideological factors related to Kaupapa Māori alluded to in the previous category. It does this by providing a culturally oriented 'people' structure to support in the alleviation and mediation of social and economic difficulties, parenting difficulties, health difficulties and other impediments to learning. In this way, Māori cultural values, customs and practices which organise around 'collective responsibility' are able to be invoked (Smith, 1997, p. 471).*

The principle Whānau has been central to this research and was key prior, during, at completion, and following this research journey. This principle acknowledges relationships as meaningful, ongoing, and fulfilling. Whakawhanaungatanga is the practice of connecting to whakapapa, whānau, collectives and people. Whanaungatanga principles engaged in this research include manaaki, aroha, āta and tiaki as well as all the principles of KMT and their associated mātauranga and tikanga.

Kaupapa - The Principle of Collective Philosophy

The 'Kaupapa' refers to the collective vision, aspiration, and purpose of Māori communities. Larger than the topic of the research alone, the kaupapa refers to the aspirations of the community. Research topics are therefore an incremental and vital contribution to the overall 'kaupapa'. The word kaupapa refers to the matter for discussion, the topic, the proposal, or the subject. Kaupapa Māori refers to a philosophy that includes skills, principles, qualities, and values that stem from Māori society.

Hui-a-whānau were a big part of my upbringing (Lipsham, 2012, 2016a, 2016b). The phrase, he aha te kaupapa? or why are we here and what is the reason for our gathering? was utilised within my own hui-a-whānau to bring the conversation back to the centre if it moved away from the main reason for being there. For example, the reason we were there may have been to clear an argument, however the main reason was for balance to be restored for the collective wellbeing of the whānau.

Kaupapa can be described in many ways and people become involved in Kaupapa for varying reasons. This research has several different layers of kaupapa. The following are examples of the principle Kaupapa and answers to the question 'he aha te kaupapa?' for those involved in this research:

- My Whānau and I have a collective aspiration to see me achieve my doctorate and as a whānau our goal is to contribute to the wider revitalisation of mātauranga. The kaupapa is also very closely linked to achievement in education for me and as a tauira within our whanau (an example or a role-model).
- For me as the researcher, kaitiakitanga is the central kaupapa as it relates to Māori and tino rangatiratanga.
- The Kaupapa for the social work kaikōrero was to contribute to social work and kaitiakitanga. However, after the research, many noted that having the hui, on its own, had inspired them and had contributed to their mātauranga.
- The Mātanga collective aspiration related to both seeing me succeed in my doctoral journey and contributing to mātauranga Māori. Kaitiakitanga is also the kaupapa as Māori are interested in contributing to conversations and mātauranga regarding our own knowledge. They are also interested in contributing to how our knowledge can be utilised in an Aotearoa context and in the world and by whom.

In the examples above, the kaikōrero groups and I have different ideas of the kaupapa, however collectively, the motivation is to contribute to a Māori body of knowledge to grow and revitalise mātauranga.

Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) and its principles inform this study. An overview of the formation of KMT was offered and the principles have been defined in relation to this study. The principles strongly relate to the larger aspirations of Māori communities and the attainment and intention to seek tino rangatiratanga. These principles have provided signposts to organise the ideas, views, and experiences of the kaikōrero, the outcomes of the research, ethics, practices, methods, and the literature in a way that carries cultural integrity. The principles have also provided guidance to the theming and analysis process utilised in this study.

The methodology included my "relational accountability or being accountable to all my relations" as explained by Wilson (2001, p. 77) and the "deep comprehension of another's point of view" which shows and acknowledges the mana of another and the aroha of the researcher (Hoskins, 2012, p. 364). In order to activate and enact Kaupapa Māori Theory and its principles, methods were created. The next section outlines the research questions, aims and objectives that aligned to the intent and approach of Kaupapa Māori and then moves to discuss the Tikanga Rangahau, or methods, that were employed in this study.

Ngā Pātai - Research Questions, aims and objectives

Ngā Pātai, the heading for this section, means to ask, inquire, or question. Within this research, ngā pātai indicates that several questions, aims, and objectives helped guide the inquiry. Since the beginning of time, and within our creation narratives and whakapapa kōrero, we have always been a people of inquiry, which includes being curious and asking questions. Several questions for example were posed by the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku (earth and sky) such as, who will separate our parents? What is that light? Should we separate our parents? How will we separate our parents and who agrees? The children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku sought consensus, collective whakaaro and collective decision making through their use of pātai because it concerned the collective wellbeing. As indicated in the methodology above regarding hui, pātai formed an important part of the discussion and analysis utilised by my tūpuna to reach outcomes and resolutions for the collective wellbeing.

In line with the methodology chosen for this research, Kaupapa Māori, there are several tikanga that precedes and follows the use of pātai. These tikanga include whanaungatanga, karakia, manaakitanga, aroha, koha and āta. When these tikanga are employed, pātai are less likely to become or feel interrogative. This is because there are obligations and responsibilities on both parties to treat each other, and the information collected, with trust, respect, and dignity. When writing about research and tikanga, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2015, pp. 50-51) highlights that questions are an important consideration for Māori, and that sometimes these questions manifest in the taken for granted behaviours of Māori, for example:

(i)   Why do we seek out kaumātua?

(ii)   Why do we value wānanga as a shared learning process?

(iii)   Why do we stay up late at night to listen to kōrero?

(iv)   Why do we have karakia?

(v)   Why do some of us talk about 'holistic' views?

(vi)   What is a wairua and what does a wairua do?

(vii)   Why is tapu important and how is it linked to knowledge?

(viii) Why does a Māori researcher want to feed his/her visitors?

(ix)   Why does a Māori researcher want to hold a hui or take an issue to the marae?

(x)   What does utu, koha, manaakitanga mean?

Where it is crucial that pātai elicit valuable contributions to research and Māori communities, how, why, when and what is asked must be underpinned by the tikanga named above and others as necessary. The research pātai, aims and objectives are noted below, and should be understood as having been carried out within a process of hui, guided by tikanga, and collaboratively and collectively, as outlined in the methodology.

In Kaupapa Māori Methodology it has been argued that in order to assume our tino rangatiratanga over our research spaces, the questions have to be important to us, from our research aspirations, be framed in ways that support our wellbeing and be asked of ourselves (Smith, 1999; Pihama, 2001). We ask pātai in our way, for our purpose. Our tikanga should underpin these pātai and our political intent is to bring forward our own transformations through a tino rangatiratanga process. The political intent should be focused on collective vision, aspiration, and transforming of Māori communities.

This study provided an opportunity to pose two main pātai within our hui related to kaitiakitanga:

1. How do we, as Māori, experience, express, and understand kaitiakitanga?
2. What mātauranga and tikanga have informed our knowing?

To assist in answering these pātai four main underlying objectives were developed:

a) Explore and document our experiences, expressions, and understandings of kaitiakitanga.
b) Explore the human realm of kaitiakitanga as practiced and understood between and by people.
c) Identify areas to grow and develop kaitiakitanga to enable consistent, accurate and clear use of this Māori body of knowledge.
d) Understand the implications of kaitiakitanga for social work registration.

Further research is needed regarding kaitiakitanga and the human realm and specifically when practiced between and by people, what āhuatanga (attributes and qualities), tikanga and mātauranga are part of kaitiakitanga practices, and whether these are being transferred from the human, metaphysical and physical framework to a human centric one. The aim of this research is to explore its practice and knowledge base in the human realm.

Tikanga Rangahau - Research methods

Introduction

This section discusses in detail the methods and techniques used to gather, engage, and analyse the data in order to answer the questions posed in this thesis. Āta, as defined in the Methodology, has been used to frame the methods for this research which includes the following principles: Āta Haere - the process of ethics and ethical behaviour, Āta Whakarite - the selection of kaikōrero, Āta Hui- the process of gathering to kōrero, and Āta Whakaaro – the process of reflection (Pohatu, 2004). A Kaupapa Māori Analysis (Figure 2.1), framed by Āta, and designed by the researcher, is discussed which outlines the process of analysis carried out in this thesis. Several āta are utilised throughout this section and it is important that the reader recognises that each āta can be understood and discussed differently across contexts. For example, throughout this section, āta whakaaro is used to discuss ethics and behaviour (Table 2.1), reflection, and finally to discuss chapter construction in the analysis (Figure 2.1). This section begins by discussing the ethical considerations employed within this study.

Āta Haere: Ethical considerations

Āta Haere is explained by Pohatu (2004) as working diligently with the conviction that what is being done is correct and appropriate to the issue and people involved and that the validity of the task is understood and accepted. Literally, Āta haere can mean to move carefully and safely. Āta haere, aligned here to ethics, has been applied in this research by conducting safe, honest, careful, and moralistic practice throughout the research.

This research involved several different interest groups and as such required processes that ensured their safety. The interest groups include Māori, the kaikōrero, Massey University, myself and my whānau. This research is being conducted within Massey University and as such, it required that application be made to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC). The application approval letter (SOB 19/24) is attached at Appendix 1 to this thesis.

As per the MUHEC application process, all kaikōrero had the right to privacy and confidentiality. Written and oral consent was asked from each kaikōrero prior to the interview commencing (Appendix 5). Each kaikōrero was sent an Information Sheet prior to the hui to let them know the hui would be recorded and transcribed. Following the interview and after transcribing, kaikōrero were given the opportunity to view their transcripts and then given their consent to the release of the transcripts. Transcription, confidentiality, and information sheets were signed by the kaikōrero and are held by me as per the MUHEC ethics process. Three kaikōrero did not

want to sign the official paperwork and saw their participation as a koha to the kaupapa. This is a normal way of being for many Māori whereby there is not a need for them to participate in the formal structures of a university when all they want to do is contribute to kaupapa. In this situation, oral permission was sought to utilise their information as well as permission was sought to record the conversations and to get the conversations transcribed. Once the recordings were transcribed, this information was sent to the kaikōrero, and further permission was sought regarding the use of their transcripts in the writing of the thesis.

The ethics application included two hoa-haere (valued companions/constant companions). These two hoa-haere were determined by my Nana to partner me in this journey. It was not negotiable and a tikanga that was incorporated and applied throughout the research journey. They are named in the acknowledgements to this thesis. Both hoa-haere are te reo speakers and have been crucial to the safety of the te reo Māori space within this thesis. They have been critical to checking and analysing my translation and whakamārama (understandings) of te reo within this work.

Tikanga (explained in the Methodology and related to ethics from a Māori lens) helped guide respectful relationships and have underpinned my ethical behaviour throughout the varying stages of this research. Āta has guided behaviour (Table 2.3) as well as it has been utilised to frame the tool for analysis (Figure 2.1).

Āta: Ethical and behavioural tikanga

Āta Principle	Reflective checks
Āta Haere: Approaching relationships with integrity and respect.	I maintained a positive environment and showed aroha when researching
	I was respectful to positions/views of my supervisors and all others involved in this research
	I reflected on my own skills to check the way I interact with the kaikōrero
	I understood the ethical principles that aligned to my research
	I acknowledge and respect that everyone has mana
Āta Whakamārama: To inform with respect ensuring the spiritual, emotional, and intellectual levels of the receiver are respected, understood, and valued.	I maintained my personal physical, mental, and emotional wellbeing during the research process.
	I consciously recognized the needs of others and their wellbeing
	I used to attend skills and verbal skills to show respect and understanding.
	All ethical documentation was discussed in the research process including consent forms, information forms and information regarding the research.
	Aroha was an important part of the process. Aroha underpinned my practice with all kaikōrero.

Āta Kīnaki: Providing appropriate supports to enhance positions taken.	I responded to and acknowledged any tensions in a constructive and useful way
	I provided support and acknowledgement when that was needed in a collaborative way before, during and after the research
	The ethics process allowed me to inform all kaikōrero about the right to withdraw from the study.
	I utilised my support systems in the research process
Āta Kōrero: Communicating with respect and clarity.	I responded respectfully towards the personal and professional positions of others
	I engaged in discussion and debate respectfully
	I behaved in a manner consistent with personal and professional standards
	My tone and choice of words was consistent with professional behaviour which aligned to the principles of Kaupapa Māori Theory.
	I shaped and proposed ideas when invited
Āta Noho: Giving quality time to people.	I was considerate to those who needed to speak with me.
	I consistently gave quality time to others.
	I responded in respectful ways when I was unable to give quality time to others.
	I worked in a collaborative way
	Hui were well organised and considered the kaikōrero time and place of meeting.
	A koha was offered to kaikōrero who offered their contribution and time.
Āta Tohutohu: To deliberately instruct, monitor and correct	I gave/received instruction in a respectful way that acknowledges the integrity of the other.
	I provided accurate information providing supporting evidence and experience.
	I followed up any areas necessary.
Āta Whakaako: To deliberately instil knowledge and understanding.	I engaged in reflective techniques
	I monitored the progress made and the commitment to a shared vision for Māori
	I contributed to ideas
	I checked my thoughts to decide on benefits and consequences
	I was an active explorer of positive pathways
	I engaged emotions within my thought processes
Āta Whakarongo: Consciously listening with all the senses.	I listened for feelings
	I listened for themes
	I checked statements to acknowledge and understand
	I helped to unpack statements
	I checked for expressions.
	I checked for my own triggers.
Āta Tuhi: Writing with deliberation while monitoring and measuring the	I was confident in my writing ability
	My written work was organised and continuously checked with supervisors and whānau
	I consulted with others to check my written work
	I considered benefits and consequences of what I was writing

quality of the written work.	Emails, texts, and social media messages were organised and constructed professionally.
Āta Mahi: To work diligently. To be correct and appropriate.	I worked within the ethical guidelines of Massey University
	I worked within the guidelines of tikanga as noted in the Methodology
	Six p's – prior preparation and planning prevents poor performance was a focus for me
	I was inclusive in my approaches
	I was transparent in my work and relationships
	I valued others in my approach
	I showed leadership
Āta Whakaaro: To give time to thought. Space to be creative, innovative, and reflective.	I had courage to stand by the choices I make
	I reflected on the fight or flight reflex when engaged in thought
	I gave time to who might benefit from my thinking and what the consequences might be
	I made room for reflection daily for learning
	I engaged emotions and te tuakiri when in thought
	I thought about the right people, right place, and right time for thought.
Āta Hoki Marire: To return respectful acknowledgement.	I engaged the takepū koha, acknowledging contributions made and making contributions of consequence
	I gave compliments where due and receive compliments respectfully
	I acknowledged those who make positive differences and those who provide challenges

Table 2.3: Āta: Ethical and behavioural tikanga (Lipsham, 2012)

The above Āta were employed as ethical and behavioural tikanga during the process of the hui and which also contributed to the rapport building, atmosphere, wairua and mauri of the hui. Āta is a foundational principle of KMT (Rautaki Limited, 2016) and is inherent in the way that I was raised as explained in Lipsham (2012). Each principle is aligned with an action/reflective check, and these were utilised by me throughout the process of the hui and this doctorate.

Āta Whakarite: The process of the selection of all of those involved in the research.

Āta Whakarite can be explained as the deliberate and careful selection of the kaikōrero for this research. Whakarite concerns the arranging, adjustment, organising, ordering, appointing, and readying within any kaupapa, and in this research aligns to kaikōrero participation. This process included the careful consideration of Māori representation, mātauranga Māori, knowledge, academic rigour, qualification, professional knowledge, and experience. The thesis supervisors for example were chosen based on their experience with PhD students, their knowledge of social work and science, their work alongside Māori in Universities and their collective aspiration for

PhD scholars. The kaupapa selection was decided upon through personal and professional rationale, Kaupapa Māori Theory and then through hui with my whānau and the supervisors.

The kaikōrero selection and criteria was considered in several supervisory meetings. All 24 kaikōrero needed to identify as Māori as per KMT and had to span a range of contexts in order to capture diversity in korero associated with kaitiakitanga. All kaikōrero groups and the process for identification and recruitment was approved by the Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics) SOB 19/24 (Appendix 1). Through the process of whanaungatanga, I identified and invited all kaikōrero except the social work supervisors and social work practitioners. An interview schedule was utilised as a guide and included general key topics such as wairua, tāngata, te ao tūroa and kaupapa.

Whānau: Seven members of the same family were chosen to engage in conversations regarding their experiences and understanding of kaitiakitanga. A whanaungatanga process was utilised to identify the whānau members for this research which included two hui with the kaumātua. The whānau group included kaumātua x 1, pākeke x 3 (older adults) and rangatahi x 3 (young adults-adults: age range 16 - 30). Several informal hui were held with the kaumātua, outside of the larger hui held with the other members due to health-related reasons. Due to Covid-19 related travel issues, two of the rangatahi were interviewed on their own. The third rangatahi was able to attend the larger hui which included three pākeke.

Social work supervisors and practitioners: Three Māori supervisors and two Māori social work practitioners participated in this research. They needed to have field experience and competence in using mātauranga Māori. An advertisement was sent to the Aotearoa Association of Social Workers (ANZASW) asking for these volunteers (Appendix 2). The supervisors and practitioners were interviewed individually. The interview questions were expanded upon to include asking the kaikōrero about their practice and theoretical underpinnings within social work regarding kaitiakitanga and their observations of kaitiakitanga in their work as a social worker/supervisor.

Tauira (Graduates): Four graduates of a Bachelor of Social Work whose qualification included kaitiakitanga participated in this research. The tauira were my past students and they were therefore contacted by me personally to ask whether they would be interested in participating in the research. I had knowledge of the tauira, though I was not in a current position of power. Three of the tauira are now working as social work practitioners, and one as a teacher in a secondary school. They were interviewed utilising a group hui. This hui was the only one completed via zoom due to NZ being in a full Level 4 lockdown due to Covid-19 conditions.

Kaiako: Three kaiako participated in this research who teach in the area of kaitiakitanga. It was important to determine what kaitiakitanga education in Aotearoa concerns, and what the Kaiako views and experiences have been professionally and personally. The Kaiako were interviewed via group Hui, and they asked that the formalities of research be disengaged and that the interview schedule not be used. This meant I was unable to utilise the questions which were formulated to elicit answers to my overall research question, aims and objectives. Our conversation began with how each kaiako understood kaitiakitanga and became a flexible, kaiako led conversation engaging the principles of āta haere, āta kōrero and āta whakarongo. The Kaiako focused on the areas they considered important to kaitiakitanga. They focused on the relationships within the teaching environment and why kaitiakitanga was an important philosophy to them and their tauira (students).

Mātanga: Five Mātanga participated in this research. Their experience collectively included: te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, mātauranga, education, rongoā, youth and the environment. Each of the Mātanga hold standing in the Māori community in each of their respective areas. It was anticipated that their diverse areas of knowing, and understanding would make a substantial contribution and would invite a range of kaitiakitanga knowledge and experiences. Three of the Mātanga were individually interviewed whilst two chose to be interviewed together.

Āta Hui: The process of gathering information, views, and knowledge

Āta Hui is defined as the careful consideration and process of collecting information for a specific kaupapa. Tikanga is considered a crucial part of hui, which is discussed in the Methodology, and which is explained in Table 2.1. Both the individual and group hui included further foundational tikanga processes which were mihimihi or introductions, greeting and engagement processes; whanaungatanga; 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 (food); koha and the poroaki or closing the session.

Throughout the process of the individual and group hui, the inclusion of te reo Māori was a part of the process. Te reo Māori was considered an important part of the hui for this research and the I engaged in as much te reo as possible with the kaikōrero.

An interview schedule (Appendix 4) was utilised during the hui which was based on the initial literature search during the research proposal and confirmation stages of the research. Questions were developed specifically for each of the kaikōrero hui and were open-ended. Common topics discussed across kaikōrero hui included tangata, te ao Turoa (the environment), wairua (the spiritual), hapū and iwi, workplace, and definitional contexts of kaitiakitanga. The individual hui ranged from between one hour to two hours, and the group hui between one to three hours.

Kaupapa Māori Analysis: The process of theming and analysis.

The Kaupapa Māori Analysis framework presented at Figure 2.1 and constructed through Āta (Table 2.3) was my process of carefully analysing the kōrero gathered from the kaikōrero. This analysis framework was developed with information considered from my hoa-haere. The framework was a process to discuss issues, debate kaupapa, think about themes and construct ideas which included being able to unravel the kōrero for it to lay carefully and with integrity within the thesis.

A Kaupapa Māori Analysis includes being able to interpret te reo Māori, not just English. In line with this process, patterns, linkages, and connections from the kōrero gathered were themed in order to understand, interpret, and find meaning. Finding patterns through a Kaupapa Māori lens means that I must also understand pūrākau methodologies. This concerns unlocking epistemological constructs, cultural codes, philosophical thought and worldviews that underpin our identity as Māori (Lee, 2015). In that vein, repetition, kaupapa, whakataukī, analogies, similarities and differences, dialect, and theory are all important when utilising a pūrākau construct. Seven positions are presented below that I used to analyse information and construct the kōrero and subsequent Chapters within this thesis.

KAUPAPA MĀORI ANALYSIS PROCESS
MARJORIE BEVERLAND

I mahi ngātahi mātou ko ngā hoa haere i ngā āhuatanga katoa e pa ana ki ngā mahi Arohaehae.

1
Āta Mahi
Kia mōhio he aha ngā whakaaro i puta mai i ngā puna kōrero.

2
Āta Titiro
Āta titiro ki ngā kōrero e hāngai ana ki ngā mātāpono o Kaupapa Māori.

3
Āta Whiriwhiri
Kimihia ngā whainga i roto ki tēnā ki tēnā o ngā uiui.

4
Āta Whakaingoa
Kātahi me whakaingoa ngā kaupapa kōrero, kaupapa āpiti rānei.

te tuakiritanga

5
Āta Whakaaro
Whakarōpūhia i ngā kaupapa kōrero kātahi me āta whakaaro.

6
Āta Wetewete
Me arohaehae ngā whakaaro i roto i nga kōrero.

7
Āta Tuhi
Tuhia te tuhinga kairangi.

Figure 2.1 - Kaupapa Māori Analysis Process (designed by M. Beverland)

I mahi ngātahi mātou ko ngā hoa haere i ngā āhuatanga katoa e pa ana ki ngā mahi Arohaehae – This Kaupapa Māori Analysis Process is worked through with hoa-haere. Collective

discussion and interaction is key to this analysis process. In this case, my hoa-haere shared with me their thoughts regarding many parts of this process which included extracts, chapter construction, theming, te reo, progression of analysis and theming, keeping the study on track, keeping motivated and maintaining momentum. For example, regarding kaikōrero extracts, the process included liaising with hoa-haere about where extracts would be situated within the thesis chapters and analysing te reo Māori within the work to determine this. Several hui were held with my hoa-haere from the beginning through to the final part of the writing. Because we were in a COVID-19 environment, the hui were often carried out on Zoom.

Te Tuakiritanga - 'Te Tuakiritanga' encompasses a person's identity, personality, attributes, qualities, and kare-ā-roto (feelings and emotions). Pohatu (2003) describes 'Te Tuakiritanga' as the inner being and names several sites that lay encased in our bodies, but that are affected by the external and internal contexts. Chapter 4 includes a review of Te Tuakiritanga and its elements. Te Tuakiritanga is depicted in the diagram by the arrow through the centre of the process running from the beginning to the end as well as it is placed in the centre as a 'central' consideration for engaging with kaupapa Māori research.

Working through the information gathered from the kaikōrero felt heavily demanding, ā hinengaro, ā wairua, ā tinana. The information, offered as a koha (gift or contribution of consequence) by each kaikōrero, contained traditional and contemporary understandings of kaitiakitanga. It was an amazing and special experience to meet with the kaikōrero and to engage with their koha daily for years. I saw their words as expressions of themselves, their whānau, hapū and iwi and all of us as Māori. At times, reading the information and organising it was deeply emotional. Nurturing their information over the years was humbling and often brought me to tears especially when considering how our people have been treated in this colonised context of Aotearoa. Each step of the analysis process was a sacred step. Protecting and tending to the information was crucially important to me.

In line with the methodology employed here, my aim was not to pathologise, it was to place light upon our experiences, expressions, and understandings of kaitiakitanga. In that vein, in the back of my mind was the term 'tiakitanga' which is the practice of caring for.

Throughout all the steps of the analysis, āta which informed each step, guided me in terms of my intention to be transforming. 'Te tuakiritanga' is central to the Kaupapa Māori Analysis Process because engaging with kaupapa Māori connects with all that is metaphysical and physical. I often found myself sitting and negotiating feelings and emotions, trying to separate these out in order to actually get the work done. The hoa-haere in this research journey felt similar things. They let me know on many occasions how this journey has

enhanced their knowing, how beautiful the information was, how they felt privileged to be part of this study and how the study had provided their whānau with koha that will last generations. In order to engage with kaupapa Māori, there must be a commitment to knowing how the information might affect us emotionally, mentally, physically, and psychologically.

Āta Mahi - Kia mōhio he aha ngā whakaaro i puta mai i ngā puna kōrero - to become familiar with what is shared within the research. Āta Mahi began the process of analysis by looking holistically at what was being discussed by the kaikōrero. This was an initial opportunity to think about the themes that were present across all the kōrero, alongside the carrying out of the interviews proper. I was able to think about the themes that may be present and lay down those first ideas. Initial thoughts focused upon the kaikōrero pūrākau, their contexts (workplace, hapū, iwi), their uses of kaitiakitanga and its root words, tiaki and kaitiaki.

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 and analysis. This Āta provided an opportunity to relate each of the Kaupapa Māori principles noted in the Methodology to the information gathered from the kaikōrero. Āta titiro is developing the art of carefully looking at what is in front of you, observing its parts, deliberating, and reflecting, and then deciding.

As the information from kaikōrero was processed through an āta titiro lens, each of the kaupapa Māori principles were locatable. However, as previously mentioned, not all of the kaupapa Māori principles were utilised in the Chapter construction. For example, it was decided that some principles could weave throughout the thesis, such as Ako Māori. Taiao became a chapter on its own and was not placed in the Taonga Tuku Iho chapter, which is where it is highlighted in Kaupapa Māori Theory. This was largely due to the extensive nature of the discussions and chapter length. Āta titiro is about careful observation including consideration of how the thesis is structured which includes clear signposting of structure throughout.

Āta Whiriwhiri - Kimihia ngā whainga i roto ki tēnā ki tēna o ngā uiui. Here, more pinpointed discussions regarding the themes were decided upon. Selecting and naming themes or subthemes that were consistent across kōrero was carried out in āta whiriwhiri. Literally, āta whiriwhiri refers to the plaiting or weaving together of ideas and then moving on to discuss, negotiate and decide upon. Consistent themes identified during this part of the analysis included whānau, mauri ora, whenua, kuia, tikanga and mātauranga. Tikanga for example was initially considered as a chapter, however, the more the information was analysed and discussed, agreement was reached that tikanga was specific to particular themes, and therefore it should be spread throughout all of the chapters. Different to āta titiro above which considered themes

through the Kaupapa Māori principles, this part of the analysis further critiques whether the themes should move into their own areas rather than simply 'fit' a principle.

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 etc. During this part of the process there was a need to negotiate the placement of these themes and label and code them accordingly. Disconnection themes for example were eventually placed within the Tino Rangatiratanga as well as the Taiao chapter. In the Tino Rangatiratanga chapter, disconnection was finally identified under the heading 'impact of colonisation'. It is within this step of the analysis process that identification of subheadings are thought through, which have come out of the labelling and coding conversations. Further, language consistency is an important consideration in this part of the analysis – especially when two languages are included. Will I utilise wairua, or remain consistent with a larger philosophy like 'metaphysical'? Will I utilise taiao throughout, given I've named a chapter taiao, or will I clearly name what parts of the taiao? Like, whenua, awa and maunga. Should I use the word practices, or consistently say 'tikanga'? This part of the process is important when the thesis includes te reo Māori because there are several ways that one can interpret areas such as tikanga and mātauranga. All of these questions are considered part of the labelling and coding process of āta whakaingoa.

Āta Whakaaro - Whakarōpūhia i ngā kaupapa kōrero kātahi me āta whakaaro. This was an opportunity to bring together the structure of the thesis and consider the themes and sub-themes within the individual chapters. Āta Whakaaro is about chapter construction which includes naming the chapters and finalising sub-theme names. Each of the sub themes identified at this stage were carefully considered within larger concepts or philosophies in order to lay down a clear path toward final Chapter construction. For example, many of the kaikōrero discussed kuia. Kuia were discussed across many different themes which included care, teaching and learning, intergenerational knowledge transmission and tūpuna. Kuia were discussed with my hoa-haere, and a decision made to place these kuia discussions within the larger theme of Whānau which became the first substantive chapter, Chapter 5. This chapter was placed here because it set the foundation for understanding whānau constructs and tikanga. Each of the substantive chapters were considered and constructed in this way. Taiao for example, was placed after whānau in order to relay to the reader how important relationships are to Māori within the environment. This set the scene to discuss taonga tuku iho as the reader would now have a crucial understanding of the importance of whānau and whakapapa. What impedes on these relationships and what would alleviate that, became the last substantive chapter. These

substantive chapters included Chapter 6, Taiao, Chapter 7, Taonga Tuku Iho and Chapter 9, Tino Rangatiratanga.

Āta Wetewete – Me arohaehae ngā whakaaro i roto i nga kōrero. Āta Wetewete is the process of carefully unravelling, releasing and setting free, for example, "Ka taea e ia te wetewete ngā powhiwhi e pā ana ki ngā whenua Māori" means "They will be able to unravel the complications concerning Māori land" (Moorfield, 2003, p. 11). Āta Wetewete is normally utilised within te ao Māori when there is a need to discuss issues, debate kaupapa or to deconstruct for the purpose of learning. The theming process is one already of analysis and so this āta was about writing up the themes, their relevance, what was a new contribution, 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 I connected the themes to the questions, and to the kaupapa of kaitiakitanga. Āta wetewete is the part of the analysis that required me to take note of the overall aims and objectives for the thesis and then start making those connections clear for the marker. One of the main questions at this stage of the analysis is, have I answered my research questions, and have I achieved the aims and objectives for this research?

Āta Tuhi – Tuhia te tuhinga kairangi. Āta Tuhi is the point at which the thesis is typed, finalised, and prepared for the supervisors and hoa-haere to review and check. This process of writing, review and refection was ongoing as themes presented themselves. A process was followed to introduce the theme, link, and then connect the theme to kaitiakitanga, write about the importance to the overall thesis and connect each theme to answering my thesis question.

This āta is the final part of the Kaupapa Māori Analysis and incudes the careful drafting, re-typing, and reconsidering of all the Chapters in line with the advice given from supervisors and hoa-haere. Finally, this āta is an opportunity to reconnect with the kaikōrero, via our original communication outlets, and let them know how the journey is progressing.

Having discussed my Kaupapa Māori Analysis process, I now move to discuss the final part of this methods section, āta whakaaro – the process of reflection.

Āta Whakaaro: The process of reflection.

Āta Whakaaro is defined as careful and considered thinking. Generally, Māori refer to whakaaro as thinking or thoughts. The word aro, within whakaaro, means to take heed, take notice of, pay attention to. To add whaka means to action or cause to happen. In this sense, Āta Whakaaro was the process for me of reflecting on actions and thoughts. Several different methods of reflection were incorporated before, during and after the research:

Tūpuna: Throughout my life, tūpuna have helped me to sort through thoughts. Karakia and speaking to tūpuna directly is part of my reflective practice. Their spiritual guidance was a necessary part of my journey as was sorting through issues both positive and negative. Throughout this journey they have appeared to me in dreams to share information and have kept me physically and spiritually safe.

Whānau Hoa haere (Valued, considered, and constant companions): My brother and sister-in-law were my closest companions during the research journey. They liaised, advised, and directed me in terms of tikanga, mātauranga and mātauranga-ā-whānau whenever there was a need. They made themselves available when I needed to reflect on different issues and debate information. The process of hui was a natural part of these discussions. These hui started one year before the process of enrolment in my doctorate and will continue after the journey's end. We would hui every month to discuss whānau matters as well as my doctoral journey.

Supervisors: Monthly supervisory meetings helped me to consider all that was required of the process, management, and administration of this doctoral journey. All the supervisors played a pivotal role when reflecting on my writing, academic rigour, thinking and organisation of my overall thesis journey.

Written Journal: A personal journal was kept brainstorming ideas, light-bulb moments, and to motivate me. Different ideas, drawings, whakataukī and pūrākau were kept in the journal to process my thoughts as well as the ideas that were received from others throughout the journey.

This section discussed the methods and techniques I used to gather, engage, and analyse the data in order to answer the questions posed in this thesis. Āta, was used to frame the methods for this research which included Āta Haere - the process of ethics and ethical behaviour, Āta Whakarite - the selection of kaikōrero, Āta Hui- the process of gathering to kōrero, and Āta Whakaaro – the process of reflection. A Kaupapa Māori Analysis (Figure 2.1), framed by seven Āta principles, and designed by me, is discussed which outlines the process of analysis carried out in this thesis. The analysis process was designed in liaison with my hoa-haere in this journey and is founded on the tikanga of hui, whanaungatanga, tuakiritanga and pātai.

Chapter Conclusion

This Chapter outlined the methodology, pātai and methods for this study. Kaupapa Māori Theory has been defined and outlined as the methodology that underpinned this research. Kaupapa Māori principles have been defined and analysed in terms of how they have

informed and framed this research. These principles include tino rangatiratanga, taonga tuku iho, ako Māori, kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga, whānau, āta, kaupapa and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Following the principles, the main research questions, aims, and objectives were outlined. The kaikōrero that participated in this study was outlined next, as well as how the literature and information gathered from the kaikōrero was processed, engaged with, themed, and analysed. The process of identifying and analysing the data that has been gathered in this research, framed by a Kaupapa Māori Analysis, has also been outlined. Several āta have been employed as methods which include: Āta Haere: Ethical considerations, Āta Whakarite: The process of the selection of all of those involved in the research, Āta Hui: The process of gathering information, views, and knowledge, Āta Wetewete: The process of theming and analysis and Āta Whakaaro: The process of reflection.

Chapter 3: The Foundation of Kaitiakitanga and the Metaphysical and Physical Realms

Introduction

As a philosophy, kaitiakitanga has a strong alignment to the environment, as well as Māori responsibilities and obligations concerning land, water, wāhi tapu and treasures of consequence or taonga. Kaitiakitanga is considered an environmental and sustainability ethic employed by Māori to protect and care for all parts of our earth and universe (Forster, 2012a, 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). Kaitiakitanga is often defined in order to justify the Māori worldview regarding the environment, mainly in a legal context (Kawharu, 2002; Ministry for the Environment, 1991; Mutu, 2010; Ruru et al., 2011; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011; Williams, 2001). The legal justifications are directed at a mainly Pakehā audience, as much challenge occurs within contexts such as local authorities, councils, tribunals, and government. Although kaitiakitanga is regarded as an environmental ethic and connected strongly to the physical realm, there is a much broader understanding within te ao Māori which includes the metaphysical and human dimensions (Marsden & Royal, 2003; Royal, 1998; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011).

The aim of this literature review Chapter and the next is to provide the foundation of kaitiakitanga, from a traditional understanding to how it is being expressed today. In my search of the literature, the themes present included what many of the foundational writers referred to as the realms or triad of kaitiakitanga. These realms comprise of three significant areas which are the metaphysical, the physical, and the human realms which interweave and interact with each other (Kawharu, 2000; Marsden & Royal, 2003; Roberts et al., 1995). The human realm is reviewed in the next Chapter.

The metaphysical realm is examined in this Chapter beginning with the discussion of kaitiaki as spiritual guardians or spiritual beings. Several elements of kaitiakitanga concerned with the metaphysical realm are reviewed including: wairua, mana, tapu, tohu and mauri ora. These elements provide important information for those who intend on employing kaitiakitanga as it cannot be understood without these metaphysical underpinnings. These elements are integral to understanding and experiencing kaitiakitanga.

The physical realm review begins with outlining how Māori understand their relationship with the physical environment. The basic premise of this relationship relates to belonging and cultural

and spiritual connection which extends to tribal identity and economic foundation. Whenua understandings and tikanga follow this, which includes the tikanga of raupatu, tuku, rāhui and whenua and pito. These tikanga are the basis for understanding of how to interact, respect and strengthen connection to the whenua and as such, they are key to understanding kaitiakitanga. Iwi and hapū experiences of engaging kaitiakitanga in an environmental and legal context end the physical realm review. These experiences show that over many generations, Māori have experienced boundaries and tension in order to fulfil their kaitiakitanga obligations and responsibilities. These tensions include an unwillingness at local and national government level to engage in partnerships with Māori.

This Chapter starts however by discussing whakapapa which underpins kaitiakitanga as a philosophy. It is important to discuss whakapapa as the foundation to kaitiakitanga because it is the way in which Māori organise and understand the world including phenomena, relationships and the environment (Forster, 2019). Whakapapa expands on thought beyond life or human considerations to time, existence, the nature of reality, right and wrong and valid belief (Marsden, 1995). Whakapapa is positioned as its own section within this Chapter as it is the foundation of all of the realms of kaitiakitanga. Directly following whakapapa, I provide a brief breakdown of the word kaitiakitanga in order to show that its root words are central to its understanding and utilisation across contexts.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa is described generally as genealogy, lineage, or descent (Durie, 1998; Forster, 2019; 2003; Pere, 1994). However, these terms often leave out that for Māori, everything in the world has whakapapa, which is to say everything is related and relational. From the mountains to the sea, the land, sky, and everything in between, Māori have relationship with each other as well as to all that is spiritual and physical in nature (Jones, 2013a; Marsden & Henare, 1992; 2001; Pihama, Beverland, & Cameron-Raumati, Forthcoming). As explained by Simmonds (2014) "whakapapa, then, is not only about positionality, it is also about connectivity, history and geography" (p. 25).

Penetito (2021) extends on this understanding and writes 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, creatures that fly and crawl, swim and breathe. Taiao can be described as everything that a person can access in the space of the earth and universe, that which Papatūānuku and Ranginui have created, including new human life as described here through representation of its direct link to the environment:

Te katoa o te wāhi e noho nei te tangata me ngā mea ora katoa, ko Papatūānuku rāua ko Ranginui. Nau mai, e tama, ki te taiao nei, kia whakangungua koe ki te kahikātoa, ki te tūmatakuru, ki te tara ongaonga. (He Pātaka Kupu., 2021, p. 1)

Whakapapa can also mean to place in layers. These layers are not hierarchal but describe relationships. It is considered a crucial skill to be able to recite these layers of whakapapa with accuracy, and many whānau have selected representatives who are dedicated to learning whakapapa. This is considered a specialist role today, however, historically many family members could recite whakapapa (Pere, 1994). Whakapapa often includes pepeha regarding waka, places, whakataukī and whakatauākī, humans, creation, pūrākau and the universe. These relationships can be traced back hundreds of generations and follows an ordered and sequenced flow which confirms an individual's membership as Māori (Mikaere, 2011).

Baker (2019) analyses whakapapa and presents three different layers of whakapapa relationships. Although they are separated into three different areas, they are all connected in relationship.

- Cosmic genealogies that describe the processes of creation of the universe, for example, Te Kore, Te Pō, te ao Mārama.
- Genealogies of natural phenomena: both physical, such as those that describe the ecological relationships between living things, and abstract, such as the genealogy of knowledge (Royal, 1998, pp. 56–57)
- Genealogies of human beings that describe people's ancestral descent, which goes back to the arrival of sea vessels to Aotearoa (Barlow, 1991, p. 174).

These three areas are related to the metaphysical, physical and human's realms of kaitiakitanga and describe the varying levels at which spiritual, physical, and psychological relationships occur, albeit they are all ultimately connected. Kawharu (1975, p. 87), although speaking about formal speech making, presents a framework regarding relationships with the metaphysical, physical, and human realms. In doing so, Kawharu (1975) has highlighted what must be acknowledged, remembered, and negotiated when interacting with te ao Māori. In the centre, whanaungatanga depicts the practice of being in relationship with all things.
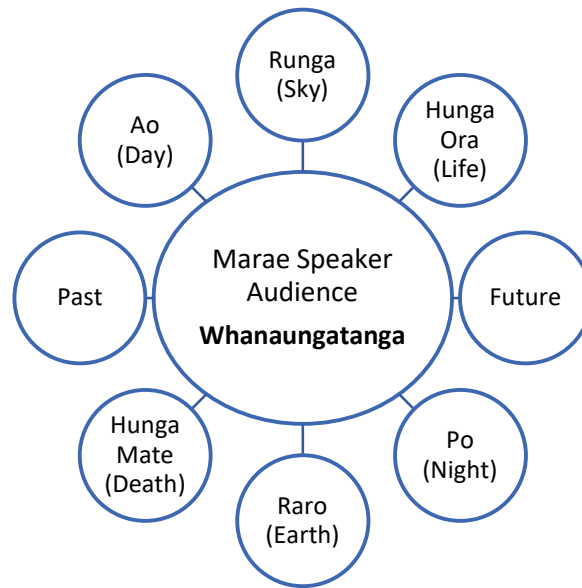
Figure 3.1: Adapted from Kawharu (1975, p. 87) - Belief and Ritual.

Genealogy for Māori begins with reference to Te Kore, the nothingness, Te Pō, the night, te ao Mārama, the world of light and the beginning of the world as we know it now, the physical world. There is extensive literature about whakapapa from its beginnings with Te Kore (Barlow, 1991; Forster, 2019; Jones, 2013b; Jones & Biggs, 2004; Marsden, 2011; Marsden & Royal, 2003; Mikaere, 2003, 2011a; Pere & Nicholson, 1997; Royal, 1998, 2010; Walker, 2004). For the purpose of this thesis however I start at the discussion concerning Ranginui (the sky) and Papatūānuku (the earth) who became the first primeval parents of the physical world and had many children. Papatūānuku as the land, gave birth to all things, including humans, which provided the physical and spiritual basis for life (Te Ara, 2010). The children's roles became crucial to the physical, human, and metaphysical realms. A visual representation of the whakapapa of Papatūānuku and Ranginui with examples of some of their more well documented descendants are below at Figure 3.1.

| **Ka moe a Papatūānuku i a Ranginui, ka puta mai ki waho ko** |
| Papatūānuku and Ranginui lay with each other and several children and grandchildren decended from them |
| Hineahuone, Hinenuitepo, Hinemoana,Tūmatauenga, Tānemahuta, Rongomātāne, Haumiatiketike, Tangaroa, Tāwhirimātea. |
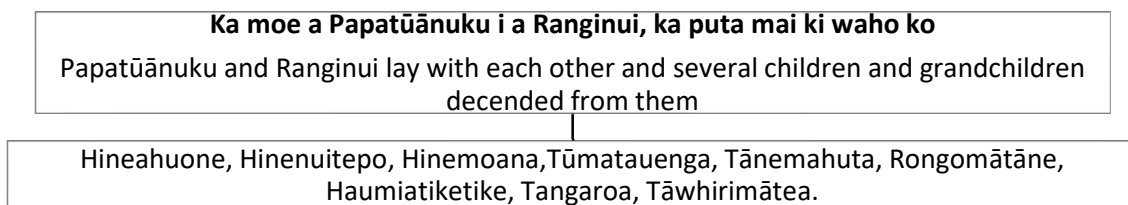
Figure 3.2: Ngā tamariki o Papatūānuku rāua ko Ranginui (the children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui)

The children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui are often referred to as 'Atua', spiritual deity, or 'kaitiaki' guardians. Rongomatāne for example became responsible for, or the kaitiaki of, peace and cultivated foods. Tāwhirimatea was responsible for the weather which included the wind,

rain, thunder, and clouds. It was through Papatūānuku and Ranginui that life was generated and it was their children that provided the foundation for all life forms and all parts of the environment and universe (Royal, 2010). Linda Te Aho (2011) expands on this by explaining the origins of water, darkness, light, storms, the ocean and the forests:

> *Water originates from the pain of separation of Ranginui, the sky father, and Papatūānuku, the earth mother. Ranginui and Papatūānuku had been bound together embracing their children in darkness ... Tāne Mahuta, forced his father skywards to separate his parents ... the siblings emerged into the world of light. They included: Tāwhirimatea, revered ancestor of winds; Tangaroa, revered ancestor of the seas, Tāne Mahuta, revered ancestor of the forest. As Māori, we see ourselves as direct descendants of these ancestors, who operate in a balancing system, and who are personified and incorporated into everyday life in prayer, in song, and in oratory, reflecting a reverence for creation as a whole entity (p. 146).*

Whakapapa is the foundation for establishing environmental order and each of the children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui determined guidelines and practices concerning specific natural resources and ecosystems, such as the cultivation of kumara (sweet potato) and harakeke (Phormium tenax, also referred to as Flax in an Aotearoa context) (Forster, 2019). They determined the tikanga regarding the entering, engaging, and exiting of certain areas of the environment. Many of the children noted in the Figure 3.1 and Table 3.1 held specific responsibilities and obligations to take care of parts of the entire world and universe. For example, with reference to water, Baker (2019) highlights the various deity and their respective roles and obligations regarding the whakapapa of wai or water (Table 4).

The table below shows the various components of the whakapapa of wai, which includes a small, but significant list of female deity. The female deity are locatable by the word 'Hine', and this depicts a female element or a daughter. However, many of our deity were not in fact gendered. Mikaere (2003) highlights that this gendering was due to patriarchal and colonial ideas of male dominance and female subservience (Mikaere, 2003) . As such, many deity related to the female entity have been made obsolete and have not been prioritised in mātauranga. Many of our whakapapa stories taught today are dominated by, and prioritise, male deity or male kaitiaki (Mikaere, 2003).

	Definition
Hine-rau-whārangi-rau-angiangi	The deity of the stratosphere, who oversees the transition of entities from Te Wāwā through the liminal space between Te Ao Mārama (the material world of being) and Te Pō (the spiritual world)
Tāwhirimātea	The deity of the troposphere, the lowest layer of the atmosphere, which oversees the interaction between the water in the ocean, in weather systems and within
Te Wīwī	The spiritual entities that reside in the upper levels of the troposphere
Te Wāwā	The space where Te Wīwī resides
Tōtā	The precipitation that condenses from the vapour of Te Wīwī and Te Wāwā
Hine-tū-pari-mounga	The female deity of mountains
Tōmairangi	The frost, dew or moisture that forms on the land
Te Kauruawa	The initial point of the headwaters
Te Ahuru Mōwai	The channels of water, much like the birth canal from which precious life emerges
Te Wai-tuku-kiri	The life-giving waters that flow in rivers and streams
Te Kauika	The runs of fish and other life that emerge from the mouths of waterways
Hine Moana	The deity of water in large waterbodies
Hine-pūkohu-rangi	The deity of mist and fog that rises from land and water
Hine-wai-etaeta	The deity of water that rises in evaporation and transpiration
Hine-kapua-rangi	The deity of clouds that begin to form
Wai Kapua	The vapour in the clouds

Table 3.1: The various components of the whakapapa of wai (Baker, 2019, p. 110)

Within whakapapa kōrero, Tānemahuta (Tāne), the kaitiaki of all that is within the forest, fashioned the first human being or ira tangata. The first human being was named Hineahuone and was formed from the earth at a place called Kurawaka where life was breathed into her mouth and nostrils making her human. Māori refer to this as the first breath of life and show this through the tikanga of hongi (pressing of noses and sharing of breath). Sharing hongi reminds us of our whakapapa connection and the very meaning of life or to breathe. Hineahuone began the first line of human beings on the earth. There are a range of stories about the beginnings and the first breath of life for Māori. Each Iwi has its own variation and interpretation, and it is in these variations that our uniqueness as Iwi is highlighted. For example, Tāne in one story regarding the retrieval of knowledge, is Tāwhaki in my own stories in the Waikato. Both Tāne and Tāwhaki hold their own special qualities as kaitiaki. This uniqueness and diversity of story is evidence that Māori do not reduce the beginnings of the world with one God, or one way, or one story. For Māori there is not just one 'truth', but many contexts and sites, interpretations and reconstructions (Pohatu, 2003).

Descriptions of whakapapa show the interconnectedness of the human, physical and metaphysical realms which is the fundamental premise of kaitiakitanga. This interconnectedness

highlights that through a Māori lens, humans are merely part of an overall system, we are one with the environment, rather than we are in control of it or own it. Baker (2019) elaborates on this interrelationship between the metaphysical, physical, and human realms by making the following statements which relates to both whakapapa and the assertion that human beings are one with all things on the earth (p. 110):

Ko wai au - the currents in water

Ko wai koe - the currents in bodies, including the whenua

Ko wai ia - the currents in the atmosphere

When we relate these terms to tangata (people), ko wai au means, 'who am I?'. Ko wai koe means, 'who are you?'. And ko wai ia also means, 'who is he/she?'. The inference then, is that we are all currents, we are all made of water, and we are all one with the earth and that water is crucial to Māori wellness and connectedness (Awatere et al., 2017; Forster, 2012b; Henwood & Henwood, 2011; Hutchings et al., 2020; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 6), 1983).

Kaitiakitanga as a philosophy and practice requires that whakapapa relationships are nurtured and respected and ensures tikanga is in place. This essentially highlights that what is tika, what is right and correct, must be practiced. The following quote shows the passion and intensity of our whakapapa relationship with one of our ancestors, Papatūānuku, the whenua or earth, and clearly articulates emotions within the relationship and the interweaving and melding with the environment.

We are called to Papatūānuku in good times and bad. She heals us and nurtures us. We shelter in the shade she provides and in the warmth she emits. We drink from her waterways, we feed from her fruits and kai produced from her rich soils … we stand to defend her mana … we weep when she is violated … we access her rongoā … our relationship of reciprocity is an investment (Penetito, 2021, p. 38)

The principle of interrelationships or whanaungatanga is emphasised above together with the importance of balance. In te ao Māori, the personifying of the tangible and intangible helps to concrete the assertion that all phenomena are ancestors or relations to us. This is explained more in the Metaphysical realm below. Mikaere reminds us that when personifying phenomena and ancestors we should consider that gendered interpretations can lead to views such as hierarchy, patriarchy, dominance, subservience, and superiority, which is in stark contrast to Māori philosophical thought (Mikaere, 2011b).

Kawharu (2000) asserts that kaitiakitanga finds its rationale in whakapapa, which is woven together through ancestral, environmental, and social threads. Forster (2003) explains this further below:

Roberts et al., (1995) argued that kaitiakitanga facilitates "... appropriate cultural responses to [modern] environmental issues" (Roberts et al., 1995: 7) such as resource depletion, environmental degradation, and equitable allocation and use of natural resources. In this context, contemporary kaitiakitanga is linked to a reframing of Māori agency that emphasises culturally specific relationships with whenua based on genealogical connections between people, the environment, and natural resources. The strength of these familial relationships is connected to ancestral occupation, and the ability to assert a specific form of tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty; right to exercise authority), known as mana whenua.

Whakapapa is argued in this Chapter as the fundamental way through which our people organise ourselves and our world, and how we understand the relationship between all things. Pepeha is an example of how we as tangata, as people, articulate our relationships to our whānau, hapū and iwi, and our ancestral mountains, rivers, oceans, and lands, and all that live with us in our environment. All authors writing to kaitiakitanga locate whakapapa as essential to our understandings of what kaitiakitanga has meant historically and the importance of continuing to privilege that tikanga within contemporary understandings. It is also a reminder to us that as people we are but one part of the wider system of whakapapa and therefore are but one part of a wider ecosystem of relationships. Further, it has been highlighted that kaitiakitanga requires whakapapa relations to be enacted, affirmed, respected, and honoured.

Kaitiakitanga

The word kaitiakitanga is a philosophy which is aligned strongly to the connectedness between the metaphysical, physical, and human realms. Its root word is tiaki and Māori relate tiaki to nurture and to taking care of as well as to grow, develop and guide. Tiaki can be further defined by separating the 'ti' and 'aki', which relates to the light within a person and aligns to the relationship Māori have to the metaphysical realm and the physical environment. Other ways that kaitiakitanga can be considered is as follows:

Kai – the agent of an action

Tiaki – (verb) to care, nurture, protect, conserve, have custody of, guard, keep

Tanga – a suffix used to indicate the practice/action of something

Ti – light

Akiaki - nurture

Kaitiaki – (noun) deity, spiritual guide, spiritual being, trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, caregiver, keeper, steward.

Tiakitanga -(noun) guardianship, caring of, protection, upkeep.

Kaitiaki and tiaki are the two root words most used when discussing the philosophy of kaitiakitanga and they should be considered key to understanding it clearly and accurately. It has been argued that kaitiakitanga, as an extension of these root words, did not appear within Māori

dictionaries prior to 1960 (in forms such as tiakanga) but came into more prominence in the 1990s with the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) (Kawharu, 2000). This then highlights kaitiakitanga as a more contemporary discourse, however its core meaning, and root words are not contemporary and should be understood through a customary lens.

When looking more broadly at the concept of kaitiakitanga, Marsden and Henare (1992) write that kaitiakitanga incorporates beliefs that weave across the spiritual, environmental, and human spheres. A number of authors discuss these three areas in one way or another, sometimes preferring or swapping out terms such as spiritual with metaphysical, environment with physical, physical with whenua, human with social, or spiritual with wairuatanga (Kawharu, 1998; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Roberts et al., 1995). Mana Atua, Mana Whenua and Mana Tangata are also terms that Māori also utilise to discuss these three realms. Mana whenua is regarded as territorial power and status or authority over land and territory. Mana tangata refers to individual power or status which has been achieved through effort or recognition. Mana atua refers to supernatural beings from creation who have roles and responsibilities concerning phenomena and resources so that human beings can live (Smith, 2019). Mana wairua (spiritual authority), mana tūpuna (ancestral authority) and mana whenua (authority based on ahi ka - people who burn the home fires) are also expressions of these three realms (Roberts et al. 1995). In this review I have chosen to utilise the three terms 'physical', 'metaphysical', and 'human' realms. The realms of kaitiakitanga are difficult to separate as they are so interconnected for Māori. Therefore, each section in this Chapter may have an overlap of information.

Providing a definition of kaitiakitanga from the standpoint of te reo Māori is key to understanding the components of the term itself. As noted, the root word is 'tiaki' to grow, develop and flourish, all of which align to a notion of care or caring for something. Furthermore, the component parts of 'ti' and 'aki' positions the term in relation to the essence of our relationship as people to give light and to nurture. Each of these kupu further emphasise, alongside the 'tanga', that we have inherent relationships to all things and that those relationships are always reciprocal, caring, nurturing, and uplifting. It is interesting that as a term 'kaitiakitanga' is not seen in literature or documentation prior to the 1960s and as such is a contemporary expression of an ancestral way of being (Kawharu, 2000). As a contemporary expression however, there is a need to continue to gather evidence of how kaitiakitanga is experienced within a range of contexts. This review now moves into discussing the metaphysical realm, which is understood and contextualised alongside the concepts of whakapapa and kaitiakitanga and which discusses and engages the nature of what exists.

Kaitiakitanga: The Metaphysical Realm[2]

This section will present Māori understandings of kaitiaki and kaitiakitanga elements within the metaphysical realm. Although this section is named the metaphysical realm, it should be understood as being underpinned by the previous two sections that concerned whakapapa and kaitiakitanga. Metaphysical refers to the nature of reality. The word metaphysics literally means after, behind or among the natural – or the study of nature and what exists. The metaphysical concerns what exists in the world and universe, and engages questions like, 'what is there?' (Marsden & Royal, 2003). Metaphysics in philosophy is considered alongside epistemology, logic and ethics, and engages: ontology, cosmology, cosmogony, causality, space and time and identity (Mika & Southey, 2018). Identity for example is contextual to time, space, mind, and body. As explained above regarding whakapapa, identity for Māori extends beyond human and terrestrial spheres to embrace wider environments that are distant in time, space and understanding (Durie, 2001). Tūpuna for example, cross the spiritual plain to walk amongst people who are living in order to guide and support whānau in their present lives.

Cosmogony is an important arm of the metaphysical and for kaitiakitanga this means understanding that whakapapa, customs, values, and attitudes derives from an indigenous body of knowledge that explains the origin of the universe (Roberts et al, 1995). According to Schwimmer (1966) Māori cosmogony peers deeply into the infinite darkness that existed before life began and has two aspects that are fundamental which are whakapapa (genealogy) and the personification of natural phenomena.

Aligned to explanations of the universe, and related to interconnectedness, Mika and Southey (2018) discuss whakaaro (thought) as metaphysical, and state:

> *It is an untidy, non-methodical activity that is just as indefinable as the world in its entirety because it is formed by the world in the first instance (Mika & Southey, 2018).*

This understanding aligns with the idea that the metaphysical is not always contained in a scientific box, in fact logical positivists reject the metaphysical as meaningless and unverifiable (Fetzer, 2000). The foundational writers of kaitiakitanga include in their work, conversations about natural phenomena, cosmogony, cosmology, spiritual realms, and everything that exists

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either outside of the human realm or between humans and the metaphysical realm (Kawharu, 1998, 2002; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Mutu, 2010; Roberts et al., 1995). Kaitiakitanga is seen within the broader context and wholeness of cosmic unity between humans and the universe, and it is both philosophical and pragmatic (Kawharu, 2000). This is further explored in the 'Kaitiaki' section below which discusses Māori experiences of kaitiaki within metaphysical and spiritual understandings.

Kaitiaki

Kaitiaki within the metaphysical realm are spiritual guardians, spirit guides or something that has a spiritual element (Gloyne, 2017a; Gloyne et al., 2020; Muru-Lanning, 2016; Roberts et al., 1995). Gloyne argues that being a kaitiaki was never the role of a human being as it is in today's contemporary explanations, but that a kaitiaki is something spiritual (Gloyne, 2017a). Although kaitiakitanga carries the prefix 'kai' which can mean the person, deity, spirit, or human carrying out the action, many consider that a kaitiaki cannot be an ordinary human being. Wihongi for example wrote "it is wrong to think that we humans act as 'kaitiaki' of nature – that is a Pakehā view. The earth kaitiaki's us, what we must do is respect and nurture the kaitiakitanga of Papatūānuku" (Roberts et al., 1995, p. 14). To extend on the assertion by Roberts et al (1995) that humans are not kaitiaki, Māori Marsden (2003) offers this:

> The gods placed guardian spirits over places or things to watch over the property dedicated to them. These guardian spirits (kaitiaki) manifested themselves by appearing in the form (ariā) of animals, birds, and other natural objects as a warning against transgression, or to effect punishment for breach of tapu (p. 173).

Kaitiaki are known by Māori to be mountains, land, water, and natural phenomena which are often personified and are tūpuna, they are part of whakapapa (Roberts et al, 1995; Muru-Lanning, 2016). As explained by Marsden (2003), within the whakapapa section, kaitiaki are dedicated to taking care of their respective areas. They are spirits, with their powers imbued by a higher being, or God as proposed above by Marsden. Further explanation is given below by Roberts et al (1995) who support that kaitiaki took the form of birds, insects, lizards, fish, or any other guise that could host the kaitiaki.

> Because these gods dwelt in both animate (e.g., a person; a tree) and inanimate objects (e.g., a mountain; a river; a rock) all these things could be said to possess mana, and thus also to be tapu (set apart; possessing the potentiality for power and sacredness) when or if imbued with an indwelling spirit animal kaitiaki frequently take the form of birds, insects, lizards or fish and of reptilian-like forms commonly found in rivers and the sea where they are referred to as taniwha. In this guise the host animal becomes the aria (manifestation) of the god. Others dwell within particular rocks or caves, trees, or inlets of the sea. They can also enter persons who thus become the medium or interpreter of the family kaitiaki or guardian spirit. (p. 12)

Several variations of kaitiaki are explained above by Roberts et al. (1995). Firstly, that kaitiaki can be animate such as a person or a tree. They expand on a person becoming kaitiaki by explaining that this is by manifestation from a higher being, whereby the person becomes a medium or interpreter, and therefore a type of spiritual being. Secondly, that there are several different elements that align with being a kaitiaki, which includes mana and tapu. Lastly, that it is normal and accepted that kaitiaki dwelt or manifested within animals and when this is the case, they can hold other more specific names such as taniwha. Gloyne (2017) with respect to animals, shares pūrākau of a kaitiaki in the form of a kiore (rat). The kiore shows itself when something is not quite right, when tapu is being transgressed or when there is learning that should occur. This kiore is specific to Gloyne's whānau and he cites intergenerational learning, from his Aunty, as the way that he learned that the kiore is a kaitiaki.

Tūpuna are also regarded as kaitiaki, either living or passed. For example, I have a tūpuna who has passed. He protects me when I am travelling. One day, while travelling for work my tūpuna appeared to me, in spirit form, in the middle of the road as a warning to me that I was about to drive through a red light. Although the whole experience happened in a split second, it felt like minutes. I saw him first, heard him next, and then I looked up at the lights and noticed it was red and noticed the vehicle to my left nearing my vehicle. There was just enough time for me to accelerate and narrowly avoid a serious crash. The experience did not end there, however. I arrived at my workplace safely that morning, and as I walked into the building the staff were carrying out karakia (prayer) and the waiata they chose to sing that morning, Ngā Whakamoemiti, was written by this tūpuna. This was another tohu (sign, direction, command) that I was being taken care of by my kaitiaki. This is a normal, rather than a coincidental experience for many Māori. Kaitiaki in the form of tūpuna is a regular occurrence and is an accepted and acknowledged practice in te ao Māori.

It has been highlighted in the literature that Christianity has worked to displace kaitiaki practice through active suppression of the role of tohunga in carrying out the role of spiritual healers and matakite as described below by Roberts et al (1995). This had a devastating effect on the way that Māori were able to carry out their obligations to the metaphysical and human realms, as well as it had great bearing on the way that Māori interacted with their physical environment.

> *Christianity supplanted the ancestral atua or spiritual kaitiaki, and active suppression of the role of the tohunga (person with superior knowledge or learning in a particular area), was affected by various means including the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907. Allied with loss of land, Māori traditional relationships with the environment were seriously impaired. Contemporary Māori have therefore had to fight not only to regain their land but also to obtain recognition of their traditional customs and values relating to the management of environmental resources. This has not been easy to achieve. However, some progress was*

Roberts et al (1995) make a critical point here that when the practice of the metaphysical is suppressed that this affects the balance and the customs of the other realms, especially the environment. It is contended that an understanding of kaitiaki, in a customary way, is necessary to determine the responsibilities and obligations regarding kaitiakitanga in its contemporary use.

This section shows that kaitiaki are largely considered a spiritual guide or being. When humans carry the title 'kaitiaki', this is normally because of the manifesting of spirit within them, or as bestowed by atua or the like, or the person has passed on making them tūpuna. 'Kaitiaki' are reviewed again in the next Chapter where they are further considered within the human realm.

Kaitiakitanga: Elements and practices

This section concentrates on tikanga, or the elements and practices of kaitiakitanga. They are placed within the metaphysical realm not only because they are intrinsic and connecting elements of kaitiakitanga, but they are a requirement to understand the metaphysical. Wairua and tapu, for example, are considered both practical and spiritual tikanga within te ao Māori, and these two elements inform environmental, physical, and spiritual wellness.

> *Concepts like mauri, wairua, mana and tapu are intrinsic and they are connecting agents of kaitiakitanga (Penehira, Smith, Green & Aspin, 2011).*

Many of the elements and practices discussed in this section have been informed by whakapapa and pūrākau and understood through those contexts, they have a deep understanding that cannot always be explained in isolation or in words. Five elements are discussed here, wairua, mana, tapu, tohu and mauri ora which appear across all the literature concerning kaitiakitanga (Forster, 2012a; Hutchings & Smith, 2020; Kawharu, 1998, 2000, 2002; Marsden, 2011; Marsden & Royal, 2003; Mutu, 2010; Roberts et al., 1995; Selby & Moore, 2010). They are also considered crucial tikanga within te ao Māori alongside manaakitanga, tiakitanga, aroha and whanaungatanga (Durie, 2001; Kawharu, 1998; Mead, 2003, 2017; Ratima, Durie, & Hond, 2015). These connecting elements of kaitiakitanga (Kawharu, 1998; Penehira, 2011; Roberts et al., 1995) are vital to understanding and experiencing kaitiakitanga, as well as to its application. These elements set direct precedents for social, environmental, and political behaviour and action (Kawharu, 1998) and therefore underpin kaitiakitanga and its understandings. They are also woven throughout the thesis, and one will need to have a knowledge of them to understand what underpins the kōrero throughout each chapter.

Wairua

Wairua refers to spirit, essence, psyche, moods, and inherent nature. The word wairua can also be described as the two parts of us, coming together: our physical and our spiritual nature. Wai and rua can be associated with the darkness and the night (Smith, 2019). In the night-time for example, the wairua can depart the human body in spirit form, and then return to the ngākau in the light. Penehira et al. (2011) note a discussion by Waikerepuru (2009) who explains wairua as 'ngā wai e rua', the two fluid/water sources present at the conception of a child – wai means 'water' and rua means 'two'. Māori have strong wairua connection to water and ancestral waters in their respective hapū and iwi areas in particular.

Spirituality is often the English word that relates to wairua, however, Smith (2019) notes that Christianity and colonisation have impacted and informed this concept. For example, pre-colonial understandings of wairua differ from the biblical sense of spirit, because wairua derives from whakapapa and is connected to Papatūānuku and Ranginui and the first human being, Hineahuone (Smith, 2019). Wairua is affected when balance and energy is affected, when Papatūānuku is unwell for example. Kaitiakitanga writers engage wairua in various ways, but mostly through the discussion of wairua to wai, mana, whenua, hauora and whānau (water, whenua, health, and family) (Kawharu, 1998; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Roberts et al., 1995; Selby et al., 2010a). Wairua is affected and effected by balance, energy, time, place, and space (Lipsham, 2016b; Pere, 1994).

Barnes et al. (2017, p. 318) describe wairua as occurring in several different ways, times, and locations. The authors named each of these wairua areas as spheres and they are listed as follows:

- Tupuna (ancestors), people who have gone before, particularly one's own relations; honouring, feeling connected to them, their actions, intentions, and legacies
- Future generations, seeing oneself as having obligations to children, grandchildren, and generations to come
- Connection to place, people, events, and issues; knowledge and sense of belonging
- Connection to self; a sense of wholeness
- Connection to something wider than oneself; for example, connection to tūpuna, atua/gods/spirits
- Practising wairua; the processes involved in rituals and events using particular customs and protocols

And finally, the sphere that Barnes et al. state is the "the so-called supernatural or uncanny although rarely written about in the literature and one aspect key informants were reluctant to talk about, this is one of the spheres people may more commonly associate with wairua, but it is

only one aspect (Moewaka Barnes, 2016)". I would be reluctant to call the last point above 'so-called' because that infers that it may not be real. Wairua does involve the supernatural and that is expressed with clarity by the kaikōrero in this study regarding kaitiakitanga.

Mana

Mana is an important concept within te ao Māori. Marsden and Royal (2003) discuss mana as charisma, exousia and dunamis where they explain these as lawful or permitted. All people are said to be born with mana (Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2700), 2021). Pere (1994) describes mana as multi-layered and as having multiple forms which includes psychic influence, prestige, power, vested and acquired authority and influence, being influential over others and control. Historically, mana in a human sense for example could be handed down through leaders to rangatahi. Today, mana is often passed through in different ways, like through roles and responsibilities at Marae, or within workplaces. Pere (1994, p. 37) notes however "that one cannot always assume that because a Māori person has acquired status in a western world, that he or she has mana in the Māori world". Mead (2003) adds to this argument:

> *Every individual Māori is born with an increment of mana which is closely related to personal tapu. While an increment of mana is inherited at birth it is possible to build onto it through one's personal achievements, through good works and an ability to lift the mana of the whole group. Mana is always a social quality that requires other people to recognise one's achievements and accord respect (Mead, 2003, p. 51).*

Several mana phrases are regarded in te Ao Māori and these include: mana wahine (Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2700), 2021), mana whakaheke, mana whakatipu, mana taurite, mana tūpuna, mana whakaaio, mana whakahaere and tuku mana whakahaere. Mana motuhake, mana tangata and mana whenua are mana phrases specific to kaitiakitanga. Mana whenua for example is explained by Kawharu (2000, p. 355) as "a primary example of reciprocity inherent in customary beliefs where the term is not only about exercising authority over lands, but also recognising the life-sustaining ability and authority of lands over the group who manages an area carefully". Further to this, Kawharu (2000) asserts that if you are non-kin (do not whakapapa to that area) but you are recognisably Māori (she names a Māori social service agency) and living within another hapū or iwi, you have responsibility to protecting mana tangata (the people of that hapū and iwi), as opposed to the role of balancing mana tangata within a mana whenua framework.

Tapu

Tapu is explained by Rangimarie Rose Pere (1994) as "spiritual restriction, ceremonial restriction, putting something beyond one's power or placing a quality or condition on a person or on an object or place. Whatever the context its contribution is establishing social control and discipline,

and protecting people and property" (p. 39). Walker (2004) discusses tapu as a spiritual force which emanated from a celestial realm of the gods. Tapu has three different dimensions which covers sacredness, prohibition, and uncleanliness (Walker, 2004). In order to clear spiritual restriction or have a digression brought to spiritual balance, 'noa' is important (Opai, 2021). Noa is the process of freeing the restrictions of tapu and can involve varying levels of karakia (incantation or prayer). Growing up for example, I was taught to not mix anything from the bathroom with anything from the kitchen, and anything to do with the head i.e., combs, was not able to be placed on tables as the head is considered tapu. If there was a breach of this tapu, a karakia was carried out, or the items could no longer be used and would need to be discarded as they can no longer be put to common use (Marsden & Royal, 2003; Opai, 2021). Death and urupā (cemeteries) are considered to hold aspects of tapu and therefore to enact 'noa' hands are washed with water when in contact with the dead or urupā which removed the tapu, both physically and spiritually.

Whenua tapu is the recognition of land being sacred, or of a particular piece of land being sacred and protected. Sacred places include wāhi tapu and wai tapu. Wāhi tapu for example include areas where graves or bones have been found and are then considered urupā, or tuahu, which are places of worship (Walker, 2004). Tapu is a means of social control in a macro sense, but it also occurs and is a consideration at a whānau level.

My Great Grandfather was called upon in the 1900s to carry out the duties of a tōhunga. The work of a tōhunga is strongly aligned to tapu in terms of digression. Tōhunga were chosen by the tribe as a leader in a particular spiritual field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation. Tōhunga mediated between the atua and the tribe and were experts in propitiating the atua with karakia and were adept in sacred lore, spiritual beliefs, traditions, and genealogies of the tribe. After my Great Grandfather carried out this specialised role, his surname was changed to Tapu to acknowledge the time he spent functioning as a tōhunga.

Tapu is regarded as a sacred spiritual force that in relation to the concept of noa provides a spectrum through which we can locate and see the quality, condition, power and sacredness of a place, object or person (Opai, 2021). Tapu is the means through we can observe and know how we can or should relate to certain contexts, people, or places.

Tohu

Tohu are more commonly known today to be a sign, mark, indication or a distinguishing feature. Within a pre-colonial context however, tohu were critical to safety and navigating across all contexts which included whenua, universe, oceans and within the home. Tohu whenua for example were landmarks associated with regions where Māori had whakapapa connections and

these could be physical, like mountains. Tohu related to people could be symbols that Rangatira (chiefly people, people with status) wore, like a feather, which would mean leadership and chiefly status. Other tohu could appear as rainbows, creatures or spirits which could be a sign of impending death, illness or misfortune (Smith, 2019). Tohu is both a noun and a verb, which means it can be both a state and an action. Smith (2019, p. 14) explains tohu below and makes clear that tohu strongly relate to the way in which Māori navigate, negotiate, and relate to the environment, which is critical to kaitiakitanga discussions.

> An active tohu might be a particular wind that indicates a change in weather conditions … yet another example might be an element within the environment: a mountain, stone, tree, river, or natural feature … in pre-colonial narratives tohu are not only signs, marks or indicators that are in the daily environment but are also verbalised as kupu tohutohu (words of importance, advice) … non-verbal tohu include actions or gestures that communicate shared understandings for survival.

Pere (1994) extends on the description of tohu by including omen and proof and that learning how to understand, read and see tohu are important parts of traditional Māori learning. She indicates that there are tohu that are familiar within Iwi as a whole, but that there are also tohu that are familiar within whānau only. Mokopuna (grandchildren) for example is often said to have a 'sixth sense' because they read tohu more readily, easily, and acceptingly than adults. Seeing spiritual "kaitiaki (spiritual guardians) and seeing the dead soon after they've died in spirit form is an example of the natural ability that many mokopuna have" (Pere, 1994, p. 71). Tohu can also "manifest within the emotions, perceived by the human body and relayed by their various means to the ngākau, to be rongo (sensed)" (Smith, 2019, p. 15).

Mauri Ora

Mauri has several different meanings, which include the notions of energy, connecting, vibration, vitality and lifeforce (Marsden & Royal, 2003). Mauri, when paired with ora, meaning to be alive and well, is related to human happiness, positivity, flourishing, being balanced, having good relationships with the living and the spirit world, feeling exploratory and generally feeling strength. When experiencing mauri ora, the energy, vibration or balance within the person is alive and well. Smith (2019) describes mauri ora as "wellbeing coming from within, which maintains the balance of the internal self with the external world" (p. 18) and that the internal and external affect each other through energy. He provides explanation of 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 (Smith, 2019, p. 18).

Mauri ora is a holistic term, which includes our mental, physical, spiritual, and environmental wellness (Durie, 2001; Pere & Nicholson, 1997; Pohatu, 2008). Several tikanga are key to the continuum of mauri ora which include in part: manaakitanga, aroha, pōwhiri, whanaungatanga, kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata, te tuakiritanga and kaitiakitanga (Beverland, Forthcoming-b; Durie, 2001; Pohatu, 2003; Smith, 1999). Caring for ourselves as an individual, for the collective wellbeing is also extremely important from a Māori viewpoint, as stated by Hirini Moko Mead:

> *The mauri becomes an attribute of the self. The self and mauri are one. If there is something wrong with the mauri, the person is not well. When the person is physically and socially well, the mauri is in a state of balance, described as mauri tau (the mauri is at peace)" (Mead, 2003, p. 53).*

Pohatu (2011) highlights that mauri ora is not a constant state but operates on a continuum with the other states of mauri. Mauri oho (a state of contemplative wondering or awakening) and mauri noho (a quiescent spirit or lack of vitality), for example, are states that are related to the contexts of being contemplative, meditative, reflective, and non-participatory, and which are also not constant (Pohatu, 2011). Smith (2019) agrees that mauri ora is not static and discusses mauri oho as a state of awakening and being startled into action, which is affected by both internal and external contexts.

Several whakataukī engage the notion of mauri ora, such as 'ka ora pea i a koe, ka ora koe i au' – perhaps I survive because of you, and you survive because of me. This whakataukī asserts that each member of the tribe is essential to the survival of all others, and the performance of each member is important to the tribe's success Mead and Grove (2001). For Māori no individual is disconnected from the mauri of another. Pere (1994) identifies that mauri is part of every individual. She identified that feeling respected and accepted are key to being able to fully represent oneself and that mauri can be affected negatively when this is not the case.

> *If a person feels that she is respected and accepted for what she herself represents and believes in, particularly by people who relate or interact with her, then her mauri waxes; but should she feel that people are not accepting her in her totality, so that she is unable to make a positive contribution from her own makeup as a person, then her mauri wanes ((Pere, 1994, p. 32).*

Pere (1994) highlights 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 in the maintenance and momentum of a mauri state. How our mauri is affected by the wider environment and social contexts are other important considerations.

The concepts of wairua; mana; tapu; tohu; and mauri ora are given definition within this chapter to support the reader to understand each of these tikanga when discussed in later substantive chapters, as well as they are elements of kaitiakitanga across the three realms. Each of the concepts outlined provide insights into the layers that exist within the metaphysical world for Māori. In many ways these concepts are intangible, however they can be felt, seen, and heard when one can connects deeply in ways that recognise the spiritual nature of their expression. All of these elements appear across the key literature regarding kaitiakitanga. Although the elements appear across the kaitiakitanga literature, they are mainly definitional and general to te ao Māori, which is what I have provided here also[3]. They appear in this way because they are key determinants to living and being Māori and float across time, space, context, and place. It is argued in this chapter that these elements are central to both understanding and practicing kaitiakitanga. These elements compliment other key tikanga and mātauranga within te ao Māori, and several of these are reviewed in the next section regarding the physical realm. This review now moves to discuss the physical realm and how this relates to the overall philosophy of kaitiakitanga.

Kaitiakitanga: The Physical Realm[4]

There is a symbiotic relationship between Māori and the environment whereby the health and wellbeing of each depends on the other, so that it is mutually beneficial (Henwood & Henwood, 2011; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). Māori have sophisticated 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 put out of balance (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Mead, 2003; 2001). Kaitiakitanga, as an environmental ethic, is about balance and without this, the human condition is affected (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). Māori ensure this balance through practices such as kaitiakitanga (Blair, 2002; Kawharu, 2002) across contexts such as whenua, awa and moana.

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[3] Within many Waitangi Tribunal Claims there is specific mention of these elements regarding the environment – mainly regarding whenua, awa, wāhi tapu and moana. Within these claims, hapū and iwi have provided explanation of how the elements are felt, experienced and understood in those contexts (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021; Waitangi Tribunal (1), 1978; Waitangi Tribunal (2915), 2021; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 6), 1983; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 143), 2013; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 291), 2019; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 718), 1999a, 1999b; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 788) (Wai 800), 2013; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 898), 2013; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2700), 2021).

[4] Parts of this section have been published as part of the PhD journey in: Pihama, L., Lipsham, M. J. H., & Cameron-Raumati, N. (forthcoming). 'Whenua ora Tangata Ora'. In L. Pihama & L. T. Smith (Eds.), Ora: Healing ourselves - Indigenous Knowledge, Healing and Wellbeing. Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand: Huia Publishers. And, Pihama, L., & Lipsham, M.J.H. (2020). 'Noho Haumaru: Reflecting on Māori approaches to staying safe during Covid-19 in Aotearoa (New Zealand)'. Journal of Indigenous Social Development, Vol 9(3), 92-101.

The relationship between Māori and the physical environment is deeply expressed and is evidenced through reference to many features of the landscape, water, and universe (Gloyne et al., 2020; Kawharu, 2000; 2001; Potter, 2020; Te Aho, 2011). The basic premise of the relationship Māori have with all that surrounds them in the world is the idea of belonging and connection, rather than ownership and control, and this extends to an economic foundation, tribal identity and a spiritual base (Durie, 1998, 2001; Hond, Ratima, & Edwards, 2019; Hutchings & Smith, 2020; Muru-Lanning, 2016; Mutu, 2010; Potter, 2020; Ruru et al., 2011; Te Aho, 2011). Expression of this belonging and connection is often through whaikōrero and pepeha which 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 (2001; Roberts et al., 1995). The referencing of significant features of the environment and ancestors is an important tikanga for Māori, that of making connection through whakapapa and the acknowledgement of relationship and order.

Within te ao Māori several parts of the earth have dual meanings, and this shows the significance and indivisibility of people and the physical environment:

> *It is the spiritual significance of land which is most dear to Māori. Whenua (land) also means placenta; hapu (extended family or sub-tribe) also means pregnant. The expression 'te u kai po' refers to the area where you were brought up, but it also means to be breast fed. The land's significance derives from Papatūānuku, hence the dual meaning of these words whereby the land is identified as the source of human creation, from which we were born, by which we are nurtured, and to which we return. This relationship is expressed symbolically in such customs as the burial of the pito (umbilical cord) and by appropriate karakia acknowledging the mana (authority; power) derived by Māori from Papatūānuku (Wiki, 1994, p.1).*

Kaitiakitanga is explained by Selby et al. (2010a) as the way Māori lived in harmony with the environment. Māori appreciated that everything had mauri (life force) and that there was a responsibility to live respectfully with the environment and this was observed as kaitiakitanga. Each iwi, hapū and whānau have their own tikanga or kawa regarding kaitiakitanga and each have respective roles in taking care of and protecting flora and fauna for the benefit of future generations (Hutchings & Smith, 2020; Kawharu, 1998; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Selby et al., 2010a; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011).

Kaitiakitanga, as an environmental ethic, is the process and practice of making sure equilibrium is maintained and sustained. Without equilibrium, the human condition, the environment, health, and balance is severely affected (Carney & Smith, 2020; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011). Forster (2012) presented a framework for understanding kaitiakitanga from a contemporary lens in her research called 'Hei Whenua Papatipu: Kaitiakitanga and the Politics of Enhancing the Mauri of Wetlands'. This framework shows four

areas linked to customary and contemporary knowledge in order to maintain balance between the environment and people. Figure 2 shows the four cultural precepts that were proposed and the responsibilities and obligations of each across structural and systemic levels.

Cultural precepts	Features
Mauri Tū: Restoring the balance	Cosmo-genealogical orations and narratives form customary basis (kaupapa) of kaitiakitanga. A customary relationship with the environment is based on whakapapa and necessitates the protection of mauri. The customary basis of kaitiakitanga establishes the obligations and responsibilities of hapū.
Toitūtanga: Sustainability culture	Obligations and responsibilities of hapū towards whenua Key foci of this dimension are the *in situ*, real life application of kaitiakitanga and tribal authority, realising hapū obligations and responsibilities towards the environment.
Tikanga tiaki: Acts of kaitiaki	Kaitiakitanga must link to improved environmental outcomes. Example: hapū-based enhancement and restoration of wetlands and waterways.
Tino Rangatiratanga: Māori authority and control	Continued exercise of mana whenua. Recognition of indigeneity by the state. Recognition of the Treaty and the right of Māori to be involved in resource management by the state. Māori-state relations that recognise Māori environmental interests and provide for Māori participation in resource management.

Figure 3.3: A frame for understanding contemporary kaitiakitanga (Forster, 2012a, p. 241).

The cultural precepts above show how one would assess whether kaitiakitanga is in progress or action. The first precept, Mauri Tū, affirms and acknowledges that there is a responsibility and obligation to keep the environment well. Whakapapa and cosmo-genealogical orations and narratives provides the base for all environmental relationships. This includes being able to explore the bond between people, place, and ancestors. Secondly, Toitūtanga draws on the obligations and responsibilities to whakapapa where hapū enact a sustainability culture where the outcome is reciprocal health outcomes. One of these health outcomes is linked to nurturing the cultural and spiritual base for future generations. Thirdly, tikanga tiaki recognises that the practice of nurturing and sustaining the environment needs to lead to improving environmental outcomes, and finally, that Māori must be able to exercise tino rangatiratanga with assurances from the State, and this includes several different measures. These measures include: the recognition of indigeneity by the State, the effects that legislation has on culture and relationships and Māori authority and control. Forster's model shows that kaitiakitanga is reliant on systems and structures, which inherently, must be put in place by people who care about the earth and the health and wellbeing of all of us into the future.

The understandings and practices concerning the whenua differs from iwi to iwi, though universally Māori connection to whenua is integral to cultural identity, spirituality, community and belonging, though when this is damaged Māori "lose more than components of wellbeing. An entire cultural infrastructure ... is eroded ..." (Barnes et al., 2019, p. 11; Gray, Coates, Yellow Bird, & Hetherington, 2013; Mokuau & Mataira, 2013). Durie (1998, p. 115) adds 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." This exemplifies the centrality of connection to whenua for Māori and elucidates the reasons why hapū and iwi have fought for generations to assert their roles and obligations to the whenua.

Mataamua and Temara (2011) offer a Tūhoe perspective and write about the relationship that their Iwi have with the metaphysical and physical environment. Tūhoe is in the North Island of Aotearoa and the environment and boundary is referred to as Te Urewera. Its significant features include, at its highest point, Maungapōhatu, the sacred mountain. Waikaremoana, a lake nestled in the hills to the east of the mountain, and the giant precipice of Panekire and hills surround these significant environmental ancestors. Tūhoe believe, that they whakapapa to the environment and that they are direct descendants. And therefore, Tūhoe also believe that everything in the environment, including trees, fish, eels, and birds for example have genealogy and are related to people. Therefore, Tūhoe identity derives from the environment and this connection had been preserved for centuries.

> *Tūhoe have maintained a constant relationship with their environment, a bond that connects the people to the hills, the rivers, the trees and to all that surrounds them ... evidence suggests that Tūhoe are connected to the land and to their traditional environment in both a physical and metaphysical manner (pp. 98-99).*

Overall, tikanga guide iwi and hapū relationships with whenua and the wider environment and is practiced in a wide range of cultural contexts such as pōwhiri, Marae, wāhi tapu, māra kai, moana, awa, taiao and ngāhere (Mead, 2003; Salmond, 1975; Walker, 2004). Marsden and Royal (2003) highlight that there is a multitude of layers that come with the practice of tikanga and note that there is a "sense of reverence for life, of the fitting and proper way of treating things, an awareness of the spiritual essence, of the wana (aura of splendour) that radiates from all animate life and a sense of their numinal qualities" (p. 48). Table 3.2 below shows some of the ways in which whenua is understood.

Whenua understandings

Whenua	Meanings
Whenua	Land, ground, placenta, country
Tangata Whenua	People of the land, Indigenous people, local people
Mana whenua	Jurisdiction of land, authority of land
Horo whenua	Erosion, landslide
Huruhuru whenua	Large tufted native fern with very glossy fronds
Papa whenua	Grounds, ground floor
Whenua ōhākī	Deathbed land grant, by a dying chief
Pito whenua	Piece of land
Whenua papatipu	Land held under customary title, ancestral land – the base upon which the hapū was nurtured
Whenua raupatu	Land taken by force, confiscated land.
Whenua tapu	Land of sacred significance
Whenua tuku	Land that was gifted
Whenua rāhui	Land set aside for a specific purpose. Reserve. Reserve land.
Whenua pīrere	Temporarily occupied land
Manawa whenua	Deep underground spring

Table 3.2: Whenua understandings (Pihama et al., Forthcoming)

Each of the whenua understandings above represent environmental practices, theory and ethics that are important to Māori. Key tikanga are key to the application of each of these whenua understandings which include mana, raupatu, tapu, tuku, rāhui, whenua (placenta) and pito. These tikanga are considered central to kaitiakitanga understandings. These tikanga in particular are now reviewed and explained.

Raupatu

'Rau' – 100, 'patu' – to strike. Raupatu literally means 100 strikes. Raupatu refers to confiscated land, or land taken by force, and it is the term used to describe the confiscation of ancestral lands by the Government through various colonial tools. The word raupatu means seizure, take without right, conquest or confiscate.

> *The first proclamation confiscating land under the NZ Settlements Act was made in December 1864. Over the next three years, five districts were proclaimed to be under the act: Taranaki, Waikato, Tauranga, Eastern Bay of Plenty and Mōhaka–Waikare. The total area affected was about 1.5 million acres (607,500 ha) (New Zealand History, 2021, p. 22).*

The New Zealand Settlements Act was passed in 1863 which meant that the Crown could confiscate land belonging to Māori (Mokuau & Mataira, 2013; Walker, 2004). The legislation was

a colonial and imperialistic tool to steal land from Māori in order to accommodate Pākehā. Many other acts of legislation such as the Native Lands Act 1862 and the Public Works Lands Act 1864 also sought to force Māori from their land. Raupatu refers to the violence of confiscation of land through colonial processes and legislation, and has been instrumental in the disconnection of whānau, hapū and iwi from whenua, thus impacting the capacity to actively enact kaitiakitanga on whenua that has been dispossessed (Mokuau & Mataira, 2013; Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, 2021; Waitangi Tribunal (1), 1978; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 6), 1983; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 788) (Wai 800), 2013).

Tuku

Tuku whenua is a Māori customary practice of letting people live on land either permanently or temporarily. The land however is not owned by those now living on it. The agreement is that the land could be utilised by all parties but is still owned by the hapū or iwi.

Kawharu (2000) adds this further explanation:

> *Relationships between donor and receiver were also expected to continue. Tuku was tagged with an unwritten obligation to return something in kind. It was a reciprocal obligation that not only gave freedom to the receivers to use certain lands and resources, but also placed a debt on them. Such obligations were not always precisely defined, but the nature of the gifting process more than the actual gift itself would suggest to the receiver appropriate ways of reciprocating. Tuku has been described as "a balancing of accounts" (OMB 1868, Vol. 2:26) (p. 361).*

Rangatira normally enforced the tuku whenua because of the mana they carried. Kawharu (1998) asserts that short-term tuku whenua was more likely than long term. Mutu (1992) explains tuku whenua as a custom for the allocation of land use rights. Tuku whenua, since 1840 and the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, has been a contentious issue as Pākēha of that time saw it as a permanent agreement and a sale and purchase rather than its intended meaning of a short-term gifting.

Tino Rangatiratanga

As discussed in the methodology to this thesis, tino rangatiranga concerns Māori assertion of sovereignty, self-determination, and authority. Kawharu (1998) discusses tino rangatiratanga as crucial to understanding kaitiakitanga. Tino rangatiratanga involves Māori asserting their right to determine, define and lead kaupapa, especially as it relates to Te Tiriti o Waitangi adherence and partnership. Kaitiakitanga is largely about decision making rights, which is why tino rangatiratanga is always placed within the kaitiakitanga discourse. Hutchings et al, (2020) highlight rangatiratanga as a core principle of kaitiakitanga. They state that although state-based legislation limits mana whenua capacities, that kaitiaki values still prevail. At Koukourarata Marae on the Banks Peninsula for example, rangatiratanga is expressed through the way in which

they produce food, and their understanding of food cultivation comes from Māori intergenerational knowledge transmission. For example, riwai (potato) and mussels were understood in their hapū and iwi to hold mana, so when this mana was altered through the control of chemical input into foods, Koukourarata went organic and grew riwai of all sizes and shapes. This went against entrenched ideas about what a riwai should look like (Hutchings et al., 2020). Other examples of the assertion of tino rangatiratanga are highlighted below in the section named 'hapū and iwi experiences of kaitiakitanga'.

Rāhui

Rāhui usually refers to a ban, restriction or prohibition from an area (2003) and is part of an "holistic and articulate system of tikanga" (McCormack, 2011, p. 45). Prohibition or bans can occur because of three contexts: for the purpose of conservation (marine resources, cultivated crops, depletion of seafood), when death has occurred (to enable personal and spiritual safety, as well as acknowledgement of the dead) and the political rāhui where a claim over land, water or resource is necessary (McCormack, 2011).

In the context of Covid-19 in Aotearoa for example, rāhui is the process of putting in place ritual restrictions or prohibitions to safeguard Māori communities. The process of rāhui occurred at multiple levels across Aotearoa during Covid-19 pandemic, including creating protective boundaries; iwi checkpoints; and supporting the movement to restrict entry into Aotearoa (Mangapeehi (Rereahu Marae) Covid, 2020; Ngarewa-Packer, 2020; Pihama & Lipsham, 2020; Te Roopu Whakakaupapa Urutā: National Māori Pandemic Group, 2020). Iwi checkpoints for example were set up across Aotearoa for the purpose of protecting Māori communities, kaumātua (elders) and those with underlying health conditions. In Taranaki, Aotearoa, checkpoints were set up at the expense of Iwi and were continued through to 08 May 2020 to protect Iwi within the Taranaki region (Ngarewa-Packer, 2020). The Tai Tokerau (Northland region of Aotearoa) Community Borders initiative, designed to protect both Māori and non-Māori was put in place and people were turned back who posed a threat to the health and wellbeing of people in the North (Ngapuhi Iwi, 2020).

Whenua ki te whenua

Whenua ki te whenua emphasises that we come from the earth, and we will one day return to the earth. We return in two ways, when our placenta is returned to the earth, and when we return on our death. The connection to whenua is most clearly articulated in the understanding that the fundamental meaning of the term whenua is both land and placenta (Pihama et al., Forthcoming; Simmonds, 2017). This draws us to a direct belief system within tikanga that as people we are the land, and the land is us. For example, ancestral traditions surrounding birth highlight that the

placenta of a new-born child is returned to the earth which establishes a spiritual link (Mead, 2003) whenua ki te whenua (placenta to the land) (Simmonds, 2017). This is undertaken as the process which connects the child to their ancestral land as noted by Walker (2004) "each generation was bonded to the land at birth by the custom of planting the afterbirth, also known as whenua in the land. When a child's pito (umbilical cord) was cut and buried with the afterbirth in the land, it was known as an iho whenua" (p. 70). Other processes accompany the birth, before the process of burial, and these include karakia, oriori, tohi (Mead, 2003) and karanga (Simmonds, 2017).

The sacred process of returning both whenua and pito to the earth has been disrupted by the imposition of western medical practices, where the placenta was removed at the hospital and destroyed. Further to this, the processes in mainstream settings during pregnancy have been highlighted by Simmonds (2017) as silencing the voice of Māori maternities. Simmonds (2017) writes that women today are being strategically silent, only revealing parts of what their birth plans will involve and the ceremony inherent, which act as "powerful acts of resistance toward protecting Māori knowledges in spaces that fail to recognise their value" (p. 5). Women today are actively working to break the silence with the hope that their children will not experience the trauma, silence, hurt and shame of their ancestors (Simmonds, 2017).

The terms whānau, hapū and iwi are indicators of the relationships that we have with each other and to our whenua, whānau meaning both to give birth and extended family, hapū meaning subtribe or to be pregnant, and iwi meaning tribe or bone (Fitzmaurice, 2020; Forster, 2019; Pere, 1994; Roberts et al., 1995). Whenua ki te whenua is an ancestral practice and whilst it has been disrupted for many whānau through the imposition of colonial birthing practices and raupatu, it remains a critical way of reinforcing our connection and our responsibilities to our lands.

There are several tikanga that are repeatedly discussed in the literature related to the physical realm which are defined in this chapter, those being raupatu, tuku, rāhui, tino rangatiratanga and whenua ki te whenua. Each of these concepts raise key impacts or practices related to whenua that are influential in the physical dimension of kaitiakitanga and that have been incorporated and maintained over generations to ensure balance, wellbeing, protection and healing in spaces and places. These concepts are asserted by Māori as enactments of rangatiratanga. They are concepts and practices that are defined and practiced by Māori. The next section highlights the relationship that hapū and iwi have with the physical landscape and the struggle to maintain and sustain those relationships. This is followed by how iwi and hapū are reconnecting whānau to whenua through health and wellness initiatives.

Hapū and Iwi experiences of kaitiakitanga[5]

In Aotearoa, colonisation, dispossession and marginalisation of Māori has resulted in displacement (Smith, 1999) and an imposition of western-style agriculture and industrial values and processes in terms of land and water use (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). For many hapū and iwi, successive governments, courts, and councils have disregarded tikanga and mātauranga Māori, this has meant that hapū and iwi end up taking matters into their own hands (Selby et al., 2010a; Waitangi Tribunal (1), 1978; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 6), 1983; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011).

Literature regarding hapū and iwi experiences concerning the physical realm and kaitiakitanga will be reviewed in the first part of this section, and the contexts include water, land, and disconnection from hapū and iwi. These experiences show that over many generations, Māori have been involved in battles to maintain and sustain tino rangatiratanga and enact kaitiakitanga. Evidence of these battles can be found within NZ Courts records and regarding the environment solely in the Environment Court of New Zealand databases. The Waitangi Tribunal has been the most important and specific structure and system for Māori to speak back to grievances, racism, systemic and structural violence and many other forms of oppression and marginalisation (New Zealand Government, 2021).

The second part of this section presents iwi and hapū experiences regarding resource management, and health and wellbeing initiatives. There are many successful programmes and initiatives being conducted across Aotearoa, and this includes māra kai (garden projects) and sustainability projects. Several different examples of how Māori connect to whenua are presented within this discussion which show how Māori navigate environmental discourses and incorporate systems and structures for the future health and wellbeing of the whenua and people.

Over many generations Māori have struggled to retain a measure of tino rangatiratanga and to practice kaitiakitanga, especially regarding the environment. Much of the tension concerns non-Māori challenges over resources that Māori are kaitiaki of. Ngāneko Minhinnick is quoted in Walker as saying (Walker, 2004, p. 251):

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[5] This section does not provide an exhaustive list of definitions from an environmental standpoint, as these are widely written about, analysed and conceptualised in an Aotearoa context (Awatere et al., 2017; Barnes et al., 2019; Boland et al., 1998; Hutchings, 2015; Hutchings et al., 2020; Kawharu, 1998, 2002; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Mataamua & Temara, 2010; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Mutu, 2010; New Zealand Government, 2021; Roberts et al., 1995; Royal, 2010; Ruru et al., 2011; Selby et al., 2010a; Te Aho, 2011; Te Ara, 2010; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 788) (Wai 800), 2013; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2700), 2021; Williams, 2001; Williams, 2002).

"We as a people, have become involved in procedures which are foreign to our way of life. To put forward our view, we must undergo a whole learning process, trying to understand planning applications, rights for intakes, rights for discharge, rights of objection and appeal, water and soil legislation, planning legislation only to be told that despite all these procedures, there is no provision for spiritual and cultural matters Māori to be considered"

In 1985 the Waitangi Tribunal findings of the Manukau Claim (Wai 8) were released. The claimants were Ngāneko Minhinnick, from Ngāti Te Ata, and Te Puaha ki Manukau. The claim included in part the investigation of the slurry pipe-line project at the steel mill in Waiuku, the liquigas terminal in Papakura, and the sewage treatment plant in Mangere. The claim about the steel mill which played out in the court system, regarded the despoiling of the Manukau Harbour, the mixing of two water systems and the loss of surrounding land. The Manukau tribes argued their role as kaitiaki and provided an overview of the land confiscations of the 1860s and breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The claimants highlighted the devasting effect that land loss and erosion of rangatiratanga had on the tribes, and the injustice and outrage of still not being considered mana whenua, tangata whenua or kaitiaki of the whole of the Waikato Tainui confederation of tribes. As a part of this claim, Ngāneko Minhinnick, a leading advocate in matters of kaitiakitanga within her Iwi across the Waikato Tainui region, referred to the mauri of the Waikato and Manukau rivers. She argued that the mixing of the two systems of water in the Waikato and Manukau was unacceptable to Waikato and considered sacrilege. A similar discussion regarding water and Māori views has been highlighted in He Hinatore ki Te Ao Māori:

> *Water may become polluted in two ways. Water becomes wai kino when its natural flow is disturbed or modified either by natural or non-natural means and the life-sustaining waiora constitutes danger to human beings (as in a waterfall) … water becomes wai mate when there is a mixing of the waters by unnatural means, ie, the mixing of two separate mauri, and the boiling processes that discharge 'dead' or 'cooked water' to living water that supplies seafood. The water is considered to have lost its power or force and become metaphysically dead. In this case, the mauri has been lost and can only be restored through Papatūānuku (Ministry of Justice, 2001, p. 45).*

Minhinnick fought the system in multiple contexts to take regard of Māori cultural and spiritual concerns where they were not considered in legislation. One of these legislative acts was the Water and Soil Conservation Act 1967. In 1981 a Planning Tribunal decision (A116/81) concluded that Māori cultural and spiritual concerns go beyond the mere physical environment and that the Act could not take into consideration 'purely metaphysical concerns' (Williams, 2002, p. 289). This decision would affect many more Planning Tribunals thereafter. Added to this, the Planning Tribunal said:

> *May we add that other sections of the community also have spiritual values, many of which are not recognised, indeed are trampled on, by the community at large. But the strength of spiritual values is that they are personal; that they are still valid to the individual though rejected by others (p. 90).*

Māori cultural values and metaphysical concerns were diminished by the Planning Tribunal as being 'personal beliefs' and likened to religion. The irony of such a finding is that all Courts throughout Aotearoa and the world have the option to swear on the Bible or swear by affirmation. The argument that spirituality is personal, and therefore without legitimacy, as argued by the then Planning Tribunal is contradicted in the court system which remains bound by religion. The Waitangi Tribunal Claim, Wai 8, in 1983 sought to overturn this decision including highlighting the need for Water and Soil Conservation Act 1967 to be repealed and replaced by legislation that acknowledged, protected, and enhanced the rights of Māori people with respect to water and soil conservation matters. Some of the key findings from the Waitangi Tribunal included that metaphysical concerns are relevant to the Treaty of Waitangi and that there was failure to account for that in the Act, that the Act was mono-cultural legislation, that a river is a taonga and has mauri and that Māori values should be given proper consideration. Wai 8 has since impacted on the way that the Resource Management Act 1991 was written, and this became a very different piece of legislation than its predecessor, the Water and Soil Conservation Act 1967.

Margaret Mutu from Ngāti Kahu, is a long-term advocate and kaitiaki for her Iwi in the North. She, like Minhinnick, led/leads major cases concerning environment on behalf of Māori. The cases she and her Iwi have fought have also led to landmark decisions including definitional amendments within the Resource Management Act 1991 and the New Zealand Coastal Policy Statement. Their experiences however have not been without personal and collective hardship and challenge, as she states:

> *Ngāti Kahu's experience of trying to carry out our responsibilities as kaitiaki of our natural resources is that it has become increasingly difficult over recent decades as Pākehā development has encroached at an alarmingly increasing rate … we do not accept that ignorance and so-called 'cultural misunderstanding' – a euphemism for racism – are legitimate excuses for desecrating our wāhi tapu and despoiling our lands and seas. And we will never accept the White Supremacy (racism) which nurtures these attitudes (Mutu, 2010, p. 33).*

Mutu rightfully cites that racism is central to the way in which Ngāti Kahu was treated which was couched in cultural misunderstandings. She does not mince words by relaying what she understands is the central issue which is power and money. In the New Zealand Coastal Policy Statement, an explanation of kaitiakitanga was sourced by Mutu, written by McCully Matiu, and supported nationally by other hapū and iwi. This definition includes whakapapa, spiritual gods, kaitiaki in the form of deceased ancestors and all the elements of the world, including the earth and sky, natural resources and taonga. The manifestation of spiritual assistants in the form of fish, animals, trees, or reptiles was again highlighted as it had been for years by other Māori in the court system. Key to this explanation, however, was the naming of people as kaitiaki, who were described as minders of their relations, the physical elements of the world. In Mutu (2010)

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Matiu named each whānau, hapū and iwi as kaitiaki over the areas where they hold mana whenua of their ancestral lands and seas, and that penalties could be incurred for not carrying out these duties seriously, including death. The definition overall included the necessity to make sure to incorporate the metaphysical and practice responsibilities of kaitiakitanga.

Further to the above incorporation of that definition into the New Zealand Coastal Policy Statement, Mutu also sought to amend the definition of kaitiakitanga within the Resource Management Act 1991. In 1997 she asserted that Pākēha should stop asserting that they were kaitiaki:

> *The definition of kaitiaki in the Resource Management Act 1991 had to be amended in 1997 to stop Pākehā asserting that they could be kaitiaki and redefining the word to suit their purposes. We have often had to explain that non-Māori are not kaitiaki because they are not mana whenua. Along with that we also have to explain that they still have a responsibility to look after, respect and use the land properly and appropriately (Mutu, 2010, p. 66).*

Mutu firmly asserts here that only Māori can be kaitiaki. That Pākehā have no less responsibility to look after and treat resource appropriately, but that they do not hold mana over the resource. This argument was brought to the forefront when Mutu and her hapū, Te Whānau Moana in the Far North, learned of consents that had been issued to an American developer to build a large tourist resort on its lands in Karikari, a coastal hapū with protected taonga species. Even with 40 generations of pūrākau and whakapapa readily available to lay claim to kaitiakitanga obligations and responsibilities, the court case would play out over years and cost millions of dollars (Mutu, 2010). By this time, the Resource Management Act 1991 had been nick-named the 'rich man's act' by many Māori in Aotearoa, as money became one of the biggest barriers to fighting large wealthy corporate businesses. Mutu and Te Whānau Moana however ended up being represented by a major Auckland legal firm on a *pro bono* basis through the support of the Environmental Defence Society (EDS).

Although the outcome of this case was positive and was settled out of court, the necessity to prove kaitiakitanga obligations and the enforcing of legislation to that effect was on the hapū to prove. In Court, all parties, including the Court itself, feigned ignorance, even when the hapū referred the Court to the legislative sections and paragraphs. The court referred to the 1981 decision by the Planning Tribunal (A116/81) whereby metaphysical concerns could not be included. It was at that time that Mutu decided that the 1981 decision to ignore the metaphysical also needed fighting and it was during this case that that decision would be reconsidered.

The Far North District Council issued an apology for its lack of knowledge, affirmation, and responsibility to its Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations and noted that in future it would work in partnership with the hapū and Iwi. The large developer also apologised and undertook not to

expand or move any of its development near the coast. The developer also worked in conjunction with Ngāti Kahu to put in place several mechanisms to alleviate any challenges in the future, including an assessment model for work with Iwi and hapū. A hohou rongo (peace-making) ceremony, recommended by the hapū, was conducted with all parties to heal the damage done and the disturbance and desecrating of sacred areas. A large part of this settlement included the hapū and Mutu educating the developer on the tikanga and mātauranga surround kaitiakitanga.

Selby and Moore (2010) describe the many challenges and tensions Ngāti Pareraukawa faced as a hapū regarding land and water, but also the achievements and moments of celebration. The writers provide a timeline concerning the Hōkio Stream, Lake Horowhenua, Arawhata Stream, a Piggery, and the Levin Rubbish Dump/Landfill. The Ngāti Pareraukawa experience has been ongoing over several generations (Selby and Moore 2010, p. 41):

> *The hapū, Ngāti Pareraukawa has, like many hapū throughout the country, a history of being regarded by Pākehā as objectors, protestors, and submitters. We have spent many days in less than comfortable surroundings waiting to be heard, waiting to speak to a submission, waiting for formalities to be concluded, waiting for others to finish their submissions, waiting for our time, waiting for our turn.*

Ngāti Pareraukawa continued to be disregarded by systems that would not uphold their rangatiratanga and right to practice kaitiakitanga. This did not deter the Iwi, who continued to do what was needed in order to secure wellness for the land, waterways, and people. This Iwi knew the importance of all three systems being well and balanced. Ngātokowaru Marae is located on the West Coast of the North Island in Aotearoa and is situated on the southern bank of the Hōkio Stream, the single outlet of Lake Horowhenua. In the hundred years to 1950, Ngāti Pareraukawa lived and flourished on the land, wetlands and water bodies that surrounded the area. The landscape and ownership changed in the 1900s as new migrants arrived, and the land was cleared for farming. Ngāti Pareraukawa have been consistent in their assertion that the land and waterways should be respected and that the hapū is the kaitiaki and therefore has the overall right to protect the land and waterways from any mistreatment. The process was a lengthy and expensive one and has been at a personal cost to many of the hapū members. Several examples of the timeline of events are shown below. Only a timeline of the Hōkio Stream events and history will be shown here, however.

Prior to the 1950s (and at least 1000 years after the landing of the Tainui Waka) the Hōkio stream provided a source of food, sustenance, cleansing, ritual recreation, transport route from coast to lake and forest, a reference point for travel. The Marae was a stronghold for the hapū with abundant fish life: kokopu, kōaro, kākahi, koura, inanga, pātiki, and tuna for thousands of people all year round with a diet of fish and birdlife. In 1953 the Levin Borough Council introduced a sewage system and piped the sewage into Lake Horowhenua. Where whānau were once able to

catch eel in the autumn, this was replaced with toilet paper and faeces floating in the water and living off the stream was no longer possible. Swimming in the stream was dangerous and compromised tikanga and values, using the water for bathing was removed, and eventually tanks were installed for rainwater. Over a 20-year period the hapū all but abandoned the Marae whilst still pleading with the council to remove the sewage. The Marae was reduced to a place to return for tangihanga only and there was a clear disconnection from the stream that ran through the land because of its connection to the lake, which became detrimental to the hapū (Selby and Moore, 2010).

From the 2000s the sewage discharge still impacted the area. However, due mostly to the consistent work and resources of the hapū, the stream was cleared of weed and foreign species. The descendants then began returning to reunite with the land and Hōkio Stream. Children began returning to the stream to learn the skills of their great grandparents and tūpuna – because three generations of Ngāti Pareraukawa and their accumulated mātauranga had not been transferred.

In 2019, negotiations led to a landmark agreement to close Levin landfill by 2025 or earlier to stop the leachate into the Hōkio Stream, however the hapū are still sceptical of local and national authorities (Horowhenua Chronicle, 2019). For approximately 70 years since the sewage discharge into the Lake, Ngāti Pareraukawa had encountered disregard and disrespect from all the different authorities concerning the hapū land and waterways. Although the Piggery has not been canvassed here, it stopped Ngāti Pareraukawa providing an environment conducive to manaakitanga, because of the offensive stench and the hundreds of flies when manuhiri would arrive. Ngāti Pareraukawa high standards were compromised, and they often had to apologise to their visitors. The Piggery had been open since the 1970s, and in January 2000, the Piggery was closed, and the smell was gone, but this came after years of battling to have the smells eliminated (Selby and Moore, 2010).

Māori do not separate human wellbeing from land and taiao and these two areas are critical determinants of health. Land was not viewed as a commodity, as noted, it was perceived as a source of identity, belonging and continuity to be shared between the dead, the living and the unborn (Ministry for Justice., 2001, p. 43). In many parts of Aotearoa, hapū and iwi are working towards protecting, uplifting, and restoring the mauri of whenua and taiao. As explained by Moewaka Barnes and McCreanor (2019, p. 10), Māori "are healing themselves by exerting agency, addressing trauma, grief, rebuilding connection, expressing values, achieving outcomes and strengthening culture in holistic, relational and restorative ways." Māra kai (Māori community gardens) are one of the ways that Māori are reconnecting with whenua, and this is showing to have several positive impacts. Māori community gardens in health promotion is considered to be a reconnection to not only cultural identity but spiritual identity and can be described more

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widely in the context of Indigenous food sovereignty, where food and agricultural systems are controlled by communities (Hutchings & Smith, 2020; Hutchings et al., 2020).

Hond et al. (2019) explored through kaupapa Māori research how māra kai initiatives contribute and affect Māori health. Māori health promotion framed the work and the project, coupled with a research foundation concerning land alienation, relationship to land and reconnection of Māori to ancestral land. Four māra were established, three in the iwi of Taranaki and one in Taumarunui. The study recorded several clear health and wellbeing benefits which included: Māori participants consumed fresh and healthy food and felt a sense of food security, physical activity was a natural occurrence as part of the gardening, participants had contact with the environment/nature as well as social contact, civic engagement, political activism, and cultural identity.

Six key themes were also noted which highlight what participants saw as positive health and wellness outcomes. Firstly, that gardens reinforce identity because working on ancestral land enables participants to link more deeply to their own whenua. Secondly, that gardens offer a way to connect to the tikanga and mātauranga of their ancestors and therefore strengthen their sense of responsibility and commitment to whenua and taiao. Thirdly, social cohesion was important which included concepts of trust, cooperation, hospitality, peace, collectivity, and food production as a collective. Fourth, intergenerational knowledge transmission was important as was knowing that the māra would improve the position of future generations. That Māori can contest ideologies of capitalism and utilise indigenous approaches and this can be considered as a site of resistance was highlighted fifth, and finally, the participants emphasised longevity, sustainability, and future-focused objectives (Hond et al., 2019).

Māra kai are an important way for Māori to reconnect to land and reinforce social connection. Alienation from ancestral land has critically stunted the relationship Māori have to whenua undermining health and wellbeing. Māra therefore, plays an important part in the strengthening of Māori connection to land, and many areas of health for Māori people especially regarding ancestral knowledge, social connection and cohesion, sustainability, physical health, and food sovereignty.

Hutchings et al. (2020) explored kaitiakitanga related to Māori agri-food practices. Over 15 months, the team investigated kaitiakitanga food stories, bringing these stories together to contribute to the overall philosophy of kaitiakitanga. Several participant groups were canvassed, ranging from small, medium to large food production companies. An overall aim of the project was to share the holistic understandings from a Māori viewpoint to the farming, food, and hospitality sector in the hope that it would inspire Māori and non-Māori alike. A further goal was

to contribute to the philosophy of kaitiakitanga and make the story summaries free to access. Through their kaupapa Māori approach the research team found that when participants engaged Māori cultural ways of knowing and being in their daily business, that this led to wellness across groups, deeper ancestral connections, whanaungatanga, moemoea (informed future planning and vision, thinking about current and future generations) and better social and economic outcomes generally. Other findings regarded strengthening whānau, rongoā and healing land trauma which were identified when kaupapa Māori strategies were engaged. This study revealed that kaitiakitanga was more than a discourse regarding sustainability and productivity, but that it involves 'physical, emotional and spiritual connectedness, and a sense of being imbedded in a particular place' (Hutchings et al., 2020, p. 187) although these areas were not extended on.

Hapū and iwi experiences concerning the physical realm and kaitiakitanga have been overviewed in this section showing that over many generations, Māori have experienced tension and challenges regarding the maintenance and sustaining of tino rangatiratanga and the right to enact kaitiakitanga. The Iwi and hapū challenges highlighted here spread over years of court or council action. Within the iwi and hapū kōrero identified above, there is often an unwillingness at local and national government levels to engage in a critical treaty partnerships. The privileging of business and profit over the environment and Māori relationship with whenua is also problematic. Legislative and council law as well as racism are identified as barriers to Māori practising kaitiakitanga. The kaikōrero highlighted that there are ongoing and persistent challenges for Māori in the kaitiakitanga space. Regardless, there has always been a determination at the hapū and iwi level to re-engage and regenerate cultural practices to work toward health and wellness as is shown through the final paragraphs of this section. Initiatives such as māra and studies that highlight Kaupapa Māori as inspiring and visionary are contributing to the landscape and discourse of kaitiakitanga overall.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter presented the key literature related to the physical and metaphysical realms of kaitiakitanga. These two realms, as well as the human realm, are interrelated and interweave and interact with each other. Whakapapa informs all the realms, and this was reviewed first. The Human realm follows in Chapter 4 and several key concepts and tikanga have been explored.

Culturally specific relationships and whenua based genealogical connections all reinforce and affirm that whakapapa underpins kaitiakitanga. Whakapapa is considered contextual, the foundation all environmental relationships, is kinship specific and therefore underpins Māori identity and our interconnectedness to everything. Whakapapa provides a lens through which to view and contextualise land, universe, phenomena, people, histories, and knowledge creation

(Roberts et al., 2004; Wolfgramm & Waetford, 2009). Not only does whakapapa inform and locate us in genealogy and environment, but it also defines our kaitiakitanga responsibilities and obligations to the earth and to the universe at large. Whakapapa, then, is critical when discussing human relationships and kaitiakitanga and importantly, it is the pre-cursor to kaitiakitanga practice and thinking.

Kaitiakitanga was highlighted as being made up of key root words which include 'tiaki' and 'kaitiaki'. These two terms are integral to understanding kaitiakitanga overall. As a contemporary expression however, there is a need to continue to gather evidence of how kaitiakitanga is experienced within a range of contexts. Kaitiakitanga is proven and understood within the environmental discourse, however, there is minimal research regarding its definition when it is practiced in the human realm, between and by humans. This is a clear gap in the existing literature that this thesis seeks to engage with.

'Kaitiaki' is widely expressed within the literature as spiritual beings or guardians that may, or may not, manifest in physical ways such as animals, trees, birds, humans and tūpuna. However, there are very limited specific examples given and therefore that is explored more fully in this thesis. Several examples of kaitiaki were given in the chapter to highlight them sitting beyond the physical and human realms. This study investigates whether, outside of the requirements named in the literature, human beings are considering themselves or others as 'kaitiaki' and why this might be so. This is further canvassed in the next Chapter.

An overview of the key elements concerning the metaphysical realm and kaitiakitanga were provided which included: wairua; mana; tapu; tohu; and mauri ora. These terms are discussed within this chapter as necessary to understanding the dimensions of the metaphysical realm where kaitiakitanga is located. Within the chapter these elements are shown to relate strongly to energy, spiritual essence, and feelings. Therefore, this thesis provides an opportunity to extend and add to the literature regarding how these elements are experienced, expressed and understood in the human realm when practiced by people. This chapter shows that kaitiakitanga cannot be understood without a knowledge of these metaphysical elements, which is important for those who intend on employing kaitiakitanga in any context.

The relationship Māori have with the physical environment has been reviewed by exploring several case studies that overview hapū and iwi experiences of engaging kaitiakitanga as an environmental ethic. These examples elucidate the intense struggles that each of the hapū and iwi have had to endure to maintain and sustain the relationships with taiao. This chapter shows that Māori relationships with taiao exist to ensure the wellbeing of past, present, and future generations. The case studies highlight that whenua, and the wellbeing of the environment is

critical to the wellbeing of all things, including people. Furthermore, the literature shows that it is through the connection to whenua that we gain cultural, spiritual, collective, and physical wellbeing and belonging. It is important to again note that this research is not focused upon environmental discourses related to kaitiakitanga. This includes the legislative processes of kaitiakitanga such as those regarding the Resource Management Act, which is prevalent in the literature related to the environment, resource management and sustainability. Rather, this chapter has focused on the experiences of hapū and iwi, as well as the physical elements of kaitiakitanga that need to be explored to investigate the place of kaitiakitanga between and by humans.

The literature regarding the physical realm concentrates on two main collectives, the hapū and iwi. Although iwi is made up of several hapū, and hapū is made up of several whānau, whānau and the individuals within them are not often referred to in the existing literature regarding kaitiakitanga.

In closing, this chapter has examined key concepts and literature related to two of the three realms that are considered essential to kaitiakitanga, the metaphysical and the physical realm and its foundational underpinning, whakapapa. In the next chapter I move to discuss the human realm, the third component of the kaitiakitanga triadic notion.

Chapter 4: The Human Realm

Introduction

In Chapter One I discussed one of the ways that the word 'kaitiaki' was understood within my whānau context. This related to a whānau practice regarding greenstone, and that our Nana taught us to refer to the greenstone as our 'kaitiaki'. In that example, the greenstone is part of the physical environment of Papatūānuku, or the earth, and the 'kaitiaki' held metaphysical qualities. These qualities protect and ensure safety to us, as well as a wairua and mauri connection between the wearer and the kaitiaki is formed. Consequently, when the Social Workers Registration Board (SWRB) released its Kaitiakitanga framework to measure competency to work with Māori, I viewed the framework with some trepidation. I wondered about the foundational view of the philosophy of kaitiakitanga within the framework, namely the metaphysical and physical connection that Māori have to whakapapa, whenua, wairua and mauri. Whether non-Māori could or should engage with a framework underpinned by kaitiakitanga was a further consideration, as well as what would be required for that to occur. The aim and purpose of this chapter is to ascertain how kaitiakitanga is being viewed, experienced, represented and utilised in the human realm, between people. This chapter examines too whether the philosophy is being commodified, misrepresented, or is becoming divorced and debased from its original intent.

Very few writers have discussed kaitiakitanga in terms of its use between people or by people other than in environmental and sustainability contexts between the State and Māori (hapū and iwi). Not all writers are in agreement as to whether kaitiakitanga occurs between people, with some saying that it occurs from humans outward into the universe and back (Marsden & Henare, 1992) and other's saying very clearly that kaitiaki are not human (Che's Channel Te Paepae Waho, 2020; Gloyne et al., 2020; Roberts et al., 1995). Kawharu (1998) is clear in her assertion that kaitiakitanga can be practiced between people, but that those people must be mana whenua and that the practice must be considered within the metaphysical and physical dimensions. Forster and Tomlins-Jahnke (2011) noted in their work that there is minimal research gathered concerning people who are kaitiaki in relation to the environment and what that looks like in practice. What kaitiakitanga looks like in practice and its theory has been an important part of this research journey, specifically regarding how it is discussed and actioned in the human realm, between people.

How kaitiakitanga is practiced and understood from a customary context was reviewed in the previous Chapter. This chapter continues that conversation in both a customary and contemporary way regarding the practice of kaitiakitanga between people. Several models,

representations, and frameworks will be presented as they relate to the human realm of kaitiakitanga. These contexts include tourism, business, Māori frameworks and social work. A mōteatea and several whakataukī that highlight kaitiakitanga practice by Māori are also presented. The mōteatea and whakataukī illustrate how traditional knowledge continues to be utilised today and how there are many ways through which kaitiakitanga is expressed and transmitted. This Chapter begins however by discussing whānau. Whānau is considered the basic unit of Māori society, and therefore understanding whānau and the intergenerational knowledge transmission within whānau is important to how kaitiakitanga is experienced and understood.

It is argued in this chapter that kaitiakitanga is embedded within whānau which is the foundation of Māori relationships and that within the human realm, kaitiakitanga is linked to reciprocity, emotions, and feelings. This chapter shows that kaitiakitanga is not discussed by Māori writers or through whakaaro Māori as human centric, but that it is connected intimately to the three realms previously mentioned. This is evidenced through mōteatea, whakataukī and frameworks developed by Māori. Further, this chapter highlights that when kaitiakitanga is utilised outside of Māori contexts, such as within the field of social work, even when there has been Māori involvement in its design and structure, it is misrepresented, permissions are not clear, and kaitiakitanga becomes debased and detached from its original understandings. In the case of its use in social work frameworks and practice, which was considered as an aim of this research, there are several issues shown to be problematic. These issues include, non-Māori utilising the Kaitiakitanga framework to assess Māori, that the only way to assess the 'other' is to 'cross' cultures and do so competently, and that several reviews in the last three years show that Māori want structural and systemic changes to work in 'for Māori, by Māori' ways.

Whānau

Just as whakapapa is the foundation of kaitiakitanga, whānau is the foundation of human relationships and knowledge transmission for Māori. Kaitiakitanga is based primarily in hapū and iwi and this has been a necessity especially in contemporary experiences within a range of legal contexts (Forster, 2012a; Kawharu, 2002; Williams, 2002). The whānau, however, holds specific tikanga and mātauranga regarding kaitiakitanga too, which is passed through intergenerational knowledge transmission (Gloyne, 2017b; Selby et al., 2010a). This section will review whānau and will also show how it is contexed within the human realm. Te Tuakiritanga, which explains the values, qualities, emotions, and feelings related to whānau identity and wellbeing will conclude the section.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Whānau refers to a Māori structure of extended family that is inclusive of at least 3-4 generations and which stretches across multiple layers of relationships grounded within whakapapa. Whānau refers to both extended family and to give birth or be born. As such it is both a concept and practice that affirms intergenerational and intragenerational relationships. The whānau has its own internal structure under the guidance of several different positions including rangatira, tōhunga and kaumātua (elders) (Walker, 2004).

The whānau functions as the core unit for day-to-day decisions and social and economic decisions. Historically, whānau managed its own affairs. When political, social, or economic decisions could not be managed by the whānau, these decisions would be shared with the wider hapū or iwi (Fitzmaurice, 2020). The hapū was the next social and political unit which consisted of several whānau. Likewise, a collection of hapū constitutes an iwi. As explained in the introduction to this thesis, the word whānau is often mistranslated as "family" and this interpretation has been instituted in policy as the norm (Metge, 1995). For Māori, whānau has a much deeper understanding and is not understood through a western definition of the nuclear family.

> *Throughout colonial history, inappropriate structures and Pākehā involvement in issues critical for Māori have worked to break down traditional Māori society by weakening its base - the whānau, the hapū, the iwi. It has been almost impossible for Māori to maintain tribal responsibility for their own people (Department of Social Welfare, 1988, p. 18).*

Tikanga within whānau provided a framework through which harmonious relations could be promoted, disputes could be addressed, and issues of both personal and political power could be resolved (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016). The tikanga of raising and keeping children for example was the responsibility and obligation of many people across many different generations within the whānau, hapū and iwi (Metge, 1995). Pūaō-te-ata-tū (1986) extends on this sentiment by explaining the roles inherent in whānau and that this does not conform to what may be expected of a nuclear family context.

> *The placement of children was once the means whereby kin group or whānau structures were strengthened. The child is not the child of the birth parents, but of the family, and the family was not a nuclear unit in space, but an integral part of a tribal whole, bound by reciprocal obligations to all whose future was prescribed by the past fact of common descent (Department of Social Welfare, 1988, p. 75).*

Whānau obligations and responsibilities were underpinned by cultural values such as whanaungatanga, te whakakoha rangatiratanga, manaakitanga and aroha. Whanaungatanga, the practice of being within whānau and relationships, relates to belonging and connection:

> *... relationship, kinship, sense of family connection - a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging. It develops as a result of kinship rights and obligations, which also serve to strengthen each*

member of the kin group. It also extends to others to whom one develops a close familial, friendship or reciprocal relationship (Moorfield, 2003).

As noted above, reciprocation, obligation and responsibilities are key qualities within the whānau make-up. Whānau have long histories that are measured in generations of whakapapa rather than years (Whanau Ora Taskforce., 2009). Pohatu (2015) agrees that whānau is based on whakapapa and whanaungatanga and that for Māori, whānau is a rich source of knowing where experiences should be drawn from.

Whānau wisdom and knowledge, or what is referred to as mātauranga-ā-whānau (knowledge learned within whānau), offers many well-tried patterns and guidelines and this knowing can be invited into spaces such as kaitiakitanga (Beverland, Forthcoming-a; Pohatu, 2015). Whānau is important "in guiding us at all levels of our lives ... so that deep discussion can be invited, reflected upon, endorsed by cultural thought" (Pohatu, 2015, p. 42). The affirmation of whānau as key to Māori approaches is highlighted by the inclusion of whānau as a key principle within Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology (Pihama, 2001). Kaupapa Māori gave some urgency to revitalising, validating, and inviting intergenerational knowledge into the research space in the 1990s, and continues to do so today (Nepe, 1991; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999).

Whānau however, as was pointed to in the introduction, has often been reduced to a western domestic notion of 'family' or the idea of a nuclear family and this has been harmful and problematic, especially in terms of policy and legislation, which ultimately means resourcing, socially, economically and politically (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 291), 2019; Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2020; Williams, 2001). The importance of whānau for Māori however has always been central to wellbeing (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Ihimaera & Te Rau Matatini., 2008; Moyle, 2013; Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2020). Having a critical analysis regarding the misuse of mātauranga and tikanga is equally important as is highlighted by Pat Hohepa.

> *I have qualms in raising this matter of legally defining whaanau. The arguments against would include commodifying Māori concepts into a western legal system, removing whaanau from the ambit of Māori intellectual property as well as from the area of taonga in terms of the treaty. The arguments for would include the fact that whaanau is already used wrongly in other areas (whaanau classrooms, housing, dispute resolution) etc. The strongest argument is based on the preposition that if Māori does not define whaanau it will be done in a detrimental way by others ... history has shown that when Māori legal concepts are used within general law, they become redefined and lose their meaning and power, e.g., the use of kaitiakitanga in the Resource Management Act has been defined by non-Māori judges in a non-Māori sense (Pat Hohepa as cited in Williams, 2001, p. 293)*

Pat Hohepa is highlighting that Māori concepts clearly need to be defined and kept within the constructs of tikanga and mātauranga, because once they are isolated through interpretations

from within other knowledge systems, they lose their intent and therefore their meaning. He clearly highlights how this is an issue within legislation and concerning kaitiakitanga. Another example can be seen in the redefining of whānau in the context of State agencies such as the Ministry for Children.

Here in Aotearoa, whānau Māori who come to the attention of the State, through the Ministry for Children, often attend a Family Group Conference (FGC). The FGC is the legal mechanism for the State to make decisions on behalf of children (Moyle, 2013). The FGC was originally named Whānau hui and was identified as a gap in the way that children were treated by the Māori Advisory Committee who wrote the report Pūao-te-ata-tū (Department of Social Welfare, 1988). The whānau hui was the first ever legal forum in Aotearoa that sought to include all members of the whānau into the discussions concerning the care and protection of the child, youth, and whānau as a collective. The hui included processes and tikanga from te ao Māori. What Māori wanted was for whānau to be at the centre of the care and protection of Māori children. Whānau had previously fought to be involved in the legal processes, but often the structures and systems were laden with racism, bias and privilege as noted below (Department of Social Welfare, 1988).

> *We do not think that Māori children should be placed in State Foster Homes without a committed search for a suitable placement within the whānau. We were told of a case where a grandparent had to take legal proceedings in custody to recover her grandchild from a State foster home, following a case of parental abuse, and where the grandparent had not even been interviewed by the Department for her fitness to care. It is not good enough to consider that the State provides best simply because it provides the easiest options. It is even worse when the inference is that relatives are unfit. It is not easy to reinculcate the traditional sense of family and community support for those under stress when the value of the family support is undermined in laws and bureaucratic services.* (p. 76)

The concept of whānau hui has been co-opted into what is now regarded as an FGC. Moyle's (2013) research on FGC's, shows that since its inception, this forum does not work for Māori and does not take into account the depth and original intent of the whānau hui (Moyle, 2013).

The risk, as noted above, is that Māori concepts like whānau become transactional and misrepresented by non-Māori (Hunter, 2020; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011). Commodification, misrepresentation, and Māori worldviews becoming transactional are very real issues for Māori and this has been emphasised in many Waitangi Tribunal Reports and literature (Kawharu, 1989; Waitangi Tribunal (2915), 2021; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 291), 2019). The term whānau and its philosophical intent, is one example of how the inclusion of Māori terms and concepts within legislation has increasing become a contentious issue in Aotearoa. As, Hohepa (cited in Williams, 2001) very clearly states, when whakaaro Māori are removed from the context of tikanga and mātauranga Māori they become redefined, commodified, and reduced

to western concepts that do not reflect the power and meanings that are understood within te ao Māori.

For Māori, mātauranga and tikanga are embedded within whānau. As a framework, an approach or praxis, knowledge within the whānau can inform any context. Pihama (2001) further highlights that affirming whānau, hapū and iwi ways of being within the broader discussion of Kaupapa Māori is critical. Pohatu (2015) and Lipsham (2020) support that affirmation add that mātauranga-ā-whānau is decolonising when working with Māori. The affirmation of knowledge within whānau, hapū and iwi is critical when working with Māori. Māori terms and philosophies in Aotearoa, including kaitiakitanga, need to be clearly defined and kept within the constructs of tikanga and mātauranga.

Cultural identity instils a sense of belonging and elicits balance across the physical, spiritual, relationship and psychological spheres (Mokuau & Mataira, 2013). Whānau obligations and responsibilities are underpinned by cultural values such as whanaungatanga, whakapapa, kaupapa Māori and manaakitanga. Alongside cultural values and practices within whānau, Māori also have an extensive understanding of emotions and feelings felt at the individual, collective and global level. There is a scarcity of literature regarding emotions and feelings when connected to kaitiakitanga. Hutchings et al., (2021) mentioned briefly in their study that kaitiakitanga in a broader sense involved not just a spiritual and physical connectedness, but that there is also an emotional element. There has not been concentrated research however in the area of emotions and feelings. The following section highlights Māori expressions and understandings related to emotions and feelings. This is examined through the philosophy of Te Tuakiritanga.

Te Tuakiritanga[6]

Kare-ā-roto is the name given to emotions, feelings, inner thoughts or heartful thoughts, and literally means, the ripple of the surface of the sea, within. 'Te Tuakiritanga' as a larger philosophy, however, encompasses a person's identity, personality, attributes, qualities, and kare-ā-roto. Understanding te tuakiritanga is vital to being Māori. Pohatu (2003) describes 'Te Tuakiritanga' as the inner being and names several nohonga, or sites, that should be considered in relation to understanding human beings. The sites of te tuakiritanga within a person are connected and affected by the metaphysical and physical realms via tohu (tohu is explained in Chapter 3). In order to understand kaitiakitanga, it is crucial to understand not only the relationship that Māori have with the physical, human, and metaphysical landscape, but how this then translates into

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[6] Parts of this section on Te Tuakiritanga have been previously published as part of the PhD journey (Beverland, Forthcoming-b).

feelings and emotions that contribute or impact on people. The language of emotions and feelings through a Māori lens, as shown in the mōteatea and whakataukī sections below, is very different to western language in terms of its relationship to the spiritual and physical realms. Te reo Māori is a critical portal to meaning-making, healing, learning and connection. Without our language, we can struggle to regulate, or manage emotions and experiences, and our sense of self is diminished. Te Tuakiritanga examines why emotions and feelings show up in our bodies, how this shapes our beliefs, how our behaviours interact and how our thinking informs further layers.

'Te Tuakiri o te Tangata' is described by Kāterina Mataira (1989) as the interconnection of all that is internal and external and she encourages one to think outside of the flesh and skeleton to the parts within us. Mataira's work, through Te Aho Matua o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori, the foundational philosophical base of Māori-medium schools, focuses on the spiritual, mental, emotional, and physical needs of the child and their environment. The child's nature, language, people who influence them and the world that surrounds them are all considered part of assessing and evaluating wellness, development and learning for the child which is connected to their tuakiri.

Hirini Moko Mead (2003) discusses 'tuakiri' as the elements of the body that help to define someone and notes that mountains, water and land are part of what grounds someone in their tuakiri. There are many different ways that te tuakiritanga is phrased and understood in te ao Māori and it is generally explained as a person's identity, personality, attributes and qualities (Moorfield, 2003). As noted however, and as described by Hoterini (2016) below, te tuakiritanga is also related to how one feels and the way that emotions are experienced and expressed:

> *Tua - akin to an outer layer or something that precedes something else. Kiri – is the flesh which holds your mauri to your physical self or physical sense. Tuakiri can have several meanings, the most commonly known is one's self efficacy, one's self esteem, one's self confidence. These things lay manifest and encased within or beneath your skin or flesh. It is the inner self. It is the part of you that knows no boundaries, it is the part of you that shines brightly when you have tapped into it. Tuakiritanga is the manifestation of all that you are and all that you can achieve and more (Hoterini, 2016).*

Te Tuakiritanga is a philosophy which explains the varied feelings, emotions and thoughts experienced by humans in relationship to internal and external factors. There is limited research from a Māori perspective specifically on the emotions and feelings elements, or kare-ā-roto, which literally refers to the ripple or surface of the sea *within* (Moorfield, 2003). What there are, however, are collections of mōteatea (traditional chants), whakataukī/whakatauākī (proverbial sayings), waiata (songs), oriori (chants for children), whakairo (carving), tukutuku (woven panels) and pūrākau (traditional storytelling) that relate directly to kare-ā-roto. These collections incorporate challenge and tension, love and loss, anger and wellness, shame and grief,

joy, elation, and devastation and many more expressions. Our tūpuna (ancestors) have left an astounding amount of mātauranga (Māori knowledge and ways of knowing) regarding kāre-ā-roto expression and the embodiment of emotions through the aforementioned collections. Examining and analysing these forms of expression is one way to understand Te Tuakiritanga. Three whakataukī and a mōteatea are presented later in this chapter which illustrate how Māori weave Te Tuakiritanga and its understandings with the physical and metaphysical environments

Te Tuakiritanga is grounded upon the assertion that when one is able to notice or pay attention to what happens within, mauri ora is a possible outcome at varying levels. When one is in tension or conflict, when feeling burdened, feeling anxiety, when hurt or in despair, these sites are of relevance. How one negotiates them becomes important too in terms of mauri and wairua. Different from what some might consider a 'self-care' framework, Te Tuakiritanga is underpinned by cultural understandings and practices including: communicating with tūpuna (ancestors) and receiving their messages or tohu (signs, indicators); connecting with various deity and realms through karakia; and recognising states of mauri and moemoea (visions and dreams) and these are an integral part of working with a framework such as Te Tuakiritanga.

Figure 4.1: Adapted from Te Tuakiri, Mataira (1989) as cited in Pihama et al. (2020, p. 51)

There are several different sites of Te Tuakiritanga from Pohatu's (2003) framework which include: Te Hinengaro, Te Ngākau, Te Puku, Te Manawa, Te Wairua, and Te Whatumanawa.

These sites are located within one's tinana (physical bodies) which is affected by and connected to the wider world through tohu and external environments. In another framework, as shown above in Figure 4.1, Mataira (1989) shows all the elements of 'te tuakiri o te tangata' encased in the centre of the tinana, affected by the external environments of Te Ao, Te Hunga Tangata and Te Puna Waiora. These three environments can be explained as the world, people, and the spiritual environment.

Often when Māori describe external and internal influences connected to emotions, thoughts and feelings, the word 'tohu' has a strong relationship with how this is experienced and understood. Tohu is explained as a sign, omen, mark, direction, an indication, an instruction or to point out. Smith (2019) discusses tohu as a body of knowledge that requires us to read the signs around us from the environment, people, language, ngākau, memory, tūpuna, our feelings and notions of being well or unwell. Pere (1994) adds further understanding to this stating: "Me whakarongo koe ki nga tohutohu a o kuia, koroua", which means, "to listen and to take heed of the advice and guidance that your 'grandmothers' and 'grandfathers' give" (p. 71). While Pere is referring to the guidance handed down to us by our grandparents, it is important to recognise that this guidance can also be given to us through physical elements, psychic phenomena (spiritual guardians for example) and through communicating with ancestors. Understanding tohu and how they relate to the sites are a key part of the practice and successful application of 'Te Tuakiritanga'.

Although there is not a visual diagram of Te Tuakiritanga as proposed by Pohatu (2011), the sites of Te Tuakiritanga from his work are adapted at Figure 4.2 and expanded on further below.

Hinengaro – Refers to our mind, consciousness, and intellect. Pere (1994) discusses hinengaro as the source of thoughts, which includes the processes of being able to think, know, perceive, remember, and recognise. Durie (2001) discusses hinengaro as concerning the mental and emotional wellbeing. Pohatu (2011) adds that the hinengaro is where we acquire knowledge, critique, analyse and respond. Our learned experiences are stored here in the hinengaro and can influence the way that we behave and exist in the world. Our upbringing and our worldviews, learned in childhood, for example, can have a bearing on the way that we construct thoughts and then the way that the thoughts play out. Thoughts and emotions have a profound effect on one another. Worry, anxiety, happiness, unhappiness, sadness, and stress can all be related to the mind/body connection. Our thoughts create our reality (Dyer, 2013). Hinengaro is acknowledged in Te Tuakiritanga as our thoughts, our consciousness, and the way that thoughts can determine how we feel emotionally.

Ngākau – In a physical sense the ngākau relates all our inner stomach area and in general terms it is where we experience and give out affection. Mataira (1989) explains ngākau as love, strength,

and commitment and where we feel at our deepest levels. It is also about desire and inclination. There are many expressions involving the term ngākau in the Māori language, including ngākau kore (dispirited, unenthusiastic) ngākau pōuri (heavy hearted, despondent) and ngākau māhaki (pleasant and mild mannered), which indicate that the ngākau is an important consideration when determining how one is feeling and the emotions attached to that. Ngākau is acknowledged as our ability to feel aroha, to show aroha and to receive aroha. This means there is a commitment to the practice of aroha in our words, actions, and behaviour.

Te Tuakiritanga
Ngā nohonga tuakiritanga
(sites of the inner being)
Taina Pohatu (2011)

TE NGĀKAU

The Heart

The hearts levels and depths, as the site to hold, understand and shape the use of the legacies of earlier and present generations to inform, guide and monitor our acquired thinking and actions.

TE HINENGARO

The Mind

The mind with its levels and depths for acquiring knowledge and wisdoms, as the site for holding and applying critical reflection and analysis in the development of positions and fashioning responses to issues.

TE MANAWA

The Pulse

The strength of the pulse. Strength that monitors integrity of every kaupapa and sets of relationships. If it supports, it generates further energy to ensure continued participation. Conversely, if it does not, it will withdraw with the consequent decrease of energy and thus the ability to engage.

TE PUKU

The Stomach

The stomach with its levels and depths, as the seat that acknowledges the place and value of emotions in fashioning responses and actions.

TE WHATUMANAWA

The inner eye

The inner eye, as the site that enables the connecting of the visions of earlier generations to those of now and the future, undertaking its cultural sentinel/kaitiaki role.

TE WAIRUA

The soul

The soul and its depths, which incorporates the thinking and applications of earlier generations; that recognised and connected to the 'domains' and 'understandings' beyond othe realms of people.
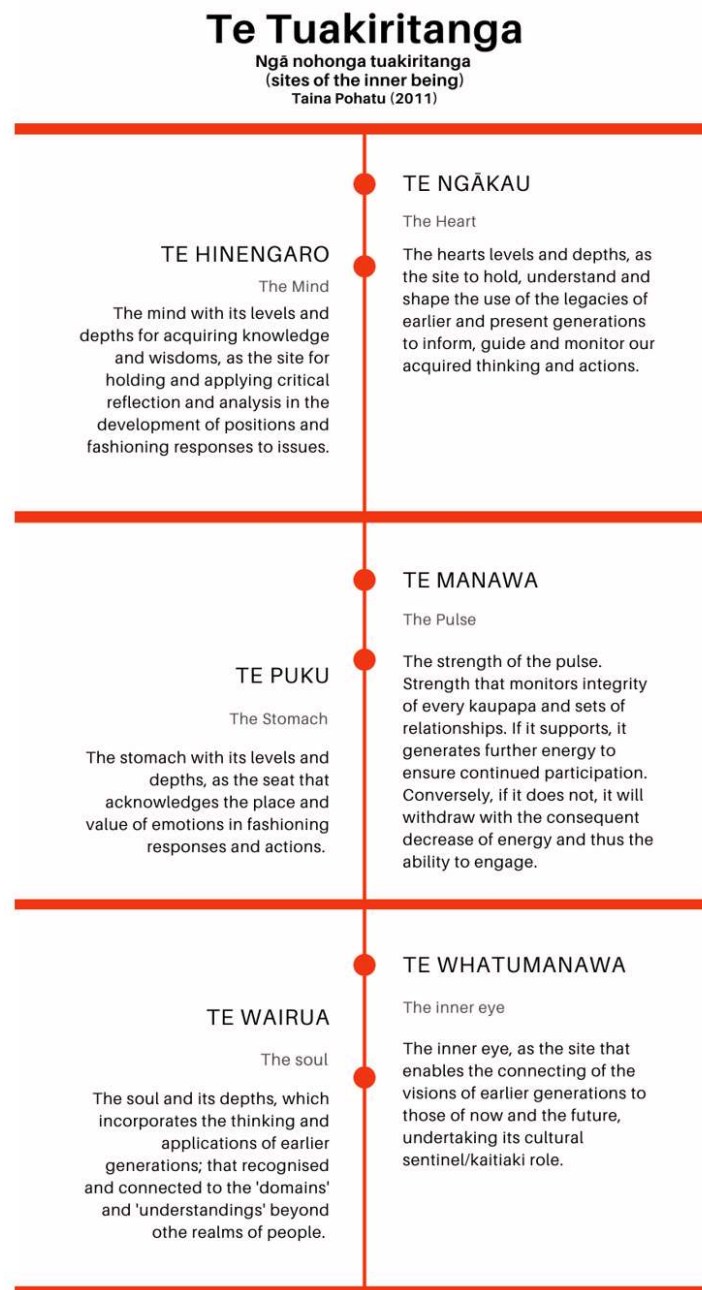
Figure 4.2: Adapted from Pohatu (2011) Te Tuakiritanga sites/nohonga

Puku – Our stomach or gut. This is where we develop and experience intuition and instinct. It is the way that something comes up for us without speaking, sometimes before our thoughts. Whenever I was sick, for example, I would call my Nana and say, "Nan I've had a really sore stomach". Her first instinct was that it is usually related to behaviour - "What have you been doing *(to others)*?" Her instinct was that something is not quite right. Puku is acknowledged in this framework as our ability to understand our bodies, their tohu, and the importance of not relying solely on our mind for guidance. The Puku site requires us to enact rongo (our senses) as it is a site for listening to our intuitive nature for guidance.

Manawa – The heart and location of affection. It is the pulse within us and relies on energy for its engagement. The engagement of the manawa is driven by what type of energy it receives. If we feel low, our manawa and its energy is affected, and therefore so are our behaviours and our emotions. Manawa has many different expressions, including pūmanawa, which is described by Mataira (1989) as potential and talents, and manawa ora or hope. Manawa is often acknowledged as our ability to identify and observe our energy levels, especially when our behaviour and emotions are different to our normal ways of being and do not serve us.

Wairua – Wairua is where we feel our essence, spirit, psyche, moods and inherent nature. The word wairua can also be described as the two parts of us, coming together: our physical and our spiritual nature. Penehira et al. (2011) note a discussion by Huirangi Waikerepuru (2009) who explains wairua as 'ngā wai e rua', the two fluid sources present at the conception of a child. Wairua includes knowledge, understanding and practical application of tikanga such as karakia, pure (specific incantation) mihi and waiata. Mihi for example, discussed by Smith (2019) includes the individual daily practice of connecting to the world, enhancing resilience, and it was/is a way to 'shield the ngākau from stress, trauma and pōuritanga" (p.42). Mihi in this way can include greeting the new day, food, weather, resources, gifts or in fact any area that might contribute to individual or collective well-being – which could include greeting and acknowledging your own tinana and tuakiri through karakia, karanga or kupu. Wairua can affect our ability to connect with other people.

Wairua is discussed by Kingi (2002) through four particular measures: wairua and the non-physical component which includes belief in a force or entity, wairua and the cultural identity which discusses wairua as fundamentally unique to Māori and reflecting Māori ideals, paradigms and constructs, wairua related to dignity and respect which relates also to desires and aspirations and lastly, wairua and personal contentment which includes the sensing of the physical and spiritual. Wairua is discussed in Chapter 3 as a kaitiakitanga element within the metaphysical realm.

Whatumanawa – Mataira (1989) explains whatumanawa as the deep recesses of your soul. This is where we express or experience emotions of all types. Whatu meaning eyes/windows, and manawa, a beating heart, when combined, whatumanawa provides a window into worlds beyond the physical. Whatumanawa is acknowledged when we connect to other people's souls and energy as well as sense what is around us through tohu. This site encourages open and healthy expression of the emotions and feelings we feel.

Understanding the role of each of the sites of te tuakiritanga discussed above provides guidance and ways of comprehending what is happening within a person. The sites do not operate in isolation. There may be many things within a person occurring simultaneously. For example, when our Hinengaro is in action as thought or consciousness, this may cause reaction in the Puku. When our Puku has a reaction, our Hinengaro may create a thought about that. What is also important to note is that it is our experiences in life that affect the site and then manifest as the emotion or feeling. For example, a site (like the puku) is immediately activated by an experience, and it is from that activation that we feel the emotion or feeling (the feeling could be anxiousness); or we feel sad, and it may trigger other physical and emotional reactions, like crying and feeling despondent.

Each of the sites of te tuakiritanga are for solace, cultural and personal thinking, receiving, reflecting, and critiquing information. The sites are not exclusive or exhaustive. Each site provides opportunities for creating, challenging, testing, and monitoring any relationship – with self, others, and environments. Understanding Te Tuakiritanga is vital to understanding kaitiakitanga. This is because kaitiakitanga is underpinned by whakapapa and all other metaphysical and environmental relationships. These relationships, like all relationships, involve levels at which people experience feelings and emotions. This is exampled in the Taiao and Whānau chapters where kaikōrero expressed feelings and emotions such aroha, mauri ora and wairua. When Māori are engaged in relationships, experiencing, expressing and understanding feelings and emotions are a central consideration, especially in the human realm. The next two sections extend on how Māori understand kaitiakitanga by presenting two frameworks as well as whakatauki and mōteatea that highlight the importance of the three realms to Māori.

Māori frameworks of kaitiakitanga

'Ko Aotearoa Tēnei' is the final report from the Waitangi Tribunal concerning Claim no. 262 (Wai 262). Wai 262 related to Māori cultural and intellectual property rights. Wai 262 is amongst one of the most significant tribunals regarding Māori culture and identity. Kaitiakitanga forms a large part of Wai 262, especially in terms of the relationship Māori have with the environment and what is considered taonga. Regarding people, Wai 262 included issues of race relations,

economics, social cohesion, cultural fabric, Māori population, Māori culture and identity, and social and political disparities. The claim is often referred to as the 'Indigenous flora and fauna' claim and the 'Māori intellectual property' claim, however the authors describe it as the claim about mātauranga Māori whereby the claimants were 'seeking to preserve their culture and identity, and the relationships that culture and identity derive from' (Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011, p. iv).

> *They [kaitiaki] can include particular species that are said to care for a place or a community, warn of impending dangers and so on every forest and swamp, every bay and reef, every tribe and village – indeed, everything of any importance at all in te ao Māori – has these spiritual kaitiaki. But people can (indeed, must) also be kaitiaki in the human realm, those who have mana (or, to use treaty terminology, rangatiratanga) must exercise it in accordance with the values of kaitiakitanga – to act unselfishly, with right mind and heart, and with proper procedure. Mana and kaitiakitanga go together as right and responsibility, and that kaitiakitanga responsibility can be understood not only as a cultural principle but as a system of law (Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011).*

The quote clearly positions people as kaitiaki, but there are several requirements of this, including that one must have mana and rangatiratanga and act accordingly. Mana and rangatiratanga values are extended on by the Tribunal whereby people are required to: act unselfishly, with the right heart and mind and with proper procedure. Roberts et al. (1995) extend on this by saying that if a human being is to be a kaitiaki that this should be manifested through Atua which therefore renders the human, an assistant, or a spiritual guide. Minhinnick (1989) refers to a kaitiaki as a spiritual being, but that kaitiaki can be lineal whereby kaitiaki roles are passed through whakapapa to humans. She names several areas of the environment whereby humans must act as kaitiaki, and this includes kaitiaki mō nga urupā (carers of the cemetery that they are connected to through whakapapa) and kaitiaki mō ngā Marae (carer of the Marae where their hapū or iwi are associated). Minhinnick (1989) makes clear that non-Māori cannot be kaitiaki, that this role is for Māori only (p. 4).

Forster (2012a) describes human participants in her study as being selected based on the principle of whakapapa as well as they were practitioners of kaitiakitanga and recognised by their respective hapū and iwi. Of note, Kawharu (2000) asserts that whakapapa does underpin kaitiakitanga, however, "although kaitiakitanga is a central feature of a 'Māori' identity, proper validation is not at a generic "Māori" group level, but at the local kin group level" (p. 255). Further to this however, Kawharu clarifies that Māori practising within other hapū have a duty of care to the mana tangata (people of that area) and therefore have kaitiaki 'roles' which do not however move into mana whenua kaitiaki roles. What this implies, is that kaitiakitanga occurs within one's own hapū and iwi, and its practice has limitations when you are not from that hapū and iwi.

This first section now draws on two Māori authors of kaitiakitanga frameworks, Taina Pohatu and Mera Penehira. These two authors are reviewed because their frameworks are formulated and designed specifically to guide people in kaitiakitanga philosophy. Several of the aforementioned points regarding humans as kaitiaki and as practitioners of kaitiakitanga are referred to in the two frameworks presented below. Namely, whakapapa, mana, rangatiratanga, tikanga and mātauranga and the notion of the human realm and its relationships.

Pohatu (2003) discusses kaitiakitanga as a takepū (applied principle). Kaitiakitanga is described as an essential element of Māori cultural order and a crucial tenet of good practice with people because at its most basic yet profound level, kaitiakitanga is about fulfilling the obligation to take care of. Pohatu (2003) writes that kaitiakitanga is the "constant acknowledgement that people are engaged in relationships with others, environments and kaupapa where they undertake stewardship purpose and obligation" (p. 55) and asserts that kaitiakitanga can be practiced between people but that it has several different takepū that are practiced in tandem. He further states that kaitiakitanga practices carry tenets such as tohutohu, arataki, tautoko, pupuri and tiaki (Table 4.4). Pohatu identifies that Māori worldviews such as kaitiakitanga includes the past, present, future, generational, physical, emotional, spiritual, and symbolic and that to incorporate such philosophies, each generation must be consciously willing to integrate them into practice and develop them in respective contexts and time.

> *When activated Māori worldviews immediately place Māori thinking, knowledge and application at the centre of their processes when 'selecting in' and 'selecting out' knowledge and practice. This is the activating of tino rangatiratanga (absolute cultural integrity in this context). Unique bodies of Māori cultural knowledge with their depths of definition and application are privileged, having been tested over generations, in the full range of human endeavour (Pohatu, 2003, p.1).*

Tino rangatiratanga is described above by Pohatu (2003) as absolute cultural integrity, which he extends on by saying that Māori bodies of knowledge need to occupy space and Māori need to guarantee this and privilege our ways of thinking and doing. He adds that Māori and western traditions irritate each other and need constant reinterpreting and reconstructing. Rangatiratanga is asserted in the kaitiakitanga literature as key to its enactment and engagement (Forster, 2012b; Kawharu, 2000; Selby et al., 2010a).

Five elements of kaitiakitanga are identified below which reiterate the multidimensional and interconnected nature of the Māori cultural order – or whakapapa.

Takepū	He Whakamāramatanga *(Definitions)*
Te tiaki	The undertaking of responsibility for guaranteeing appropriate trusteeship in all its constructions, as defined by te ao Māori.

Te pupuri	The conscious and responsible holder ship of knowledge, thinking and experiences for use as and when appropriate, as defined by te ao Māori in this context.
Te arataki	Valued and respectful guidance in all sets of relationships and kaupapa, as defined by te ao Māori.
Te tautoko	Valued and respectful support in all sets of relationships and kaupapa, as defined by te ao Māori.
Te tohutohu	To ensure the fulfilling of responsibilities in relationships and kaupapa, as defined by te ao Māori.

Table 4.4: Elements of Kaitiakitanga (Pohatu, 2003, p, 12)

These elements are explained as culture-specific, informed, developed, nurtured, articulated, and defined by Māori. Pohatu (2011) affirms that kaitiakitanga and its elements are pathways for Māori well-being and that:

- Māori are part of nature rather than apart from it
- Māori have celestial beginnings
- There are obligations placed on each generation to undertake their trusteeship contracts to ensuing generations.

Pohatu (2011) is asserting that kaitiakitanga cannot be separated out from the physical and metaphysical realms, noted in his work as nature and celestial beginnings. There is an assertion that kaitiakitanga must be defined by te ao Māori and that each generation of Māori, must ensure its integrity. Kaitiakitanga is contextualised to human wellbeing in Pohatu's framework. Many other takepū are relevant to how kaitiakitanga is experienced, expressed, and understood, though the elements presented by Pohatu (2003) are specific to informing and monitoring the application of kaitiakitanga within relationships, kaupapa and environments. Although whakamārama (definitions) have been provided at Table 4.4, further definitions are provided below:

- Tiaki – the responsibility to take care of as defined by Māori.
- Pupuri – to hold, retain and keep in our memory the teachings and knowledge as passed to us.
- Arataki – To guide and lead in ways that uphold mana and rangatiratanga.
- Tautoko – Provision of support and advocacy, where the underlying belief is acceptance and agreeance.
- Tohutohu – To instruct and point out, make implicit and direct.

Pohatu (2003) concludes that kaitiakitanga is about care, guidance, support, control, and instruction grounded in mātauranga and tikanga. Guided by the elements noted at Table 4.4,

signposts are provided for those engaged in the practice of kaitiakitanga, which are defined by te ao Māori. Utilising the term te ao Māori places the responsibility and obligation not on individuals, but on Māori as a collective to maintain and retain the knowledge and practices within te ao Māori.

Aligning with the assertion by Pohatu that kaitiakitanga must be defined within tikanga and mātauranga Māori, the next framework 'Mana Kaitiakitanga' is reviewed (Figure 4.2). Mana Kaitiakitanga was developed by Penehira (2011) in liaison with others, including Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru[7], a renowned rangatira from Taranaki (Penehira, 2011). Mana Kaitiakitanga is discussed as a principle of wellbeing and as providing a platform for the discussion of mouri (Taranaki dialect for Mauri).

There are three parts to the Mana Kaitiakitanga framework. Firstly, the environments and contexts where kaitiakitanga and practice between people occurs, which for this framework is located within education, health, environment and law/tikanga. Secondly, encompassed within the framework are what are described as the dimensions. These dimensions are wairua, mauri-ora, hau-ora, hau-āio, hau-whenua, hau-moana and hau-tangata. Finally, the foundation of the framework are described as the five states of being which indicate behaviour, practice and tikanga.

The central dimensions of the framework span the physical, spiritual, and human realms. Penehira (1997) cites these as elements of Māori wellbeing. The terms Mouri and Hau are represented in the framework as 'carriers' or 'indicators' that are essential to an overall sense of wellbeing and health. Hau for example when paired with whenua is described as the breath of the land, which in essence means that the land is a living, breathing entity. Hau when paired with tangata is described as a human being, which in essence is related to humans breathing and living whilst interacting with other systems such as oceans and land. And the atmosphere, universe, and life itself is represented as hau-āio which also indicates that for human and environmental wellness, all of these areas must be balanced and calm. Penehira (1997) discusses these dimensions as central to and always operating within any context, such as education, health, the environment and tikanga (law). Each of the dimensions are crucial to balance and operate in reciprocity with each other.

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[7] *Moe mai rā e te rangatira Huirangi, sleep and rest in peace.*
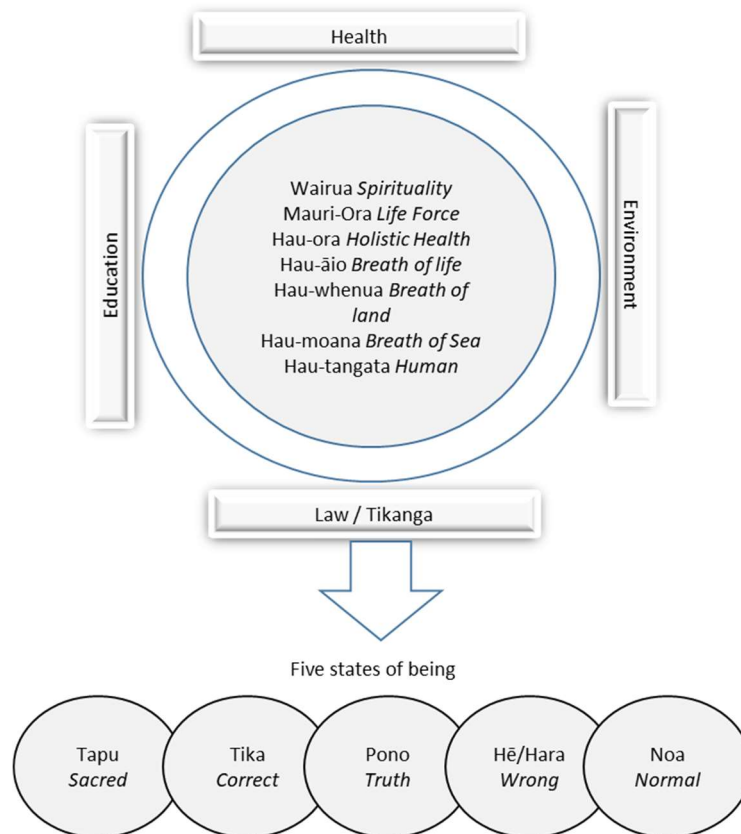
Figure 4.3: Mana Kaitiakitanga, Māori principle of well-being (Penehira, 2011, p. 41)

The ethical and behavioural strategy employed with the Mana Kaitiakitanga concerns what Penehira (1997) refers to as the 'states of being'. These states of being are interconnected and weave together to form the tikanga for the Mana Kaitiakitanga framework. The three central states of being are tika, pono and hē or hara. These three are effectively linked to what is right, wrong and the truth. These three states are enclosed at either end by the states of tapu and noa. Being truthful and correct are important markers within te ao Māori, and when hē or hara occur, that is, when one behaves in a manner that is harmful, hurtful or lacks integrity, people or environments remain in a state of uneasiness which can sometimes mean they are in a state of tapu. To move out of tapu and into noa, there are tikanga or processes that must be carried out. This involves karakia, acknowledgement and action.

The physical and spiritual realms are not disconnected from one another in Penehira (1997) work. This framework shows that even when a dimension looks to be a physical element, like the sea and land, that it is also interpreted as metaphysical using hau to make it a living entity. The Mana Kaitiakitanga framework shows that practicing kaitiakitanga between people includes tikanga and mātauranga in general, but highlights ethics, behaviour, the spiritual and the physical environment as fundamental and interconnected.

The centrality of whānau and whakapapa are echoed within each of the models discussed in this section. The place of tikanga and mātauranga as critical to retaining a deep understanding of knowledge that informs Māori views of kaitiakitanga can also be seen within the two frameworks. Although both models are formulated for use with people, they have been developed in a way whereby the metaphysical and physical realms are identifiable. They each specify the link to celestial beginnings, whenua and our obligation and responsibilities to practice truthfully and correctly. Mātauranga Māori sources such as mōteatea, whakataukī, whakatauākī and pūrākau are other examples where the metaphysical and physical are connected to expression, experiences and understandings. The following section provides some examples to illustrate that the relationship of the metaphysical, physical, and human realms has always been deeply embedded within mātauranga Māori. Kaitiakitanga is exampled below through a mōteatea and three whakataukī which show the weaving of te tuakiritanga, the spiritual, environmental, and human realms.

Mōteatea and Whakataukī

The philosophy of kaitiakitanga is expressed and observed in collections of prose, waiata (songs), whakataukī (proverb, aphorism) whakatauākī (significant sayings that are authored), pūrākau (story and narrative), oriori (lullaby) and other forms of oral, artistic and written work (Ngata & Te Hurinui Jones, 2005). Several of these, while not containing the words 'kaitiakitanga', 'kaitiaki', or 'tiaki', embody the philosophy of kaitiakitanga. This section draws on mōteatea and whakataukī which show the connection Māori have to one another, their physical environment and metaphysical environment. Māori identity is literally grounded according to Durie (2001) writing that Māori are connected firmly to land. Further, he states that "identity is composite and extends beyond human and terrestrial spheres to embrace wider environments that are distant in time, in space and in understanding" (p. 89). Mōteatea and whakataukī in particular utilise environmental landmarks of significance which include mountains, rivers, land, deity, universal signposts (like stars and planets) and realms outside of being human (Ngata & Te Hurinui Jones, 2005) and many show clear reference to the metaphysical and human realms. Mōteatea, whakataukī and other forms of Māori expression, such as whakairo (carving) and raranga (weaving), give context to the philosophy of kaitiakitanga and the whakaaro that underpins how Māori treat and relate to the world.

Mōteatea

A mōteatea can be described as a lament, or a traditional chant that is almost poetic in nature, although not in terms of rhyme. Mōteatea also means grief, sadness and to be apprehensive.

Many mōteatea have a theme that includes notions of sadness, sorrow, or grief. The below mōteatea is composed by Rihi Puhiwahine for her lover Te Mahuta Te Toko. They fell in love at first sight, but Puhiwahine's brothers would not allow the relationship and took her home. On their way home, they stopped at Owairaka where she composed this mōteatea. The realms of kaitiakitanga are evident as she writes about love and loss, and she does not separate herself from all that is around her. Writing in an external and internal way, the mōteatea shows elements that are humanistic, physical, and metaphysical. Although an English translation is provided, it is a literal one and does not encompass all that is being said in the Māori text. Unless, for example, you know that Mania is short for Ngāti Maniapoto or that Toa is short for Ngāti Toa and you know the stories of the Taupo district concerning Tongariro, some of the translation will be lost to the reader. Kupu Māori (Māori language/words) often have several meanings, as well they are frequently laden with content related to kare-a-roto and te tuakiritanga. This mōteatea continues to be recited by my iwi of Waikato Maniapoto and surrounding districts today.

Ka Eke ki Wairaka *nā Puhiwahine*	Ka eke ki Wairaka **By Puhiwahine**
Ka eke ki Wairaka ka tahuri whakamuri Kāti ko te aroha te tiapu i Kakepuku Kia rere arorangi te tihi ki Pirongia Kei raro koe Toko, taku hoa tungāne Nāku anō koe i huri ake ki muri Mōkai te ngākau te whakatau iho Kia pōruatia e awhi-ā-kiri ana. Kotahi koa koe i mihia iho ai Ko taku tau whanaunga nō Toa i te tonga	On the summit at Wairaka, as I turn for one last look, My sorrow and love burst forth, Take flight over Kakepuku hill. Soar up to the heights of Pirongia And to you below there, Toko, my cousin and lover. I was the one who turned away, How slavish and cowardly not to seek two more nights of close embraces! It is you alone who have my heart. Oh, my love, my kinsman, descended from Toa in the South,
Nō Mania i te uru, ka pēa tāua I ngākau nui ai he mutunga mahi koe Kāti au ka hoki ki taku whenua tupu Ki te wai koropupū i heria mai nei I Hawaiki rā anō e Ngātoroirangi E ōna tuāhine Te Hoata, Te Pupū E hū rā i Tongariro, ka mahana i taku kiri. Nā Rangi mai anō nāna i mārena Ko Pihanga te wahine, ai ua, ai hau, Ai marangai ki te muri e, Kōkiri	From Mania in the west, we were well matched. I wanted to end my days with you, But now I go back to my own land, To the boiling springs of Ngatoroirangi, With his sisters Te Hoata and Te Pupu, Brought from Hawaiiki, Bubbling up at Tongariro to warm my body. It was our father the Sky who married Tongariro to Pihanga, Making the rain the winds and the western storms. Go forth my love.

Mountains, land, water, and natural phenomena are considered tūpuna as they are part of whakapapa (Roberts et al, 1995; Muru-Lanning, 2016). In the time where Puhiwahine needed care and nurture, she aligned herself to the many metaphysical and physical realms. Alignment

to the metaphysical is shown through the expression of emotions as living, "my sorrow and love burst forth, take flight over Kakepuku hill, soar up to the heights of Pirongia." Underpinning the mōteatea is the strong connection to mountains and land as they are whānau, tūpuna or kaitiaki, and there is desire to turn to them in times of need. The landmarks, depicted as whānau, evoke feelings of connection, mauri, aroha and wairua. Further, they are added to narrate a very human situation, one of separation, loss, and grief:

> *I was the one who turned away, how slavish, and cowardly not to seek two more nights of close embraces! It is you alone who have my heart. Oh, my love, my kinsman, descended from Toa in the South.*

Not only does the author show her own relationship to geographical kaitiaki, but she also mentions her lovers' to further show whanaungatanga and the intrinsic nature of connecting the wider metaphysical and physical to who they are as Māori. Puhiwahine examples how many Māori understand their connection to the world, through expressions of the physical and spiritual environments. She draws on whakapapa and whānau for healing and nurture and uses her mātauranga to not only heal but assess her own issues of grief and loss. Just as Pohatu and Penehira asserted previously, in order to utilise Māori frameworks there must be more than simply an understanding of the framework. One is part of a whole system rather than external to it, and as part of the system one experiences connection across the spiritual, emotional, and physical plains. The next section concerning whakataukī further examples this positioning.

Whakataukī

A whakataukī can be explained as a proverb, aphorism, utterance or saying. Their function is that of learning, advice, wisdom, intergenerational knowledge transmission and to inform. Importantly, they give insight into the philosophies within te ao Māori and are designed to include tikanga and mātauranga. Many whakataukī are short in length and provide a short sharp message. However, the message is normally laden with levels of learning or instruction. The subject of a whakataukī can vary because they are written about all forms of human existence. I have chosen three that closely align to the philosophy, understanding and practice of kaitiakitanga.

> *Tukua mai he kapunga oneone ki ahau hei tangi māku.*

> *Send me a handful of soil so that I may weep over it.*

This whakataukī considers the intimate connection that Māori have to the land. 'Oneone' in this whakataukī means soil, the earth, the ground, or land. There are many traditions regarding soil in te ao Māori and many pūrākau that consider soil (Hutchings & Smith, 2020). The first woman for instance was formed from the soil of Papatūānuku. This whakataukī not only considers the physical landscape through soil but reflects human emotions. The whakataukī is explained by

Pihama, Greensill, Manuirirangi, and Simmonds (2019) in connection to the whenua by saying that "the whenua provides us with a source of identity, spiritual nourishment and emotional wellbeing" (p. 12). They further explain that this whakataukī can relate to feeling homesick and that one can return home in a spiritual way through connecting physically with the soil. The soil becomes a spiritual connection to whenua and can provide a sense of healing in times of emotional turmoil (Hutchings & Smith, 2020). The words 'tukua mai' or 'send me' are also important within this whakataukī. Tukua can mean to release, let go, send off, set free and reflects the notion of transfer. These words are utilised within the whakataukī, and the assumption is, that the person is asking a higher being, spiritual being, kaitiaki, deity or tūpuna for their assistance in their time of need. Whether the soil is a physical piece of soil is open to interpretation here, the inference is that the earth or the whenua will help in the transition of a particular way of being and feeling. Another inference is that the notion of transference is a spiritual transference – the movement of one's emotions, with help from spiritual entities.

In a similar way, the next whakataukī presents wisdom when one needs to take time to reflect during turmoil and likens this to a lull in a storm.

> *Me he maonga āwhā*
>
> *Like a lull in a storm*

The message within this whakataukī relates to being able to take time out, or take time to reflect and deliberate, especially when in tension and depression (Pihama et al., 2019). Āwhā relates to a storm or heavy rain and within the whakataukī the storm relates to the balancing of the inner being, wairua and mauri of a person (Keane, 2010a). As explained earlier in the chapter, one's Mauri can operate across a continuum from being well to being unwell or contemplative or wary. This whakataukī considers that Māori are one with their environment and we can draw upon these features to teach us how to maintain balance and cope with emotions. The teaching and guidance here includes being able to envisage a better outcome and that looking to the environment for guidance and advice is natural because we are one with the environment. The next whakataukī includes a kaitiaki or atua/deity, Tāwhirimātea, who is a child of Papatūānuku and Tane as noted in the previous Chapter. It also aligns to maunga or mountains as an ancestor.

> *Hokia ki ō maunga kia purea ai koe e ngā hau a Tāwhirimātea.*
>
> *Return to your mountains so that you can be cleansed by the winds of Tāwhirimātea.*

This whakataukī relates to the tikanga of returning home to be well. 'Purea' and 'hau' are often used in various compositions discussing cleansing and wellness. A well-known waiata 'Purea nei e te hau' describes a similar notion to this whakataukī and considers states of depression in terms

of the morning and night and how one can come into the 'light' or move from darkness to light. Connection is at the centre of the message here. This whakataukī asserts that connection with Tāwhirimātea is cleansing, and further to this, returning home is central. Being nourished by and provided with spiritual assistance from ancestors such as mountains and kaitiaki is a key to wellbeing for Māori (Pihama et al., 2019). This whakataukī clearly relates to identity, whenua, connection, and the balance of time at home and away. There is a belief here in ancestors to heal and provide care whenever one needs it.

Today, many Māori have been increasingly reliant on systems and structures outside of their own traditional wisdom to be well, which do not work (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2575), 2019; Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2020). In this whakataukī the systems and structures that are invited to help healing are the metaphysical and physical realms, and this is embedded within cultural understandings and practices.

Whakataukī and mōteatea have been explored here to show how inter-related and connected the physical, metaphysical, and human realms are. Atua, ancestors, and environmental signposts are linked to human health and wellbeing within each of the whakataukī identified. Whakataukī and mōteatea are critical to understanding kaitiakitanga. Their function as noted, is to guide us today using wisdom that is aligned to the environment, the metaphysical and wellness, which is passed through intergenerational knowledge transmission to inform us. Importantly, whakataukī give insight into the philosophies within te ao Māori and therefore become templates. I move now to provide discussion of the contemporary representation of kaitiakitanga within several different contexts.

Representations of kaitiakitanga

In this section, representations of kaitiakitanga are examined within a variety of contexts which include tourism, business, and health promotion. Across different professions and organisations kaitiaki and kaitiakitanga have become key words to engage the concept of care and caring for, as well as being a guardian of the environment and families. I will look specifically at how kaitiakitanga is being explained and utilised within these contexts with a view to understanding whether change has occurred from the customary understandings of kaitiakitanga to now and why. The necessity of this is highlighted by Meihana Durie as follows:

> There is a wider discussion to be had about how to protect our indigenous culture from over-commodification, so that the use and application of Māori culture does not risk becoming transactional … that requires meaningful recognition, firstly, of those to whom the culture belongs, in other words, tangata whenua. Despite the iconic profile of Māori culture across the world, we must all ensure that we can protect that which is most important to the mana and mauri of our people – our knowledge systems and our land (Durie, 2019).

Māori knowledge is increasingly being incorporated into contexts such as education, science and technology, banks, government agencies and business. Māori knowledge is being widely adopted an Aotearoa context (Stewart, Smith, Diamond, & Hogg, 2021).

> *The approach of adopting Māori values is in line with current trends towards increasing visibility of elements of Māori cultural knowledge in national life, including the adoption of Māori names and greetings in media, government agencies, and education. Bilingual signage and using Māori greetings on emails have become commonplace, even for organisations and individuals with no other apparent links to Māori language and culture (p. 8).*

The examples provided below show a varying understanding of kaitiaki, tiaki and kaitiakitanga across several contexts. They are examined here through a Kaupapa Māori analysis which examined for example whether each of the representations considered the realms of kaitiakitanga, whakapapa and rangatiratanga. Kaupapa Māori provides the space to critique non-Māori representations of Māori knowledge as explained in the methodology. Further to the analysis that the principles will provide, Ko Aotearoa Tēnei (Wai 262) recommended and concluded that: Māori are entitled to prevent offensive and derogatory use of their taonga (both tangible and intangible), that kaitiaki, Māori more generally, have "the right to be consulted and, where appropriate, to give consent to the commercial use of such works" and that we are "entitled to prevent offensive and derogatory public uses of mātauranga Māori" (Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011, p. 48). The following review of three businesses is based entirely on how kaitiakitanga has been represented within public facing documents on the organisation website against what is known about kaitiakitanga in the academic literature, as well as what has been previously written about in the preceding Chapters.

Tourism – 'Tiaki, care for New Zealand'

About NewZealand.com is a tourism website for international and national users. One of the tourism campaigns is called 'Tiaki, Care for New Zealand' (100% Pure New Zealand, 2021). Tiaki is translated as 'taking care of people and place' in this campaign and is focused on tourism that engages thinking about environmental and resource management with a tag line referring to making a commitment as a guardian to preserve and protect New Zealand. There is reference to caring for land, sea, and culture both in English and te reo Māori, via video, which shows a visual representation of Māori culture. In different parts of the website, although not directly aligned to the Tiaki campaign, there are tourist sites that note information about mātauranga and tikanga. These other areas provide more clarity and identify themselves as a Māori destination and name specific Māori culture that the tourist will be provided with should they visit their site.

The 'Tiaki Promise' part of the website seems to align with a Māori worldview i.e., Māori are visible in the video and te reo Māori is an option. Because this is a tourism site, there are brief but observable areas whereby Māori are discussed which includes Te Tiriti o Waitangi as the foundation document for relationships to occur between the Crown and Māori and that Māori are tangata whenua, as well as: Māori cultural experiences, Māori greetings and te reo, Learning the haka, Tā moko – traditional tattoos, Marae, Pūrākau, Pōwhiri and Kapahaka. Whakapapa, whānau and Māori are articulated on the website and these articulations have clearly been developed by Māori.

Concerningly, under the heading 'New Zealand People', Māori are regarded as 'the first inhabitants' rather than tangata whenua, which is then couched in the arrival of Christopher Columbus.

> *Over four hundred years before Christopher Columbus and the rest of Europe worried about falling off the edge of the world, Māori people voyaged thousands of miles across the vast unknown Pacific Ocean in small ocean-going canoes and became the first inhabitants of Aotearoa New Zealand. To this day, Māori culture is a core part of New Zealand's national identity. (100% Pure New Zealand, 2021)*

Under 'Māori Culture' however within the wider website, Māori are named as tangata whenua. There are other inconsistencies such as the use of macrons for te reo Māori in some areas, and not in others.

'Māori culture is a core part of New Zealand's national identity', enveloped by Columbus, is problematic and although sounds accurate, is not. A more accurate way to inform a global tourism audience would be to separate these two contexts, that of non-Māori and tangata whenua and include an historical account of Māori as tangata whenua devoid of Columbus.

Tiaki is probably the correct word to utilise in terms of what the campaign is highlighting i.e., caring for the environment, caring for each other and caring for New Zealand. As noted in the previous chapter without 'kai' or 'tanga' added, tiaki can relate to caring for people, place, or thing. This does raise a critical question about whether the use of te reo Māori should carry with it some responsibility to represent Māori appropriately, and there is more that could be done in that respect here. For example, there are no references on the website to validate information, especially around the pūrākau used and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The omitting of references means it is unclear as to both the Māori and non-Māori information and how the information has been informed by Māori. For example, where did the name Tiaki for this campaign come from? Again, this raises the concern noted by Hohepa (cited in Williams (2001), that to isolate Māori terms and not contextualise within tikanga and mātauranga Māori fails to acknowledge the importance of Māori maintaining control over the definitions and use of our terms and concepts.

Adventure and Tourism Business – 'Kaitiaki adventures'

Kaitiaki Adventures is a rafting, sledging and tourist business that engages Māori principles such as manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and whanaungatanga. The business runs several rangatahi (Māori youth) classes which encourage rangatahi to connect with land and ancestors. It is not clear whether the business is Māori owned as this is not highlighted at all[8]. However, the website highlights that there are Māori staff. The term 'kaitiaki' is defined as a guardian, keeper, preserver, conservator, and protector on the website. This business adds further definition by stating that the addition of 'tanga' denotes preservation, conservation, and protection and that the concept of kaitiakitanga is a part of a complex social, cultural, economic, and spiritual system. They add that to understand kaitiakitanga one must understand a Māori world view. There is no reference to whakapapa on the site, as well as there is no reference to local relationships with local Iwi. The company is Rotorua based, but refers to a blog concerning the 'The Story of Parihaka' which is from Taranaki on the front page noting:

> *"Imagine a leader so inspiring he is able to encourage men with warrior hearts to stand up for their rights, while laying down their weapons. Click here to learn about the inspiring story of Te Whiti."*

There is no reference as to why this company would be utilising the story of Parihaka in its business marketing. There is also no reference to anyone in Parihaka who might have given this information or permission for the use of this story to the company. To be able to utilise such historical information, one would at a minimum provide a reference and cite where the information has come from.

Whilst the three realms have some focus on the website, it is in a surface way and how this is practiced within the business is not identified. The physical realm for example is alluded to in terms of taking care of the environment, but how the environment is taken care of in practice could be focused on. Further, there is no overview of how the company came to have their name or whether Māori are involved in the business, or in fact own the business. As Roberts et al. (1995) have consistently advocated there must be clarity of who is in control of the use of terms such as kaitiakitanga, this is the enactment of rangatiratanga. There is not that clarity within this website. If in fact the site is owned by Māori, this should be identified, because if it is not and it proposes to be underpinned by te ao Māori, it is highly problematic.

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[8] I checked the NZ companies register, which was listed under Raft and Sledge Ltd is linked to Kaitiaki Adventures. This did not give me any more clarity about the business being iwi or Māori owned.https://app.companiesoffice.govt.nz/companies/app/ui/pages/companies/1956928

Health promotion – 'Be a kaitiaki'

The Ministry of Health here in Aotearoa is currently running a measles campaign with the tag line 'Be a kaitiaki for your whānau and whakapapa', or 'get immunised and protect your whānau'. It is a health promotion campaign targeting certain age groups and families that may be more susceptible to contracting measles. Kaitiaki is translated as guardian in this campaign. The guardians are clearly identified as people and their roles and responsibilities are highlighted as important to immunisation (Te Hiringa Hauora: Health Promotion Agency, 2021). As with the previous campaign, it would have been helpful if the site noted the references or the iwi and hapū affiliations that align to the choosing of the name for this campaign – or whether Māori were involved in the choosing of the name.

The online videos show whānau Māori representation and emphasises the importance of immunisation against measles. The campaign has tended to focus on the human realm, which has included whakapapa. The metaphysical realm is not mentioned anywhere in the campaign and the Physical realm is also not present, in terms of whenua, awa or whakapapa relationships with the earth. Te reo Māori is visible, as are Māori with reference to whakapapa (concerning human genealogy) and whānau. Therefore, the human realm is present at one level, but not at the level whereby humans interact with the physical environment or are connected to the metaphysical more broadly. Kaitiaki is simply translated as guardian and in this respect, it means to care for your family and yourself by not contracting measles, being immunised, and not spreading what is a harmful disease. In this respect, tiakitanga would have been a more appropriate term to consider in this type of campaign because that is the process and practice of caring for others.

Regarding the health promotion example, that campaign required the targeting of a Māori audience, especially as Māori are disproportionately affected by measles in Aotearoa. Informed by the literature however, the use of the term kaitiaki is incorrect. Tiakitanga, or the use of a whakataukī, such as the Covid-19 slogan "Be a doer, karawhiua", which targeted a Māori audience to be vaccinated, is a better example of utilising Māori knowledge effectively (Waikato Tainui, 2021). This Covid-19 campaign for Māori was defined, designed, and marketed by Māori through the Ministry of Māori Development, Te Puni Kōkiri.

It has been argued in the literature that for kaitiakitanga to be implemented there must be a relationship and connection between all the three realms, metaphysical, physical, and human (Marsden & Henare, 1992; Roberts et al., 1995; Selby et al., 2010a). Within those relationships are the essential elements of whakapapa, tikanga, mātauranga and that framing is determined and led by Māori for the benefit of Māori (Forster, 2012b, 2019). Concerningly, all three websites do not accurately identify permissions for the use of these terms, and which is a crucial

component regarding Māori representation. Hapū and iwi relationships are not identified clearly or highlighted in two of the examples represented which is concerned with tino rangatiratanga. Two of the representations are associated with government agencies which have an obligation to uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi articles and principles in terms of partnering with Māori, representing Māori interests with integrity, and protecting what Māori consider taonga tuku iho, including all that is tangible and intangible, i.e., te reo, tikanga, mātauranga, emotions, feelings, tūpuna and whakapapa. The representations exampled in this section highlight that there are gaps in the ways that kaitiakitanga is being utilised in these particular businesses. These examples show that when Māori knowledge is utilised outside of Māori environments, that this can result in decontextualization. Further to this, misrepresentation and appropriation is a real concern. I now move to discuss how kaitiakitanga is represented and utilised within social work.

Kaitiakitanga and Social Work

Within the Human realm there has been increased use of the terms 'kaitiaki' and 'kaitiakitanga' in the social services and in particular in social work. The Kaitiakitanga Framework developed by the Social Work Registration Board as a means by which to assess cultural competency of social workers is analysed specifically. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, it was this model that raised the initial concerns for me as to whether kaitiakitanga has morphed from its traditional understanding, to be practiced between human beings and how that is being defined and understood.

To introduce the framework, it is important to briefly contextualise the relationship between Māori and the State regarding social work. The largest piece of policy and research carried out in the social work context was called Pūao-te-ata-tū and this is presented first. Pūao-te-ata-tū (the heralding of a new dawn) was a report commissioned in 1986 by the then Minister of Social Welfare, Anne Hercus, and was facilitated and written by a Māori Advisory Committee (Department of Social Welfare, 1988). The advisory committee is shown below at Figure 4.3. Pūao-te-ata-tū is discussed here as a foundational piece of social policy where Māori advocated for changes in social work services and delivery across all levels including agency, systems, legislation, policy, and structure. I start with this report as it premised, to some degree, the acceptance of bicultural frameworks, diversity, and the inclusion of Māori values within social work. In Aotearoa, the term bicultural refers to creating space that is inclusive of both Māori and non-Māori. Te Tiriti o Waitangi forms the basis of this partnership and acknowledges Māori as tangata whenua. As part of this acknowledgement, Te Tiriti o Waitangi is accorded a place in law through the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975). Alongside the requirements of the Act, the Crown is

responsible to Māori to provide equitable outcomes in health, education, socially, economically, and politically.

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Figure 4.4: The Māori perspective advisory committee (Department of Social Welfare, 1988, p. 22)

Pūao-te-ata-tū presented an in-depth analysis and examination of government treatment of Māori and advocated for structural, legislative, and systemic change in the then Department of Social Welfare. The Department of Social Welfare has undergone several restructures and rebranding since that time and is now named Oranga Tamariki, the Ministry for Children. Pūao-te-ata-tū painted a picture of fundamental flaws and racism in the State system regarding the treatment and care of Māori. Thirteen recommendations highlighted several areas that were pivotal to creating safety for whānau Māori which suggested changes and overhaul to areas such as service delivery, staffing, legislation, and the incorporation of tikanga and mātauranga Māori into systems and structures. The report identified varying forms of racism that existed within the then Department of Social Welfare including personal, cultural, and institutional racism. Although the term decolonisation was not referred to in the report, the committee's decolonising approaches included opposing oppressive practices, opposing law and bureaucracy, challenging

Te Tiriti o Waitangi relationships and highlighting social, cultural, structural, and systemic issues within government agencies.

The word 'kai tiaki' featured in the report at Recommendation 4(c)(vii) which required that the Social Security Act 1964 be amended to provide for 'kai tiaki', or members of the hapū, to be empowered with the right to speak on behalf of the child or the child's family. In this respect, 'kai tiaki' meant whānau, hapū or in fact any person who was considered connected to the whakapapa of the child. The word 'kai tiaki' would have been purposefully utilised by the authors as a way of showing the unique nature of the Māori child in relation to their whakapapa and their environment. Interestingly, the Māori writers of that report, put a 'space' in between kai and tiaki. Perhaps this is an indication of the knowledge of the writers, in that to place the word together, would have meant that the 'kaitiaki' was a spiritual being or guardian, rather than a person. A distinction was being made between human beings and spiritual beings who were not human.

In terms of service delivery, the advisory committee presented 'litany' from Māori, canvassed from over 50 locations, about their experiences in the Department of Social Welfare at that time. It was consistently noted that Māori did not feel that the Department allowed them to be themselves, that their culture was not visible, and that the systems and structures worked against them causing worsening and destructive outcomes. Since 1986, the report has been emphasised consistently as a foundational document across the social work context. However, the recommendations made in Pūao-te-ata-tū were not realised and the issues within it, are still present decades later (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Hollis-English, 2012; Moyle, 2013; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020; Oranga Tamariki Ministerial Advisory Board, 2021; Waitangi Tribunal (2915), 2021; Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2020).

The 1980s were a particular time in history for Māori assertion of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination and autonomy) within education, te reo Māori, tertiary, and health (Belich, 1996; Durie, 2003; Durie, 1998; Elkington, 2014; Harris, 2004; Jackson, 1987; Lee, 2015; Mataira, 1989; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999; Walker, 1990). Since the late 1980's bicultural frameworks have become part of the landscape across health areas here in Aotearoa through reports such as Pūao-te-ata-tū, but mostly through the obligation of the State to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. However, although biculturalism is now more acceptable in Aotearoa, its incorporation, understanding, and practice is still contentious, with many finding it to be tokenism or not visible (Moyle, 2013; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 291), 2019; Watson, 2017). Māori have unswervingly contended that Māori led, defined and designed solutions and frameworks are what is needed across contexts in Aotearoa (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020; Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2020). In an environment of structural and systemic racism, Māori have suffered damage and have experienced significant disparities and inequitable treatment in

Government systems (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Waitangi Tribunal (2915), 2021; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 291), 2019).

Pūao-te-ata-tū set the foundation for government departments to look clearly at how their systems and structures caused harm to Māori and to right the wrongs that had been reported. This was perhaps the beginning, in an Aotearoa social work context, of discussing ways forward for Māori with discussions around cultural responsiveness, diversity, cultural awareness, anti-oppressive and cross-cultural social work. From the release of Pūao-te-ata-tū in 1986 until now in 2022, issues of cultural, structural, racial, and systemic violence are ongoing (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020; Royal Commission of Inquiry, 2021; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2575), 2019; Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2020). Biculturalism in social work in particular has become a notion whereby Pākehā assume authority over Māori knowledge and take control over it, for example, teaching Māori knowledge within universities across the country without Māori in the room. New conversations and discussions must now be had concerning terms such as biculturalism, cultural responsiveness, diversity, cultural awareness, and cross-cultural social work.

Kaitiakitanga and SWRB

The Social Workers Registration Board (SWRB) is a Crown entity and is the regulatory authority responsible for the registration of social workers in Aotearoa. On 27 February 2021, registering as a social worker became mandatory in Aotearoa. Alongside registration, social workers are required to hold a current and valid Practising Certificate which aligns to continual professional development which is then audited by the SWRB. The Social Workers Registration Legislation Act (2019) also legislated that no person across Aotearoa could now call themselves a social worker unless they were registered and competent, therefore changing the landscape of the language used within the social work profession. The purpose of these changes it is believed, will enhance the credibility of the profession, ensure public safety, quality, and accountability, allow employers a reporting pathway for misconduct and provide a means for competency and further education (Beddoe & Duke, 2009; Fotheringham, 2018; Social Workers Registration Board, 2021). Whether in fact any of these beliefs will be an outcome of registration is yet to be seen or proven especially in the area of child protection. In general, mandatory registration in Aotearoa and abroad is under researched (Beddoe, 2015; Fotheringham, 2018). Monitoring of individual social workers and their conduct and education within a mandatory system, does not change the structural, cultural, and systemic issues as a whole. Tamihere-Waititi (2019) discusses mandatory registration in the mental health sector where she argued that following professionalisation, the mental health system gained a monopoly over wellbeing within Māori

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communities, side-lining the traditional role of kaumātua, and at the same time, poor mental health statistics among Māori were increasing as more and more 'professional' support was put onto them. Although registration become mandatory in 2021, registration had been strongly encouraged since the 2000s. However, research is needed in order to understand what changes have been instituted since then, in what areas and how these changes impact whānau Māori and the wider profession of social work.

As part of the SWRB commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the ongoing need for non-Māori to be responsive to and competent when working with Māori, the SWRB in partnership with Tangata Whenua Voices in Social Work (TWVSW) designed a Kaitiakitanga framework. The TWVSW is a group of tangata whenua (Māori) social workers committed to supporting other tangata whenua social workers. The Kaitiakitanga framework is designed for use at a micro level for the purpose of competency to work with Māori. The framework has been developed specifically as an assessment tool for those who have no or limited competency to work with Māori (see Figure 4.5). Research indicates that this group is primarily non-Māori social workers (Lipsham, 2016a; Moyle, 2013; Watson, 2017).

Whakamātautau (Assessment Process)

This process will apply to:

1. New social work graduates entering the profession.
2. Existing social workers without competency.
3. Social workers who have qualified outside of Aotearoa New Zealand and choose to practice in Aotearoa New Zealand.
4. Social workers seeking recertification.

The assessment of competence standard 1, will be based on the submission of kōrero pūrākau (case study), either as an addition to the applicant's case study(s) that they use for the other standards; or standard 1 may be demonstrated within the case study(s) written for the other standards.

The applicant will receive a guide setting out the assessment criteria and requirements for competence standard 1. (Please note, this will need to be developed)

Figure 4.5: Whakamātautau (Assessment Process) SWRB Kaitiakitanga
Framework (Social Workers Registration Board., 2019, p. 11)

The framework does not specifically highlight that it is for only non-Māori use, however, there are parts of the assessment that indicate this, such as point 3 in Figure 4.5. A further example is shown in Figure 4.6 below which describes how the social worker would show competence in being mindful of cultural uniqueness and acknowledging cultural identity. The description of both of these areas includes understanding tangata whenua and their unique status. If a Māori

social worker was carrying out this part of the competency, would they be mindful of themselves? Acknowledge their own unique cultural identity as tangata whenua?

Te Rangatiratanga – In this context Rangatiratanga is signposting the quality of leadership, advocacy, facilitation and service in relationships. The practice and the manner of Rangatiratanga is evidenced by knowledge, skills, languaging and application that actively enhance mauri ora from the following positionings	
Mana enhancing	Interactions are carried out in ways that enhance the mana of whānau leadership and decision-making.
Self-determing	Interactions are carried out in ways that promote and advocate for whānau leadership, whānau strategising and whānau led decision-making.
Being respectful in relationships	Engagements and encounters demonstrate a respect for the cultural integrity of tangata whenua roles and responsibilities
Being mindful of cultural uniqueness	Interactions demonstrate and promote the unique status of tangata whenua in Aotearoa.
Acknowledging cultural identity	Cultural identity drives all interactions with tangata whenua

Figure 4.6: Five positions of Te Rangatiratanga - SWRB Kaitiakitanga

Framework (Social Workers Registration Board., 2019, p. 7)

The SWRB defines kaitiakitanga as the taking care of, protecting, and safeguarding of space, integrity, respectfulness, and wellbeing and it is explained as a cultural framework to assess the competence of social workers to work with Māori. Three takepū (applied principles) are expanded on in the Kaitiakitanga framework whereby a non-Māori social worker will be expected to write and speak back to these areas to prove competency in their work with Māori. The takepū are Te Rangatiratanga, Te Whanaungatanga and Te Manaakitanga. Te Rangatiratanga is explained as quality leadership, advocacy, facilitation, and service in relationships. Te Whanaungatanga is described as actively strengthening relationships and Te Manaakitanga is explained as behaviour that acknowledges the mana of others as having equal or greater importance than one's own and is expressed through aroha, hospitality, generosity, and mutual respect. These three areas are then expanded upon through three practice contexts which include, Te Tāngata (people), Te Kaupapa (in and with an issue) and te ao Turoa (in and with the environment). I am unsure as to why there is a 'Te' in front of the three main takepū, as this does not seem to be grammatically correct.

In Figure 4.7, Te Rangatiratanga is defined as signposting leadership, advocacy, facilitation, and service at a micro level of agency. As a noun, rangatiratanga is the right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy and leadership of a social group or domain. For Māori, rangatiratanga has a

direct relationship to sovereignty and self-determination extending from the original meaning within the bible and within Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Rangatiratanga is made up of three particular key root words, 'Ranga', 'tira', and 'rangatira'. These three words indicate for Māori that a group is woven together by a person of chiefly status. It is about a collective as explained in the Chapter 2. Figure 4.7 shows how the social worker would have to prove their competency of 'rangatiratanga'. Six areas are highlighted whereby the social worker has to provide examples of their competency in rangatiratanga, which includes, mana-enhancing, self-determining, mindful of cultural uniqueness and acknowledging of cultural identity. There are six immediate problematic issues with this principle:

1. There is an assumption that non-Māori and a Crown entity such as SWRB can engage with a concept such as Rangatiratanga.
2. There is an assumption that non-Māori and a Crown entity can enhance the mana of a Māori person.
3. There is an assumption that non-Māori and a Crown entity can cross cultural boundaries into another 'ao' and understand it.
4. This work is for individual registration and not about a collective. Nor is it about weaving together collectives by a person of chiefly status.
5. The experience of living and being Māori is underpinned by tikanga and mātauranga. The principles within the Kaitiakitanga framework cannot be debased from these understandings or the three realms of kaitiakitanga.
6. Māori principles should not be co-opted by non-Māori to 'assess' us.

Pou Tarāwaho Whakamātautau (Assessment Matrix)

Te Rangatiratanga – In this context Rangatiratanga is signposting the quality of leadership, advocacy, facilitation and service in relationships. The practice and the manner of Rangatiratanga is evidenced by knowledge, skills, languaging and application that actively enhance mauri ora from the following positionings.

Application of principle in practice HOW?	Ki te Tangata WHAT?	Ki te Kaupapa WHAT?	Ki te Aō Turoa WHAT?	Critical Analysis / Self Reflections SO WHAT?
Mana enhancing				
Self-determining				
Being respectful in relationships				
Being mindful of cultural uniqueness				
Acknowledging cultural identity				
Comment(s)				

Figure 4.7: Pou Tarāwaho Whakātautau (Social Workers Registration Board, 2020, p. 6)

As noted previously, the Kaitiakitanga framework was developed by the Tangata Whenua Voices in Social Work (TWVSW). Over five hui they worked to bring together the most important aspects of what should be considered when working with Māori. Their deliberations and work have a mātauranga and tikanga base. What is clear from its design and development is that kaitiakitanga is considered to be an obligation to take care Māori. By whom, however, is an important question that I have posed in this chapter.

The TWVSW was committed to designing something that would ultimately take care of Māori. The intention of the TWVSW in the design of this framework clearly included their own values of

manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and tiakitanga to our people and to social work. This was an important contribution to the SWRB framework which was designed and developed by Māori.

However, there is an assumption that non-Māori will be able to understand and engage the depth of this mātauranga and tikanga, which is problematic because research has shown that even at the most basic level, Māori frameworks are not being incorporated, practiced or given room within health and social work (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Moyle, 2013; O'Donoghue & Tsui, 2012; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020; Oranga Tamariki: Ministry for Children, 2021; Waitangi Tribunal (2915), 2021; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 291), 2019; Watson, 2017). Often non-Māori social work practitioners utilise models and frameworks that are not Māori and prefer that option. For example, in the latest report from Oranga Tamariki (The Ministry for Children) concerning Māori centred frameworks, the following was reported (Oranga Tamariki: Ministry for Children, 2021, p. 56):

> *Moyle (2014) examines their experiences in the care and protection field. She notes the poor Bicultural practice … regularly witnessed among their Pākehā social work colleagues. That lack, in turn, contributes 'to significant barriers that whānau Māori experience in care and protection' (Moyle, 2014, p. 55 as cited in Oranga Tamariki: Ministry for Children, 2021, p.56).*

> *As has previously been noted, approximately two-thirds of the Oranga Tamariki social work workforce is Tauiwi, mainly Pākehā, but Māori tamariki are disproportionately represented among those who come to the attention of the agency. Inevitably then, Tauiwi social workers will be carrying out assessments and other interventions with tamariki and their whānau. (Oranga Tamariki: Ministry for Children, 2021, p.56)*

As noted above, tamariki Māori are disproportionately represented in the Ministry. Non-Māori then, will inevitably come to assess tamariki Māori and Māori generally. Moyle (2014) highlights poor bicultural practices by Pākehā and how that contributes to significant barriers. These barriers have been consistently highlighted over the past five years and Māori have demanded that the only way forward is a system by Māori for Māori and with Māori (Fitzmaurice, 2020; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020; Waitangi Tribunal (2915), 2021; Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2020). Unfortunately, however, as noted below, the Ministry for Children continues to assert that Māori-centred practice and frameworks are enough, even when the Waitangi Tribunal considered that to be fundamentally flawed.

> *Finally, we note that Oranga Tamariki has conceptualised and is beginning to implement what it describes as 'a shift to Māori-centred practice'. In the words of Oranga Tamariki, this 'shift' comprises the development of 'a mana enhancing paradigm for practice', designed to recognise the intrinsic connection of tamariki Māori to their whānau, hapū, and iwi. Such a framework, the Crown asserts, has the potential to fundamentally disrupt the 'western / European' basis on which the work of Oranga Tamariki and its predecessors has been predicated. On this last point we are less sure. We heard repeatedly in this inquiry from whānau, hapū, iwi, and a broad array of figures associated with the care and protection*

system — including Oranga Tamariki's own social workers — that many of the Ministries staff fundamentally do not understand te ao Māori and are unable to apply it to the complex situations arising in their work. (Waitangi Tribunal (2915), 2021, p. 159)

Given that the SWRB Kaitiakitanga framework has a target audience that is non-Māori, the Tribunals findings are extremely important. They note that the Ministries staff do not understand and are unable to apply Māori frameworks, and it is unlikely that other non-Māori staff with have the capacity or motivation either (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Fitzmaurice, 2020; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020; Pihama et al., 2020; Smith et al., 2021; Smith, 1999; Watson, 2017; Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2020). However, when it becomes a requirement of competency and therefore registration, the motivation becomes aligned to meeting standards, rather than a relationship of integrity.

As previously noted, kaitiakitanga as a philosophy is underpinned by whakapapa relationships. For Māori, these relationships weave across three particular realms that permeate the spiritual, physical, and human spheres. For example, Papatūānuku and her children are kaitiaki of the entire taiao and have specific roles and obligations. The realms are interconnected and inseparable when discussing kaitiakitanga and indeed kaitiaki.

The three main takepū discussed in the SWRB Kaitiakitanga framework relate very strongly to the human realm of kaitiakitanga. As noted within the previous chapter and the whānau section here, rangatiratanga, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga are key elements of kaitiakitanga. How they are described within the framework however, at least for rangatiratanga, is not in keeping with how it is described within the context of kaitiakitanga or Kaupapa Māori generally. Rangatiratanga has a clear cultural and political intent, and no English term fully encapsulates its meaning. It is a term that relates to Māori control over Māori lives and central to that is whakapapa, tikanga and mātauranga. In terms of its meaning in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, 'tino' rangatiratanga is about Māori sovereignty and Māori self-determination and it is therefore a collective value (Irwin, 1992; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020; Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2020). Rangatiratanga is not a term that belongs within a Crown entity that asserts kawanatanga rather than rangatiratanga. Rangatiratanga cannot be asserted as having been 'achieved' via an assessment tool by someone who is non-Māori. Overall, the Kaitiakitanga framework is for use by the SWRB, for individual competency, for non-Māori, toward individual registration, and rangatiratanga is therefore an inappropriate term to be used to assess or in fact within the framework at all.

Some further observations regarding the Kaitiakitanga framework can also be made. Firstly, the integrity of any work, is to pay respect to and reference the foundational and current writers of kaitiakitanga (Baker, 2019; Forster, 2012b, 2019; Hutchings, 2015; Hutchings, Potter, & Taupo,

2011; Hutchings & Smith, 2020; Hutchings et al., 2020; Kawharu, 2000, 2002; Marsden, 2011; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Marsden & Royal, 2003; Ministry for the Environment, 1991; Muru-Lanning, 2016; Mutu, 2010; Roberts et al., 1995; Ruru et al., 2011; Selby & Moore, 2010; Selby et al., 2010a; Te Aho, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 6), 1983; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011).

Secondly, the use of the 'pūrākau' in the context of 'case study' as noted in Figure 4.5 is an issue. Pūrākau as a method, as described in Chapter 2, has been defined by Lee (2005) as decolonising whereby Māori gain their voice and tell their own stories through reclaiming and writing in their cultural story-telling traditions. In this way "pūrākau is a highly political 'site' as it asserts our right to protect, develop and build on our ancestral ways of understanding, knowing, teaching and learning" (p. 11). Therefore, completing a 'case study' *on* Māori by non-Māori, and calling it a pūrākau, is problematic. It is in essence making us the object of study whilst utilising our own political site as stated by Lee (2005).

Thirdly, there is an assumption that "the only way to meet the needs of the 'culturally different other' is to cross cultures and do so competently" (Gray et al., 2013, p. 93), and to do this, Māori become observed and researched, for the benefit of registration and non-Māori competency. The assessment is couched in self-reflection and professional development of the social worker, but the subject is clearly Māori. The assessment and competency should not be about crossing cultures. Asserting influence at a purely culturalist level is not adequate and fails to do the systemic transformations that are required (Moyle, 2013; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020; Pihama, 2019; Waitangi Tribunal (2915), 2021; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 291), 2019; Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2020).

Finally, although SWRB believes it is aligning to Te Tiriti o Waitangi to require and enforce non-Māori to become 'competent' to work with Māori, it has been strongly contended and asserted by Māori that we can and should do this work ourselves. Therefore, changes at structural and systemic levels, rather than culturalist levels as noted, are more critical. As suggested earlier, the work of allies lays in understanding the systems and structures which continue to oppress Māori communities. Understanding the effects of colonisation, imperialism, privilege, racism, and oppression is more critical. Then, the ethical values and principles asserted by mainstream social work of non-judgement, anti-oppression and social justice can be fully understood, expressed, and actioned.

Chapter Conclusion

This Chapter describes whānau as the foundational base of human relationships and central to the transmission of tikanga and mātauranga for Māori. Tikanga frames the way that whānau

relate to one another at personal, social, and political levels. Several authors argued that when Māori concepts such as whānau are interpreted outside of Māori constructs, that they lose their intent and meaning and become debased from their cultural underpinnings. The Waitangi Tribunal claims that have investigated government departments and agencies, identified that commodification, misrepresentation, and Māori worldviews becoming positioned as transactional are very real issues.

Whānau relationships, obligations and responsibilities were highlighted as being underpinned by tikanga and mātauranga which also included kare-ā-roto and te tuakiritanga. Kare-ā-roto and te tuakiritanga relate to emotions, feelings, identity, personality, attributes, and qualities. Six sites of te tuakiritanga are named within this section: Hinengaro, ngākau, puku, manawa, wairua and whatumanawa. It is in the balancing of each of these sites of the inner being that one can enhance, cultivate, and sustain individual and collective wellbeing. Each of the sites of te tuakiritanga are essential to understanding the whānau and their inherent connection to the three realms which are crucial to understanding kaitiakitanga.

Two Māori frameworks of kaitiakitanga by Pohatu (2003) and Penehira (2011) were chosen to review in section three. Both frameworks traced a melding of the spiritual, physical, and human dimensions of kaitiakitanga. Pohatu (2003) highlighted five elements specific to human practice: te tiaki, te pupuri, te arataki, te tautoko and te tohutohu, while Penehira (2011) identified five human states of being that are both practice and theory: tapu, tika, pono, hē/hara and noa. Each framework connects kaitiakitanga to spiritual and physical contexts, with each also highlighting whakapapa, whenua, and behaviour as crucial to the practice of kaitiakitanga in the human realm.

Section four discussed mōteatea and whakataukī as mediums which function as learning, advice, information, and wisdom. These mediums and others, give insight to people regarding philosophies such as kaitiakitanga. The mōteatea and whakataukī presented support arguments presented in Chapter 4 concerning the interconnectedness of all things in the universe. They also illustrate that the three realms complement each other and are reciprocal in nature. Mōteatea and whakataukī connected to kaitiakitanga affirm balance, rather than the placing of humans at the centre and mōteatea and whakataukī have remained templates throughout the generations.

Three representations of kaitiakitanga were reviewed in section five. There is an expanding literature base concerning kaitiakitanga as an environmental ethic, and these examples highlight how Māori knowledge when decontextualised can result in commodification, misrepresentation, and appropriation. Amid these concerns, is the need to continue to assert our right to our own worldviews, which potentially could leave our knowledge open to appropriation by those who do not understand it but will continue to use it regardless (Barnes et al., 2017).

Section six reviews literature concerning social work and kaitiakitanga. An overview of Māori State relationships through Pūao-te-ata-tū began this section which premised to some degree the incorporation of Māori systems and structures in Government departments. The SWRB, a Crown entity, has initiated a Kaitiakitanga framework for use by non-Māori to become competent with Māori. Several parts of the framework are reviewed, including a critique of the framework using rangatiratanga, a kaitiakitanga element. It was noted that the framework did not reference the foundational authors of kaitiakitanga, that calling the competency a case-study *on* Māori utilising pūrākau as the method is problematic and that assuming non-Māori will be able to encompass fully the mātauranga inherent in the philosophy of kaitiakitanga and the elements of kaitiakitanga is an issue. Finally, it was asserted that Māori should not be an add-on to registration, we should not be 'assessed' via our own frameworks by non-Māori. In the final part of section six, I provide literature that supports the assertion that Māori aspire to work with our own people because the welfare system cannot cater to our needs.

In the representations of kaitiakitanga it is clear that the philosophy is being misrepresented and is becoming divorced and debased from its original intent. One way that it is becoming divorced and debased is through the misuse of te reo, as highlighted earlier in the thesis by Pat Hohepa. Where kaitiakitanga was not represented accurately or fully was when the context was within non-Māori organisations. Overall, there is a clear divide between Māori models and representations of kaitiakitanga and 'other' representations where, although Māori have been part of the conversations and design, ultimately, the frameworks and representations are for use by others and for the benefit of others.

In the existing kaitiakitanga literature there is limited specific detail about the social realm or human realm and the ways that humans engage with each other, other than that expressed within the Māori models and traditional mātauranga and tikanga forms. This is the most significant gap in the literature regarding kaitiakitanga. The three realms of kaitiakitanga canvassed in these two literature chapters indicate that there is a clear interconnectedness. The area least explored to date, is in the realm of human relationships and social spheres as articulated by Kawharu (1998). This thesis investigates in depth, human to human relationships as expressed through kaitiakitanga to provide evidence-based literature that will enable its clear and accurate use within the human realm.

The study now moves from the human realm to the information gathered from the kaikōrero in this study. The next four chapters named, Whānau, Taiao, Taonga tuku iho and Tino Rangatiratanga, provide a rich source of information from Māori regarding the philosophy of kaitiakitanga and provide a wealth of knowledge which has been transmitted over generations.

Chapter 5: Whānau

The word whānau can mean both extended family and to give birth. Historically, groups of whānau lived together forming hapū or Iwi. Whānau is the basic social unit in Māori society and refers to collectives of Māori people (Walker, 2004). Whānau as extended family units are inclusive of at least three or more generations. Kaumātua (elders) were often at the head of the whānau and were regarded as "storehouses of knowledge, the minders and mentors of children" (Walker, 2004, p. 63). Other members of the whānau carried out roles such as mentors, educators, workers, leaders, healers and more (Walker, 2004). A more traditional definition of whānau is one where all the members descend from the same ancestor and share the same whakapapa. However, Durie (2001) asserts that since colonisation many changes have taken place and as such, he expands on the notion of whānau to incorporate several diversities which include whānau as kin, shareholders, comrades, neighbours, virtual whānau and households (Durie, 2001). Whilst acknowledging the diversity of whānau, this section does not speak directly to these expanded diversities described by Durie (2001), as the kaikōrero in this study affirmed whakapapa whānau are central to the transmission of kaitiakitanga.

Although this chapter has been themed and sub-themed the individual roles should not be extracted and decontextualised. The roles and tikanga within this Chapter are whānau initiated, whānau informed and in many cases kuia or grandparent generation led. These roles and the tikanga inherent, are located within the structure of whānau which interconnects and traverses Māori society. These roles are also presented under the umbrella of kaitiakitanga which involves varying levels of responsibility and obligation.

One of the aims of this research was to inquire into the human realm of kaitiakitanga and its practice between and by people and what mātauranga, tikanga and values are inherent to these practices Further, the research inquired into whether tikanga concerned with kaitiakitanga has changed from the human, metaphysical and physical triadic notion to a human-to-human or human centric one and why? What this chapter shows is that kaitiakitanga is practiced by Māori and in particular, by kuia and between kuia and whānau members. It has not become human centric, as it has not moved from its traditional understanding as being related and interconnected to the metaphysical, physical, and human realms. This chapter indicates also that kaitiakitanga knowledge and practices are being transmitted at the whānau collective level, is underpinned by mātauranga and tikanga, and learned via intergenerational knowledge transmission or ako.

Discussions from kaikōrero through two key sub themes, kuia and whānau roles, are presented in this chapter. In the first theme, the kaikōrero identified kuia or grandmothers as key knowledge holders of mātauranga and tikanga across several different contexts. The first theme regarding kuia, came out of my conversations with the kaikōrero concerning their understanding of the words kaitiaki and kaitiakitanga. Several kaikōrero answered this topic in a layered way, for example, by naming kaitiaki from their hapū which included manu or birds – which is discussed in Chapter 6. At the same time, kaikōrero asserted kuia in these 'kaitiaki' roles and further specified those roles to include kuia as kairaranga, kaiako, pou, clearers, healers, protectors and returning in spirit form. These specific roles are detailed in the first theme.

The second theme illustrates the importance of whānau roles. Kaikōrero discussed roles within whānau specific to kaitiakitanga alongside associated characteristics, principles, and values. These roles are expanded on below and include Matua rautia – collective whānau responsibility to tiaki, kaihāpai, kaimahi urupā, kaiako, kaiārahi and kaikarakia. In contrast to kuia as being considered by kaikōrero as both kaitiaki and in kaitiakitanga roles, whānau members more generally were described as holding kaitiakitanga roles only. Whānau were not named as 'kaitiaki' but as contributors to 'kaitiakitanga' through their varied roles.

Ko te kairaranga i te tira: Kuia

The heading for this section comes from a Mātanga kaikōrero who spoke about their grandmother as kaitiaki of their whānau and that she weaved their whānau together as a unit – "ko te kairaranga i te tira". This section highlights that kuia have had a considerable influence on the way that kaikōrero in this study understand and experience kaitiakitanga. Throughout this section, kuia, grandmother, nana, or nan will be utilised where specified by each kaikōrero. All the kaikōrero in this study whakapapa Māori, as did the kuia referred to within this section. The sub themes show that kuia hold central roles in transmitting mātauranga and tikanga, protecting and nurturing whānau, that they practice values such as leadership, aroha, wisdom, and trust. Kuia are important repositories of knowledge concerning kaitiakitanga.

Kuia as kairaranga – weaving whānau together

> *The greatest example for me is my grandmother. Mātanga kaikōrero*

In the quote that opens this sub-theme, the grandmother is discussed as the person who encouraged the whānau to gather, collect, learn, and develop their fishing and kaimoana (seafood) skills. The practices of leadership, manaakitanga, aroha, tautoko and tiaki were identified as particular characteristics and values that were held by this grandmother, and these were considered to be a part of kaitiakitanga overall. For example, in relation to aroha and tiaki, the

Mātanga described not being able to dive for seafood with cousins when they were young due to an ear issue, so, without highlighting the obvious ear issue, their grandmother taught them a different role - how to prepare and cook seafood. The same kaikōrero continued to offer information regarding their grandmother's characteristics:

> *Because she was so good at making sure that we were ok, we without a doubt, without a second thought, without a question, did everything that she asked of us. Because we knew the place from whence it come, a place of love, a place of protection, but also a place of wisdom of knowing that I am going to tell my mokopuna to do this because I know what the result will be. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Protection, being decisive, and wisdom are values and characteristics of this grandmother which were discussed as key characteristics of kaitiakitanga. Trust is a value being expressed as the kaikōrero repeats their dedication and belief in their grandmother to make good decisions for the whānau. This relates to the assertion from Pohatu (2003) that kaitiakitanga can be practiced between people but that there are several different takepū that are present, for example tautoko and pupuri, that are practiced in tandem, weaving in and out of the theory and practice. This pūrākau was shared by the Mātanga from a time when their grandmother was alive. In contrast, the below example describes relationships with kuia after they have passed.

Kuia returning in spiritual form

> *… my kuia … she's here with me all the time in my mahi and corrects me and tells me things … I'm mindful of when I'm working with people, the worst thing I could ever do is something that would shame my kuia. SW Supervisor Kaikōrero*

This SW Supervisor clearly expressed their connection to taha wairua (spiritual side) and makes distinct that their kuia returns in spirit form to help them in their work. There is an assertion that the kuia being spoken about helps the kaikōrero communicate, correct, and have accountability in their practice. The ability to receive tohu and call on tūpuna in the spiritual realm is a point being made by this kaikōrero. That they do not want to 'shame' their kuia shows a deep respect and loyalty. The kaikōrero relates to the kuia as though she is still with them. This is not unusual. In te ao Māori, it is considered normal for the living to communicate with tūpuna and vice versa. Te ao wairua (the spiritual world) is considered a part of everyday life for Māori (Walker, 2004). For example, when tamariki have dreams about their tūpuna, parents encourage them by asking what their tūpuna told them and by treating the dream as the mokopuna receiving important messages (Pihama et al., 2020). There is a reverence and respect for kuia that continues after they have passed. Kuia returning as tūpuna and in different forms are one way through which relationships continue.

Several themes are present in the SW supervisors kōrero above which includes, tūpuna returning in different forms, wairua connection, connection to being Māori and tohu. In the following example, the Ruru (bird) represents either the father or kuia. Tohu are being relayed, through the Ruru, to the SW Supervisor to help guide and support. This practice depends on the person being open to receiving and interacting within.

> *Every now and then a Ruru will call, and I get up and open the window and talk. It's either my dad or my kuia and I say, it's okay I hear what you're saying, it's okay. So, I get up and do something when the Ruru calls. SW Supervisor kaikōrero*

> *I always get it here on my shoulders … when my mother was alive, she always used to say to me, your kuia is on your back, what have you been doing and I go what, and she goes, your kui is sitting on your shoulders, what are you up to? SW Practitioner kaikōrero*

In the second extract it is the mother who observes the kuia sitting on her daughters (the SW Practitioner) shoulder, the SW Practitioner recognises and accepts this as a normal part of being Māori and confirms that she feels her kuia. One of the terms used in te ao Māori for those that can see spirits, is the matakite.

> *I love connecting with our kuia who have opened themselves, who are matekite. If you have that insight, I'm a bit māngere when it comes to some of that I've been told, but I know, I think I will stay on this side. SW Supervisor Kaikōrero*

Matakite, those that can see spirit, have special intuition, or can foresee, have a special role in te ao Māori. The matakite can reach into the metaphysical realm and communicate with what lies beyond the physical world. The metaphysical and physical realms are being acknowledged in these extracts as important to the transmission and experience of kaitiakitanga. Kuia are being acknowledged as continuing to work after their death, changing into form and becoming kaitiaki.

Māori believe that tūpuna can return in any form. In my iwi pūrākau of Ngāti Rereahu, our rangatira Te Peehi governed over much of our land. The original inhabitants of some of that land were called 'Kahu-pungapunga' and many were killed and enslaved. Because of this, Kahu-pungapunga eventually lured Te Peehi into a trap and murdered him. The river where he was murdered was aptly named 'Tinihanga' or deception. The people of Te Peehi knew that he had died when they observed a koura (native crayfish), climbing out of the water, crawling across the Marae ātea. The tohunga of the Marae declared that it was Te Peehi, returning in spirit form to his Marae. The koura is a known kaitiaki in Ngāti Rereahu.

Kuia as Pou

Pou, can be explained as a stalwart, support, and pillar. Literally, a pou is a pole that is central to holding together a structure. The kaikōrero in this study repeatedly regarded kuia as pou through the roles they held and as central to their learning about kaitiakitanga.

My Nan has basically always been the matriarch of our whanau, my Mum's mum, and she was the Kaitiaki as well as the Rangatira. SW Supervisor kaikōrero

Nana ... one of the tino pou that I would look at for kaitiakitanga ... she was focused on one thing, which was karanga, she really looked after that kaupapa, I tākoha ia, to all her mokopuna. Rangatahi kaikōrero

For us as a family, we try, whether it is consciously or unconsciously to do it exactly how Nan taught us. How big Nan taught her. And the women in our family have a very special place because of those two ladies .... Mātanga kaikōrero

Varied characteristics and roles are being described in the above three extracts. All three show that kuia has responsibility in maintaining the mātauranga and tikanga of kaitiakitanga. The roles highlighted include those of kuia as matriarch, kaitiaki, rangatira and tino pou. Kuia here are being recognised as having the ability to lead, to be focused, to take care of kaupapa, to tākoha (to gift and be giving to others) and to be teachers. Intergenerational knowledge transmission is key to the way that kaikōrero have learned about kaitiakitanga.

Underpinning these qualities and evident in the words of each of the kaikōrero is the ability to tiaki, to 'care' about the needs and the future of whakapapa and the ongoing wellness of people. One area where wellness is important, is in the spiritual realm and the next section discusses the place of kuia as spiritual healers and protectors.

Kuia as healers, clearers of kēhua and protectors

The healing of the grandmother because she did the work, we witnessed that before our eyes. That is why we have to say this work is so important right, we can't just go out and say this is work, it has got to be bigger than work ... we have to ask that because our people live in dire straits. We are not asking for anything less because we know if you go with these intentions and with aroha that you have an opportunity to heal whakapapa trauma. Mātanga Kaikōrero

The work being referred to by this kaikōrero is that of spiritual healing. This Mātanga explained during our hui the nature of their grandmothers work in 'clearing' people's homes of kēhua and other such spiritual matters, as well as providing guidance to the whānau regarding rongoā and wellbeing. Aroha and healing are considered important characteristics of the work of healing and cleaning. Intention is regarded as an important characteristic also, which requires one to act with meaning and purpose. Protection and spiritual presence continue as a theme in the next extract offered by a SW Practitioner.

I'd turn around and I'd look for whatever it was that was there, and my cousin used to say to me, what are you looking for and I'd go, I don't know but there is something here, but I can't figure out what it is. She would say, come on we'll go down and tell nan in the kitchen, so we'd go and tell my kui and she'd say to us, stay in the kitchen, she'd go out, close the door behind her, go down to lounge, close that door and then she'd be in there for about 5-10 minutes and then next minute she'd come back and say to us, now you can go back in the

Clearing kēhua out of a space is shared as a role in this second extract by the SW Practitioner. Where this may be considered a specialised role today, historically, many kuia and whānau members, including my own, performed roles such as this as a matter of course. In this example, the Kui or Nan would need knowledge which includes karakia and rongoā to enable her to clear the kēhua.

Within te ao Māori, another role that aligns to the practice of healing, protection, rongoā and wairua is that of the Tohunga. A Tohunga is a person chosen by the iwi as a leader in areas such as atua, sacred lore, spiritual beliefs and traditions and the traditions and genealogies of an iwi.

Some tohunga, including my own Nanny Naki, Koro Te Rangituātea and Koro Pumi, were involved in the work of a tohunga, providing spiritual assistance to whānau to heal and clear away kēhua in whatever form they came. My mother used to lovingly tell the story of living next to our Nanny Naki. Nanny Naki would heal, through the fence/hedge, any ailment that Mum and her sister Kath would have, by mere touch and karakia, or sometimes no touch at all. Various whānau members were involved in the work of clearing kēhua and protecting whānau. Often whānau were naturally gifted, as was the case for the three whānau members I have named above. They had a particular mana, inherited gifts and spiritual influence that surrounded them. These gifts were not only self-identified, but more importantly whānau, hapū and iwi identified.

The practice of being a tohunga was disrupted by several pieces of legislation in Aotearoa, including the Tohunga Suppression Act (1907), which was set up to replace tohunga practices with western medicine (Walker, 2004). It was considered regressive and contrary to colonial ideology to practice as a tohunga. More than that, the Act, made the practice of being a tohunga, something to be ashamed of, to be hidden and not good enough. What is being emphasised in this study, is that the role kuia have as clearers of spirit and in varying forms has continued whether the kuia is living or passed, and irrespective of oppressive acts of legislation.

Kuia as Kaiako

Kaiako can be translated to mean teacher or instructor. Literally translated this refers to the feeder of knowledge or people involved in reciprocal learning. Kuia in this study were explained as kaiako. Kaikōrero discussed being taught to cook, to clean, to be leaders, to be respectful of the environment, to take care of thoughts, to learn karakia, learn tikanga regarding māra, to connect with wairua, tūpuna and atua, and to be open to tohu. The skills learned became transferable to any role or profession that the mokopuna would want to pursue.

Other kaikōrero spoke of kuia teaching them specific tikanga such as karanga (ceremonial call) and the preparation of Marae. My Nana taught me specific tikanga too which included knowing how to treat whānau members when I stayed in their homes and the tikanga of karanga and hui (Beverland, Forthcoming-a; Lipsham, 2012). Staying at other people's homes meant taking care of their environment, helping with work, and giving a monetary koha to help with food. Nana taught us that the skills of manaaki, whakapapa, aroha, ensuring personal mana and protecting mauri and wairua are important (Lipsham, 2020; Mead, 2003). Three examples are presented below, they show kuia teaching or being identified as the teacher:

> *For me I have always known kaitiakitanga to be about looking after the land. I learned that a lot from my nana. The land and the oceans and our awa, being up in Matauri that is basically all you are surrounded by, so I think it is also, for me I see it as something that the ahi kā do. Rangatahi kaikōrero*

The extract above shows the importance of knowledge shared specific to and within hapū and iwi which is dependent on their environment. Further, that ahi kā are important to the transmission of kaitiakitanga knowledge and practice. Ahi kā are usually described as the people who keep the fires burning at home or who occupy the space on the whenua. This is an important point to note here, that intergenerational knowledge transmission is not always general. For example, if you are taught about karanga, there will be some general learning (perhaps the construction of a karanga) but there will also be very specific tikanga and kawa within your own whānau, hapū and iwi such as mita o te reo, dialectical differences. The view that grandparent generations are important repositories of knowledge and information in te ao Māori, and it is them who would maintain and retain specific tikanga and kawa for passing on to the next generation has been expressed consistently by kaikōrero.

> *I see that nan, when we were growing up, she taught us to be very respectful of our tūpuna, very respectful of even the māra - the garden, of Tangaroa, of our tinana, of our kai, of the whānau. Whānau kaikōrero*

In the extract above the Nan taught the mokopuna (grandchild) to observe and interact with their physical (their tinana or bodies and the māra or garden) and metaphysical environments (respect of Tangaroa, the deity or kaitiaki of the ocean and tūpuna).

> *Nan and all her teachings … always taught us to karakia, and we have always seen her do it, she is a great practicer of what she preaches. Through that you kind of connect wairua wise with your tūpuna and with atua and what have you. Then through that, your mind opens up and then you start seeing tohu, whatever gets presented. Whānau kaikōrero.*

Overall, kuia in this study were the largest group of people within whānau regarded as kaitiaki, or who possessed kaitiaki qualities and skills. The qualities and skills highlighted in this section include aroha, a quality not often highlighted in the kaitiakitanga literature regarding the human

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realm. There is an interweaving of theory, practice, and behaviour within the varied kuia roles. Where human to human practice of kaitiakitanga is clearly identified in this section, this is not isolated from the metaphysical and physical realms. Kuia have been highlighted within this section as kaitiaki and as crucial to the ongoing development and transmission of mātauranga and tikanga regarding kaitiakitanga. They are well regarded and central to whānau understandings of kaitiakitanga. This section identifies the many varied kuia roles, values and attributes that are part of the practice of kaitiakitanga and highlights that intergenerational knowledge is a key to its transmission. Wider whānau roles are now presented which shows a contrast to kuia being named as kaitiaki to those holding and maintaining kaitiakitanga roles within whānau.

Kaitiakitanga: Wider whānau roles

Whānau roles have been consistently emphasised as important to kaitiakitanga by the kaikōrero. In the previous section, kuia roles were specifically highlighted. This section concentrates on the kaikōrero who named themselves, or others in their whānau, as having roles aligned to kaitiakitanga. Whānau members referred to in this section include Mums, dads, cousins, and the kaikōrero themselves. Many kaikōrero identified characteristics, values and principles that underpinned each of the roles they described. Ako is a recurring theme throughout this Section because the roles discussed are often taught, passed on or learned within whānau. Rose Pere's work identifies many of the varying levels and complexities of ako. Ako is discussed in part through whakapapa, wairua, te reo, whanaungatanga, mahi, tapu, mana, mauri, manaaki, tohu, matapuna and waiora (Pere, 1991). Many of these themes were highlighted by the kaikōrero in this section, and in the Chapter overall.

Matua rautia – collective whānau responsibility to tiaki

> *Where we come from, the word kaitiaki isn't used, the word tiaki is used. The reason is, when you put the kai on that word, it takes it to an individual's responsibility, or an individual's title, tiaki was never the role of an individual … Tiaki in my mind, while it can be individual, it is part of this … Wharehuia had a phrase, matua rautia, you have a hundred fathers and a hundred mothers, because it is a collective responsibility ki te tiaki i te tamaiti, i a wai ake, i a wai ake, so you have a collective responsibility. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The root word of kaitiakitanga, tiaki, is considered more appropriate than kaitiaki by this Mātanga because of the risk of it being reduced to an individual rather than a collective role. The collective role, Matua rautia, which can be translated as many adults raising children, is explained by the Mātanga as a form of collective responsibility. The kaikōrero is referring to whānau roles. The key point is that all children need to be cared for by many adults and as such, Māori do not define whānau through limited ideas of a nuclear family construct.

An important point being made here is the reference to tiaki being a collective responsibility not an individual one. Opai (2021) stresses this assertion in discussing collective and communal wellbeing as opposed to individual needs.

Another example of collective responsibility and taking care of the collective is highlighted in the concept mana whenua, and associated roles, which is explained by the next kaikōrero.

> *That is about what kaitiakitanga is in terms of mana whenua … you have a kaitiaki role, a manaakitanga role, to people who come … I have been doing that for years with our rōpu and I guess one of the teachings that we have had is that no matter where you live our tūpuna have taught us to hook up with that local marae. SW Supervisor kaikōrero*

This SW Supervisor is making two important points. Firstly, they are saying that within their own hapū and iwi, which is inferred by talking about mana whenua, manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga are key roles. This SW Supervisor is also making explicit that when you are outside of your own hapū or Iwi, you must connect with the local Marae, because in this context, they hold the mana whenua and kaitiakitanga roles. Again, ako and manaakitanga are highlighted as key tikanga when practicing in a kaitiaki role. Similarly, the next whānau kaikōrero identifies a mana whenua role:

> *Just prior to Mum passing, she handed the role of mana whenua to me … to guide the whānau … as to what the whenua, what our papakāinga is about, giving them an understanding of the papakāinga and roles also of looking after. Whānau kaikōrero*

This kaikōrero has been selected on behalf of the whānau to ensure that the facilitation of intergenerational transmission of knowledge would continue. The mana whenua role being described here involves guiding whānau members by sharing knowledge regarding whenua, their whānau roles and papakāinga. Mana whenua in the above example is a person who knows the knowledge and can pass this knowledge on to the collective.

Whānau Māori carry many different roles and these roles feed into the collective. In my whānau there are members with roles in organizing, childcare, cleaning, nursing, caring for elderly, cooking, diving, speaking, singing, guitar playing, tikanga, whakapapa and leadership. These roles are often developed through life, and many of these roles, as acknowledged in this study, are taught, or strongly encouraged by our grandparent generations and are then whānau identified. Whānau roles are further exampled below in regards those identified as kaihāpai.

Kaihāpai

> *My mum was astute in te reo, karanga, whakapapa … We travelled everywhere in the county because of kaupapa, to hāpai ngā kaupapa kaitiakitanga, ngā kaupapa manaaki, ngā kaupapa tautoko, whakapapa. SW Supervisor kaikōrero*

To hāpai is to be able to carry, support, shoulder and elevate certain subjects or contexts. To be a Kaihāpai means that you will have the ability to advocate, support, campaign, and champion kaupapa. The kaihāpai roles held in this first example are te reo, karanga and whakapapa. Each role referred to by this kaikōrero in relation to their mother carries with them distinct tikanga. For example, in te ao Māori, karanga includes knowledge of hapū and iwi, tapu, tangihanga, whanaungatanga, te reo, wairua, whenua, taha hinengaro. Recently I attended the Waitangi Tribunal Claim regarding the Mana Wahine Kaupapa Inquiry. Whaea Mamae Takerei gave a powerful presentation which included many different kaupapa, but she also described karanga as evoking the spiritual world and that it is the first voice of the marae which signals that the marae is ready to receive visitors. Further she outlined specific elements required to fulfil the role which included: confidence, technique, aspiration, sincerity, voice projection and a tutor who is a woman (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021).

The SW Supervisor notes that included in the Mum's role there was a necessity to travel around Aotearoa to represent her whānau, hapū and iwi and to support and uplift other kaupapa (issue, contexts, hui). 'Hāpai ngā kaupapa kaitiakitanga ...' describes uplifting and supporting kaitiakitanga kaupapa and representing Iwi. This is highlighted in the following quote in relation to attending the reading of their Treaty settlement process.

> *I looked around the gallery at parliament when the third reading was being done for our Ngāti Rangi claim you saw kaitiakitanga, you saw it everywhere … people are there to uphold what is important and it is about ngā tuakiritanga nui ake ngā kōrero o tērā. SW Supervisor Kaikōrero.*

Presence at gatherings such as this, regarding Te Tiriti o Waitangi claims, is an important and special event for many Iwi. It is often the time when stolen land or taonga is returned, or financial compensation and apology is given to Iwi by the State in recognition of the breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This SW Supervisor describes the importance of people being there to uphold and support what is important, and further states "ngā tuakiritanga nui ake …" affirming the literature concerning wellbeing, rangatiratanga and te tuakiritanga. "Ngā tuakiritanga nui ake" describes how the claim impacts physically, mentally, emotionally, spiritually, and psychologically. Mokuau and Mataira (2013) affirm this point and argue that "growing cultural identity originates in the valuing and practice of cultural ways and traditions in ways that fit people's day-to-day lives" (p. 155). In the above extract, the kaikōrero relates supporting the claim to kaitiakitanga. It is an enactment of tino rangatiratanga to support iwi as well as being a claimant with the Te Tiriti o Waitangi Tribunal.

> *Somebody needed to be a part of the whenua as well, somebody needed to be kaitiaki for our whānau and my brother never took up that mantle, but it was one of my father's sisters, one*

> *of our kuia, she told me to ... and she goes I'm not asking you; I'm telling you. SW Practitioner kaikōrero*

This highlights that sometimes the roles within whānau are directed. In the example above, the SW Practitioner describes such an example where it is expected that a whānau member return to live on the land to be the kaitiaki. This SW practitioner was already taking care of her own mokopuna and in a kuia role by the time her kuia directed this. It is an accepted practice in whānau for members to be placed in or guided into kaihāpai positions as was described in the previous example of mana whenua above. Members of whānau need to be fully committed to kaupapa in this instance and accept the roles designated to them.

> *Even turning up to tangihanga, kei te haere ki te hāpai i te kaupapa ā-tinana ki te tū atu, ki te tautoko atu ki tō whānau, hapū, iwi, ki tōna kaupapa inanahi rā i te taha o tōku nei kura hoki, kura Māori ki te tautoko te whānau, ki te awhi te whānau, are we mai, are we atu, koinā he tūturutanga o kaitiakitanga hoki. SW Supervisor kaikōrero*

In this final example of kaihāpai, the kaikōrero points to what they see is the essence or deep truth (tūturutanga) of kaitiakitanga, which is, to select in. "Are we 'mai', or are we 'atu'", refers to the process of selecting in or out of kaupapa. They suggest that turning up physically (ā-tinana), is an important element, to support whānau, hapū and iwi contexts. This suggests that kaitiakitanga cannot be a theoretical endeavour alone but involves mahi, commitment and practice which has been echoed throughout this section. The discussion on mahi is continued in the next theme.

Kaimahi urupā

> *First thing I thought of cuz, was your role, not just yours, but quite a pivotal role is the cleaning of the urupā and just keeping the tikanga. Whānau kaikōrero*

Mahi is an important concept to Māori which is advocated by Te Puea through such whakataukī as 'mahia te mahi hei painga mō te iwi' which means that we must always be engaged in practice, work, and movement for the wellness of our people. It can be described as occupation, work, to make or prepare, to do or perform and the essence of mahi is associated with the contribution one can make to a community (Pere, 1994). A kaimahi can be basically translated as a worker or one who works within kaupapa. By adding the word urupā, or cemetery, this then means the specific work in the urupā. This whānau kaikōrero identifies an important role held by their cousin, who maintains the whānau urupā. For example, many whānau Māori have their own cemeteries, which are often located on whenua and at Marae. These urupā are not maintained by local council, but by whānau, hapū and iwi. My whānau have several urupā which are located on whenua and Marae and their upkeep falls to dedicated whānau members who often resource themselves, in terms of the equipment needed and travel to the urupā which is often rural, to take care of the tūpuna within the urupā.

The role of kaimahi urupā is a specialised one, as with te reo, whakapapa and karanga. It requires the whānau member to observe specific tikanga for being with the dead, for example, it requires one to be aware of grave digging, grave positioning, slippage, restrictions, spirit and karakia. It is often regarded as a 'kaitiaki' position, and the reasoning here is that it is located on whenua and requires the knowledge of the physical and metaphysical realms to know the role. Roles such as this must also be passed onto the next generation through the practice of ako. A similar kōrero was shared by the next kaikōrero:

> *I was standing there, and I happened to look across the paddock, we've got some whenua across the paddock and it's where my great, great grandmother is buried and we used to have a homestead there and it's gone now, but she wanted to be buried there at the back of the homestead so all her mokopuna could play on her. As a child we used to do that, we used to sit on her and eat on her she was at the back door of our homestead. But anyway, she's there at home, but I could see these people and I thought oh who are those people? So, on my way out I drove down to have a look and it was my cousin and her two daughters and they had weeded all around her and they were painting her, and I just like cried. SW Supervisor Kaikōrero*

The kaikōrero shares the pūrākau of their tūpuna which are joyous and emotional memories. They are then reminded of that joy when recounting their experience of seeing their whānau working to keep the urupā maintained. Taking care of tūpuna within urupā is part of maintaining connection and affirming whakapapa. In our further conversations, the kaikōrero remembers being younger and fitter and the time that they had spent at the urupā helping in the maintenance, but that now, they are unable to fulfil that obligation. They spoke about the obligation and responsibility of the younger generation to do this mahi, but that often that generation are not equipped with the knowledge or tikanga. In our discussions during the hui, this SW Supervisor discussed the importance of ako and that teaching mokopuna about tikanga had started to occur in her immediate whānau. The Kaiako or teaching position is an important one within whānau, and several examples were shared in the next theme.

Kaiako

As noted in the kuia section above, kaiako means teacher or instructor. Kaiako literally means, the feeder or sharer of knowledge.

> *We're supposed to be having a reunion next year and so that was one of the things I was wanting to put before our whanau. We've got to start teaching our younger ones now too cause we're getting into the older group. SW Practitioner kaikōrero*

Intergenerational knowledge transmission is an important point being emphasised by this SW Practitioner. They point to the obligations and responsibilities that the older whānau members have to the young in order to ensure that the whānau knowledge is passed to the next generation.

This sense of obligation and responsibility moves into other spaces of whānau members lives. The sense of needing to pass on mātauranga and tikanga that is learned within whānau to those outside the whānau is shared by the next kaikōrero when discussing their work as a teacher:

> *An example is, you have got the word kaitiaki I think you can put with that, kaipupuri which is a holder …part of kaitiakitanga is making sure I pass those things on to the students so it's not only mana mātauranga, might be mana Māori, mana wahine, mana rangatahi, it is all the skills that I have. It is like once you know something you can't un-know it and you can't unlearn it and you have a responsibility to make sure you pass that on. That is how I would see kaitiakitanga an example of it in my role as a teacher. SW Tauira kaikōrero*

Kaipupuri is a role referred to by this SW Tauira which is someone who holds knowledge or retains knowledge. Passing that knowledge on is an important point that the SW Tauira reiterates. They see sharing knowledge and teaching as a part of kaitiakitanga. The next extract shows an example of knowledge transmission within Marae, and between a mokopuna and Nana.

> *For me it was nana always going up and ki te whakarite i te marae, and we did it a certain way and I would be like, why this way, and she would be like, oh you should know, and I was like, oh yeah, true. You have to put mahi into it. I reckon that is the main thing that kind of sparks up the mauri of just keeping things alive, if you want to keep things alive you have to, it's like with talking, with reo, if we want to keep it alive, me kōrero i te reo. Rangatahi Kaikōrero*

To whakarite marae is an extremely important mahi in te ao Māori. It can be simple but equally complex. To set up for a tangihanga in the whare tūpuna for example, one needs to know body position, photo position, room set up, pōwhiri process, tikanga concerning the dead – for example, their kākahu and taonga placement. In the whare kai tasks involve set up, food, budget and timing which is an equally important role and part of whakarite marae. Often these roles are led by one or two people, but it takes a collective to be able to fulfil these roles.

These roles must be carried out with accuracy, and they are considered specialist roles within the Marae. The Rangatahi kaikōrero talks about 'keeping things alive' and this refers to keeping the tikanga alive regarding marae and regarding te reo. The Rangatahi specifies mahi as the main indicator of whether tikanga can survive or not – that you must speak for te reo to stay alive, that you must learn and work in order that marae tikanga stay alive. Given that tikanga and te reo is so essential to understanding kaitiakitanga, the emphasis on ensuring they are alive and lived is critical.

Kaiārahi

Kaiārahi is generally utilised to describe a person who is a leader, mentor, or guide. The following examples are related to whānau in general or specific examples of whānau members and they highlight the tikanga related to kaitiakitanga.

> *A big thing about being a kaitiaki in our whānau, it means to look after but it also means to lead … so not just leadership, but manaakitanga, tiakitanga. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Manaakitanga and tiakitanga are highlighted here as important practices that underpin leadership within a kaitiakitanga frame. The role of being a kaitiaki requires leadership underpinned by manaakitanga and tiakitanga and the larger role of leadership is also whānau-identified.

> *Kaitiakitanga ki au nei has that guardianship element, ki a mātou, mai i ngā mātua tūpuna tūturu. I guess, since I've been a policy analyst, I do continue to study around that realm, and whatever kaupapa or mahi I do, it's based on that kaupapa that I have an inherit duty to provide guardianship, leadership, protection. SW Supervisor*

Leadership is being further asserted here, as well as protection and guardianship as a key tikanga within kaitiakitanga. This kaikōrero has described knowledge from their tūpuna as what they ground their practice on (mai i ngā mātua tūpuna tūturu) and that this moves into all the spaces of their life, including as a policy analyst. The kaikōrero does not differentiate between how kaupapa informs his life in one area and the next, but rather they consider kaupapa to be inherent to all they are involved in.

The next kaikōrero discusses wanting to get moko, and the process of deciding and gaining permission about whether to put their kaitiaki, the whai or stingray, onto their body.

> *I just want to touch on another part of kaitiakitanga … I wanted a tā moko and I wanted it in the shape of a whai, of a stingray, and my reasoning for that was because a stingray is one of our kaitiaki from Ngāti Kura. I took that back to my nana and she just gave me a funny look and she said, go ask your papa, and then he gave me kōrero around the whai and as to why that particular tamariki of Tangaroa is our kaitiaki in the area, and why it is also something that you would not put on your body because it is not going to look after you in that way, that is just another aspect. Whānau kaikōrero*

In this extract, the kaikōrero defers to mentors or leaders within the whānau to determine what would be an appropriate moko. Their idea is initially to tā moko the whai or stingray onto their skin, as recognition of its importance to them as kaitiaki and to provide them with a sense of protection. They are guided by their Nana to discuss this with their Papa (or grandfather). Papa's advice is that the whai operates within the water, that is their domain and where the protection lies, and advises that, to put the whai on one's body will not bring further protection or safety.

Kaitiaki operate within domains and the significance of their role lays in that domain. This is an important distinction to make when regarding kaitiaki who are not human. Their roles pertain to a particular domain in many cases, like the ocean, the weather, food, the sun. However, in some pūrākau when a domain changes, so too do the roles. For example, in the previous pūrākau regarding Hinetitama, she leaves her role on earth to become Hine-nui-te-po, the goddess of the spirit world, which therefore completely changed her role. Entering the domains of these kaitiaki

requires us to understand the tikanga associated with these kaitiaki. For example, when entering the domain of Tangaroa, the ocean, for recreation or for food, one must carry out karakia. Karakia will increase the likelihood of keeping safe and it also asks permission of Tangaroa to gather kaimoana (seafood) who are considered the children of Tangaroa. A person who carries out karakia is called a kaikarakia. This role is discussed below.

Kaikarakia

This section identifies karakia as a tikanga carried out by humans when entering the domain of a kaitiaki who is not human. A kaikarakia, explained above, is a person who carries out karakia. Karakia can generally be described as incantation, ritual or a set of words which are usually in a particular order, to make effective a ritual (Mead, 2003). Karakia enabled people to carry out their daily activities in union with the ancestors and the spiritual powers (Pere, 1994). As noted in the previous section, karakia is an important ritual when entering the domains of kaitiaki. The following kaikōrero discusses karakia within the domain of Tangaroa in more detail:

> *I guess we are acknowledging the fact that we are going in from our realm, into the realm of Tangaroa. Before the tikanga Pākehā of knocking at the door – we would have waited at the gate and you would get a karanga, and you answer that karanga. The karakia is saying to Tangaroa – hey how's it going – we are here – just letting you know – is it all good – then you wait a little and you feel it's all good. You don't just barge on in. That is not our realm. We can't breathe under that water. Mātanga kaikōrero*

This extract considers that there is specific tikanga involved in being a kaikarakia. There is an acknowledgement too that Māori and Pākehā may have different views about interacting with the domains and the process of entering and exiting kaitiaki realms. Knowing what to say, how to say it, how to behave and the intuition to know when the process is complete are skills being highlighted as underpinning the role of a kaikarakia.

> *The same with visiting the forest, me tuku mihi, me tuku karakia ki a Tāne Mahuta. For the volcanologists, me mihi ki a Ruaumoko. All of the different realms. Even if you fly, you might have a talk to Ranginui and Tāwhirimatea. Mātanga kaikōrero*

This Mātanga is acknowledging other kaitiaki in their many domains and that karakia and mihi (greeting) are important tikanga. With reference to flying, in an aeroplane, the tikanga does not change, you still karakia and mihi to ask Ranginui and Tāwhirimatea to clear the path and help you keep safe and protected on your journey.

> *He used to say to us before we go diving, we had to do a karakia … They would go down and get their crayfish, there was heaps of crayfish there and there was flounder and all sorts of things and then they'd come up and take it back to the Marae … they could support all the whānau. SW Practitioner kaikōrero*

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Karakia is reiterated by the above kaikōrero, but in contrast to the last extract, they discuss the process of karakia and then their needs being provided for when tikanga is carried out correctly.

> *So, we did a karakia before we left, got down there and I did another karakia, I said, thank you for getting us here safely, make sure we get home safely … I was brought up by, my mum, my nana, my nanas nana … it is a generational thing, and I am not going to give it up. SW Practitioner Kaikōrero*

Karakia is also carried out for everyday activities, like travel in the above extract. The SW Practitioner in this case was taught by their female line to ensure karakia was a tikanga when they travelled. In my whānau, karakia for travel was given importance. We were taught from a very young age to karakia before any type of travel. In my case, I karakia to a particular tūpuna to help me travel safely.

This section has shown many varied roles, values and attributes aligned with kaitiakitanga within whānau. As with the previous section regarding kuia, there is an interweaving of theory, practice, and behaviour. Intergenerational knowledge and practice transmission is shown to be central to each role. Further, each role, although at times identified as being carried by individuals, contributes to the collective. Collective responsibility is observed in each sub-theme through such comments as 'matua rautia', 'ngā kaupapa manaaki', 'teaching younger ones' and 'they could support all the whānau'. What was equally important is the identification of kaitiaki who were not human which is discussed further in the next chapter. Overall, this section showed that the kaikōrero described and explained kaitiakitanga as collective, underpinned by mātauranga and tikanga, learned via intergenerational transmission or ako, and as connected to the physical and metaphysical environment.

Chapter Conclusion

Two main areas are highlighted within this Chapter are firstly, the position of kuia in kaitiaki roles and secondly the whānau roles that support kaitiakitanga. Several sub-themes provide context to the kuia roles which include kuia as kairaranga, kuia returning in spiritual form, kuia as pou, kuia as healers, clearers of kēhua and protectors and kuia as kaiako. Specific values and principles of kaitiakitanga were highlighted within each of the kuia roles. Leadership, manaakitanga, aroha, tiaki and tautoko were discussed and exampled across the Kuia section for instance. Kuia are emphasised as fundamental to creating cohesiveness, collectiveness, and confidence and are trusted sources of knowledge. Kuia provide meaningful interventions and they are key to the successful navigation of whānau issues and relationships. Kuia are recognised and acknowledged by kaikōrero in this study as having the responsibility to not only act as kaitiaki but who have the responsibility in maintaining and transmitting the tikanga and mātauranga of kaitiakitanga. The

Kuia are named by kaikōrero within this Chapter as 'kaitiaki' and their work within the human realm was always discussed as being aligned with the metaphysical and physical realms.

Many of the roles discussed by the kaikōrero in this Chapter are not new to te ao Māori (Walker, 2004), for example, pou and kaiako. They are however a new contribution to the kaitiakitanga literature in terms of their expansion and articulation. Where existing literature names 'kaitiaki' as spiritual guides, tūpuna, or as a spiritual beings (Kawharu, 2000; Roberts et al., 1995; Te Aho, 2011), the literature does not specifically highlight kuia or expand on their role as kaitiaki. As I reflect on the kuia roles discussed in this chapter, I know that my Nana would not have named herself as a kaitiaki, so this is an important consideration as to how 'kaitiaki' roles are being thought about in contemporary times. Further, the literature highlights 'kaitiaki' (when they are human beings) as being those nominated or chosen by their hapū and iwi (Forster, 2012a; Kawharu, 2000). Within this chapter, kaikōrero have named kuia from within whānau collectives.

In contrast to kuia being named 'kaitiaki' in this study, whānau members were not named as 'kaitiaki', instead, kaikōrero named the tikanga inherent in their role as contributing to 'kaitiakitanga', rather than naming the whānau member themselves a 'kaitiaki'. This is an important distinction. This is perhaps because kuia are seen as having status in a whānau, are seen as holding wisdom beyond what is known by whānau members, are trusted sources of knowledge and practice and kuia are revered and esteemed.

Six different whānau roles were found to be significant to kaikōrero. The whānau roles identified included: Matua rautia – collective whānau responsibility to tiaki, Kaihāpai, Kaimahi urupā, Kaiako, Kaiārahi and kaikarakia. Collectiveness was a key value described throughout this section through examples of matua rautia, the care of children and elderly, mana whenua, hapū and iwi. Kaikōrero maintained that collectiveness is central to kaitiakitanga and that if we are considering an individual role, that that role must contribute to the wider collective and be identified by the collective.

The whānau roles highlighted within this chapter are not explicitly identified in the kaitiakitanga literature. Whānau is discussed within the literature where they are considered a source of intergenerational knowledge transmission, where specific roles are key, and they are considered repositories of tikanga and mātauranga (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Fitzmaurice, 2020; Pohatu, 2015; Walker, 2004; Williams, 2001). However, where whānau roles are identified in the literature from a te ao Māori perspective, for example, kaumātua and rangatira roles, they are not specified and expanded upon or discussed in depth within the kaitiakitanga discourse.

A further finding highlighted within this chapter is that the kaikōrero discussed the tiaki roles as occurring within kaupapa, or contexts that were Māori. For example, matua rautia, papakāinga,

mana whenua, 'ngā kaupapa kaitiakitanga', Ngāti Rangi claim (Te Tiriti o Waitangi), tangihanga, urupā, reunions, whakarite marae, Tangaroa, Tāne Mahuta, and Ngāti Kura.

Throughout both the kuia and whānau roles sections, ako was highlighted as central to the transmission of mātauranga and tikanga. Cultural patterns and cultural thoughts are articulated by the kaikōrero through the use of te reo and whakaaro. The pūrākau discussed within this chapter concerning ako uncovered ethical, cultural, and behavioural templates across many contexts, for example, within their whānau, mahi (work), their physical and spiritual environments and within their individual relationships.

The following chapter concerning Taiao provides further context to the discussions provided within this Chapter regarding the importance of connection, collectivism and whānau wellbeing, and asserts that the human realm cannot be understood without the physical and metaphysical realms, that kaitiakitanga is linked firmly to whenua, and that tikanga and mātauranga are linked strongly to balance and well-being.

Chapter 6: Taiao

Taiao, concerns the environment, earth, natural world, and nature (Marsden & Royal, 2003; Royal, 2010; Te Ara, 2010). This includes waterways, animals, and land for example, but also extends to political, cultural, and spiritual dimensions. The word 'tai' on its own means the ocean and the word 'ao' is the world or earth. In this study, the environment and physical landscape in Aotearoa are consistently discussed by kaikōrero. The kaikōrero did not specifically utilise the word Taiao, preferring in turn to speak about whenua, animals, birds, maunga, moana, awa, hapū and iwi environments. Taiao is utilised here as a term in te ao Māori that encompasses all of these elements. Throughout the Chapter however, these terms will be used interchangeably as they appear throughout the discussions shared by the kaikōrero.

Two key themes have been identified within this Chapter. The first theme, taiao understandings, outlines the kaikōrero conversations regarding the tikanga and mātauranga that underpins Māori relationships with taiao. One of these examples, for instance, considers whenua (afterbirth/placenta) and pito (umbilical cord) of new-borns and how this aligns with kaitiakitanga. In the second theme, the kaikōrero discussed how being on land, by their respective waterways or mountains, or being able to access their own cultural resource, brought them mauri ora - balance, connection, and wellness.

This chapter affirms the literature and highlights kaitiakitanga as strongly connected to the physical realm and that it regards whanaungatanga, equilibrium and wellbeing (Barnes et al., 2019; Durie, 2001; Kingi, 2002; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). In terms of the overarching aims of this research, this chapter further identifies that kaitiakitanga is not human centric, because for Māori it strongly links to the physical realm which interweaves with the metaphysical realm. This has implications for the use of kaitiakitanga when it does not include in its application the practice and understanding of the physical realm which includes pepeha and whakapapa.

Taiao understandings

It is pretty straight forward, look after the whenua to look after yourself. Don't look after the whenua, well you are going to get māuiui. Rangatahi Kaikōrero

There is an assertion noted in the above extract that not looking after the whenua will cause you to be māuiui or sick. Māuiui for Māori is not solely regarded as physical sickness but can include mental and psychological illness. Underlying the statement is the recognition of tikanga, which is that to take care of whenua, there is a certain way to treat it. Further to this, the interrelatedness of the land with health and wellbeing is highlighted and the dependency and obligation that

humans and whenua have on each other. This assertion is highlighted in many whakataukī, for example: ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au – I am the river, and the river is me (Mead & Grove, 2001). The following Mātanga adds to the previous assertion but adds that culture, tūpuna and atua are also necessary to 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. Mātanga Kaikōrero*

Several writers connect pepeha to identity, health and wellbeing including Mead (2003) and Durie (2003). A pepeha is a reminder of whakapapa, and in a practical way, it is how one transmits this knowledge to others. Pepeha is linked to values and ideology as well as epistemology. For Māori, pepeha encompasses memories, relationships, experiences, and a sense of self. Health and wellbeing is inextricably linked to identity and as noted by the Mātanga above, this means that ancestors, maunga, and relationship to place and people, is crucial to the experience of kaitiakitanga. Memories and relationships are two key points provided by the following Rangatahi. The Rangatahi kaikōrero extract below explains the significance of tikanga practices on their own land.

> *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. Rangatahi Kaikōrero.*

> *We catch fish in our creek ... we got lucky at Christmas ... Nana Nui actually showed us in the end how to trap it. Rangatahi Kaikōrero.*

There are several layers of tikanga in the two different extracts from this Rangatahi kaikōrero. Firstly, there is a collective involved in the work and the collective is a whānau. For this Rangatahi, 'uncles' showing them how to maintain the urupā is part of the tikanga and this involves understanding roles and responsibilities. Secondly, the idea that there is no eating within the urupā identifies that the Rangatahi knows this is a tikanga, although they did not elaborate on why this is the case. Lastly, that a grandmother was involved in the pūrākau of catching fish in the creek. This is an important tikanga, that of intergenerational knowledge sharing or ako and this also acknowledges mokopuna kaumātua relationships. The collection of food from one's own whenua is an extremely important tikanga that has been identified by this rangatahi in terms of fish from the creek. This kaikōrero identifies not only the resource (fish) on whenua, but the access to this resource (on their own whenua).

Food and its importance and connection to kaitiakitanga was then further reiterated and expanded on by the following kaikōrero.

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. Mātanga kaikōrero

Here the tikanga being explained includes 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. Each of these areas would likely have layers of tikanga, for example karakia. Māori have sophisticated tikanga regarding all areas of the taiao which includes the universe and there is a natural order, a balance, an equilibrium as outlined by Harmsworth and Awatere (2013). The kaikōrero is describing a symbiotic relationship between themselves, the child of Tāne and the taiao.

The transmission and transferral of tikanga is central to understanding kaitiakitanga as the next Mātanga notes.

We have to remember that all of those different things, all of those tikanga that we have been taught over this whole time, it is our responsibility to keep it going. Mātanga kaikōrero

As indicated by the kaikōrero in the following three extracts, tikanga and its regulators are an inherent part of the practice of kaitiakitanga. Tikanga and mātauranga, as well as its cultural regulators are a central part of the maintenance of health and wellbeing for Māori (see Chapter 2)[9]. In these extracts, aroha, karakia and manaaki are highlighted.

For me the essence of kaitiaki is aroha and manaaki ... it still has to come from a place of aroha and manaaki. Otherwise, it's not tiaki. I was saying before, aroha and manaaki, is not only the root of tiaki, but it's also the hua. Mātanga kaikōrero

Three contexts are discussed above, and these include behaviour, experiential learning and negotiating tension. The first kaikōrero discusses relationships between humans where aroha, tiaki and manaaki are considered key tikanga. They extend on aroha and manaaki by highlighting that when you give aroha, it will also be received as an outcome or 'hua'. The term aroha can be

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[9] Mead (2003) writes that there are many conceptual regulators of tikanga which include whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga, aroha, mana tūpuna, tapu, wairua and utu. Many of these regulators are highlighted throughout the thesis. Throughout the thesis, the reader will note that I have utilised the kupu 'tikanga' and the notion of tikanga regulators. Tikanga within this thesis relates mostly to practices that are underpinned by mātauranga and 'regulators' relate to the way in which one would engage with the tikanga (Mead, 2003). For example, aroha underpins the tikanga of whanaungatanga and acts as a regulator in that context.

examined through 'aro' and 'hā' or to share or turn towards the breath of something or someone, which is an indication of a spiritual and emotional connection.

> *For example, 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*

The Rangatahi extract above notes the significance of their relationship with their grandmother and the learning inherent which includes education about weaving, physical wellness, spiritual wellness and taking care of the taiao. The Rangatahi emphasises aroha, whakapapa and karakia as key tikanga.

The following kaikōrero also raises aroha as a tikanga, but in the context of being in a challenging situation whereby aroha can be considered the best way forward to reach mauri ora.

> *When you talk about challenge and all that sort of stuff, that is aroha, but there is a way to do it, and there is a way not too. Kaiako Kaikōrero*

All three kaikōrero above stress aroha as a key tikanga when discussing kaitiakitanga and this is not often highlighted in the kaitiakitanga literature. Aroha is seen here as an ethical and behavioural pre-cursor to kaitiakitanga.

The transmission and transferral of knowledge when living away from home was a point discussed below where they deliberated on whether there has been a change in the way we apply the tikanga of kaitiakitanga because of the shift from living within hapū and iwi to living mostly outside of our own tribal areas.

> *Like the word has changed, and the meaning of the word has changed, and its application has changed so does tikanga Māori change. Generations ago, we were locational for the most part and so the terms that we use like tiaki, like ahikā, tangata whenua, and when we said ko such and such te maunga, is because we actually lived under that maunga and climbed that maunga, and ko such and such te awa because we actually associated ourselves with that, but it has changed. What has happened is people living in Australia will still say ko Taupiri te maunga, ko Waikato te awa even though they are three-four generations living away from the place, because it is a point of identity. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Historically, Māori lived within hapū and iwi, but as pointed at by the above Mātanga, this is no longer the case for Iwi such as Tūhoe. Māori do not live by their respective maunga and awa so knowledge of significant kaitiaki in the iwi has become for some a point of reference to hold onto their identity and whakapapa.

The following extract explains what benefits are available when returning home which introduces a more contemporary way of thinking about kaitiakitanga, where it is being described as time with whānau:

> *Kaitiakitanga to me makes me think of when I was growing up, having food, talking to my koro and my kuia and my aunties and uncles and just listening to all the talk about how they've been brought up and what they know about being Māori, their own identity, that is what it reminds me of, is eating and talking at the table and having a few laughs, actually laughing a lot. I remember my grandparents and my parents used to do that, they always used to tell us stories and make it interesting and funny. SW Practitioner Kaikōrero*

The benefits being underlined here include whakapapa, laughter/joy, physical and spiritual connection and having ako experiences (learning through being together). This kaikōrero is not specifically mentioning taiao in this conversation, instead they are concentrating on what it feels like to connect with whānau when returning home and how this connects with their mauri ora. They make specific mention of family members, their koro and kuia, aunties, and uncles. This section now turns to discuss the tikanga of returning a new-born child's whenua (placenta) and pito (umbilical cord) to the earth and the connection kaikōrero made regarding kaitiakitanga.

Whenua and Pito

> *In regard to the whenua, we're connected to it … when a baby's born … we have the whenua and the pito, there is a practice that we do whereby we return that back to the whenua. SW Supervisor*

The first extract above from the SW Supervisor notes the interrelated nature of whenua, pito and humans. The kaikōrero offered this kōrero regarding whenua (placenta) and pito (umbilical cord) in relationship to kaitiakitanga. This draws on the direct belief within te ao Māori that as people we are the land, and the land is us. Ancestral traditions surrounding birth highlight that the placenta of a new-born child is returned to the earth. As noted in Chapter 3, the placenta of a baby on its birth is regarded as whenua – which is the exact name given to land by Māori. This section describes how kaikōrero discussed whenua and pito in relationship to kaitiakitanga. The kaikōrero raised this kaupapa as a significant tikanga which is often discussed regarding whenua and connection, but not expanded on in the kaitiakitanga discourse. This section shows that the tikanga of returning pito and whenua has changed for some kaikōrero from the traditional practices of burial within hapū and iwi.

This section begins with a conversation I had with one of the Rangatahi kaikōrero. I want to place the conversation here to show how the Rangatahi understood the tikanga of whenua and pito, which highlights the process of ako as intergenerational knowledge transmission is still part of the way this Rangatahi is learning about the tikanga of kaitiakitanga. This conversation also

connects to the previous section on whenua and ora and to the Ako chapter where pūrākau is explained.

> *Marjorie: … when you need strength in your life, that is where you would go?*
>
> *Rangatahi: … being at home, probably just to taki karakia would probably be my way of doing it. It all depends on how I feel, if it's like really, really heavy on my heart I definitely go home. There is something about that place, I don't really know what it is, but I just connect to it, it is more like a connection.*
>
> *Marjorie: Benneydale is that for us … we meet there often because it replenishes our mauri, it rejuvenates us, restores us to where we need to be, whether there is anything wrong or not.*
>
> *Rangatahi: Maybe it's part of what we did, maybe it's our birth cord, that is the reason why we probably go back as well, that is how I feel.*
>
> *Marjorie: … Do you know where that is, your pito, your whenua?*
>
> *Rangatahi: Yeah, it is at home … by the peach tree at the back of the house.*
>
> *Marjorie: Do you know why it is back in the whenua? What is your understanding of our tūpuna knowing … to do with whenua and pito?*
>
> *Rangatahi: There is a pūrākau about this place Kurawaka, about the first wahine, Hine ahu one and how she was made of earth. That is why I reckon, because we are made of the whenua as well, so if we pass away, we go back to where we started, which is the whenua, that is the Orokohanga of how we as tangata kind of came from, so why are we trying to go somewhere else when you can go back home.*

Intergenerational knowledge transmission is at the core of the above conversation. The mātauranga that has been transferred to the Rangatahi includes tikanga, mātauranga, tūpuna kōrero and pūrākau. The knowledge being communicated has been passed to the Rangatahi from whānau members. This Rangatahi knowing where their pito and whenua is buried, is crucial to the integrity and transmission of tikanga and mātauranga Māori. The connection being made by this Rangatahi is that, because their pito and whenua are placed at their home, in their hapū and Iwi, they are spiritually bound to that place and to their whenua. As highlighted in the whakataukī, 'me hoki ki tō ūkaipō', this Rangatahi acknowledges the returning to your place of spiritual and physical nourishment (Pihama et al., 2019) to heal oneself when in a state of mauri moe – despondency, despair, feeling unwell, feeling down or generally feeling outside of the realm of mauri ora. This agrees with the literature whereby Simmonds (2017) affirmed that Māori women are breaking their silence to revitalise birthing practices and the tikanga of returning whenua and pito to the earth to connect emotionally, spiritually, and physically to whakapapa and whenua.

The next kaikōrero speaks further to the notion of healing in relation to pito:

> *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*

Rongoā relates to Māori understandings of remedy, solution, medicine, or healing treatments. There are larger applications of rongoā, such as knowing what tikanga is inherent in the practice use of rongoā remedies, like karakia. The whānau kaikōrero is making a similar point to the previous Rangatahi kaikōrero by making clear that the pito that has been buried around their home, is part of the remedy and solution for sickness (māuiui). Tikanga is being 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 relationship to where whenua and pito is buried another whānau kaikōrero discussed the importance to them of having a designated place for this tikanga, they note:

> *The papakāinga was for the living and the urupā was for our tūpuna kua mate ... my brother's mokos, they are on the papakāinga, there is a designated place ... that is where their whenua is ... Whānau kaikōrero*

In different hapū and iwi the tikanga is different regarding the burial of pito and whenua. Some whānau bury the whenua in urupā and the pito outside of it. Some bury both in the urupā. Some prefer that the pito and whenua remain outside of the urupā, distinguishing the living and the dead. As highlighted by the above discussion, whānau bury pito and whenua on their own papakāinga, which is normally within hapū and iwi boundaries, though not always. For those Māori that are disconnected from their respective hapū and iwi these practices have changed somewhat, for example whānau may bury pito and whenua at their city dwellings if they don't know where else to put it, or do not have whenua (land) where they can place it. Similarly, the following Tauira kaikōrero discusses their homestead as the place they chose to bury pito and whenua in lieu of being connected to hapū and iwi:

> *Our tradition is to take it back to the homestead. Mum has 19 pito in her backyard. Each pito has a different rose, some are blooming, some aren't. That wasn't passed down through my mum because she was the only female in her whānau, but that was something that she started because my brothers and sisters are all scattered all over the show, she wanted to feel that the kids had a place, or the grandchildren had a place when times get hard, or if she passed on, there is always a place that they can come back to. Tauira Kaikōrero*

This Tauira connects the burial of pito to connection and to a shared homestead. The whenua was not discussed, rather pito was highlighted as being taken home to the 'homestead'. The Mum has restarted a tradition to enable the grandchildren and children to be connected to their homestead 'when times get hard'. This whānau have identified that to have connection and to have mauri ora, pito is important and that they could all be bound together spiritually and physically through the tikanga of returning pito to whenua. This Tauira has also described a similar tikanga to the last kaikōrero which is that something is planted on the pito, roses, which distinguishes each.

They state that some roses are blooming, and some are not. In Māori thinking, the ones that are not blooming may indicate or be a tohu for something being amiss.

Detailed conversations about specific places where one would bury the whenua and pito are offered by three kaikōrero below, referring to Iwi in particular:

> *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. SW Supervisor Kaikōrero*

> *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. The whereabouts was never made public knowledge. The baby, Mum and Dad would know and that's about it because otherwise someone could take that rākau, the mauri of that person whose whenua it was as well as the mother, as well as the father, whose semen helped make that baby is imbued into that tree now. They can take that and do whatever they want. Makutu. Whatever. So, the kaitiakitanga of it was – we are not going to let anybody know where this tree is, but also you have the responsibility "that's your tree, look after it". You also don't let anyone know, but you visit that tree, and do what you need to make sure the tree is healthy. In turn, the tree is the kaitiaki of your right to that land. So, it's a big circle of protection of each other. Of mauri, of each other. Of rights, of each other. 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*

Several different tikanga are being referred to by the above SW Supervisor and Mātanga kaikōrero that are extremely important to Māori, these include: burial occurring in accordance with tikanga-ā-Iwi, that pito and whenua are returned to whenua within Iwi (rather than any land), and that this is how one remains connected (and has rights to) to whenua. There is also an underlying fear that someone can utilise your pito or whenua to place a makutu, a spiritual or supernatural incantation or type of sorcery, on them to inflict physical, mental, psychological harm or even death on you or the baby. It was identified too that rākau or plants are utilised 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 makutu. Simmonds (2017) highlights that there are varying birthing tikanga and traditions, with multiple tikanga happening throughout the process.

The next kaikōrero links the importance of returning whenua with connection and adhering to the practices that they consider to be pono or correct.

The boy's whenua is there too, so they have got everything there, and they should do too because they have tūpuna names, so it is right, it is pono that they should be there ... we can put our tamariki's pito with the whenua, because that connection is still there. Not only with the whenua, but it's the practice of tūpuna. Once you have that connection, it is very hard to severe when it comes to that sort of thing. The children may not understand it straight away, but as the boys get older, we can explain to them. Whānau Kaikōrero

The practice of naming children after tūpuna, and therefore returning pito and whenua to the place that that tūpuna is from, is highlighted above. Intergenerational transmission knowledge is emphasized above as an ongoing – "as the boys get older, we can explain to them". The notion of the spiritual and physical connection to whenua is repeated here as with other kaikōrero in this study.

As noted earlier, many Māori must make the decision about where to bury pito and whenua when they do not have land. This next kaikōrero points out the importance of rākau, composting, asking others to take care of the whenua and moving from the area where the whenua is buried:

So how we did it was we put it in a cardboard box, one of those boxes that could disintegrate back into the ground, and we put it in a little flax basket, and we put all three of my girls pito is in that same box underneath that lemon tree. Every time I go back there, and I look, and I go oh that lemon tree is doing really well. When we sold the house and the new owners went in, they are Cook Island, so I asked them can you make sure that no one digs up that area, because that's where my daughter's pito is and they said yep, no one will touch that, so they've looked after it all these years. SW Practitioner kaikōrero

This SW Practitioner has had to leave their place of residence where their three girls' pito is, which has meant, leaving them behind in the care of someone else. It is important to identify at this stage how the revival of the tikanga of pito and whenua is at the forefront here, rather than what the future living arrangements might be. The tikanga is still being adhered to, albeit in a contemporary context. Simmonds (2017) affirms the whakaaro above:

"Traditionally whenua would be returned to a special place, usually on the tribal lands of either mother or father. In some cases, the whenua may have been buried at a boundary marker between tribal lands. Some evidence suggests that they were buried under a special tree or stone. For some whanau, the whenua would be buried in their tribal or familial urupā (burial ground). As whānau became increasingly mobile and urbanized, where whenua are being buried has changed and continues to change" (pp. 10-11).

As noted in the literature, many Māori women did not have a choice about their whenua as this was removed at the hospital and sent down the sluice or Māori allowed nursing staff to take it away (Simmonds, 2014, 2017). Three other kaikōrero spoke about their experiences at the hospital.

I didn't save it and take it back to the whenua and bury it. My koro had passed away when I had the kids, and he was a kaumātua ... I always thought about it but then I thought that wasn't a strong thing for me like it is for some people. I had homebirths so I was quite happy for my midwife to take them away. I felt like I didn't know where appropriately it

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would be to bury it on marae or our own whenua. I didn't want to bury it at home because I hadn't bought a home, so I didn't want to go and be leaving it or have to dig it up, so I just went with the western way. SW Practitioner kaikōrero

The kaikōrero above is affirming the decision she made to not bury it, and to let the midwife take it instead. Further to this, the distinction that is being made is that they did not have a kaumātua in their lives, and underlying that statement is that they did not have someone to lead the tikanga and mātauranga regarding where, when, how and why. This kōrero emphasises the role and importance of grandparents regarding the transmission of knowledge within whānau. This was the case in my family, our grandmother advised that it was our grandfather who buried all the whenua for all seven of their children after their births. The children however, had varied experiences of their own children's whenua – some being buried, some being taken at the hospital. This is an indication of the time and experiences of a generation of people affected by colonisation, urbanisation, and assimilation.

The impact of colonisation, urbanisation and assimilation is highlighted by the following SW Supervisor and Mātanga.

When I had my babies, they went down the sluice at the hospital. That was me and in my ignorant state, being young. I don't remember my mum or any ceremony around when my sisters were born, that are younger than me. At that time, it wasn't being practiced but then when I think of my mums age, 90 odd, 100 years ago when my mum would have been having babies, that was the time when you tried your best to be as Pākehā as possible, to be accepted. Those practices, if they happened, they were hidden and so I think I missed out on a lot of knowing about that stuff. I certainly know much more now because my sister is a Māori midwife and so I've learned what she does in her practice and so the learnings come to me through that, but it just wasn't there as a young person. SW Supervisor kaikōrero

I only know what I've been told because my whenua was flushed with every other baby in Wellington in 1974. Mātanga kaikōrero

The SW Supervisor and Mātanga both explain that the whenua of their children ended up being flushed or going down the sluice. The Mātanga mentions the 1970s, and this aligns to what I have been told in that this was a common practice during the 1970s (personal communication, my Mum and Aunty). The SW Supervisor highlights that assimilation and hegemony played a part, for example 'you tried your best to be as Pākēha as possible, to be accepted'. This aligns with Simmonds (2017) whakaaro regarding the silencing of Māori maternities. Ancestral practices during those periods, and arguably now, were not considered by the then health professionals as they are today. A gap in knowledge passed through whānau is suggested as a possible cause because of colonialism.

It took literally three [births] before they automatically brought it to me [the whenua], you know they ask you and then they brought it to you wrapped up in a nice box. First time I took it out in a patient bag sort of thing. There are a lot of elements present cause we as a

whaanau we practice a lot of different kaitiakitanga aspects around different things, whether it be in terms of ngā haerenga, aa tātou nei whare, te wai i te moana, i te roto, i ngā wāhi o te ngāhere. A number of elements and includes the taiao, te ira tangata. There are a lot of elements that are present when you practice kaitiakitanga. SW Supervisor kaikōrero

The SW Supervisor extract above highlights how over time, cultural aspects were accounted for. In hospitals today, Māori may get asked whether they want to keep their placenta. The SW Supervisor is also emphasising several different aspects where the tikanga of kaitiakitanga is relevant for example in the moana, lakes (roto), forests (ngāhere), whare (our own homes) and within the environment and human realms.

This section has shown that kaikōrero regard Taiao as inherently linked to whanaungatanga, balance and wellbeing. Several kaikōrero understood their relationship with Taiao as a responsibility and obligation and they saw tikanga as central to upholding that relationship. Tikanga specifically related to health and whakapapa were identified and kaikōrero discussed learning these tikanga through the process of mātauranga-ā-whānau, ā iwi, ā hapū via a pedagogy of ako. These learnings extend to the tikanga of whenua ki te whenua, whereby the placenta and umbilical cord is returned to the earth. The kaikōrero shared their experiences of reconnection and revitalisation of this practice as connected to the larger philosophy of kaitiakitanga. The final section, Mauri Ora, further extends on the kōrero regarding whenua relationships as this relates to health and wellbeing.

Mauri Ora

"Ka ora te whenua, ka ora te tangata, ka ora te tangata, ka ora te whenua" Whānau kaikōrero.

The above whakataukī was shared by one of the whānau kaikōrero and simply translated means when the land is well, the people are well, when the people are well, the land is well. Its underlying assumption is that there is a reciprocal relationship between the earth and people. 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. The term 'mauri ora' has been chosen as the title of this first section as it encompasses what kaikōrero described as feelings of balance, connection and being well. As highlighted in Chapter 3, mauri ora is a holistic term, which includes human mental, physical, spiritual, and environmental wellness (Durie, 2001; Pere, 1997; Pohatu, 2008). This section outlines how the kaikōrero describe their relationships to taiao and posits that this connection is understood as reciprocal and crucial to mauri ora. This section starts with definitions of 'tiaki', one of the root words of kaitiakitanga, and its relationship to mauri ora. I then move to present the kaikōrero discussions regarding

mauri ora in several different contexts including taiao generally, the metaphysical, whakapapa and connection.

As noted previously in Chapter 3, the root word of kaitiakitanga is tiaki which is an action word or verb. Māori relate tiaki to nurture and to taking care of as well as if the word is separated, 'tī' can mean light and 'aki' to grow, develop and guide. This idea of tī and aki aligns to the relationships human beings have to the metaphysical realm and the natural environment and more specifically to mauri ora, as in the statement 'akiaki te tī o te tangata' or, to nurture the light within a person. I inquired into the term tiaki, and the following responses were given by the below Mātanga which relate to mauri ora through the notion of care, tending to and mana:

> *Tiaki as a definition is to care for, is to look after and to tend to something, which does denote responsibility for something, making sure that the care of that thing that is being looked after is good, that is pretty much what the word itself means. I note in the East Coast they call it tieki which is just a dialectal difference. That is basically what it means as far as I am aware anyway, from a purely lexical definition, it just means to look after, to care for, guard. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Dialectal differences are important in te ao Māori as are the variances in the meanings of words. This Mātanga gives a lexical definition of tiaki, and therefore has not described the tikanga of 'tiaki' or what is involved in being able to care for, look after, be responsible for, but has purely translated the word. Māori philosophies have a depth of definition and application and have been tested over generations, in the full range of human endeavour. Māori worldviews 'immediately place Māori thinking, knowledge and application at the centre of their processes' (Pohatu, 2003, p. 1). The next kaikōrero discusses the differences between tiaki and kaitiaki.

> *For me, one is a verb, and one is noun. Tiaki is the verb and that is what it is originated out from and what we have done is we have created the verb into a noun ... Government agencies and policies have looked for a term, even though the term, in terms of guardianship and stewardship is more for me connected to mana and rangatiratanga. Even rangatiratanga ... it is in the Treaty but to be a rangatira, to have mana, that is all wrapped up in your tiaki. What we have done is that we have made it into a noun and for me it's a response back to a political shift, an awareness shift and it's a cultural shift as well. Mātanga kaikōrero*

There is a distinction being made between tiaki as a verb and kaitiaki as a noun in the above extract. There is an assertion by the Mātanga that it has been made human centric by the addition of the 'kai' as a noun, whereas the 'kai' traditionally would have meant a spiritual being. The difference is attributed to Government agencies and policies needing to have terms to meet political, cultural, and environmental shifts.   Understanding the political, cultural, and environmental shifts in Aotearoa are critical to understanding the changes to the philosophies that underpin te ao Māori, such as kaitiakitanga.   Urbanisation for example, has disrupted the discourses and practices of living as collectives on whenua and this disconnection from ancestral

whenua is widely acknowledged in the literature as being directly attributable to Māori health disparities (Barnes et al., 2019; Kawharu, 2002; Selby et al., 2010a). The above definitions from the kaikōrero show that the term tiaki is about caring for people. However, there is an assertion that once 'kai' is added, this does not move the understanding to a human centric one but involves the physical environment and metaphysical realms.

The kaikōrero discuss taiao in many ways and highlight different feelings or emotions linked to mauri ora in these discussions. The kaikōrero also discuss the complexities of remaining in mauri ora and explain the different reasons that bring them back to whenua, home, water, and other parts of taiao.

The importance of returning to your whenua and having whenua to return to, is asserted below.

> *I think it is also like when you see people who don't know where they are from and don't know where they can connect back to. For me, I feel grateful that I have something that I can ground myself to, especially when I get asked a lot in my job where I am from. I say, well, I live in Auckland, but I am from up north, from Matauri … it is nice to be able to say, no I actually have an actual whenua that I go back to and that is where I am from, I just live in this place. Whānau kaikōrero*

The above kaikōrero proudly asserts and acknowledges where they are from. They are emphasising mauri ora and framing this through feeling grateful, grounded, connected and a general feeling of belonging. There is an acknowledgement that their identity is marked by being Māori and having whenua. Being able to tell others that they are from a particular whenua seems to be an important marker of identity to this kaikōrero.

The need to be grounded and connected is explained in the next extract. The concept, 'matemate-ā-one', can be explained as returning to the earth after death and which literally means, to die and become like soil.

> *For me, we have that word, matemate-ā-one that we use all the time, and for me that's what that collective responsibility is about. That word talks about being collectively responsible to each other because we come from the same place and when we die, we return to the same place. It is an unbreakable whakapapa bond that we cannot severe, so we are collectively responsible to each other. If his failures are my failures, his successes are my successes then all my failures are his failures really. It is that collective understanding that we are responsible to each other. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Whakapapa and collectivism are being asserted by the above kaikōrero. They note that everyone should have a sense of responsibility to others and that at the end of the day, all of us return to the earth when we die. Further, that care is reciprocal. The need to have relationships where we understand that the whole world is connected and therefore so are our successes and failures, is also highlighted.

In our hui, the above Mātanga kaikōrero recognises that Mauri ora is not a constant state but operates on a continuum with other states (as noted in Chapter 4). These states are dependent on relationships with other human beings, to whakapapa, to service and to taiao. Mauri oho, mauri mate and mauri noho for example, are hoa haere (companions/partner states) to mauri ora and are related to the contexts of being contemplative, low or despondent, unwell, meditative, reflective and non-participatory, and which are also not constant (Pohatu, 2011). Additionally, as with the previous kaikōrero, connection and whakapapa with the whenua is reiterated. Similarly, the following extract highlights land, culture and connections as regulating both being well and having a difficult time and that this is dependent on the level of connection.

> *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*

Just as the previous extract considered land, culture and tūpuna as important to wellbeing, the following kaikōrero discussed similar reasons why they would return home.

> *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*

The kaikōrero points to different mauri states including feeling stress, feeling overwhelmed, relief and feeling okay. They reference how going home is an important part of the process of returning to a state of mauri ora and mental wellbeing. This was also raised by the Rangatahi kaikōrero who confirmed that home means returning to their whenua. Returning to whenua is being explained here as healing and important to mauri ora. Taiao is crucial to the navigation of tension, stress, and issue for Māori. It generates healing, connectedness, balance and wairua.

The next kaikōrero explained and discussed how taiao is connected to healing, connectedness, balance, wairua and the metaphysical. They link the spiritual dimension to taiao and discuss how this aligns to being well.

> *I did live for a number of years back home and my kaitiaki was there, I felt that connection, but I am here, and my kaitiaki is still at home, but that doesn't mean that I am without a spiritual connection to this place. 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 ten 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

There are several notions of spirituality articulated within these comments. Firstly, the Mātanga describes the 'awa' as kaitiaki. Secondly, conducting karakia is being emphasised as the way to connect spiritually with the awa and self. Finally, it is emphasised that when outside of one's area, one must continue to enact tikanga to be able to access mauri ora.

When the kaikōrero discloses "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 that is practiced by them as part of a process of being well or returning to a place of tau - wellness or balance. Karakia is about freeing oneself, another or any context or situation from infliction in this respect, but also about acknowledging atua or kaitiaki.

Reciprocity and connection are clearly highlighted by the above kaikōrero, as is the notion of being indebted to the awa for providing spiritual and cultural strength. Further to this, tikanga is explained as a flexible notion whereby when one is away from their own whenua, a respectful relationship is formed with the kaitiaki of the Iwi that they reside in until they can return home. This kaikōrero is also stating that the kaitiaki in this example is not human, but awa.

Several whānau kaikōrero when discussing their understanding of kaitiakitanga, highlighted the interconnection of the self, taiao, tūpuna and whenua.

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

The extract above acknowledges identity, whakapapa to land and the weaving together of things tangible and intangible (mana for example). The kaikōrero discusses land as the 'source of things' and makes clear that the land is the way to know oneself. Mana is utilised as a word that connects this kaikōrero with the members of their whānau that have passed on into the spirit world. The way that mana is felt in this case, is through whenua. Although the words wairua and mauri are not utilised in the extract, this is in effect what the kaikōrero is pointing at when they speak about connection.

Wairua and mauri are closely linked to mauri ora and kaitiakitanga as outlined in the literature (Kawharu, 1998; Penehira, 2011). Wairua and mauri are feelings of a spiritual nature, of balance, life force, vibration and of an emotional nature. Further acknowledgement of wairua and mauri were expressed by the next two 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

Balance, rongoā (medicine, healing), māuiui (illness, sickness), whakanoa te tinana (to remove tapu from the physical body and make the body balanced and at peace (noa) again) and reciprocation are highlighted by these kaikōrero. These principles are also evident within the literature, which noted that kaitiakitanga is all encompassing, where for one to be well, all that is around must also be well and that in a context where all living things are in balance, mauri ora is a natural occurrence and consequence (Barnes et al., 2019; Roberts et al., 1995). The above kaikōrero recognised that the taiao (in these cases the bush and the ocean) is healing (rongoā/whakanoa) when Māori have issues that are physical, mental, social, or psychological.

Whakapapa and identity are further highlighted in the extracts below. Kaikōrero discuss this in different contexts which include, being related to the whenua, the importance of pepeha and that whenua helps you connect with tūpuna. Māori consider the whenua to be Papatūānuku, or the earth. Whakapapa and health are important markers of mauri ora and these are highlighted in a framework called the Six Markers of a Flourishing Whānau which considers mauri ora to be expansive, covering micro, macro, chronological and universal spheres (Kingi et al., 2014). These markers include, among others: heritage (whakapapa connections, access to cultural skills and knowledge, link to whanau land, presence on Marae); wealth (land, vehicle, income, reserves, home ownership); and capacities (lifestyle, education, health, employment, transport) (Kingi et al., 2014).

The Rangatahi kaikōrero identifies whakapapa, health, reciprocation, belonging and connection and how these are achieved through the relationship to whenua: "we are related to the whenua so for instance, kaitiakitanga, how can we live healthy if our environment isn't healthy?" There is a direct statement made by the rangatahi about the correlation of environment wellness to our own as Māori.

The following extracts provide more examples of mauri ora by discussing pepeha, whakataukī and what underpins Māori identity. These examples encompass the idea that Māori view themselves as inseparable to taiao.

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 practice our pepeha, in exchanges between peoples, it is intrinsically part of who we are. Mātanga kaikōrero

The above mātanga kaikōrero explains why Māori include maunga, awa and whenua in pepeha. They discuss why referencing significant features of the environment and ancestors is an important tikanga for Māori, that of making connection to whakapapa and stating one's identity. Within the kōrero is a comment about kaitiaki having a reciprocal responsibility for example, we are kaitiaki of the maunga, the maunga is our kaitiaki.

In a contrasting statement, the kaikōrero below discusses about what will happen if humans fail to take care of their environment and disconnect from the notion that we have a reciprocal obligation and responsibility to tiaki the taiao, further making clear that kaitiakitanga is not a human notion and that self-importance is an issue. The whakataukī, *whatungarongaro te tangata, toi tū te whenua,* was offered which literally means, when people disappear, the land will remain, they refer to the Covid-19 pandemic and how the earth regenerated during lockdown in Aotearoa and around the world.

> *That whakataukī, whatungarongaro te tangata, toi tū te whenua is one that I think is real. I think in this time it is very real, in this rāhui period of COVID, where we actually see that there is a re-generation happening. You lock up a few million people and the world regenerates, what does that say? That the earth would be better off without us, so we should really stop the kind of self-importance we have about ourselves. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Māori whakapapa relationships extend beyond the physical earth to the universe, and the elements of the universe are considered tūpuna and kaitiaki (Marsden, 2011). The following statement confirms these relationships extends to the universe and affirms the notion of mauri.

> *Ko tērā ki tōku nei whakaaro te āhuatanga o te kaitiakitanga … the connection to all things. Everything, like it's not just in this space or in that space or social work or aha rā it's actually connected to everything, the moon, the stars, the whenua, you know Ngā Rangi o Rehua, the trees, the plants, the animals, the birds, us, its whatever mauri touches, that's where it is. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Kaitiakitanga is being described as a philosophy that is connected to everything including the moon, stars, animals, birds, plants, trees, and deity. The kaikōrero is specific and points out that kaitiakitanga and its āhuatanga (aspects, characteristics, properties, features, functions, phenomenon) does not change in different contexts, it remains the same. They specifically point to social work and the inference is, that in that space, kaitiakitanga is still about connection and mauri. Therefore, social work and other contexts cannot be understood unless the philosophy of kaitiakitanga is experienced and understood through a Māori lens. This experience includes having whakapapa, Māori identity and connection to taiao. Mauri ora is a natural occurrence as an outcome of these experiences for Māori.

The shift from a spiritual, metaphysical connection with taiao, to a human centric understanding, is an important point made in the following kōrero. The kaikōrero warns against shifts in ideology for Māori and that this will affect the understanding and experience of kaitiakitanga. Both the physical and metaphysical environments are referred to by this kaikōrero as relevant to kaitiakitanga.

> *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:

> *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 ngāhere. Her thinking was 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 above which include 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. This kaikōrero is clearly identifying 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. Pākehā (which is inferred in the 'they') that arrived looked at land as control, power, wealth, and commodity. This is a power and control differential and in stark contrast to how Māori consider taiao, which is grounded within tikanga and understood through whakapapa.

The kaikōrero in this section have described their relationship with taiao as crucial to mauri ora. They posit that when the land is well, people are well because the relationship is one that concerns whakapapa and is reciprocal. Kaikōrero considered that connection and being physically in taiao can uplift and cause them to experience healing and feel 'ora' – the notion of being alive and well. This section highlights that the physical environment is connected not only to identity, but that it has the power to heal and create energy and vitality.

Chapter Conclusion

Two key themes were identified within this Chapter. The first theme, taiao understandings, outlined the tikanga and mātauranga that underpins Māori relationships with taiao, which considered whenua (afterbirth/placenta) and pito (umbilical cord) of new-borns and how this aligns with kaitiakitanga. In the second theme, whenua, waterways and being able to access cultural resource, was directly attributed to mauri ora.

This chapter reinforces that Māori are related to the earth and highlights whanaungatanga relationships with taiao and what the kaikōrero saw as key obligations and responsibilities. Kaikōrero framed their understandings of this relationship through pepeha and whakapapa. Within these two areas they affirmed whanaungatanga practices with kaitiaki, deity, atua, tūpuna and whenua. Kaikōrero in this chapter not only highlighted their whanaungatanga relationship with taiao, but the reciprocity inherent to the relationship and the mauri-ora levels that are related to this connection. Waterways, whenua, ngāhere, food, marae and papakāinga were discussed as areas where reciprocity occurred and where kaikōrero carried out tikanga, gathered resource and received and gave knowledge in order to maintain and sustain those relationships.

Kaikōrero raised several tikanga and its regulators within this chapter which align to the literature such as aroha, manaaki, whakanoa, wairua, tapu, noa, hē, tika, tiaki, manaakitanga, mana, tino rangatiratanga, whakapapa and karakia. The kaikōrero extended on why these tikanga are important which included: Firstly, being able to take care of the whenua and taiao as it is a responsibility and obligation; secondly, that tikanga is carried out because it directly relates to health and wellbeing, culturally, psychologically, physically, socially, and spiritually, and finally, that tikanga relates directly to whakapapa relationships (we are related) and the obligations inherent. Tikanga was learned and passed through a process of mātauranga-ā-whānau, (whānau intergenerational knowledge transmission), hapū and iwi, through a pedagogy of ako.

Key practices of kaitiakitanga such as maintaining urupā, food collection, burying whenua and pito, care of the earth and people, whakapapa and pepeha were identified as being central to its understandings. A number of kaikōrero raised the whenua and pito of a new-born baby when discussing the meanings and understandings of kaitiakitanga. The practice of returning the whenua to the whenua or burying or placing the whenua in the land was highlighted as kaitiakitanga and a process of connection back to cultural and spiritual wellbeing. This process some noted, has been interfered with through colonisation and the denial of generations of Māori to their placenta after the births of their children at the hospital. This section showed that when systems and structures do not support tikanga and mātauranga, it has an ongoing detrimental effect on Māori enacting kaitiakitanga.

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Mauri ora was identified throughout this chapter. Being on the whenua, near the awa or returning to you own lands are considered by all of the kaikōrero to be cultural ways through which to seek wellbeing, identity, rebalance or reconnection. Practices such as karakia and engaging rongoā as healing practice is noted by many kaikōrero. Tiaki was aligned to mauri ora through the highlighting of care, light, growth, and development. Tiaki was identified as a key principle regarding health and wellbeing related to people, but the kaikōrero stated that when 'kai' is added, it has the additional understanding of being related to the physical and metaphysical environs. It was not only the wellbeing of tangata that was considered essential to balance and healing. At the centre of much of the discussion was the wellbeing of taiao, with a number of kaikōrero emphasising that if the whenua or awa is unwell so too will the people be unwell. Thus, the concept of reciprocation between people and the taiao is necessary to the wider application of kaitiakitanga. Colonialism, stolen land, commodification, and urbanisation were highlighted as affecting the practice of kaitiakitanga. Strong assertions were made by kaikōrero in relationship to the philosophy of kaitiakitanga becoming human centric, where they warn that it will affect its overall understanding and utilisation.

The Chapter illustrates that Māori relationships with taiao are fundamental to how kaitiakitanga is understood and experienced and that this is expressed through pūrākau, iwi and hapū knowledge, and intergenerational knowledge and practice transmission. What this means in relation to the objectives and aims of this research, is that in order for kaitiakitanga to be utilised in any context, that whakapapa, pepeha, taiao understandings, tikanga and its regulators are critical to its incorporation and use. Moreover, kaitiakitanga is felt and experienced by Māori physically, psychologically, spiritually, and culturally, related directly to whakapapa relationships with taiao.

The first two substantive chapters have highlighted crucial points regarding the use and incorporation of kaitiakitanga. The next chapter, Taonga Tuku Iho, is now presented which generates further discussion and evidence that kaitiakitanga is understood as being connected to the metaphysical, feelings and emotions, and that it is expressed through te reo and whakaaro Māori.

Chapter 7: Taonga Tuku Iho

In Te Tiriti o Waitangi, taonga were identified as whenua, kainga and everything else considered of significance in respective hapū and iwi. Taonga includes both tangible and intangible 'treasures' such as te reo, whenua, kāinga, tikanga, mātauranga and many other cultural ways of being that are encompassed within te ao Māori (Lee, 2015; Ministry for Justice., 2001; Smith, 1997; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011). There is extensive knowledge shared by kaikōrero on whenua, kaitiakitanga and mauri ora in Chapter 6, Taiao. Taonga refers to the cultural traditions, values, love, corpus of knowledge, pūrākau with which descendants can identify and which provide them with their identity, self-esteem and dignity; which in turn provides them with psychological security (Marsden & Royal, 2003). Marsden (2003) discusses taonga within four distinct areas: utilitarian, historico-social, cultural, and social, and spiritually. He defines these areas as follows:

> *The Māori idea of value is incorporated into the inclusive holistic term 'taonga' - a treasure, something precious, hence an object of good or value. The object or end valued may be tangible or intangible; material or spiritual ... utilitarian: as a weapon ... historico-social: as an heirloom of historical associations with people and events ... cultural and social: as a tangible symbol to seal a peace pact, or an alliance between tribes; or to commemorate an important social occasion or event ... spiritually: to denote the 'mana' of those ancestors who wielded it with distinction. (p. 38)*

In the introduction to this thesis, I highlighted the findings of Forster (2012) where she noted that within the context of Māori-State engagement, Māori must be ensured space to practice kaitiakitanga within our own world, in our own way and as defined from a customary context. This Chapter shows that Māori draw upon taonga tuku iho, customary knowledge handed to us from ancestors, to understand kaitiakitanga both historically and in contemporary contexts. The primary question asked in this study relates to Māori experiences, expressions, and understandings of kaitiakitanga. This chapter provides an understanding of how we come to 'understand' and 'experience' key elements of kaitiakitanga. It explores those taonga tuku iho that have been shared by kaikōrero and expands on how they receive, feel, and express these experiences.   Kaitiakitanga is highlighted in this chapter as not only experienced in the environment, but also how it connects to how kaikōrero felt and responded emotionally and spiritually.

Three themes have been presented in this Chapter. All three themes affirm that taonga tuku iho is part of the fundamental understanding and experience of kaitiakitanga. The first theme relates to kaitiaki, where kaikōrero discussed kaitiaki as being tūpuna, animals, birds, and spiritual guides and guardians. This theme shows that Māori understand kaitiaki as not being human and that whānau, hapū and iwi knowledge transmission underpins their understanding. Several

examples of what kaikōrero named as their kaitiaki are shared as well as how the kaitiaki supports their wellness and lives.

The second theme considers te tuakiritanga which essentially includes emotions, states of being and feelings. Te Tuakiritanga was explained and analysed in Chapter 4 and in this chapter kaikōrero affirm many of the sites referred to there, such as ngākau, hinengaro, wairua and mauri. This theme highlights that kaitiakitanga experiences and understandings generate deep emotional expressions and feelings. Throughout this section, the kaikōrero affirmed many of the elements of Kaitiakitanga as discussed in Chapter 3 for example, wairua, mana and mauri ora.

The last theme considers whakaaro Māori and te reo. Kaikōrero throughout the hui spoke in te reo Māori to fully represent their understandings of kaitiakitanga. Language is the lifeline and sustenance of the Māori culture which is not only a form of communication, but it helps transmit the values and beliefs of a people (Pere, 1997). Many kaikōrero utilised the medium te reo to express their experiences and understandings of kaitiakitanga. This section highlights where kaikōrero utilised te reo within the wider cultural context of kaitiakitanga as well as they defined the root words of kaitiakitanga through Māori thinking, understandings and experiences.

Kaitiaki

In Chapter 3, kaitiaki are explained throughout the literature as spiritual guardians, spirit guides or something that has a spiritual element (Gloyne, 2017b; Gloyne et al., 2020; Muru-Lanning, 2016; Roberts et al., 1995). Gloyne notes that being a kaitiaki was never the role of a human being as it is in today's contemporary explanations, but that a kaitiaki is something spiritual (Gloyne, 2017b). This affirms and aligns with many writers who discuss kaitiaki manifesting in animals, spiritual beings and tūpuna (Roberts et al., 1995). Further evidence of these explanations is given by Roberts et al (1995) who support that kaitiaki took the form of birds, insects, lizards, fish, or any other guise that could host the kaitiaki.

Although, as previously discussed in Chapter 3, kaitiakitanga carries the prefix 'kai' which can mean the person, deity, spirit, or human carrying out the action, many consider that a kaitiaki cannot be an ordinary human being. This section outlines the kaikōrero descriptions, experiences, and understandings of kaitiaki. These are placed in taonga tuku iho because many kaikōrero discussed their kaitiaki as being important to spiritual connection, identity, culture, and overall mauri ora and safety. Several kaitiaki examples are outlined below including: manu, tūpuna, koura and atua. Although not expanded on here, other kaikōrero (tauira and kaiako) also mentioned spiders, kurī (dogs), horses and poaka (pig).

Manu (Birds)

Manu are deeply imbedded in mātauranga and tikanga within te ao Māori. Māori have many whakataukī, whakatauākī, waiata, pūrākau and kōrero which relate to manu such as: Hookioi, huia, kiwi, ruru, kāhu, kārearea, pīwakawaka and kākā. Many manu hold significance and this is seen in whakairo, raranga, pōwhiri and other art forms within te ao Māori. Korowai and kākahu for example were made using feathers from several different manu, each holding special significance. The kākā had red feathers under its wing, and red was considered chiefly and therefore those with status wore cloaks with kākā feathers. The pīwakawaka (fantail) has 20-30 different names in te ao Māori and is interwoven into stories of death, cheekiness, people who flutter and who are fidgety (Keane, 2010b; Te Ara, 2021) .

Perhaps the more identifiable manu within kōrero for Māori is the Tūī, kākā and Tītī. Within all iwi in Aotearoa, the tūī and tītī might appear within whaikōrero (formal speech making), kapahaka or whakataukī. Some well-known lines within whaikōrero regarding these many are noted below:

> Ka tangi te tītī, ka tangi te kākā, ka tangi hoki ahau, tīhei mauri ora

> Tūī, tūī, tūī tūīa, tūīa i roto, tūīa i waho, tūīa i runga, tūīa i raro, tūī, tūī tūīa.

It is not surprising then, that many kaikōrero in this study named manu as their kaitiaki. The SW Supervisor below for example described their kaitiaki as the kāhu in our discussions and clearly identified their kaitiaki within the hapū and iwi context of Ngāti Kāhu.

> *My hapū is Ngāti Kāhu named after the kāhu and so I see that as being my kaitiaki in that world, in that environmental world. SW Supervisor kaikōrero*

The SW Supervisor describes the kāhu as their kaitiaki in an environmental sense. In our conversation they said that if the kāhu was observed during travel, that this provided a sense of safety and a tohu that the trip will be a good one. The SW Supervisor explained a particularly tough client case they were working on, and during this time their overall wairua was being affected. At that time, the kāhu made more appearances than usual which seemed to indicate that the kaitiaki has an awareness or consciousness about those it is there to protect and keep safe. Throughout this study the SW Supervisors and Practitioners rarely specified kaitiaki or kaitiakitanga examples or experiences in their workplaces – regardless of being asked. They instead discussed kaitiakitanga and kaitiaki as coping mechanisms that supported them outside of work.

> *I have noticed Kāhu more ... I will see a kāhu swoop down in front of me when I am driving, and I know I am driving too fast, and I have to slow down. Ten years ago, I would have thought, oh that's a nice bird ... but actually now I know that it is something more ... I think I*

have a whole lot of tohu that have been given to me along that way and I haven't necessarily seen them for what they are, or I haven't trusted in them. Mātanga

The Mātanga identifies their kaitiaki as providing safety and protection. Tohu are significant but they rely on the human being to take note of and understand. The Mātanga understands the kāhu as being intimately connected to them now, although that has not always been the case. Both kaikōrero descriptions regarding the kāhu show a personal and spiritual connection. In line with a spiritual understanding, they both describe their kaitiaki as responsible for protection, safety and providing messages.

The spiritual dimension connected to manu is continued as a theme for the next Mātanga. The kaitiaki named here is the Ruru. The Ruru was also mentioned in the Chapter 5 when a kaikōrero considered their kuia a kaitiaki who returned in the form of the Ruru. The Ruru is a native owl and is quite often associated with death for Māori. In my whānau the ruru was sighted before the death of my great grandmother, in the daytime, sitting on her fence. This was the first tohu that there may be impending death of someone we all knew. Māui-pōtiki, one of our ancestors, was also said to have taken the form of many birds, including the ruru, in his quest to defeat Hine-nui-te-pō. Manu were often highlighted as bringing tohu to humans (Keane, 2010b).

In this example however, the ruru is explained by the Mātanga as a kaitiaki that resides in a spiritual dimension to take care of them.

There is a spiritual dimension there and you don't determine yourself as a kaitiaki but something else is kaitiaki of you … mine is a ruru. Mātanga kaikōrero

An assertion is made by the above Mātanga that you do not determine yourself as a kaitiaki, this role is left to 'something else' which assumes the 'something' is outside of the human realm. This whakaaro is affirmed by the below Mātanga from Tūhoe, who names Tāne (see Chapter 3) as the kaitiaki, but who describes a tikanga of eating the kererū as an honourable act.

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. Mātanga kaikōrero

The Mātanga notes that the human role is to eat kererū, the child of Tāne, to honour the bird's kaitiaki, and to honour Tāne. This mātauranga and tikanga is of particular significance to the iwi of Tūhoe. This tikanga is present in other ways in te ao Māori. Taking fish or shellfish from Tangaroa (the ocean) for example requires human beings to ask Tangaroa before fishing or collection, and then you can eat what is considered to be the children of Tangaroa. In many hapū and iwi, the return of the shells of shellfish after eating is also a tikanga. Many areas of the environment, for example the forest, rivers, ocean, require acknowledgement and permission sought from atua or kaitiaki before entering or taking anything from it.

In Ngā Rauru manu are our kaitiaki. We have different kaitiaki. SW Supervisor kaikōrero

The above Social Work Supervisor made a broader statement about manu when asked about their experience and understanding of kaitiakitanga. This final abstract shows that manu are understood as kaitiaki and that they are well known by Māori which is identifiable through iwi structures.

Tūpuna

As stated in Chapter 3, kaitiaki are known by Māori to be mountains, land, water, and natural phenomena which are often personified and are tūpuna, they are part of whakapapa (Roberts et al, 1995; Muru-Lanning, 2016). Further to this understanding, tūpuna also means our grandparents who are living as well as those that have now passed. In my experience Māori do not often use the term Tūpuna for the living, although they can as this is correct. However, they might use kaumātua, kuia or koroua for the living. Tūpuna, in the form of human ancestors who have died, were identified by the kaikōrero as kaitiaki. Further conversations on living tūpuna as kaitiaki, kuia specifically, are detailed in Chapter 5.

> *Actually, in some ways our tūpuna will continue anyway, they will continue to give us those things anyway, even if we don't know who they are, they keep giving these things to us. I think that we have to be open to the reciprocal relationship that is about the whanaungatanga relationship. We have to be open to that in order to be able to fully receive these things and the benefits that they bring. Not you as an individual necessarily, but I tell you, I think my tūpuna have saved my life on many occasions and that is not being over dramatic. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Several important points are noted by the above Mātanga. Firstly, that you do not have to have physically know your tūpuna on earth for them to be kaitiaki and that the relationship is reciprocal in nature, named as whanaungatanga by the Mātanga. Secondly, that in order to benefit from having tūpuna as kaitiaki, you must be open to receive tohu. Finally, there is an assertion that tūpuna messages can cross many different contexts from general messages to communications about life and death. Across all these points is the necessity to believe and receive. This is highlighted further by the following Mātanga who extends on the points made earlier regarding the receiving of messages or tohu.

> *I think they bring us tohu. I think our tūpuna bring us understandings through tohu, through reminders. They are all tohu, those are all the different kinds of tohu where through either in our moemoeā, or in that little touch of your face in the night, or of coming through to remind you in different ways. There are things that happen to me that I don't even know where they came from and I can only think that they are from tūpuna, and tūpuna I've never met or known before in my life, in terms of whakapapa, coming through whakapapa. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The Mātanga identifies the different ways that tohu might be received. Moemoeā, or visions/dreaming, is identified as a medium where tūpuna may appear with information. Māori consider that moemoeā are an important medium to understanding the spiritual dimension and to learning and receiving information. A touch on the face is noted too. In te ao Māori, it is not considered unusual to be visited by the dead, when the visit brings with it learning or messages. As noted by the Mātanga, having known the tūpuna is also not an issue, because the belief is that they are relatives within whakapapa.

> *There is an element of spirituality involved in kaitiaki … I view my tīpuna and atua as kaitiaki. Whānau kaikōrero*

The spiritual dimension regarding tūpuna as kaitiaki was affirmed in the whānau kaikōrero hui. They confirm that the metaphysical realm is distinct but not removed from the philosophy of kaitiakitanga. Adding that they view Atua equally as kaitiaki, which was affirmed by other kaikōrero below.

Atua

Atua is often incorrectly described as God and is generally utilised in religion to translate the word god. However, this is a misconception of the truest understanding of atua to Māori. "Many Māori trace their ancestry from atua in their whakapapa and they are regarded as ancestors with influence over particular domains. Atua also were a way of rationalising and perceiving the world. Normally invisible, atua may have visible representations" (Moorfield, 2003, p. 11). Several Atua were named as kaitiaki across the kaikōrero hui which included: Hinemoa, a rangatira of standing from Rotorua and Tangaroa, Tāne and Ruaumoko, the children of Papa and Rangi as explained in Chapter 3 as well as Rangi and Papa themselves.

Both kaikōrero below discussed atua through whakapapa and the beginning of the earth.

> *Io Matua Te Kore made Ranginui and Papatūānuku, who are kaitiaki of the Taiao. They in their eternal embrace of love, made all of the Atua, they are kaitiaki themselves of certain parts of everything. So, the forest, the trees, the sea, the earthquakes, the wind. Everything. They are kaitiaki of that. Mātanga*

> *I feel like it refers to atua … I reckon they are the origin of kaitiakitanga for us. Rangatahi*

Both kaikōrero describe Atua as kaitiaki and confirm that atua have responsibilities and obligations over several different domains which are named as the forest, trees, the sea, earthquakes, and the wind. The word atua is named interchangeably with the name kaitiaki.

> *Now you go to a doctor, whereas before you went to Hinemoa and Tangaroa, they are kaitiaki, they are also atua. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The role of two specific atua is highlighted by the above kaikōrero. Both atua are discussed as being aligned to healing and taking care of wellness, which is a significant part of the core word of kaitiaki, to 'tiaki'. The Mātanga has knowledge of atua as healers, in particular Hinemoa and Tangaroa. They highlight in this quote that in contemporary times, Māori have disengaged their traditional understandings and knowledge of healing for more contemporary choices like doctors.

> *I think there are all those things within the taiao that are kaitiaki, as I have said. When we were growing up if you weren't well, if you had any kind of hakihaki or you just didn't feel good, we would be sent down the beach. It was always the easiest thing, go to the beach, get in the water. The moana has always been the healer for us, but it has also been a food basket, so it is kai on multiple levels. It is kai rongoā, it's kai, it's kaitiaki, it is all those things. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The above kaikōrero relates kaitiaki with wellness, aligning with the previous kaikōrero. Here, they specifically name hakihaki (sores) as a particular area that could be healed by the moana which is the domain of the atua, Hinemoana and Tangaroa. They add that the moana provides many healing properties which they describe as kai. Kai rongoā – treatments, solutions and remedies, kai – literally food, and kaitiaki – the moana provides care, wellness qualities and properties, and nurtures us as humans. Both the first and second kaikōrero are explaining tikanga, the practice of what to do when you require healing, both spiritually and physically. This was also identified by the next two kaikōrero.

> *That is not our realm. We can't breathe under that water. If something happens to us – that's it, we are over. So, we ask for permission to go in. The same with Tangaroa, you can't barge in. The same with visiting the forest, me tuku mihi, me tuku karakia ki a Tāne Mahuta. For the volcanologist, me mihi ki a Ruaumoko. All of the different realms. Even if you fly, you might have a talk to Ranginui and Tawhirimatea. Mātanga kaikōrero*

> *In my karakia I always acknowledge Papatūānuku, Ranginui and ngā whanau atua. SW Supervisor kaikōrero*

Alongside the naming of Tangaroa, Tāne Mahuta, Ruaumoko, Ranginui and Tawhirimatea, the above kaikōrero describe tikanga, in particular the practice of being in relationship with the atua. This involves 'tuku mihi' and 'tuku karakia' which are both ways in which you offer acknowledgement, and which involve rituals steeped in tikanga. These two practices involve asking permission, acknowledgement of the atua and the environment and keeping protection and safety at the forefront of all the interactions with the atua. 'Tuku mihi' and 'tuku karakia' or some people just simply say 'karakia' are named as tikanga of kaitiakitanga that we must carry out in our roles as human beings. Moving into the realms of atua is considered in many contexts to hold tapu. Tikanga is an important pre-cursor to being safe ā wairua, ā hinengaro, ā tinana – spiritually, mentally, and physically. This assertion is further confirmed by the next kaikōrero.

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> *So Rongo to me is the atua of ease, peace, calm, also of uncultivated kai. Rongomātāne, Rongo-marae-roa, it has that āhua and is kaitiaki of that space. Not God, you know looks after that space for everyone in this entire world. So, through that āhuatanga, Rongo then seeps down into all aspects of what it is that maintains people, whānau, animals, everything, land, ease, peace, and calm in its simplicity. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Rongo is described here as an atua, but whose name is extended on determined by their different āhua or attributes. Rongomātāne is utilised when discussing kūmara and uncultivated kai, whereas Rongo on its own is generally known to represent peace and calm and when in practice with humans, rongo also represents senses or sensory practices. This is explained by the kaikōrero by discussing Rongo as seeping down into all aspects of what it is that maintains people ... ease, peace and calm." This Mātanga maintains too that atua Māori are not 'god' as understood through a religious context.

The next kaikōrero asserts that we must affirm atua wahine in addition to the seven that are most often discussed as the children of Rangi and Papa.

> *So, we have thousands of atua wahine. We've got the tight seven of course, but there's so many others within their different areas of influence. Mātanga kaikōrero*

> *Rangi and Papa being far apart, hence the rain, and hence Hinepūkohurangi, and when you see the mist, you cry because that is Papatūānuku mourning for her partner. Looking at it from a Māori perspective ... it just helps you understand that you have got to look after in order for them to look after you. Rangatahi kaikōrero*

Women as atua are identified by the above Mātanga, as well as within the kōrero from the Rangatahi. The Rangatahi kaikōrero discusses reciprocal relationships, the ability for us as humans to think about our own obligations and responsibilities to atua. Hinepūkohurangi is named here as an atua who is responsible for mist which is understood by us as Māori as the mourning and tears of Papatūānuku for her partner Ranginui.

Freshwater Kōura and Crab

This section highlights kōura and crab as kaitiaki which live in fresh water and moana respectively. The kōura and crab were identified by kaikōrero as kaitiaki. The kōura referred to in this example is the freshwater crayfish. It is see-through, much smaller than a usual crayfish in the ocean (7cm long), and only its feelers and eyes, which are black can be seen. In my iwi of Ngāti Maniapoto, our grandmother shared stories of koura that were all the colours of the rainbow. These rainbow kōura were so abundant, that as children, my grandmother and her cousins would be able to scoop them out of the streams and simply throw them on a fire to eat. Today, our stream where my grandmother used to scoop freshwater kōura, is filled with muck and cow excrement. The rainbow kōura is now only seen in areas where the water has not been

infected by the introduced farming environment – usually deep within forests in special waters called 'puna'.

> *Nan's whānau regarded those crayfish as kaitiaki and the waters that were around them … those health-giving properties that they gave to sick people. Whānau kaikōrero*

The above whānau member related their kaitiaki and the waters that they lived in as health-giving and contributing to mauri ora, for those that are sick. The idea that water is healing was identified in Chapter 6, Taiao. The kōura was further highlighted as a kaitiaki by the following kaikōrero, and because of their significance, koura was incorporated into the whakairo (carvings) in their whare tūpuna. Adding that all their kaitiaki are represented in the whare in symbolic ways.

> *We have kōura and you look at our whare tūpuna and its symbolic in there, all our kaitiaki. SW Supervisor kaikōrero*

As well as kaitiaki being represented as symbols within whare tūpuna at Marae, a whānau kaikōrero explained the taking of a kaitiaki name to name the hapū.

> *Our actual name is Ngāti Pāpakakura, which is after the crab … and they were another kaitiaki of our hapū as well. We were taught to respect the crab because it brings you kai, brings you water, so it looks after you in that way. Whānau kaikōrero*

Intergenerational knowledge transmission is highlighted here where the whānau member explains how they were taught to acknowledge and respect the crab because of its physical and spiritual qualities. The crab is explained in several ways: as a hapū, as food, as providing water and as something that takes care of them. There is a sense of spiritual connection between the human beings and their kaitiaki which are the kōura and crab.

Pounamu

The tūpuna Poutini is considered the personified form of pounamu (greenstone) and is a progeny of Tangaroa, a child of Ranginui and Papatūānuku (Ngata & Te Hurinui Jones, 2005). Pounamu is considered a taonga of the iwi (tribe) of Kai Tahu. Kai Tahu have a spiritual, cultural, and practical relationship with pounamu, and it is integral to Kai Tahu identity (Wheen, 2009). In fact, the whole of the South Island of Aotearoa is known as 'Te Waipounamu' or literally, the waters of greenstone. Traditionally, pounamu was highly valued as a material for tools, weapons, and adornment. Pounamu is a revered taonga across many Iwi today and holds cultural significance for many Māori (Mead & Grove, 2001).

This year a whānau member lost a heitiki, a greenstone pounamu designed as a tiki. They spoke of their heartbreak at having lost it, what it meant to them, who had given it to them and how they ached spiritually and physically to have it be returned. A woman they knew called them from Turtle Island after reading a Facebook post about the lost pounamu. The woman explained the

exact position of the heitiki. Our whanaunga went to the place that the woman explained, to find their heitiki exactly there. The woman explained that she had received word from the heitiki itself, about its position. This example shows the nature of the metaphysical to te ao Māori, but also the connection to other indigenous cultures. This example shows how pounamu, which is also explained as taonga, holds metaphysical qualities of its own.

> *Whenever you find yourself in trouble, touch your kaitiaki [pounamu] and hold it and it will guide … guiding you in a safe way, so there will be no harm come to you. Whānau kaikōrero*

The above whānau member confirmed their pounamu as a kaitiaki. Worn around the neck, they explained how holding it and touching it will help one be guided and that in this way the pounamu will keep you safe and protect you from harm. This understanding identifies the pounamu as having metaphysical qualities that connect with its human wearer and which acts as a protector, carer, and guide in times of need or "when you find yourself in trouble".

This first section has highlighted kaitiaki as being tūpuna, animals, birds, and spiritual guides and guardians. This theme shows that Māori understand kaitiaki as they did traditionally and that whānau, hapū and iwi knowledge transmission underpins their understanding. Several examples of what kaikōrero named as their kaitiaki were shared as well as how the kaitiaki is strongly connected to protection, guidance, connection, wellness, care, and healing. Kaikōrero described tohu as being central to many of the ways that they communicate with their kaitiaki. The kaikōrero discussed their kaitiaki as being important to spiritual connection, identity, culture, and overall mauri ora and safety. This chapter now moves to presents how kaikōrero saw feelings and emotions as central to experiencing and expressing kaitiakitanga.

Te Tuakiritanga, the inner being

As explained in Chapter 4, Kare-ā-roto is the name given to emotions, feelings, inner heartful thoughts and literally means, the ripple of the surface of the sea, within. 'Te Tuakiritanga' as a larger philosophy, however, encompasses a person's identity, personality, attributes, qualities, and kare-ā-roto. This section presents the kōrero concerning how connection to the realms of kaitiakitanga generates emotions, feelings, and states of being or what many authors refer to as 'te tuakiritanga' (Pohatu, 2003), 'te tuakiri o te tangata' (Mataira, 1989) or 'tuakiri' (Mead, 2003). This section has been themed according to the sites or elements of te tuakiritanga. The sites of te tuakiritanga were outlined in Chapter 4 and include: ngākau, rongo, hinengaro, whakawātea, wairua, tohu, aroha, manaaki, pono, mārama, mauri, oho, mana, whakanoa and karakia. Mataira (1989) whose work on 'te tuakiri o te tangata' concentrates on children in total immersion schools and focuses on the mental, physical, spiritual, and emotional needs of a child within their environments. Mead (2003) agrees and extends his notion of 'tuakiri' to include how one's self-

definition is literally grounded to mountains, water, and land. Pohatu (2011) writes that the sites of 'te tuakiritanga' are for solace, cultural and personal thinking, receiving, reflecting, and critiquing information and that the sites named are not exclusive or exhaustive. These three definitions connect directly to the discussions below.

Ngākau and Hinengaro

As noted in Chapter 4, ngākau refers to the inner stomach area and is considered a space where we experience affection, desire, and inclination. Mātaira (1989) explains that the ngākau is where we feel at our deepest levels the feelings of love, strength, and commitment.

> *Even when education can be useful, it actually schools us out of all of our senses. It puts the priority on cognitive ways of being rather than everything else that is a part of us. So, we don't feel through our ngākau the way we need to ... we don't trust it, I guess that is another tohu. The first time I ever stood up in front of a group of people to challenge back something significant, I felt like I was going to be sick. I was so nervous, and my puku was almost angry inside that I felt almost sick to stand up. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Education is being described here and concentrated on the cognitive which aligns to western colonial processes. It is noted that Māori ability to connect with senses is being 'schooled out' and the connection to ngākau being diminished. Pushing through this disconnect, the kaikōrero notes an example where there was a need to trust the ngākau and carry through on an action regardless of feeling sick. An important point is being made about reconnecting with ngākau and what it might take to do this, for example trusting the tohu that are presenting themselves. Another kaikōrero affirms this understanding.

> *The brain is in the hinengaro, and so if you can only do that, then the rest of it's not accessible which is why, when we go back and we have a look at our indigenous whare wānanga, our wānanga, they're all about this, they're all about the knowing, not about the hinengaro stuff. It's about everything, it's about te reo, it's about your connections, it's about te taha wairua ... that's what it's all about. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The hinengaro is being highlighted as having importance, but it is not considered to be the place of 'knowing', which in te ao Māori can be explained as 'rongo' (Smith, 2019). Rather hinengaro invites engagement of all the senses, including ngākau. The Mātanga highlights that this information would have been taught within our own systems of knowledge transmission that are indigenous whare wānanga or wānanga. These sites were traditional learning centres of excellence. Today, contemporary wānanga such as Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi, and Te Wānanga o Raukawa, are still underpinned by mātauranga and tikanga, albeit they are in some ways bound by government policy, funding, and resourcing. Smith (2019) considers reflective thought to occur in the ngākau rather than the brain or hinengaro as western thought and psychology would encourage. Whare wānanga are being identified as locations to find out about 'knowing' rather than cognitive knowing alone, which is in the brain. The kaikōrero

is acknowledging that connection to all parts of us is important to 'knowing' and emphasises the place of connectedness, te reo and taha wairua.

Wairua

As mentioned in Chapter 4, wairua is discussed through four particular measures relating to the non-physical, identity, dignity, and contentment (Kingi, 2002). Wairua and the non-physical component includes belief in a force or entity; wairua and the cultural identity considers wairua as fundamentally unique to Māori and reflecting Māori ideals, paradigms, and constructs; wairua related to dignity and respect which relates also to desires and aspirations and lastly, wairua and personal contentment which included the sensing of those both physically and spiritually. In this section, the kaikōrero expressed wairua through each of these measures when discussing kaitiakitanga.

> *Something that I have had to learn over the years, it has always been there, but I just didn't have a name for it, or I just didn't really understand it or recognize it for what it was. If there are vibrations or vibing, you go into a room and instantly you can sense people's wairua or what they are bringing to the table. Putting kaitiaki into that is being able to read between the lines and feel those vibrations and come at it, not in a defensive way but in a gentle way. Tauira kaikōrero*

Wairua is being described as vibration and being sensed by the first kaikōrero. The feeling that the Tauira got when they walk into a room allowed them to be able to 'read' the situation. In this example the Tauira explained that they were working with a client in social work. After being able to read the wairua of the room and of the person, the Tauira was able to then approach the situation with as accurate a practice as possible. They explain too that recognising wairua has been a learned practice over some years and evening naming it was part of that learning.

> *Coming over the bridge to the Mangapēhi Railway station ... it was just a sense of wairua, a calmness of wairua ... remembrance, one was because Mum had gone, realising both my parents had gone ... it was a sign of acceptance, of tautoko ... hokinga mahara. Whānau kaikōrero*

The idea of being able to sense wairua is affirmed by the whānau kaikōrero. This whānau member describes wairua as being able to return to memories and calmness. This was associated with being at a place which reminded them of their parents, and the memory and acceptance that both parents had passed and their support in the whanau member healing. Kingi (2002) discusses this example through the idea of wairua and personal contentment, where in the face of serious disarray, wairua can play an important part in the creation of a personal sense of calmness and equilibrium.

> *When the wairua comes up and you know you are okay, this is where I am meant to be, this is where I am from, so this is the right place for me to be. Whānau kaikōrero*

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The above kaikōrero relates their understanding of wairua to understanding time, space, contentment, and identity. The whānau member is engaging the notions of 'ko wai au' – 'who am I', and 'no whea' – 'where am I from' as important to wairua. Having a secure identity and connection to whakapapa was reviewed in Chapter 3 and is related to being able to recognise the values and beliefs of being Māori, including understanding and experiencing wairua. This aligns to wairua, and cultural identity as explained by Kingi (2002) where wairua is fundamentally unique to Māori and reflects Māori ideals, paradigms, and cultural constructs.

Rongo

In te reo Māori, whakarongo is to listen or to hear. Rongo on its own includes being able to know through the senses – or through being able to hear, through the knowing of the ear, and is related to peace and calm. Rongo is also the atua of peace and cultivated food. Smith (2019) explains that in Māori art, the idea of peace is represented by the Manaia figure where the hand of the figure encircles the ear and is placed on the lower and upper jaw. When the figure is shown in this way it is a representation of peace and balance, or 'ka houhia te *rongo'* peace, knowing and connection are bound or fixed.

> *Rongo is something we do as Māori every day … we tune in, we listen, all those things … I think we have been trained out of it, I think we have been colonized out of it and we have been educated out of it. Mātanga kaikōrero*

An acknowledgement is being made by this Mātanga that rongo is an inherent part of being Māori. Rongo is being explained as something occurring at the point of tuning in and listening. The Mātanga is describing rongo as being connected to the senses. Further, there is an assertion that colonisation and education have been at the forefront of the demise of the practice of rongo. Another Mātanga explains what occurs when we tune in and listen, as was previously mentioned, utilising rongo.

> *Rongo then seeps down into all aspects of what it is that maintains people, whānau, animals, land, ease, peace, and calm … the kaitiakitanga application of that is all the different ways that we do that, within rongoā. Mātanga kaikōrero*

In this discussion the Mātanga see rongo as affecting everything in the environment positively with the creation of ease, peace, and calm. They go further to discuss an application of rongo within the context of kaitiakitanga and see that application as rongoā. Rongoā can be described as a treatment, healing, remedy, medicine, or solution.

Tohu

Tohu has been explained in some depth in Chapter 3. Tohu is discussed in a range of ways there including its alignment to wellbeing. In the extract below the kaikōrero discusses receiving tohu from her kuia.

> *… came home went to bed and when I got up in the morning I just cried and cried and cried and my husband said to me why are you crying? I didn't know why, but all I said was I can hear kui calling. So, he said do you want to go and see her, we didn't get down there very often we had three little kids. Found someone to look after the kids and off we went and she lived in the papakāinga there, went in she was about 92, and sitting in her chair and I went in and I said kui why are you calling me, and she said I been calling you for a long time. SW Supervisor kaikōrero*

The SW Supervisor is explaining the experience of waking up feeling overwhelmed at receiving a message from her kuia. Living tūpuna who transcend spaces to give messages, is considered normal in te ao Māori, although these practices were impacted and impeded by colonial disruption and legislation (Roberts et al., 1995). In acknowledgement of the tohu the SW Supervisor discusses going to see her Kui and receiving the affirmation that her Kui had called her, and had been calling for a long time, through a type of transcendence of spirit. Tohu are also considered to be felt or read through our intuitive self as highlighted below.

> *… I will get an intuition, or a feeling, or a sense of something is either not right or something needs to happen, or I need to stop whatever I am doing, and something will come to me … It is written throughout our histories that kaitiaki guided our waka from here all over the Pacific, they were in forms of whales, or forms of birds, or forms of taniwha. Mātanga kaikōrero*

There is an acknowledgement within this kōrero that intuition, feelings and sensing when something is right or wrong is a key part of kaitiakitanga. Reference to the voyages Māori made to Aotearoa is provided, with a further affirmation that kaitiaki were in the form of whales, birds, and forms of taniwha and that those kaitiaki would have provided the tohu relevant to ensure safe passage. Tohu also provide us with ways of considering what is happening around us, as stated by a Rangatahi kaikōrero.

> *That is a form of kaitiaki too, how we feel in our ngākau, which people call intuition, or butterflies, when you get butterflies in your stomach, that is actually a tohu. Rangatahi kaikōrero*

What is clear is that tohu are regarded within te ao Māori as a valid and effective way of receiving knowledge and making decisions. Physical manifestations of tohu within the ngākau or within the stomach are being described by the Rangatahi above. This aligns with the literature whereby tohu can be messages through observation, people, whenua or through feelings or emotions within the body.

Aroha

Several kaikōrero explained or mentioned aroha as a particular value that aligned to kaitiakitanga. The first kaikōrero below explained aroha and manaaki as being key to the practice of tiaki, and therefore kaitiakitanga.

> *For me the essence of kaitiaki is aroha and manaaki … if there isn't those things, then it's not tiaki, then it's not kaitiakitanga – it's something else. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Tiaki was explained in the literature as being able to 'akiaki te ti o te tangata' or encourage the light or potential within people. Aroha and manaaki are being named as essential to the practice of tiaki and kaitiakitanga by the above Mātanga. Aroha is the ability to empathise, employ compassion and be loving and caring. Aroha can also align to affection and sympathy. Manaaki is the act of being in service to people and kaupapa.

> *Looking after te taiao as well … you are looking after the spiritual side … the physical side for everyone, not just yourself. I feel like kaitiakitanga is more in everything, the aroha you have for everything. Rangatahi kaikōrero*

Another confirmation that aroha is important to kaitiakitanga is explained by the above Rangatahi. They endorse that kaitiakitanga is about te taiao, the spiritual, physical and people. And that as people, we have an obligation to enact aroha as a value and principle when engaging in kaitiakitanga.

Mauri

Mauri is being explained in several different ways below by each kaikōrero. Firstly, as energy, secondly as a mechanism that discusses balance, lastly as energy that is passed from humans to inanimate objects.   The first Mātanga discusses the need to instil mauri when an awa (waterway/river) is paru (contaminated/dirty). Here mauri is being discussed as an energy that can help to provide wātea (clearing/clearance) to strengthen the awa and help the awa recognise its own strength. Roberts et al. (1995) explain this idea within the literature whereby Māori see themselves as part of the environment through whakapapa and inseparable from the metaphysical and physical.

> *Is it that the awa is paru, is contaminated? So therefore, you have to instil mauri to wātea, to clear it so that then the awa can clear itself. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The next kaikōrero discusses mauri, mauri ora and hauora as tikanga that ensure balance within spaces.

> *... that's about all of those tikanga components that are about how we ensure the balance or the mauri, or the mauri ora, or the hauora of certain spaces or people. If kaitiaki come to us, generally it is because there is something we need to know ... that kaitiaki is there to protect the awa, but it is also to protect us in our relationship to the awa. Mātanga kaikōrero*

In the above kōrero, Kaitiaki is discussed in relation to a non-human entity. As mentioned in Chapter 3, it is normal and accepted that kaitiaki dwelt or manifested within animals and when this is the case, they can hold other more specific names such as taniwha. Taniwha are often referred to as kaitiaki within awa. In the Waikato Region, taniwha are specific kaitiaki which live within the Waikato River and whose role is to not only protect the river, but to protect human beings. However, if human beings are disrespecting the river, the kaitiaki is likely to take the human being into their realm (Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2700), 2021). This thinking relates to respecting the mana and the tapu of the physical environment which is a relation to us as indicated in the following kōrero.

> *The baby, Mum and Dad would know and that's because otherwise someone could take that rākau, the mauri of that person whose whenua it was as well as the mother, as well as the father, is imbued into that tree now. Mātanga kaikōrero*

This last kōrero from the Mātanga concerns the burying of pito and whenua. Pito and whenua was discussed within Chapter 6. The significance of our relationships to taiao through the process of returning whenua and pito to the land is of great significance within te ao Māori. Here mauri is being described as something that happens as an outcome of whenua and pito (placenta and umbilical cord) being returned to the earth at the base of the tree. Once buried, the tree is said to take on the mauri of the entire whānau. The mauri of the whānau is now forever connected to the rākau and whenua where it was buried.

Whatumanawa, Manawa, Pūmanawa

In Chapter 4, whatumanawa was explained as the deep recesses of your soul (Mataira, 1989). Pūmanawa can also be described as the beating heart. The manawa, is discussed as the pulse within us that relies on energy to be engaged. Some refer to the manawa as the heart. An example of this is through the pūrākau concerning the Manawatū River. A rangatira named Hau was traversing the areas within Whanganui and Te Tai Tonga, looking for his lover after she left with another man. When he arrived at a river, it was so expanse, strong and swift, that he was taken aback, and his heart stood still. He therefore named the river he was standing in front of the 'Manawatū', manawa meaning the heart, and tū, to stand still. The point here is that the terminology regarding variations of manawa is related to feelings, emotions and indicators of our inner being. A further point within the pūrākau is that the tohu regarding manawa can be received no matter what tension you are in.

> *You have the whatumanawa, you have the manawa, you have the pūmanawa ... downloads or information from te taha wairua ... I used to just feel it in the pūmanawa which is like your puku mōhio, it's your instant knowing. The instant knowing. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The variations of manawa are shared by this Mātanga. Their understanding is that each of their variations provide necessary information that is related to taha wairua (our spiritual realm) and it is these feelings that provide instant knowing. The kaikōrero calls this knowing puku mōhio – or knowing that is located within the stomach, like the ngākau kōrero above.

Whakanoa, Whakawātea

In Chapter 4, five states of being were introduced from the Mana Kaitiakitanga model designed by Penehira (2011). Those states were: tapu, tika, pono, hē/hara and noa. The central three states related to right, wrong and truth. These three states are accompanied by the states of tapu and noa. Being truthful and correct are important markers within te ao Māori, and when one behaves in a manner that is harmful, hurtful or lacks integrity, they remain in a state of uneasiness which can sometimes mean they are in a state of tapu. To move from the state of tapu, there are tikanga or processes that must be carried out to bring a person to a state of 'noa'. By adding the prefix 'whaka' to 'noa' implies action and practice. These practices involve in part karakia, acknowledgement, clearance, and action.

Whakanoa and Whakawātea were highlighted by each of the kaikōrero below in contexts related to the ocean, urupā, home, and through general feelings of heaviness. Whakawātea is the practice of becoming unencumbered, clear, and open. Whakanoa is the process of the removal of tapu. These two tikanga were explained by the kaikōrero as relating to the physical, spiritual, and human environments, as well as dealing with personal tension within.

> *We learn the simple things of just taki karakia before we go ... just even being able to go inside to just whakanoa te tinana as well and just appreciating Tangaroa ... even going to the urupā, that would probably be a more spiritual whakanoa for me. Even going into the gates, you just feel an all-different kind of mauri from every person, every tūpuna that you walk past. Some of them are not so great and some of them are just more welcoming than others. Rangatahi kaikōrero*

Tangaroa is being discussed above as a place where healing and clearing of the physical body can occur. The responsibility of the Rangatahi is to taki karakia (carry out rituals and acknowledgements) in order to be able to receive clearance from Tangaroa. They then spoke about being able to whakanoa within the urupā when visiting tūpuna. Although they note that there is a need to be cognisant of the different mauri within.

> *The mauri... generally you can feel things when they're heavy and that means it's not working. It's not a contribution so therefore you might need to wātea, to clear stuff so you've got clarity around things. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Mauri is repeated in the discussion with the Mātanga in terms of heavy energy, or energy that does not contribute to being well. Wātea is explained as a practice that needs to be employed in order to have clarity.

> *Everything for like whakawātea te hinengaro, te ngākau, ngā raruraru kua takahia, and then you are just ready for the day. That is what I feel when I go home, or when I am with nan. Nan just enhances more and more. Rangatahi kaikōrero*

Home, and specifically her Nana, is described as being central to whakawātea. Here, the whakawātea is related to 'te hinengaro' the mind, 'te ngākau' the seat of our emotions and 'ngā raruraru kua takahia' being able to sort out issues. People and place are highlighted here as important to the process of whakawātea.

As noted previously, several sites of te tuakiritanga have been identified by kaikōrero as directly related to the way they feel and experience kaitiakitanga. In this section key sites have been highlighted including ngākau, hinengaro, wairua, rongo, tohu, aroha, mauri, whatumanawa, manawa, pūmanawa, whakanoa and whakawātea. These sites are experienced physically, spiritually, psychologically, and physiologically. Kaitiakitanga carries with it deep feelings and emotions that have derived from taonga tuku iho. The experience and expressions shared here cannot always be explained in words. They are a cultural and spiritual way of being that is connected to being Māori and whakapapa. Te tuakiritanga has been canvassed here which shows that it is a critical hoa-haere to the experience and expression of kaitiakitanga.

Having canvassed key concepts related to te tuakiritanga it became increasingly clear that te reo Māori concepts are critical to understanding kaitiakitanga. The final section in this chapter expands on phrases and understandings of kaitiakitanga through te reo Māori and tikanga.

He mana tō te kupu, he tikanga tō te kupu

Mana tō te kupu, I also think he tikanga tō te kupu, so words have their own cultural concepts, meanings, understandings, and applications. Mātanga kaikōrero

Throughout this study the kaikōrero spoke about kupu, the root words of kaitiakitanga, and their understanding of this from a te ao Māori and te reo perspective which included what the tikanga of the kupu entails. Associated phrases and understandings of kaitiakitanga were discussed, as well as what the addition of 'kai' means. The name of this section is a common place phrase utilised within te ao Māori. 'He mana tō te kupu, he tikanga tō te kupu' describes how words have the power to explain, express and define how we understand and experience the world. And then how protocols and practices in te ao Māori are held in high regard and are underpinned by whakaaro Māori. This section is dominated by the voices of the five Mātanga. As explained in Chapter 2, the five Mātanga were chosen for their varied specialist areas. Every Mātanga was a

fluent speaker of te reo, each also highly regarded in their fields and profession in an Aotearoa, hapū and iwi context. Their expertise across their respective professions included: te reo, university, wānanga, environment, iwi, rongoā, education, rangatahi, media and politics.

The opening quote to this section engaged the title of this section to explain that words have great power, as well as actions do, and that they are firmly connected to whakaaro Māori. This section also highlights what kaikōrero discussed as 'whakaaro' which includes the intention, thought and the experience of kupu and tikanga. As was explained in Chapter 2 Pere (1994) and Marsden (2011) contend that only Māori can adequately reflect Māori thought. As was noted in the introduction, there is also a wider discussion to be had about protecting our culture from over-commodification, so that the use and application of te reo Māori, and Māori culture does not risk becoming transactional. This protection includes being able to engage critical discussions and assertions about kaitiakitanga and what its use necessitates. This section engages discussions where kaikōrero mentioned the knowing that is required when engaging kaitiakitanga, commencing with whakaaro Māori.

Whakaaro Māori – Māori conceptual thinking

Whakaaro is used in many contexts in te ao Māori. Mostly it is referred to as thought and thinking. Whakaaro relates directly to knowledge production and mātauranga Māori. It is a conceptual term that firmly relates to the practice of paying attention to, taking notice of which includes the process of reflection and offering knowledge, advice, and ideas. When referring directly to thought that is from the Māori worldview, we will often use the term 'whakaaro Māori'. This then differentiates it from any particular whakaaro, and from non-Māori that are utilising the term. The first kaikōrero identifies that whakaaro underpins kupu. In our conversations, one of the Rangatahi explained that often people know what a word means, but that they do not know the whakapapa of the word and what should accompany any literal translation.

> *There is a lot of kupu … that are a literal translation … the word is translated, but they don't translate the whakaaro. Rangatahi kaikōrero*

In the same vein, the following Mātanga affirms the idea that knowing what a word means, along with where the word comes from is just as important as knowing the word itself.

> *I also think it is important to pause and remind whoever has adopted the word, about what it means and where it comes from. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Included in the above kōrero is the understanding that if one has adopted the use of kupu Māori, that they should understand the underpinning whakaaro. For example, in this thesis, underpinning the experience and understanding of kaitiakitanga is whakapapa and whānau.

For me it's about being mārama, pono … i roto i te ngākau māhaki, kia piki ngā waiora … mā te whakarongo i ngā kupu, ka rongo i te wairua. Whānau kaikōrero

Being mārama (clear) and being pono (truthful and genuine) begins the above kōrero from the whānau member. When describing what they consider 'whakaaro' regarding kaitiakitanga, they describe how the body receives, transmits, and senses information. Their response means, being clear, truthful, genuine in your heart and holding humility and this will always lead to positive outcomes. Further noting that kupu Māori are not heard or practiced in isolation to its whakaaro and the wairua that is invoked.   The idea that kupu Māori is not heard or practiced in isolation to whakaaro is extended on by the next Mātanga, when they were invited to talk about kaitiakitanga they responded in the following way:

What I will do is go back to my pepeha because that will link into what you are talking about. Mātanga kaikōrero

Immediately, the Mātanga explained that in order to discuss any philosophy regarding te ao Māori, like kaitiakitanga, returning to pepeha (inclusive of whakapapa) is a necessity. Expanding on this point in the interview transcript the Mātanga preceded to outlay whakapapa, beginning with Rangi and Papa, ending with their own mokopuna, whereby many links were made to the physical and metaphysical realms. This highlighted, as it did in the literature, how important whakapapa is to the discussion of kaitiakitanga.

An affirmation of te reo as taonga within the spectrum of kaitiakitanga is voiced by the next two kaikōrero.

What te reo does for me personally is beyond a physical relationship and connection, it is metaphysical, and it feeds my soul, feeds me mentally, spiritually, physically, emotionally … if kaitiakitanga is used in that sense, in my opinion then that I think is doing justice to the word. Mātanga kaikōrero

Speaking te reo is being described as a relationship that extends beyond the physical, metaphysical, and human realms, reaching into deeply emotional places within the mind and body. Kaitiakitanga is being compared to the relationship one might have with te reo. The kaikōrero contends that if the same depth of connection is felt when practicing and understanding kaitiakitanga, then there will be integrity in the understanding and practice. The next kaikōrero confirmed the above assertion:

I am a reo speaker, so I know what the word means, and the breadth of its meaning … I understand that there was an absolute inter-connectedness with wairua and spiritual beings and spiritual guardians and kaitiaki is anything and everything. SW Supervisor kaikōrero

Te reo is given importance by both the Mātanga and the SW Supervisor when aligned to understanding kaitiakitanga. Kaitiakitanga is being affirmed by bringing attention to the way that

kupu is underpinned by whakaaro Māori and that this is experienced through the physical, metaphysical, and human realms. Emotional connection within the metaphysical realm is also being reaffirmed as it has been in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. The kaikōrero in this section have all discussed whakaaro Māori as it relates to kaitiakitanga. They provide examples and show that for those who are considering utilising the philosophy of kaitiakitanga, it cannot be isolated from whakaaro Māori and te reo.

He mana tō te kupu – Cultural concepts as hoa-haere

In this section the kaikōrero spoke about the use of the word kaitiaki in contexts such as Marae, supervision, kaupapa and within iwi. Several different phrases were offered to indicate that kaitiaki may be being used in the wrong context.

> *You wouldn't say, ko ia te kaitiaki, you'd say, he ringawera, or ko ia ngā ringaringa me ngā waewae o te marae. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The first kaikōrero discussed the duties of workers at the marae (ringawera, waewae o te Marae). They discussed that today, everyone is called a kaitiaki, but that at their Marae, that's not the first thing that would come to mind discussing someone who 'takes care of' any part of the Marae. If one is completing a task, or work, or duties for the Marae, as in the example above, one might say 'he ringawera' or 'ko ia ngā ringaringa me nga waewae o te Marae' – or literally, the hands and feet that carry out of the duties. In many cases, ringawera is an indication that one is working specifically in the kihini (kitchen) or wharekai (dining room) to provide the food necessary to enact manaakitanga. Waewae o te Marae, extends on this notion of the kitchen and dining into other areas which includes the Whare Tūpuna (Meeting house) and wharepaku (toilets). The point being made by the kaikōrero is that at their Marae, that work would not render you a kaitiaki.

> *Māu ahau e tiaki, māku koe e tiaki, there is reciprocity ... I think the model that is used in other constructs is that the kaitiaki is the boss, the supervisor ... the leader and that is where I think cultures clash. Mātanga*

In the context of being the boss, supervisor, or leader, the above Mātanga contends that describing this as kaitiaki clashes with whakaaro Māori. They state that there is reciprocity in the term 'tiaki' and that in te reo, this is shown through the phrases: 'māu ahau e tiaki, māku koe e tiaki' or I will care for you, and you will care for me.

The point being highlighted is that utilising kaitiaki as the boss, the supervisor, or a leader, assumes a position of authority over, someone superior, a hierarchical position or another form of being in power through roles. Whereas the notion of tiaki pre-supposes a non-hierarchical and equal position, and a sharing of care. This is an important distinction if kaitiakitanga is being

utilised in supervisory contexts in social work. Further, utilising 'kaitiaki' as a direct translation of supervision would be problematic.

> *The word tiaki is the word that was more often used, and it denoted a relationship, like, haere au i te tiaki i te kaupapa, or, i te tangata … kaitiaki was a completely different kind of phrase, and it wasn't something that was associated in my understanding to, "I am the kaitiaki of something", it was more often spoken about something being your kaitiaki. Mātanga*

Like the previous kaikōrero the above Mātanga understands 'tiaki' as a word used to explain supporting a kaupapa or a person – 'haere au i te tiaki i te kaupapa', 'i te tangata' – I'm going to support the kaupapa, the people/person. In this kōrero, the Mātanga explains that the action of 'tiaki' does not mean you are the kaitiaki. Their understanding of kaitiaki is that a human being is not a kaitiaki, but something is a kaitiaki of you.

> *I hardly ever remember hearing the word kaitiaki when I was a kid, manaaki I heard that every day in almost every context. For me there is a real difference in kaitiaki, not tiaki, but kaitiaki and manaaki. Tiaki is about looking after everything … like the trees, taputapu, yourself, whare, pēpi. Rangatahi kaikōrero*

For the above Rangatahi, who is a fluent speaker of te reo and was educated fully through Kura Kaupapa and Whare Kura, their understanding of tiaki was more prevalent than kaitiaki. In daily human activity, the Rangatahi was taught to tiaki and manaaki. Their kōrero states that to tiaki meant looking after everything, including people and the environment. Which indicates that for them, those two terms were about human-to-human relationships that they were engaging in every day. The notion of kaitiaki however, had a particular context outside of human relationships. During our conversation the Rangatahi also explained that they believe kaitiakitanga is being utilised in the wrong way. They said that when they hear about the use of kaitiakitanga, to them it sounds like people are talking about and explaining manaakitanga. They stated very clearly that kaitiakitanga was being misrepresented as manaaki and manaakitanga.

> *Manaakitanga is hospitality, being hospitable, caring, whereas tiaki, kaitiaki, tiaki is more of a reciprocated approach, so it goes both ways … whereas manaaki, with your manuhiri as an example, you just pile on the hospitality as opposed to looking after them in a spiritual sense. Manaaki is very much physical I believe as opposed to kaitiaki. Mātanga kaikōrero*

In a similar way, the above Mātanga explains manaakitanga as being about hospitality and being able to really show manuhiri (visitors) warmth, kindness, and generosity. They make a comparison between the two terms which is mostly centred on the idea that one can be practiced in one direction – to the other groups/people – and that kaitiaki, tiaki or kaitiakitanga is a process of reciprocation which is spiritual in nature. This is a key point being highlighted in this chapter, that kaitiakitanga and being a kaitiaki, is not about power 'over', rather it is a reciprocal

relationship. The above mātanga is suggesting that manaakitanga, tiaki and kaitiaki are very different in their intent and practice, and that perhaps these are being confused with each.

> *Where we come from the word kaitiaki isn't used, the word tiaki is used. The reason is, when you put the kai on that word, it takes it to an individual's responsibility, or an individual's title, tiaki was never the role of an individual ... when I hear them say at home, te tino pūtake o te marae ko te tiaki manuhiri ... that is a collective. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Further support that kaitiaki is not used in the context of an individual is provided by the above Mātanga. There is an assertion that kaitiaki is not an individual's role, which links to the comment made earlier about the power, authority, and hierarchal positioning of being a boss, supervisor, and leader. The Mātanga clearly identifies that 'tiaki' is a collective notion that is reciprocal in nature and links this to a phrase that they would hear in their own iwi as 'te tino pūtake o te marae, ko te tiaki manuhiri' – the most important thing on a Marae is the take care of the visitors.

This section provided understandings and explanations of kaitiakitanga and its root words, the kaikōrero explained the most common uses of words and how they have, in some cases, become misrepresented. Whakaaro was an important consideration noted by the kaikōrero because whakaaro is connected to Māori intention, thought and experience. This was reiterated in the literature where Pere (1994) contended that only Māori can adequately reflect Māori thought. The kaikōrero asserted that the power to explain, express and define kaitiakitanga is derived from Māori understandings and experiences of the world and cannot be understood fully without te reo Māori, whakaaro Māori and tikanga Māori.

Chapter Conclusion

This Chapter shows that Māori draw upon taonga tuku iho, customary knowledge handed to us from ancestors, to understand kaitiakitanga traditionally and in contemporary contexts. Kaikōrero discussed their respective kaitiaki including tūpuna, atua, birds, kōura and pounamu. Te tuakiritanga followed, where kaikōrero discussed their experiences through emotions, values and spiritual thoughts. And finally, he mana tō te kupu, he tikanga tō te kupu, where kaikōrero discussed whakaaro and te reo Māori (conceptual thinking, knowing and language that is unique to Māori).

Kaikōrero confirmed throughout the first theme that Māori understand kaitiaki as not being human unless the human is in tūpuna form. Overwhelmingly, the kaikōrero saw kaitiaki as connected to the metaphysical and physical realms. Kaitiaki were discussed as spiritual guides or spirit in human form (tūpuna who had died); and spiritual guides or guardians in forms that were specific to their hapū and iwi which included atua, fish, and birds. There was affirmation that kaikōrero knowledge is underpinned by intergenerational knowledge transmission which

was firmly connected to whakapapa. Across this theme, kaitiaki were regarded as important to an overall sense of identity, which connected to whānau, hapū and iwi and the maintenance of knowledge within these structures.

Kaikōrero saw kaitiaki as essential and integral to wellness and life in general. Kaitiaki were described as appearing when required, bringing messages when needed, and who are constant hoa-haere. Overall, each kaikōrero discussed kaitiaki knowing and experiences as healing, positive and critical to understanding kaitiakitanga in a larger sense. The kaikōrero identified several ways in which they communicate and maintain relationships with their kaitiaki which included through spiritual or physical messages, observation, intuition, moemoeā (dreaming or visions), karakia and feelings. In order to receive the messages, maintaining belief in te ao Māori was important as was maintaining connection to te ao Māori and whakaaro Māori.

Mātauranga appeared within all kōrero in the first theme which included naming the kaitiaki itself, and discussion regarding what each kaitiaki were responsible for or the nature of the relationship. Several tikanga were confirmed, for example 'tuku mihi' and 'tuku karakia' which were relevant to asking permission, acknowledgment, protection, and movement from one space to another. Importantly, this first theme confirms that Māori experiences, expressions, and understandings of kaitiaki are underpinned by traditional and cultural concepts and frameworks and that these continue to be employed today.

Throughout the second theme, the kaikōrero affirmed many of the elements of kaitiakitanga as noted in Chapter 3, for example, wairua, mana and mauri ora. Additionally, this theme showed how 'experiencing' and 'understanding' kaitiakitanga generates deep seated emotions, feelings, and states of being or what is described in the chapter as 'te tuakiritanga'. Several expressions of te tuakiritanga were shared by the kaikōrero which included: ngākau, hinengaro, rongo, aroha, whakanoa and whakawātea, whatumanawa, manawa and pūmanawa. The Kaikōrero shared examples that highlighted intuitive knowing, reflection, interaction with celestial beings and spiritual connection. Further, they emphasised that Māori are a part of nature and are affected and impacted ā wairua, ā tinana and ā hinengaro by the metaphysical and physical realms.

He mana tō te kupu, he tikanga tō te kupu ends the chapter where kaikōrero discussed cultural concepts, meanings, and applications of kaitiakitanga. They engaged te reo Māori to discuss phrases associated with kaitiakitanga and provided more context to the word kaitiakitanga. Overwhelmingly, the kaikōrero pointed to whakaaro Māori as critical to understanding kaitiakitanga. They provided context to this through explaining key Māori values, principles and statements that are hoa-haere (companions) to 'thinking' about kaitiakitanga. Importantly, the kaikōrero indicated that the word kaitiaki is often utilised inappropriately in different contexts

like supervision. Kaikōrero suggested that being a kaitiaki is not an individual responsibility, but a collective one. Kaikōrero highlighted that the practice of 'being a boss' or a 'supervisor' was discordant with the term kaitiaki because of its inference to superiority and power over others. Kaikōrero pointed to the significance of utilising the right kupu for the right situation.

This chapter provides an understanding of how kaikōrero came to 'understand' and 'experience' kaitiakitanga. It explored those taonga tuku iho that engage how we receive, feel, integrate, and express these experiences, and how these relate to the overall understanding of kaitiakitanga. Kaitiakitanga it is highlighted as not only a physical engagement with the environment but firmly connected to ways of 'knowing' related to taonga tuku iho, knowledge and taonga passed through ancestors. Across all three themes within this chapter, it has been shown that kaitiakitanga is not practiced solely between human beings, and that the experience of kaitiakitanga for Māori is such that it is not separate to the metaphysical and physical realms. The next chapter now moves from a focus on taonga tuku iho to one of examining the political environment within which kaitiakitanga must be contexed, beginning firstly with a discussion on the impact of colonisation and then to a discussion of Māori assertion of tino rangatiratanga.

Chapter 8: Tino Rangatiratanga

In the introduction to this thesis, I discussed the rationale to this study and noted that from a whānau perspective my understanding of kaitiakitanga is underpinned by whakaaro Māori and tikanga Māori. How I was observing kaitiakitanga in other contexts such as social work, policy and marketing spaces seemed somewhat removed from the understandings that I had come to know through the mātauranga shared within our whanau. I highlighted in the introduction how various aspects of the Māori language have been integrated into the wider New Zealand vernacular but that their meanings had been changed to fit contemporary non-Māori contexts. I emphasised in that discussion that it is important that Māori language and frameworks continue to reflect the lived experiences of Māori and that translation of parts of the Māori language in isolation to tikanga, kaupapa and whakaaro Māori creates issues because the meaning becomes divorced from its original intent. This chapter engages conversations specifically regarding a key objective of this research to answer questions concerning the growth and development of kaitiakitanga but more importantly, the consistent, accurate and clear use of kaitiakitanga.

The notion of Tino Rangatiratanga asserts and reinforces a key goal of Kaupapa Māori initiatives, which is for Māori to control our own culture, aspirations and destiny (Pihama et al., 2020). Irwin (1992) reinforces this assertion of tino rangatiratanga by saying that we do not need anyone else developing tools for us, and that real power lies with those who design the tools. Kaikōrero in this study discussed many of these assertions emphasising that the power to transform oppressive must come from within ourselves, from our reassertion, revitalisation, and reconnection to te reo, tikanga, mātauranga and to ourselves as tangata whenua. Kaikōrero noted that this is done through reclaiming and reasserting that which our tūpuna envisioned in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, our tino rangatiratanga, across structures and political systems. Kaikōrero highlighted the many layers of colonisation have impacted on our ability to think and practice as Māori and discussed frameworks and contexts that have been represented as Māori, but that are not underpinned by whakaaro Māori.

Within this chapter the conversations regarding tino rangatiratanga have been analysed and sorted into two key themes. The first theme outlines the impact of colonisation on kaitiakitanga and on Māori more broadly. In particular it explores kaikōrero discussions on how colonisation has impacted on identity, language, trust, tikanga and mātauranga. Many stated that because of these disconnects, whakaaro such as kaitiakitanga have become detached from traditional knowing, that engagement in non-Māori contexts is about responsiveness, and that there is constant tension regarding definitions used. The second theme, the assertion of tino rangatiratanga, presents kaikōrero conversations regarding the need for Māori to control our

own definitions. The kaikōrero identify what has been a growing assertion in Aotearoa, and a well-known articulation of tino rangatiratanga, by authors such as Smith (1997, 2020), that Māori frameworks are led by, defined by, designed by Māori for Māori.

> *There is need to work at both culturalist and structuralist change. By cultural change I mean those changes which people can influence (human agency). However, it is not just about changing people as this can become 'deficit' oriented. We must also challenge the dominant structural impediments that constrain Māori cultural, social, and economic interests. Our struggle is not one struggle, but many struggles often in multiple sites, in multiple shapes and often simultaneously. (Smith, 2020)*

This Chapter includes discussion of kaitiakitanga relating to the imposition of colonising systems and ways of being in Aotearoa. When kaikōrero were asked what might impede the practice of kaitiakitanga and what has impacted upon Māori that has led to the term kaitiakitanga being utilised in the way that it is, many indicated that there are multiple sites and contexts that must be investigated. Discussions of these contexts are presented in the following sections, including where kaikōrero identified that colonisation interferes and disrupts Māori capacity to assert tino rangatiratanga which limits the way Māori can participate in decision making regarding te reo, whenua and environment.

Impact of Colonisation

Colonisation has disrupted and fragmented our ways of being and has interfered with our freedom to live our lives as Māori (Pihama & Lee, 2019; Walker, 2004). Education for example, was used as tool of colonisation, destroying the validity and legitimacy of Māori pedagogy and epistemology, while simultaneously replacing it with systems and structures which complied with the colonial endeavour (Pihama & Lee, 2019; Smith, 1997). From our understandings and relationships with the natural environment, to language, tikanga, mātauranga and the collective ways which enabled wellbeing, colonisation has pervaded every area of Māori society.

Pihama and Lee (2019) cite Coulthard (2014) who provides a definition that highlights the centrality and intersection of dominant power relations, which are central to a colonising agenda and process.

> *A settler-colonial relationship is one characterized by a particular form of domination; that is, it is a relationship where power – in this case interrelated discursive and non-discursive facets of economic, gendered, racial, and State power – has been structured into a relatively secure or sedimented set of hierarchical social relations that continue to facilitate the dispossession of Indigenous peoples of their lands and self-determining authority. (p. 7)*

In Aotearoa, colonisation was achieved through several different tools which included education, statues, legislation, policy, invasion, race hierarchies, gender and class oppression, the imposition of capitalist systems and neoliberal economies (Bargh, 2007; Jackson, 2017). This section

highlights kaikōrero discussions regarding the impact of colonisation, and the areas that they thought aligned with kaitiakitanga and impacted on its practice and understanding.

Over many generations, Māori have been involved in a fight to maintain and sustain tino rangatiratanga and their rights to enact kaitiakitanga (Barnes et al., 2019; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Pihama, 2019; Pihama & Lipsham, 2020). Much of these assertions have been played out in courts and through the Waitangi Tribunal, as noted in Chapter 3 (Durie, 2003; Kawharu, 2002; Selby et al., 2010a; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 6), 1983; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 291), 2019; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 718), 1999b; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2700), 2021). The first kaikōrero below considers how colonisation has impacted on our ability to communicate and form relationships.

> *Disconnection, colonization. The impact of colonization has removed us from ourselves and so we have generations of denial of te reo Māori, generations of loss of inter-generational transmission of knowledge, we have generations that don't have grandparents because most Māori die in our 60's. We have a deep relationship loss, we have generations of our people who were killed in colonial warfare, who were killed in diseases, all of those things. It is not just a denial of knowledge, it is not just a denial of language which is a fundamental to communication, but it is actually a denial and it's a destruction of relationships. There is a death, there is a lot of mate in that, in a whole range of ways of thinking. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The comment from this kaikōrero points to three specific areas whereby kaitiakitanga knowledge systems have been impeded, those being the inter-generational loss of reo, tikanga and mātauranga. The cause of this disruption is identified as disconnection and colonisation. Language is specified as being severely impacted by colonisation, which is fundamental to communication and building relationships. Intergenerational knowledge transmission, includes that which would normally be gained from grandparents, is another important point. Each of these three areas are aligned to how Māori relate and communicate with one another, to others as well as within different environments. These connectors are integral to cultural identity, spirituality, community and belonging and without them, an entire cultural, economic, and political infrastructure is affected. There are several kupu that stand out in the above kōrero: denial, destruction, death, 'mate' (dying, death, sickness), removed and loss. These descriptors are clear indicators of the impact of colonisation and many of these descriptors are repeated throughout this chapter. The above extract also highlights Māori dying young, warfare and diseases. How Māori are treated and fare within the discourse of disease has been a critical issue currently regarding the global COVID-19 pandemic (Jones, 2021; Pihama & Lipsham, 2020). Inequitable treatment of Māori by the Government during the COVID-19 pandemic has been a constant tension (Jones, 2021). Research related to Covid-19 shows that Māori are at risk of death at least 50% higher than Pākehā with one of the immediate reasons for the high risk being that Māori have higher rates of existing health conditions (Plank, Sporle, Hannah, McLeod, & Steyn,

2021). Māori and Pacific populations are younger on average that Pākehā and have a lower life expectancy and experience health issues at much younger ages. (Plank et al., 2021) Further to that, Māori experience greater levels of racism in all sectors of society, especially health, and often their needs go unmet which has been shown to have a significant effect on Māori death rates (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Robson & Harris, 2005; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2575), 2019). These areas coupled with poverty, substandard housing and crowded housing contribute to poor outcomes that become cyclic in nature for Māori (Jones, 2021; Te Roopu Whakakaupapa Urutā: National Māori Pandemic Group, 2020). As such the current issues regarding inequitable treatment in the Covid-19 crisis reflects the point made by this kaikōrero in terms of our experience of colonial systems.

In the next extract the kaikōrero discusses how colonisation and industrialisation have impacted on Māori ways of being and doing.

> *I think actually the way we use kaitiaki is a response to colonisation. What has happened is with industrialization has come pollution, and with pollution has come issues around the environment … It's not from a traditional Māori mindset because environmentalism was part of our day to day lives, we didn't really have, you are a kaitiaki, you were a gardener, you were a hunter. You were just Māori living as part of the environment. Our understanding of Papa and Rangi and the domains, we were naturally environmentally focused. Because we don't live that lifestyle anymore and we live a western lifestyle … now we are like, we need to protect the land, instead of be part of the land … so that is how I believe it has come about. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The extract above explains that the way that kaitiaki is often framed can be viewed as a response to colonisation and the constant need to have to protect and defend land rather than live as we traditionally have, as part of the land. They explain that Māori did not need to have a term pre-colonisation because 'environmentalism' was a normal part of living and being. Although there were different roles held by different people (gardener, hunter) all these roles were a natural part of our cultural and economic environment. Pollution was highlighted as an immediate example, whereby roles must now be articulated to activate kaitiakitanga in many different forums that were natural to us historically. Rangi and Papa are named as the way in which we understood environmental domains but the kaikōrero notes that this has changed because of colonisation and the imposition of western ways of being and doing and the constant need to respond. In order to care for and protect our environment the impact of colonial ideologies is further emphasised in the following extract about how the whenua is considered in colonial, capitalist understandings.

> *Donna Awatere in Māori sovereignty 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 ngāhere. Her thinking was 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

The divide in worldviews is discussed by the above kaikōrero and the juxtaposition in terms of environmental thinking and ideals is highlighted. More than a clash of worldviews and juxtaposition is being highlighted rather the impact of colonial control and power are key themes. The belief system of colonists to control the land and own the land over-rode Māori understandings of being part of and 'one' with the land. Further, that land brings economic wealth and status is highlighted. Land is seen by the colonists as commodity. This is in stark contrast to Māori who understand the whenua as a relative and as sustenance. The spiritual significance of the land was as equally important as what the land could provide to sustain life (Hond et al., 2019; Kawharu, 2002). The tension between commodification and nurturing of the whenua is highlighted in the following kōrero.

> *Even in the use of the word kaitiakitanga, in things like the RMA is the same thing. It is about taking this whakaaro Māori and putting it into something that is basically about the commodification and co-option in sale and profit driven understanding of the land, of the whenua and of the earth. All the RMA does is enable people to develop it. When they came here, they told us we didn't know how to develop the land. The fact that we nurtured it when it nurtured us, that we loved it and it loved us, was seen as a barbaric uncivilized way of being. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The RMA is referenced above as an Act that was set up with an ideology based on commodification, co-option, sale, and profit. This aligns to the previous kaikōrero whereby there is a clear demarcation between Māori and State thinking regarding the value and worth of land. For Māori, whanaungatanga, aroha and reciprocation are the āhuatanga that are aligned to the points being made about whenua and our relationships by this Mātanga. These understandings align to the idea that Māori relationship with the whenua is based on a balance of ancestral, environmental, and social threads. Chapter 3 noted that the fundamental premise of the relationship Māori have with the whenua is based on belonging and connection, rather than ownership and control, and this extends to an economic foundation, tribal identity and a spiritual base (Hond et al., 2019).

The next interview extract by one of the Mātanga further describes disconnection from whenua and how this is connected to a loss of rangatiratanga.

> *We have been so disconnected from our whenua that actually we have lost the capacity to, I am not saying lost in terms of we don't know how to do it, but the rangatiratanga over being able to ensure the wellbeing of our whenua, our moana, our awa, our maunga, our roto in ways that we would have in the past. Rangatiratanga and the capacity to be determining around those things, with that being removed and that being put in the space of something like an RMA, it means that we are happy to find different ways of doing that. Mātanga kaikōrero*

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The Mātanga provides further context to the RMA highlighting that the Crown has constructed the RMA as a limited means by which Māori can participate in decision making whilst denying our rangatiratanga. They note that the ability to live and practice our own traditional knowledge has been removed through such systems. This loss of rangatiratanga is affirmed also by the next Mātanga kaikōrero.

> *Even rangatiratanga, that is not old, it is in the Treaty. But to be a rangatira, to have mana, that is all wrapped up in your tiaki. What we have done is that we have made it into a noun and for me it's a response back to a political shift, an awareness shift and it's a cultural shift as well. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The above kaikōrero names tiaki as a verb, and kaitiaki as a noun. This is significant because the action of tiaki as a reciprocal notion and action between and within the three realms of kaitiakitanga. Whereby, when kaitiaki is made a noun, there is potential for it to become human centric and disconnected from the three realms. This aligns to the previous two comments where Māori capacity to assert rangatiratanga and maintain tikanga and mātauranga has been damaged and interrupted through colonisation. The comment below from one of the Rangatahi expands on the idea that Māori have had to adapt and continue to move forward to maintain rangatiratanga.

> *There was one that I learnt about, that happened in 1991 and it was about how they claimed their land back and their moana in order just for them, because they noticed that it wasn't looked after properly so they did something about it, with the Crown. Even though they did it under their ture, but they didn't takahi te mana, but they did it in a way that it didn't hurt anyone. Rangatahi kaikōrero*

The word 'ture' is mentioned within the above comment from the Rangatahi. This relates to the colonial legal system and the rangatahi could be referring to the 1991 Bastion Point settlement/Orakei Act 1991 (Kawharu, 1975; Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2021). 'Takahi te mana' means that even though Māori had to abide, comply, and follow imposed colonial law, which did not align to their own understanding of kaitiakitanga, and they did so in a way where they maintained their own mana and regarded the process at the same time.

> *I think a lot of people, despite colonisation, do a lot without even realising that we are doing that. I come from a family where I grew up wanting to have my face moko since I was five years old, and I was told everyday no. Until last year, I said to my dad, I am not asking anymore, I am just letting you know that I am going to get it. That's the level of colonisation in my family, and yet we did a lot of Māori things for that very reason. My father, a diver, who would only get enough for a kai, and he will unconsciously subconsciously search out pūhā wherever the heck he is. He will be driving along saying, did you see that. He has a bag, a sack and knife in the back of his car ... so that he can get pūhā. That's that unconsciously, I don't want to be Māori, but I live as a Māori. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The above kaikōrero discusses their father not wanting them to get a facial moko and this being an outcome of internalised colonisation. Despite this, their father had an inherent way of being

Māori that is evidenced in how he related to the collection of Māori food. Three other kaikōrero in this study spoke about not being Māori enough because they were not raised in a Māori environment, or not raised to know who they were, or had an absence of te reo, tikanga and mātauranga. Regardless of this, they positioned themselves within Māori contexts in their adulthood and challenged themselves to know what made them who they were.

> *I had this koro that spoke … he spoke beautifully but my dad never, because of colonisation, he missed out on the language … I know more than him and I know very little and it's really sad … which is another reason I too studied at Te Wānanga. I used to even be scared to greet people as 'kia ora' because I used to think that if I said kia ora to them they'd start speaking Māori to me because they would initially straight away think I could kōrero te reo Māori, and I can't. Tauira kaikōrero*

The above tauira explained in our discussion the feeling of loss over not being connected to anything Māori. They identify colonisation as the reason that their father did not learn te reo, even though his father spoke the language. They note too that their te reo is limited and that they've sought ways to find their Māori side through studying at institutions that are underpinned by te ao Māori. In our discussions the Tauira spoke about their comfort within Te Wānanga and how the institute has helped them to find their way back to their identity. In a similar way, the following kaikōrero describes trying to find themselves through kaupapa.

> *I always wanted to do things Māori, I was always in kapa haka, I was making up pepeha, doing things that I thought I could do but I didn't have the choice around that, and there is no resentment about that, that's just how it was. I have always grown up feeling connected, mostly to that part of me even though I didn't know about it. It wasn't until I could be in control of that to find out that part and that has caused like a massive identity issue for me, like it really has and that is part of why I chose to study at the Wānanga, trying to help me find that … when you asked that question my body went all hot because it knows that I am still in this identity phase that I am moving through, and I am like, well, do I have a right to comment on that? Tauira*

Feeling concerned about whether they could be a part of this study was what was on top for the above tauira. When I approached them, they didn't feel they had a right to comment on a topic that was Māori, even though they are Māori. This is the saddening impact of colonisation for some Māori. In the case of this tauira, they were not raised as Māori, but felt an inherent sense of being connected ā wairua as Māori. Today however, issues of identity are still at the forefront for the Tauira.   When they were of an age however, to take control of their own life, they immersed themselves in study at a Māori Tertiary Institute as part of their own journey as a re-assertion of tino rangatiratanga.

This section outlined the impact of colonisation on kaitiakitanga and on Māori broadly. It explored kaikōrero discussions on how colonisation has impacted on identity, language, trust, tikanga and mātauranga. These impacts, as well as responsiveness in non-Māori contexts and

constant tension and challenge to provide definitions from a Māori lens, were highlighted as contributing to why philosophies such as kaitiakitanga have become detached from traditional knowing. The kaikōrero described the impact of colonisation as historical and an ongoing event crossing into political, cultural, structural, and systemic areas. The Crown was highlighted as a significant impediment to tino rangatiratanga and they were discussed as the major source which denies Māori their fundamental right to enact tino rangatiratanga. The following section expands on the ways in which kaikōrero discussed asserting tino rangatiranga within the context of kaitiakitanga.

Asserting Tino Rangatiratanga

We have realised that a Māori needs to be Māori. That the world Māori live in needs to be te ao Māori within te ao hurihuri. We can still wear a moko on our face and go the shopping mall. We can still have tīkanga Māori running our lives within this construct of colonisation. SW Supervisor kaikōrero

This section starts with a comment from a SW Supervisor who affirmed the changing nature of te ao Māori in te ao hurihuri (an ever changing and moving world). They assert that regardless of colonisation constructs, being Māori, living as Māori and practicing tīkanga Māori is still very much alive. The assertion of Tino Rangatiratanga is highlighted in this section, showing where kaikōrero saw a disjunction between how they understand the definition of kaitiakitanga, and how it is being interpreted and discussed. Discussion regarding the control of definitions is a large part of this section. Several of the kaikōrero point to there being a human centric lens on kaitiakitanga, and that this is not how kaitiakitanga should be understood. Further to that, kaikōrero provided examples of phrases and whakaaro that are better placed than the utilisation of kaitiakitanga or kaitiaki. The kaikōrero in this study shared their love of mātauranga, te reo and tikanga within this section. Their mātauranga adds to the contention that defining te reo and whakaaro Māori should be left in the hands of Māori.

For me, if someone was to seek my support, I wouldn't say, ko au hei kaitiaki māu. I would say, ko au hei tuarā, I will be your back, or ko au hei pou whirinaki, ko au hei tumu herenga waka, or something like that I'd give other imagery, I wouldn't say, ko au tō kaitiaki. Mātanga kaikōrero

Imagery is offered in the form of three phrases that could be utilised instead of kaitiaki which are accurate and appropriate, rather than phrases such as 'ko au tō kaitiaki' – I am your kaitiaki, or 'ko au hei kaitiaki māu' – I will kaitiaki you which they consider to be inappropriate. Kaitiaki is often used to discuss support, like in the context of supervision (Bradley, Jacob, & Bradley, 1999; Webber-Dreadon, 1999). However, the three phrases above being offered by this Mātanga are considered more clear, accurate and appropriate examples of whakaaro Māori that are about being there for someone when they need support. Those being: 'ko au tēnei tuarā – I will be your

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back'; 'ko au hei pou whirinaki' – if you require a trusted and reliable friend, I am here, you can lean on me, and 'ko au hei tumu herenga waka' – if you need a secure place or person, I am here. Tumu herenga waka literally means, the mooring place of a canoe or securing a canoe. Māori whakaaro is often linked metaphorically, as was discussed in Chapter 4 within the whakataukī discussions. Whakaaro Māori continues in the next abstract where the Mātanga offers different ways of thinking about 'kai'.

> *I think we have got into this thing of seeing kai as human beings, like kai-ako as a teacher, or kai-āwhina as a helper … for me, kai itself is actually not about human beings, it's about an act of sustenance or nurturance, it is the source of something … kaitiaki was a being, or something, a spirit, a tūpuna, a source of something, could be a kararehe, could be a manu that was a source of bringing nurturance or care to you or protection to you. That is my point around that ownership of kai as human's right. That is how we get to be the kaitiaki, is that term kai, people associate only with human beings, whereas that is not how I think about that term. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Expansion on the understanding of the word 'kai' is offered above. The kaikōrero discusses kai as meaning 'an act of sustenance or nurturance' or the 'source of something'. There is a distinction being made whereby 'kai' is not just about a human carrying out an action with another human. These differences have been pointed to in other chapters in terms of kaitiakitanga (see Chapters 3, 4, 5). The assertion here is that there should not be authority or ownership by humans because of the term kai, moreover, that kai is about practice and provision of care and protection from the environment and back, in many forms, rather than authority over and between people alone. Extension on these differentiations is offered below.

> *Kaitiaki now is just an accepted word for someone who looks after anything, it could be kaitiaki tamariki, kaitiaki taiao, kaitiaki wharepaku, it could be anything … I would never have thought of using kaitiaki and wharepaku in the same sentence let alone the same phrase. I think it has almost been a real twisting and I would probably go as far as saying damaging to te reo Māori and the way we think when we say things. Kaitiaki is just bandied around like it is a supervisor, guardian, caretaker, it wasn't as simple as that. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The changing dynamic of te reo is being discussed above. The kaitiaki wharepaku (the caretaker of the toilets) example was being used within a school context which is highlighted as 'twisting' and 'damaging'. Emphasis is being placed on understanding kaitiaki in a larger cultural context and as being underpinned by more than translation to supervisor, guardian, or caretaker because if it is merely translated, examples like caretaker of the toilet will continue, which is inappropriate and incorrect.

> *Kaitiakitanga in te ao Kōhatu, as compared to te ao Hurihuri e noho nei tatou – the essence is the same, but the flavouring is different. Mātanga kaikōrero*

> *Culturally, kaitiaki, if you were to go back perhaps 100 years and say, oh, are you are a kaitiaki? There would be a strange look on people's faces. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Both Mātanga above are drawing attention to traditional and contemporary understandings of kaitiakitanga. 'Te ao kōhatu' refers to the old world, or ancient world and 'te ao hurihuri' refers to today, or the contemporary world. Although 100 years might not be considered traditional or ancient, Māori have seen 180 years of colonisation, dispossession, and marginalisation in this time. This has meant that every system and structure as Māori knew it has broken down, resulting in displacement across all contexts. 'Te ao hurihuri' also refers to changing times and in Chapter 2, I discussed the changing nature of mātauranga, and that each generation should contribute to its development. Mātauranga has survived against the backdrop of the last 180 years, though arguably in completely different forms. The State damaged mātauranga and its traditional system of transmission purposefully and intentionally (Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011).

> *I think it's becoming too human centric. I think that as tangata we are starting to think that he aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata, he tangata, that means that we are the most important thing in the world, that whakataukī does not mean that … we've begun to take some of our own concepts and make them into things that are not necessarily what our tūpuna saw them to be in a time of pre-colonial thinking. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The above Mātanga points to there being a shift in thinking for Māori that places humans at the centre and that it is not necessarily how our tūpuna lived or thought. The whakatauākī that the Mātanga is referring to has taken many different forms over the years and was written by Meri Ngāroto from Te Aupōuri, Ngā Puhi – the northern part of Aotearoa. Today, the whakatauākī is often translated as:

> *"He aha te mea nui o te ao? What is the most important thing in the world? He tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata, it is people, it is people, it is people."*

More accurately, the pūrākau behind the whakatauākī describes whakapapa. Meri Ngāroto asserts that whakapapa is the most important thing in the world and that it is critical to Māori survival (New Zealand Government, 2012). She is centralising the maintenance and continuation of whakapapa, rather than centralising people as the most important thing.

As noted in the previous chapter, the ways in which te reo Māori is translated is significant when exploring notions such as kaitiakitanga.

> *That is why I believe the use of, not just kaitiaki, but a lot of our Māori terms, we've watered them down a lot just to fit in with a particular 'buzz word', a particular phase that we are going through, oh let's put a Māori word on that, what about this, oh yes, that sounds lovely, and then it just gets adopted. I don't know if the word really is fleshed out as much as they should be before they are used. I think they go to the dictionary, oh look there is a word, or google translation, and the danger in doing that is that we don't understand things behind the word, the origins of the word, the cultural connections with the word, the deep spirituality, if there is, with the word. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The use of Māori words in today's environment is examined in the extract above. The kaikōrero describes Māori words being utilised in a way that does not uphold the intent of the word, its origins or how it is understood culturally and spiritually. They include the word kaitiaki in our discussion but extend on that by saying that many Māori words are starting to be watered down, with little research being carried out. Overall, the kaikōrero is clear that what underpins Māori knowledge and practices is not being considered in many spaces. The space of social work supervision is highlighted below.

> If we are going to use the word kaitiakitanga that we adopt the same way that it was practiced in te ao Māori which is a two-way street rather than one over top of the others. To use it as supervision, if what supervision means is that I am here and you are below me, then I don't think that kaitiakitanga is the correct word for that. *SW Supervisor kaikōrero*

There is a clear indication that supervision in the context of kaitiakitanga should be a reciprocal relationship and that if it is being carried out from a hierarchical position, it cannot be called kaitiakitanga. This is an important point to be made. A hierarchical position can be informed by policy, position, job description, roles, and contracts for example. If supervision is being underpinned by any of these, then it could be considered hierarchical or as the kaikōrero points out, 'over top of others' as the word supervision indicates.

> I think it falls on us to hold the government and ministry or whatever to account when they are using our kupu and our concepts. It is not just the, oh that is a lovely concept over there, but it doesn't quite fit with ours, but we will just make it fit. Then all of a sudden, that becomes this, and this becomes the only thing that everyone ever knows. Kaitiakitanga now, I am pretty sure now that a lot of people will have used kaitiakitanga as how it is being used in the [government] Ministries, and all that other stuff that we have just been talking about over the last hour and a half is pretty much either gone or hidden in a lot of our old people's memory banks. *Mātanga kaikōrero*

The above kaikōrero is asserting that once kupu and concepts enter government and Ministry contexts, that they are made to 'fit' regardless of whether it is appropriate. An important point being made here, is that once the kupu or concept is adopted, there is potential for its original whakaaro and focus to be lost indefinitely. Further to that, the original understanding stays hidden or retained by Māori only.

> My koro and my nana have always said to us, be suspicious of non-Māori because they will take what we own and they will go and use it against us, so don't give them too much, don't show them too much. *SW Practitioner kaikōrero*

Trust, protection, and safety is being highlighted as an issue through the generations for the above SW Practitioner. Although a specific context is not named, the kaikōrero points to what seems to be the taking of information and then the misuse of it. Retention of information and not giving too much has also been a conversation in my own whānau. This was mostly couched around knowledge being misused by people that do not understand it, mostly this was directed toward

non-Māori. The three comments below relate to the previous extract by discussing non-Māori understanding of Māori practices and whakaaro.

> *We have mihi whakatau but translating that into a non-Māori term for some would be morning tea, so we can have very similar ways of doing things, but we are Māori first. People can show ways of being a kaitiaki, but in their own culture. As I said before, for me, it is something I wish I could show someone to understand or feel it in order to understand it. SW Practitioner kaikōrero*

> *It is like the concept of haka, everyone around the world is starting to adopt haka as a form of expression for themselves. They don't even actually really understand what it means but everyone is doing it, it is a trend, it's a thing. Again, it belongs to the Māori culture by its very definition of what it is used for, but everyone is doing it. Same concept and it is very controversial, it is cultural misappropriation. You can't take something from another culture and make it your own when you don't even understand what underpins those very things. Tauira kaikōrero*

The Kaikōrero above question practice, suitability, and depth of knowledge in two different Māori contexts. Haka and whakatau are named as two areas that are engaged in by non-Māori whereby the underpinning foundational knowledge is not understood. The SW Practitioner identifies whakatau as a particular area that has the potential to be translated to mean something else. Whakatau is a type of informal welcome or greeting, facilitated by Māori, which includes speeches and food, and which is a medium to bring groups together peacefully. To 'whakatau' is to make things settled, calm, and peaceful.   The Tauira identifies too the cultural misappropriation of the haka internationally. Hapeta, Palmer, and Kuroda (2018) discussed the commodification of the haka "Ka Mate", composed by Te Rauparaha, a chief of Ngāti Toa, and argued that it was being misrepresented, especially for commercial purposes. Karetu (1993) argued too that performers of the haka around the world did not know what they were saying, and that it had become abused internationally.   The kaikōrero extract above reiterates these sentiments and notes that you cannot take from someone else's culture and make it your own when you do not understand what underpins it. This is important to the use of kaitiakitanga in contexts that are not Māori if those fora are not being facilitated, defined, and led by Māori.

> *From a western perspective, if you were to stand up in a Ministry and say, well, you know there are these signs connected to this concept that are metaphysical, like your ancestors, or the time when I was in the bush and the big owl came out and stood in front of me and flapped it's wings and I knew warning, go home, someone had died and all of this stuff, they are going to go, yeah, okay, that is not going to be written into the policy. For us Māori, here we are, you say something like that, straight away the three of us go, I've got an example, I've got an example, I've got an example, because it is an inherent understanding of what kaitiaki is. Mātanga kaikōrero*

Connected to the previous comments from the SW Practitioner and the Tauira, the disconnect in belief, worldview and whakaaro is being highlighted by the above Mātanga. When Kaitiakitanga is adopted by government Ministries it becomes framed and informed by policies. So, when Māori

then engage a foundational whakaaro or practice, it is not accepted within that system. The kaikōrero assertion is that once it is framed within a Ministry, further understandings from Māori are dismissed as not official or informed by policy. In order to adopt Māori concepts within Pākeha contexts they ned to be rendered on-dimensional and this is in the first instance a form of symbolic violence.

> *I look at and think about the way in which some of the names are being adopted and whether the true intention of that is to give value to the reo and to our culture, or whether it is a way for the government and Ministries to just tick a box and say oh well, we've held up our end of the treaty by giving it a Māori name. When you give something a Māori name there are so many things attached to it, the responsibility of upholding that Māori name. I don't want to harp on about Oranga Tamariki but that is a classic example of that, did that department understand what Oranga Tamariki is, and I doubt that that has been documented as to why they chose that name or how they are upholding that, but that is just an example. Work and Income is named Te Hiranga Tangata, and I think that word has a lot of connections, it is in karakia, it's in mōteatea and the way that it is being used, in this case for Work and Income, you have got to ask how they came to that name, that will be something for the people who they consulted. SW Supervisor kaikōrero*

There are several points being made by the SW Supervisor above. Overall, there is an assertion that when government departments and Ministries adopt, or co-opt Māori names, there is a responsibility and obligation to uphold the integrity and intention of that name. Once a name is adopted, there is a responsibility back to the culture that it came from. There is a mistrust in that assertion however whereby the kaikōrero talks about a 'tick a box' to meet treaty obligations. Two specific government Ministries are highlighted, those being Oranga Tamariki and Te Hiranga Tangata. The kaikōrero questions how the names came to be, and whether those organisations can uphold and uplift the depth of those names.

> *I wouldn't view that as a kaitiaki unless it was imbued with wairua Māori and whakaaro Māori … that is a symbol that did the opposite of tiaki for us, took our land, its indoctrination and assimilation and suppressed us, that is what it symbolises for me. Mātanga kaikōrero*

In my conversation with the above Mātanga, we discussed in some depth what non-Māori might see as a kaitiaki, as opposed to how Māori view that. We discussed symbols of importance that aligned to kaitiakitanga and during these conversations, including the idea of a cross as a kaitiaki was raised. The above Mātanga had a clear view on this. Not only did the Mātanga discuss the oppressive nature of religion on Māori, but what would be required of an object for it to hold significance to kaitiakitanga.

This aligns to conversations regarding the term kaitiakitanga for supervision, whereby if there is not an understanding of whakaaro, tikanga and mātauranga, is it kaitiakitanga or something else? Capturing space is often what is necessary, which is often reactive rather than proactive as discussed below.

> *In the RMA, I know that kaitiakitanga was pushed forward as a way of getting Māori space in that legislation to make sure that they had to come back and consult or at least engage with iwi, in terms of land issues and building and development. I think that often we as Māori see that these terms are ways that we can capture some space in a space that we may not have had before or where we can see the crown is about to run riot in something and leave us in another state of marginalization or denial of input. I think that in legislation like that we tend to be saying well, actually here is a term that we can control and if we put this in here at least Māori will have a voice. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The kaikōrero is indicating that Māori must insert themselves or miss out on any type of decision making regarding kaitiakitanga. There is a 'take the space or miss out' mentality. Further, Māori are constantly being given assurances in some areas, such as this, so that the government can show that consultation and iwi engagement has occurred, as per their responsibility and obligation to a treaty partnership.

Appropriation has consistently been highlighted in Waitangi Tribunals and was especially focused on within the Wai 262 claim which related to New Zealand's law and policy affected Māori culture and identity. The claim argued for the recognition of intellectual property. Wai 262 included issues of race relations, te reo Māori, economics, social cohesion, cultural fabric, Māori population, Māori culture and identity, and social and political disparities. The claim is often referred to as the 'Indigenous flora and fauna' claim and the 'Māori intellectual property' claim, however the authors describe it as the claim about mātauranga Māori whereby the claimants were 'seeking to preserve their culture and identity, and the relationships that culture and identity derive from' (Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011, p. iv). In the following extracts the kaikōrero discuss the utilisation of te reo Māori, our concepts, and worldviews and how these are often misappropriated.

> *I go back to the word of misappropriation, cultural misappropriation, of how things have been taken from a Māori concept or worldview and then shaped and manipulated and mutated to being something else. The sad thing is a number of things are just widely accepted and understood as being what it is today. I just don't think it is safe for our culture and our tikanga and reo if we are just accepting that anymore anyway. Mātanga kaikōrero*

> *People view things in different ways like with DOC viewing killing kererū as a sin, and Māori viewing it otherwise ... it falls on us to hold the government and Ministry or whatever to account when they are using our kupu and our concepts. Mātanga kaikōrero*

The comments above highlight what is becoming more evident in many contexts, the appropriation of culture, tikanga and te reo. The appropriation, and misappropriation, of Māori values like kaitiakitanga are becoming common place in Aotearoa. Such representations have been increasingly incorporated into media, government, education and across multimedia sites. The first Mātanga highlights that it is important to continue to analyse these in order to protect our culture from becoming transactional and so that it remains meaningful to the culture it

represents. To ensure that our culture is protected, the second Mātanga points to keeping the government and its agencies accountable to ensure against the inappropriate and misuse of not only our words, but also the tikanga and mātauranga associated with these concepts.

This section has highlighted the many competing disjunctions regarding Māori experiences, expressions, and understandings of kaitiakitanga and how it is interpreted outside of te ao Māori. Overall, this section highlighted that kaikōrero saw kaitiakitanga as inherently a Māori philosophy whereby the control over its definition and ongoing use must rest with Māori. The kaikōrero noted a mistrust of non-Māori environments to take care of Māori knowledge. shared traditional understandings as well as contemporary explanations, but what they saw as important, was that these understandings should be informed by whakaaro, tikanga and mātauranga. Without kaitiakitanga being informed by Māori understandings, the kaikōrero asserted that it will be misrepresented and misappropriated, leaving kaitiakitanga open to misuse. The final section provides an overview of where kaikōrero considered tino rangatiratanga in other chapters.

Asserting tino rangatiratanga: Previous chapters

As highlighted in the literature the seminal writers in the area of kaitiakitanga clearly stated that the practice of asserting tino rangatiratanga is critical when practicing kaitiakitanga. This is evident throughout all of the previous substantive chapters. This is not unexpected given the interconnectedness of all parts of te ao Māori. All concepts, all elements and all practices are connected to each other within tikanga and mātauranga Māori.

This was exhibited within the Whānau chapter and highlighted specifically in notions such as 'mātauranga-a-whānau' which is a location and context of the assertion of tino rangatiratanga. Each of the varied roles discussed within the whānau chapter are contexualised within wider Māori social roles and organisation. They are for the benefit of Māori and the reproduction of key Māori knowledge and practices where each role contributes to the wider goal of tino rangatiratanga that assumes and expresses Māori control over all things Māori as is clearly articulated within Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The collective nature of tino rangatiratanga is further emphasised as whanaungatanga and the collective responsibility of whānau, hapū and iwi including the construction of mana whenua and the collective relationships that align to being tangata whenua as examined within the Whānau chapter. Furthermore, as argued within the Whānau chapter the notion of rangatira as collective leadership is critical to the enacting of kaitiakitanga. As such the leadership roles of and within whānau are a direct expression of tino rangatiratanga and the aspirations of whānau, as a form of tira, in regards to kaitiakitanga being

woven collectively within and beyond that context, through whakapapa connections, into the wider structures of hapū and iwi.

Tino rangatiratanga is also clearly illustrated in our relationships to whenua and taiao as noted in the Taiao chapter. These are captured in Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the phrase 'Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira ki nga hapu - ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa' translated as 'The Queen of England agrees to protect the Chiefs, the subtribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures' (The Royal Commission on Social Policy., 1988). What this highlights, as noted in the Taiao chapter, is the centrality and significance of whenua and taiao regarding our capacity to practice tino rangatiratanga, and by association kaitiakitanga, within our whānau, hapū and iwi constructs. Kaikōrero emphasised that the connection to whenua and taiao is a key element of kaitiakitanga. These connections operate across different levels and contexts including, economics, political, social, physical, and spiritual. To assert tino rangatiratanga is to affirm and validate those connections and in doing so, to enable the relationships to be enacted through the practice of kaitiakitanga. The whakapapa connection to whenua and taiao is one that embodies the fundamental essence of tino rangatiratanga. As tangata whenua, as mana whenua, as Indigenous people of Aotearoa, the people of this land, our tino rangatiratanga is embedded in those relationships and our capacity to live and practice our tikanga in relation to our whenua and taiao. Throughout their discussions of taiao the kaikōrero stressed that tino rangatiratanga is central to kaitiakitanga.

Tino rangatiratanga is not only on the political realm of land ownership or the fight for the return of confiscated lands but is also within our ability to say and show that we are of that land, that our ancestral connection to the whenua and taiao not only exists but is validated in our collective expression of those connections. Each of the many understandings, expression and practices highlighted in the Taiao chapter by kaikōrero are examples of how our people seek to live tino rangatiratanga.

Several key examples of this are highlighted in the Taonga Tuku Iho chapter where notions such as 'he mana tō te kupu' are an expression of the power and sacredness of te reo Māori and of kupu Māori. This is something that is inherent to tino rangatiratanga in that our tūpuna understood the power of kupu and the obligations and responsibilities that come with the use of each word. In essence it is through our kupu and the practice of those obligations that our autonomy and self-determination as tangata whenua is expressed in relationship to others. Therefore, the control and determination of how te reo is defined, understood, experienced and practices is a critical way through which we enact tino rangatiratanga. This, as noted previously, is central to tino

rangatiratanga as an assertion of our rights as tangata whenua as guaranteed under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The debate that continues over definitions of kupu within Te Tiriti is one that continues between Māori and the Crown and includes how we define concepts such as kaitiakitanga and who has control over its definition and practice.

Tino rangatiratanga within Te Tiriti o Waitangi provides a base from which the broader notion of Kaupapa Māori as voiced through phrases such as 'by Māori for Māori' or the promotion of Kaupapa Māori as defined, controlled, and led by Māori, can be best understood. Kaikōrero stressed that the revitalisation and regeneration of tikanga, te reo and mātauranga Māori is essential, without which we would not, and could not, maintain, sustain, and actively practice kaitiakitanga. This is in and of itself an assertion of tino rangatiratanga.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter engaged one of the key objectives of this study which is to explore and document the meanings, understandings, and experiences of kaitiakitanga from Māori ourselves. Across many different contexts, including education, rongoā, te reo, social work and whānau, Māori were invited to engage in this conversation. This chapter highlights where kaikōrero saw tino rangatiratanga as a crucial consideration aligned to the experience, expression and understanding of kaitiakitanga. Two themes in particular were identified from the hui: the impact of colonisation on kaitiakitanga and the assertion of tino rangatiratanga.

Colonisation is highlighted in the first theme as an historical, current, and ongoing series of events and constructs at political, cultural, structural, and systemic levels. Kaikōrero described colonisation as constantly changing, occurring simultaneously, and evolving. Three specific areas were identified by kaikōrero across theme one: inter-generational loss of te reo; tikanga and mātauranga. Te reo for example was identified as being integral to cultural identity, spirituality, community and belonging as well as fundamental to building and maintaining relationships. Some Kaikōrero described the denial of te reo as gravely affecting their sense of self and their ability to connect fully with their Māori identity. Cultural, economic, and political structures were further highlighted by kaikōrero with respect to land versus Māori relationship to whenua based on ancestral, environmental, and social threads. Kaikōrero highlighted the Crown as having little regard for tikanga and mātauranga and emphasised this as a significant impediment to the assertion of tino rangatiratanga. It was noted that the denial of the fundamental right to enact tino rangatiratanga is played out through legislation, and the imposition of western ways of being and doing. This puts constant pressure upon Māori to respond to existing dominant frameworks and structures.

Overall, kaikōrero identified that colonisation interferes and disrupts Māori capacity to assert tino rangatiratanga which limits the way Māori can participate in decision making, especially regarding kaitiakitanga in relation to te reo, whenua and environment. Overall, this theme gives us insights into how colonisation has impacted significantly on our lives as Māori, our beliefs systems, values, relationships, and understandings. What is also highlighted is that the power to transform these oppressive and hegemonic impacts must come from us and from our reassertion, revitalisation, and reconnection to our reo, tikanga, mātauranga and to ourselves as tangata whenua. Kaikōrero asserted that this is done through our reclaiming and reasserting that which our tūpuna envisioned in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, our tino rangatiratanga.

The assertion of tino rangatiratanga is highlighted in the second theme. Overall, kaikōrero saw a significant disjunction between how they understand kaitiakitanga and how it is interpreted and discussed in contexts that are non-Māori. The kaikōrero discussed, through several different definitions, their understandings, and experiences of kaitiakitanga. Three important points were made overall. Firstly, that the control of defining kaitiakitanga must be done by Māori. Kaitiakitanga may be changing and evolving, however, Māori still understand it through traditional mātauranga as determined through te reo and tikanga. In order to engage within our current context a number of kaikōrero emphasise that contemporary explanations must be informed by tikanga and mātauranga understandings. Secondly, kaikōrero highlighted that there are significant issues at hand regarding the misappropriation, misuse, and appropriation of kaitiakitanga. They argued that there are many examples of this including: the appropriation by government departments and agencies of Māori names and concepts; contexts such as supervision; and the use of Māori frameworks by non-Māori have all contributed to the misuse. In such contexts it is critical that Māori take back our control over defining and controlling our knowledge and practices as these must be grounded within our tikanga and mātauranga. Finally, as stated in previous substantive chapters, essential to the assertion of tino rangatiratanga is that Māori are central to facilitating, defining, and leading those processes and practices to ensure the protection of our reo, tikanga and mātauranga now and into the future.

The kaikōrero in this chapter identified, under the umbrella of tino rangatiratanga, that Māori views regarding kaitiakitanga must be privileged and given priority. This includes the right to define, determine and control cultural definitions within government structures and systems. For kaitiakitanga to be understood, expressed, and practiced in line with whakaaro, tikanga and mātauranga then it must be defined, controlled, led, and practiced by Māori.

Chapter 9: Ngā Hua – Conclusions

Introduction

In te reo Māori, 'hua' can mean several things. It can mean to think, know, results and to decide upon. It can mean an outline or contour when discussed in 'whakairo' or carving and it relates to abundance, to bear fruit, findings, to flower, bloom, and blossom. 'Ngā' makes 'hua' a plural. Therefore, this chapter outlines the fruits of the discussions and the findings of this study. When discussed alongside the literature, the findings and conclusions will show and determine further thinking and knowledge that contributes to the kaitiakitanga discourse.

In the abstract and introduction to this thesis, I indicated that I wanted to know whether the practice of kaitiakitanga had morphed from its customary understanding situated within the metaphysical, physical, and human realms to a human centric practice. My observation of its practice in non-Māori contexts versus my own knowledge drove that inquiry. Throughout the literature and substantive chapters, kaikōrero showed that their knowledge of kaitiakitanga was derived from whānau, hapū and iwi, through intergenerational knowledge and practice transmission. This is consistent with customary practices as was addressed in the literature. The knowledge passed intergenerationally was derived from taonga tuku iho, taiao, tūpuna, atua and mātauranga-ā-whānau, ā hapū and ā iwi. Several of the findings below highlight that kaitiakitanga is a collective notion, rather than an individual one, and that kaitiakitanga does not sit within the human realm alone. It is connected intimately and without question, to the metaphysical and physical realms. Across this thesis, kaikōrero stated that kaitiakitanga is not human centric, but that there is a wealth of knowledge within the human realm which is connected to the other two realms. As such, the findings show consistently that Māori continue, within a contemporary context, to understand kaitiakitanga through whakaaro, tikanga and mātauranga Māori, and that kaitiakitanga has not morphed from its customary understanding or become human centric.

The substantive data chapters in this thesis, which form the below discussions, are aligned, but are not restricted to, each of the realms of kaitiakitanga those being, *whānau* and *tino rangatiratanga* – within the human realm, *taiao* – within the physical realm, and *taonga tuku iho* – within the metaphysical realm. This affirms the literature whereby Māori still understand our obligations and responsibilities of kaitiakitanga through traditional understandings.

This study provided an opportunity to pose two main pātai within our hui related to kaitiakitanga:

1. How do we, as Māori, experience, express, and understand kaitiakitanga?
2. What mātauranga and tikanga have informed our knowing?

To assist in answering these pātai four main underlying objectives were developed to:

a) Explore and document our experiences, expressions, and understandings of kaitiakitanga.
b) Explore the human realm of kaitiakitanga as practiced and understood between and by people
c) Identify areas to grow and develop kaitiakitanga to enable consistent, accurate and clear use of this Māori body of knowledge.
d) Understand the implications of kaitiakitanga for social work registration.

The first objective required me to hui with several different groups of Māori within contexts such as education, te reo, rongoā, social work and the environment. These hui elicited information that crossed into four significant areas: Whānau, Taiao, Taonga Tuku Iho and Tino Rangatiratanga. The literature concerning kaitiakitanga across the physical, metaphysical and human realms was also reviewed which was informed by seminal writers such as Kawharu (2000), Marsden and Royal (2003), Forster (2012b), Mutu (2010), Roberts et al. (1995) and many others. Across the literature and the four substantive data chapters, tikanga, mātauranga, whakaaro, whakapapa and te reo, formed the base for how Māori experienced, expressed, and understood kaitiakitanga. Within each of these areas sat varied tikanga elements, emotions, states, practices, pedagogy, and intergenerational knowledge transmission.

The second objective required a review of literature in terms of kaitiakitanga representations, frameworks and Māori frameworks that were for use in the human realm, between and by people, and within contexts that were both Māori and non-Māori. This objective was important in terms of highlighting the complexities and contrasting tensions regarding the use of kaitiakitanga and the requirements of its implementation. Several areas are highlighted below in terms of how the literature and the kaikōrero explained kaitiakitanga experiences, expressions, and understandings. For example, within the Taonga Tuku Iho chapter, kaikōrero said that te reo Māori is key to being able to express kaitiakitanga, and that without te reo, it cannot be fully understood.

The third objective required me to provide analysis and critique of the literature and kaikōrero findings in order to determine its use in the human realm. In particular the four substantive chapters provided an opportunity for analysis of the themes raised by kaikōrero alongside the literature to provide validity and argument toward the clear, consistent, and accurate use of kaitiakitanga. For example, both the literature and substantive chapters highlighted whakapapa as the pre-cursor to kaitiakitanga.

The final objective related specifically to the Social Workers Registration Board (SWRB) and their kaitiakitanga framework. This objective concerned the need to find out how the framework was

being utilised and to decide whether the philosophy of kaitiakitanga was misappropriated and whether it was removed from its cultural understanding within te ao Māori. A specific section on this is noted below, which shows several implications as to why kaitiakitanga, as it is represented by the SWRB, does not fully meet the requirements of the philosophy. The discussions below expand on this aim.

The findings are now presented, followed by a summary of the overall findings, the constraints and limitations, further research opportunities, closing reflections and the final karakia to close this chapter.

Whānau

Whānau contributions to kaitiakitanga is in and of itself a finding in this research. Kaitiakitanga literature often focuses primarily upon hapū and iwi, but does not expand on whānau experiences, expressions, and understandings. This finding highlights whānau as critical knowledge holders within the kaitiakitanga discourse. Each of the findings within this section contributes to the three realms of kaitiakitanga and makes a significant contribution to the human realm of kaitiakitanga.

Several findings were relevant within the whānau discussions. First, that whānau have identified kuia as kaitiaki, secondly that whānau collectives are central to maintaining and sustaining tikanga and mātauranga, thirdly, that non-Māori were not named as holding kaitiakitanga roles, fourth, the roles within this finding are not seen as human centric but that they are seen in the broader context of the metaphysical and physical realms. Finally, this finding stresses that kaitiakitanga is practiced by Māori and this is in relationship to the three realms of kaitiakitanga and connected to tikanga and whakapapa.

Hapū and iwi as larger collectives, as well as studies on particular organisations regarding the environment, are prevalent in the literature and firmly connected to the environmental and legislative arm of kaitiakitanga (Hond et al., 2019; Hutchings, 2015; Hutchings et al., 2020; Mutu, 2010; Selby et al., 2010a; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011). When considering the kaitiakitanga literature related to hapū and iwi, the place of kuia and whānau are often assumed, however, the place of kuia is not explicitly discussed, and specific whānau roles rarely appear outside of the context of hapū and iwi boards, committees, councils, and courts. In this study however, the kaikōrero have specifically emphasised the importance of kuia as kaitiaki in the human realm.

These findings show that kaikōrero considered kuia as 'kaitiaki' and key knowledge holders of mātauranga. Kuia were highlighted by kaikōrero as having status, holding wisdom, who were

revered and esteemed and who are trusted sources of kaitiakitanga knowledge and practice. Overall, kuia were the largest group, within whānau and the human realm, regarded by the kaikōrero as 'kaitiaki', or who possessed kaitiaki qualities and skills. Their skills as a kaitiaki occurred in the human realm (between people), but also involved and included the metaphysical and physical realms. This was shown through the kaikōrero discussions of kuia as kairaranga, kuia in spiritual form, kuia as pou, kuia as healers, clearers of kēhua and protectors and kuia as kaiako. In Chapters 3 and 4, kaitiaki were reviewed and explained as not human, and when they were, this was manifested by a higher authority or power (Gloyne, 2017a; Kawharu, 2002; Roberts et al., 1995). In contemporary literature however, humans are considered kaitiaki, however this comes with particular pre-requisites such as: whakapapa, hapū and iwi determined, larger Māori collective determined, mana whenua and tangata whenua (Forster, 2012b, 2019; Penehira et al., 2011; Pohatu, 2003). Additionally, Kawharu (1989) indicated that if you are not mana whenua you cannot take a kaitiaki role over the people or land of that hapū or iwi. Kuia as kaitiaki is a new contribution to the kaitiakitanga literature. Within this study the place of kuia as kaitiaki is determined by the whānau and their practice mostly sits mostly within the human realm and interweaves with the metaphysical and physical. This finding sits alongside hapū and iwi assertions of the collective determining of kaitiaki who are people (Baker, 2019; Forster, 2012b; Kawharu, 2000).

A clear distinction was made between kuia and wider whānau roles. Although Kuia were named as 'kaitiaki' in this study, kaikōrero did not name other whānau members as 'kaitiaki'. Instead, kaikōrero named the tikanga inherent in the whānau role as contributing to the 'kaitiakitanga' discourse. This is an important difference. Six wider whānau roles were found to be significant in this study and pūrākau were shared by the kaikōrero which highlighted distinct mātauranga and tikanga within those roles. The roles, which carry specialist knowledge in some cases, included: matua rautia, kaihāpai, kaimahi urupā, kaiako, kaiārahi and kaikarakia. Many of these roles are not new to te ao Māori, though they are generally not expanded on or given articulation in the kaitiakitanga literature. Although the whānau roles identified sat firmly within the human realm, such as matua rautia, kaihāpai, kaimahi urupā, kaiako and kaikarakia, each of those roles require knowledge of the metaphysical and physical realms in order to be fully achieved and implemented.

Mātauranga-ā-whānau, intergenerational knowledge and practice transmission, is shown to be central to each role and the role is concerned with carrying out the mahi – this included turning up, commitment, work, and guidance. Further, each role, although at times identified as being carried by individuals, contributes to the collective. Kaikōrero understood and expressed collectivity as a key value throughout this study through examples of matua rautia, the care of

children and elderly, mana whenua, hapū and iwi. Kaikōrero maintained that collectivity is central to kaitiakitanga and therefore any whānau role must contribute to the wider collective. This finding is crucial to kaitiakitanga and its practice within the human realm where one must consider kaitiakitanga as a collective notion rather practiced at an individual level. There is further discussion on this particular point in the finding that concerns tino rangatiratanga.

A further finding within the whānau theme concerned where kaitiakitanga is practiced, contexed and conceptualised. Kaikōrero discussed both the kuia roles and whānau roles within kaupapa, or contexts that are Māori. This agrees with the literature whereby kaitiakitanga is exampled in and through mediums such as mōteatea, whakatauākī and whakataukī. Examples included matua rautia, papakāinga, mana whenua, 'ngā kaupapa kaitiakitanga', Ngāti Rangi, tangihanga, urupā, marae, Tangaroa, Tāne Mahuta and so on. This is an important point when considering the practice and implementation of kaitiakitanga outside of Māori contexts. Kaikōrero, when discussing their understanding, expressions, and experiences of kaitiakitanga, did not discuss them in non-Māori contexts.

These findings make a valuable new contribution to the human realm literature of kaitiakitanga. In particular these findings bring focus to kuia as well as wider whānau members as key knowledge holders, transmitters, and practitioners of kaitiakitanga whilst also reiterating the collective nature of kaitiakitanga.

Taiao

Findings with the Taiao chapter add to the literature which shows that Māori relationships with taiao are fundamental to how kaitiakitanga is understood and experienced. Kaikōrero expressed these understandings and experiences through pūrākau, iwi and hapū knowledge, and mātauranga-ā-whānau (intergenerational knowledge and practice transmission). As noted in the introduction to this thesis, kaitiakitanga has grown and developed as an environmental and sustainability ethic because of the challenge faced by Māori, against the State, to assert tino rangatiratanga over those things Māori consider taonga (Kawharu, 2000; Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262), 2011). This assertion contends that the health of the earth and the health of Māori are inextricably linked. This research confirms kaitiakitanga is crucial to alleviating cultural, spiritual, social, and the internal political conditions of whānau.

At the centre of this finding was mauri ora, which describes feelings and emotions connected to balance, connection, being well and flourishing. Kaikōrero discussed how being on whenua (both theirs and others'), near the awa, creek or moana, at home (hapū and iwi) or returning to you own whenua, are considered to be cultural ways through which to seek wellbeing, health, identity,

rebalance and reconnection. Many stated that connecting with taiao was important to their healing when they felt down and had issues, which largely related to their own mental, physical, psychological, and spiritual healing. Importantly, this finding shows that taiao environments are connected to the physical realm as understood through a kaitiakitanga lens – as relations, and this has implications when frameworks of kaitiakitanga assert physical environments as offices, organisations, or government agencies. These environments are not relations to Māori.

This finding showed a range of tikanga that spread across the spiritual, psychological, environmental and human spheres (Marsden & Royal, 2003). These tikanga and āhuatanga included: aroha, manaaki, whakanoa, rongoā, wairua, whakapapa, tapu, noa, tiaki, manaakitanga, mana, tino rangatiratanga and karakia as critical to negotiating, protecting, and maintaining relationships between people, and between people and the environment and back. The tikanga described by the kaikōrero is affirmed in the literature but not always in the context of kaitiakitanga, but under the broader umbrella of tikanga (Kawharu, 2000; Marsden & Royal, 2003; Mead, 2003; 2001; Pere, 1994).

This study affirms that reciprocal relationships between people and taiao is necessary to the wider application of kaitiakitanga. Whanaungatanga, between the human and physical realm, which is underpinned by pepeha, and whakapapa was a key finding and whanaungatanga was also asserted in the literature as crucial to balance and health (Barnes et al., 2019; Kawharu, 1998; Penetito, 2021; Pohatu, 2015). This finding also means that any kaitiakitanga framework that does not incorporate or make distinct a whakapapa relationship, is not upholding the true intent of a kaitiakitanga philosophy. Kaikōrero asserted that kaitiakitanga must be understood through connection to taiao and that a shift away from this spiritual and metaphysical connection to a human centric one will undermine its integrity and kaitiakitanga will no longer be what is being practiced.

A further finding in this chapter was the tikanga of returning pito (umbilical cord) and whenua (placenta) to the earth as connected to kaitiakitanga. The literature highlighted the tikanga of pito and whenua and why this creates a bond to the earth that is both physical and spiritual (Mead, 2003; Walker, 1990). The practice of returning the whenua (placenta) to the whenua (land/earth) by burial was connected to kaitiakitanga and this 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, urbanisation, and the denial of generations of Māori to their child's placenta at the hospital level. Of note, the kaikōrero who did not have whenua, found ways to connect to the cultural practice by burying it where they lived. This finding is not discussed in any significant way in the existing literature within the kaitiakitanga

discourse. Kaikōrero in this study saw the burial of whenua and pito as tikanga broadly, but also as tikanga aligned to kaitiakitanga.

Taonga Tuku Iho

This finding highlights the concurrent and harmonious weaving of the metaphysical, physical, and human realms of kaitiakitanga. For the kaikōrero, kaitiakitanga is expressed, experienced, and understood by drawing on taonga tuku iho, customary knowledge handed to us from our ancestors, and that this knowledge is still being drawn on today. Taonga tuku iho is discussed in Chapter 2, where it is defined as those things treasured by Māori, intangible and tangible, cultural traditions, knowledge, values, love, corpus of knowledge and pūrākau (Durie, 2001; Marsden, 2011; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Marsden & Royal, 2003). Three areas were found to be significant to kaitiakitanga within this finding: kaitiaki, te tuakiritanga – the inner being, and he mana tō te kupu, he tikanga tō te kupu.

The kaikōrero emphasised their understanding of 'kaitiaki' as integral and essential to individual and collective wellness and life in general. This finding expands upon existing literature in that it makes specific that kaitiaki are considered spiritual guides, guardians and as having spiritual elements. 'Kaitiaki' were important to people at both micro and macro levels, which includes the individual, whānau, hapū and iwi. Kaikōrero discussed 'kaitiaki' knowing and experiences at an individual level as healing, aligned to wellness and protection, positive and critical to understanding kaitiakitanga as a philosophy. They understood kaitiaki as being spiritual guides and beings, and when in human form, they described kaitiaki as tūpuna (either living or passed). The kaikōrero acknowledged that their knowledge of kaitiaki was learned through whānau, hapū and iwi and was firmly connected to whakapapa. Kaitiaki were named as manu, tūpuna, atua, kōura, crab and pounamu. This affirms and aligns to the literature which discusses kaitiaki as manifesting in animals or things, as spiritual beings and tūpuna. Where the kaitiakitanga literature may outline generic notions of kaitiaki as manu and animals for example, on the whole it does not readily engage with specific examples like those shared within this research which align directly to health and wellbeing. Kaitiaki were discussed in this research as appearing when required, bringing messages when needed, as providing knowledge, as protectors and who are constant hoa-haere when needed.

This finding confirms that 'kaitiaki' can be people and that kaitiakitanga is practiced by and between people. However, it is clear across this study that kaitiaki are only particular people, like kuia and tūpuna, with particular mana and this is determined by whakapapa and the whānau, hapū and iwi. Furthermore, it is consistently highlighted that kaitiakitanga is not human centric. This is confirmed by the kaikōrero in Chapter 5 and the literature, because this finding shows that

it was always connected to the wider notion of collectivism and the three realms. This aligns with both Minhinnick (1989) and Forster (2012) who state that the 'kaitiaki' role can be passed in a lineal way to humans, but that it is firmly related to being Māori and this is by virtue of whakapapa, Minhinnick and Mutu further stating that non-Māori cannot be kaitiaki and that this role is only for Māori (Minhinnick, 1989; Mutu, 2010). Kaikōrero named the kaitiaki, what each kaitiaki was responsible for and the nature of their relationship with the kaitiaki.

The data suggests several ways in which kaikōrero communicate and maintain relationships with their kaitiaki which included spiritual or physical messages, tohu, observation, intuition, moemoeā (dreaming or visions), karakia and feelings. In order to receive the messages, maintaining belief in te ao Māori was important as was maintaining connection to te ao Māori and whakaaro Māori. This practice included what many referred to in this study as tohu. Kaikōrero across this study, confirmed 'tohu' as a specific and significant way to engage tikanga within the kaitiakitanga discourse.

Several tikanga were confirmed, for example 'tuku mihi' and 'tuku karakia' which were relevant to asking permission, acknowledgment, protection, and movement from one space to another, for example when moving between the ngāhere, moana and whenua. Importantly, this confirms that Māori experiences, expressions, and understandings of kaitiaki are underpinned by traditional and cultural concepts and frameworks and that these continue to be employed today. In terms of intergenerational transmission of knowledge, the detail shared by kaikōrero is important to understanding kaitiakitanga as a philosophy and for future generations to understand.

This literature regarding kaitiakitanga shows that it is more than a discourse regarding sustainability and productivity, but that it involves 'physical, emotional and spiritual connectedness, and a sense of being imbedded in a particular place' (Hutchings et al., 2020, p. 187). Several kaitiakitanga writers point to these sites, especially physical and spiritual connectedness, though emotions and feelings regarding the human realm are not often expanded upon in the kaitiakitanga literature. In this study, the literature showed that through mediums such as mōteatea and whakataukī emotions and feelings are prevalent. This finding shows that kaikōrero understand kaitiakitanga as connected directly to emotions and feelings, which have been articulated by me under the umbrella of te tuakiritanga. Kaikōrero affirmed many of the elements of kaitiakitanga for example, wairua, mana and mauri ora but also expanded upon existing literature to show how 'experiencing', 'expressing' and 'understanding' kaitiakitanga generates deep seated emotions, feelings, and states of being. These included ngākau, hinengaro, wairua, rongo, tohu, aroha, mauri, whatumanawa, manawa, tau, mauri ora, pūmanawa, whakanoa and whakawātea. What this means, is that Māori experience, express and understand kaitiakitanga through engaging all parts of ourselves inclusive of our inner being, identity,

personality, attributes, qualities, emotions, and feelings. Te tuakiritanga and kāre-a-roto are rarely discussed in the kaitiakitanga literature, and yet it is articulated very clearly by kaikōrero in this study that in order to explain fully the human realm of kaitiakitanga, and the interconnection of the metaphysical and physical realms, we must see te tuakiritanga as essential.

Another key finding in the Taonga Tuku Iho chapter is the status and role of te reo Māori as expressed as he mana tō te kupu, he tikanga tō te kupu. The kaikōrero engaged te reo Māori to discuss whakaaro associated with kaitiakitanga and provided more context to the word kaitiakitanga. Overwhelmingly, the kaikōrero pointed to whakaaro Māori as critical to understanding kaitiakitanga. They provided context to this through explaining key Māori values, principles and statements that are hoa-haere (companions) to 'thinking' about kaitiakitanga.

Kaikōrero stressed that it is critical that we utilise te reo Māori to ensure a deeper understanding of how we 'understand' and 'experience' kaitiakitanga. This means that emphasis must be on both the use of te reo and the whakaaro that underpins and informs our understandings. Whakaaro Māori necessitates us thinking through a Māori lens. This means that the terms 'kaitiaki' and 'kaitiakitanga' must be positioned within a te ao Māori perspective. Defining terms such as kaitiaki as the base kupu for kaitiakitanga in ways that are aligned to whakaaro Māori then gives us the guidance through which we uphold the integrity of the philosophy and practice of kaitiakitanga. Furthermore, kaikōrero indicated that such an approach reveals when the terms, kaitiaki and kaitiakitanga are being utilised inappropriately or incorrectly. Kaitiakitanga, it is highlighted, is firmly connected to ways of 'knowing' related to taonga tuku iho, knowledge passed through ancestors.

Tino Rangatiratanga

A key objective of this study was to explore and document the meanings and understandings of kaitiakitanga to enable its consistent, accurate and clear use. The findings highlights three important areas regarding kaitiakitanga and its use across cultural, structural and government systems. Firstly, kaikōrero affirmed that Māori must define and control the meanings of kaitiakitanga and emphasised that contemporary explanations must be informed by tikanga and mātauranga understandings. Within these explanations, kaikōrero described needing to understand the impact of colonisation and how it is constantly changing, occurring simultaneously, and evolving. This finding shows that kaikōrero saw colonisation as interfering and disrupting Māori capacity to assert tino rangatiratanga which limits the way Māori can participate in decision making regarding kaitiakitanga at structural and systemic levels, especially regarding te reo, whenua and environment. Kaikōrero highlighted the Crown as a significant impediment to the assertion of tino rangatiratanga in the kaitiakitanga context and

overall. It was noted that the denial of the fundamental right to enact tino rangatiratanga is played out through legislation, and the imposition of western ways of being and doing and that this puts constant pressure upon Māori to respond to existing dominant frameworks and structures.

Secondly, this finding highlighted significant issues regarding the misappropriation, misuse, and appropriation of kaitiakitanga. Kaikōrero argued that there are many examples of this including: the appropriation by government departments and agencies of Māori names and concepts; contexts such as supervision; and the use of Māori frameworks by non-Māori, and that these have all contributed to kaitiakitanga becoming separated and debased from its cultural setting. Overall, this finding shows a significant disjunction between how Māori understand kaitiakitanga and how it is interpreted and discussed in contexts that are not Māori. These issues were raised within the literature in Chapter 4, under 'representations of kaitiakitanga' where it was highlighted that misrepresentation of kaitiakitanga leads to its misuse, co-option, and commodification. In particular, these issues were highlighted within organisations that were not Māori. The implications for the use of kaitiakitanga are discussed in the next section.

Finally, kaikōrero made clear that it is critical that Māori take back our control over defining and controlling our knowledge and practices as these must be grounded within our tikanga and mātauranga. Kaikōrero stated that it is essential within the context of kaitiakitanga that Māori are central to facilitating, defining, and leading processes and practices to ensure the protection te reo, tikanga and mātauranga now and into the future.

What is also highlighted in this finding is that the power to transform these oppressive and hegemonic impacts is done through our reclaiming and reasserting that which our tūpuna envisioned in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, our tino rangatiratanga. Kaikōrero asserted that Māori views regarding kaitiakitanga must be privileged and given priority. For kaitiakitanga to be understood, expressed, and practiced then it must be defined, controlled, lead, and practiced by Māori.

Kaitiakitanga in social work and implications for its use

In the introduction to this thesis, I highlighted 'whānau hui' as an example of a kaupapa Māori framework that became debased and divorced from its cultural setting within the context of social work. I intimated in the introduction that I had a particular interest in how kaitiakitanga would be utilised within the human realm which included within my profession of social work because on observation, it did not seem to me to be aligned fully with kaitiakitanga as I understood it within my whānau. The discussions below highlight the issues and points regarding the use of

kaitiakitanga in social work. These implications regard the use of kaitiakitanga as a framework broadly and in any non-Māori contexts.

When I inquired into kaitiakitanga within the profession of social work, the discussions weaved across the three realms of kaitiakitanga, and this is shown in their extracts across the data chapters. Kaikōrero engaged te reo, whakaaro Māori, te tuakiritanga, tikanga and mātauranga to discuss their understandings and experiences of kaitiakitanga. They did not however, position kaitiakitanga within their workplace. They largely discussed kaitiakitanga as a method, strategy or process that occurs for them outside of work, within contexts that are Māori, which then informs their work. The social work practitioners and social work supervisors who engaged in this study, understood kaitiakitanga through a te ao Māori lens.

This study has highlighted several key points overall that have implications for the social work profession, which includes practice, theory, and supervision. Firstly, this study found that kaitiakitanga is understood through three realms: the physical, metaphysical, and human realms. These realms are inseparable and umbrella the philosophy of kaitiakitanga. For social work and generally, this means that without a clear understanding and connection to each of these realms, kaitiakitanga will be misrepresented.

Secondly, kaikōrero in this study highlighted that kaitiakitanga cannot be understood without the experience of being related to, having whakapapa to, the earth. And it is through these reciprocal relationships that health and wellbeing is maintained and protected. What this means for social work is that, kaitiakitanga is informed by whakapapa. Whakapapa is the pre-cursor to its use.

Third, Māori do not separate kaitiakitanga from its parts, including the words tiaki and kaitiaki. Within this study, kaitiaki were understood mainly as spiritual guides and entities. When they were human, kaikōrero emphasised that this is by virtue of whakapapa. The literature findings show that when Māori carry the role of kaitiaki, they are nominated by their hapū, iwi or Māori organisations to represent or act on behalf of Māori collectives (Forster, 2012a; Kawharu, 2000). The implication then is that when outside of Māori collectives, kaitiaki is not suitable to be used as a role or name if it is not determined as above.

Fourth, kaikōrero clearly articulated that kaitiakitanga is not a human centric philosophy. The implication for social work practice is that kaitiakitanga should not be carried out in one-on-one contexts such as one-on-one supervision, assessment, or case-study, as is espoused in the SWRB Kaitiakitanga Framework. In this respect, tiaki would be more appropriate. It is a collective notion, interwoven with the metaphysical and physical realms, practiced, and engaged by Māori and which contributes to collective wellbeing for Māori. This was highlighted in the Māori frameworks of kaitiakitanga in the literature. Pohatu (2011) for example identified that

kaitiakitanga practices carry tenets such as tohutohu, arataki, tautoko, pupuri and tiaki (Table 4.4). Pohatu (2011) writes that Māori worldviews such as kaitiakitanga include the past, present, future, generational, physical, emotional, spiritual, and symbolic and that to incorporate such philosophies, each generation must be consciously willing to integrate them into practice and develop them in respective contexts and time. He notes however that western philosophies irritate Māori ones, and he reinforces Māori leading and defining our own ways forward concerning kaitiakitanga and health in general. This was shown in the literature also, whereby the assertion of tino rangatiratanga was highlighted as crucial for Māori in social work spaces (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2020; Waitangi Tribunal (2915), 2021; Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2020). Non-Māori can be engaged in working alongside Māori, as treaty partners, regarding kaitiakitanga, however they cannot lead, practice, or define it. Kaitiakitanga is mātauranga Māori, which is knowledge held by ancestors (taonga tuku iho), 'replete with mana' and rangatiratanga and distinct from any other body of knowledge (Royal, 2009). Although other bodies of knowledge may have their own unique understandings of the world and environment, this should not be confused with kaitiakitanga as it is underpinned by whakapapa, mana, whanaungatanga and rangatiratanga.

Fifth, kaitiakitanga is a philosophy that is underpinned by te ao Māori, which is expressed and experienced through te reo, whakaaro Māori, te tuakiritanga, tikanga and mātauranga. Each of these elements are essential to the expression, experience and understanding of kaitiakitanga.

Finally, kaitiakitanga is practiced and experienced within Māori contexts, and when removed from contexts that are Māori, become isolated from their cultural expression, experience and understanding and loses integrity. This was highlighted in the literature where representations of kaitiakitanga did not acknowledge sources, lacked visible representation of Māori, and across the board did not include the three realms of kaitiakitanga as they are realised through traditional understandings.

When looking overall at five main points above, kaitiakitanga should not be a philosophy that underpins non-Māori assessment practices at the SWRB. As explained in the literature, it is highly problematic that non-Māori are being asked to cross cultural boundaries and utilise our frameworks to assess us. Kaitiakitanga should not be encouraged in non-Māori settings unless they are led, defined, and carried out by Māori, with Māori for us. Further, as noted in the literature, changes at cultural levels must be accompanied by changes at structural and systemic levels. Understanding the effects of colonisation, privilege, racism, and oppression is more critical to understanding Māori in social work than the inclusion of an assessment-based framework for work 'on' Māori by non-Māori.

Pūao-te-ata-tū set the foundation for government departments to look clearly at how their systems and structures caused harm to Māori and to right the wrongs that had been reported. New conversations and discussions must now be had concerning terms such as biculturalism, cultural responsiveness, diversity, cultural awareness, and cross-cultural social work, because what Māori are asserting in the kaitiakitanga space and other contexts is that it is a Kaupapa Māori theory. A recommendation for the SWRB is that the Kaitiakitanga framework be renamed, as it has become removed and debased from its cultural understanding.

Whakakapinga

What the discussion indicates in line with Graham Smith's seminal work, is that kaitiakitanga is underpinned by Kaupapa Māori. The kaikōrero in this study understand kaitiakitanga through a kaupapa Māori praxis whereby it is connected to being Māori, it is underpinned by Māori philosophy and epistemology, is distinctive to Aotearoa having been adapted from oral tradition reaching back to the earliest whakapapa, transforming is inherent – especially in terms of mental, psychological, physical and emotional health, and there are multiple expressions concerning its practice and understanding across the three realms of kaitiakitanga. In particular, the findings in this study highlight that the experiences, expressions, and understandings of kaitiakitanga are centred around several different kaupapa Māori principles which include whānau, taonga tuku iho, taiao and tino rangatiratanga. These findings contribute to the growing literature base of kaitiakitanga and the well-known articulation of tino rangatiratanga, that Māori frameworks are led by, written by, governed by, defined by, practiced, and designed by and experienced by Māori. Kaitiakitanga is not human centric. It is understood through the connection and weaving of the metaphysical, physical and human realms which is expressed, experienced and understood through mātauranga and tikanga – in traditional and contemporary ways. A summary of the overall findings is now provided.

Summary of the findings

There are several findings that have been highlighted in this study. This section brings forward the discussions above in a summarised form.

Whānau

Whānau is central to the transmission of tikanga and mātauranga related to kaitiakitanga. Mātauranga-ā-whānau, or intergenerational knowledge transmission via whānau, is crucial to maintaining and sustaining kaitiakitanga. For example, through pūrākau, mōteatea, whakataukī

and ako. This finding sits alongside hapū and iwi assertions as collectives who determine tikanga and mātauranga.

Traditionally, kaitiaki were only spiritual beings and spiritual guides, or manifested within creatures or humans by a higher being, and this is still the case. In contemporary times however, kaikōrero in this study have identified human beings who whakapapa Māori as 'kaitiaki'. These 'kaitiaki' are determined by whānau, hapū and iwi. Kuia are named as 'kaitiaki' by whānau. Kuia are seen as central to weaving and transmitting kaitiakitanga knowledge and practices across the human, metaphysical and physical realms.

Several key whānau roles are key to the practice of kaitiakitanga which include kaihāpai, kaimahi urupā, kaiako, kaiārahi and kaikarakia.

This study stresses that where kaitiakitanga is being practiced by and between human beings, that this is always in relationship to the three realms of kaitiakitanga and that the practice is firmly connected to tikanga, mātauranga and whakapapa. As such, Kaitiakitanga has not morphed from its traditional understanding to a human centric one.

Kaitiakitanga, as discussed across this study, contributes to the overall collective equilibrium, the human condition, and health and wellbeing of Māori and the environment.

Taiao

Māori relationships with taiao are fundamental to how kaitiakitanga is understood and experienced. Whanaungatanga, between the three realms is crucial and is underpinned by pepeha and whakapapa. This is central to the application and practice of kaitiakitanga.

The tikanga and mātauranga highlighted within this thesis are critical to negotiating, protecting, and maintaining relationships between people and the environment and between people. Kaitiakitanga is reciprocal in nature.

The practice of returning the whenua and pito to the whenua by burial was connected to kaitiakitanga and is a process of connection, revitalisation, and renaissance.

Central to understanding kaitiakitanga is the notion of mauri ora. Relationships with taiao are important as they are crucial to the maintenance of wellbeing, equilibrium, health, identity, and reconnection.

Taonga Tuku Iho

Kaitiakitanga is expressed, experienced, and understood by drawing on taonga tuku iho, customary knowledge handed to us from our ancestors, and this knowledge is still being drawn

on today to alleviate and negotiate tension as well as provide structure and systems for overall health and wellbeing.

Kaitiaki are considered spiritual guides, guardians and as having spiritual elements. 'Kaitiaki' were engaged at both micro and macro levels, which includes the individual, whānau, hapū and iwi. It is emphasised that 'kaitiaki' knowing and experiences are healing, aligned to wellness and protection, positive, and critical to understanding kaitiakitanga as a philosophy.

Kaitiaki can be people and kaitiakitanga is practiced by and between people. However, it is clear across this study that kaitiaki are only particular people within whakapapa and this is determined by the whānau, hapū and iwi.

This study confirmed 'tohu' as a specific and significant way to engage tikanga within the kaitiakitanga discourse.

Māori experience, express and understand kaitiakitanga through engaging all parts of ourselves inclusive of our inner being, identity, personality, attributes, qualities, emotions, and feelings. Te Tuakiritanga encompasses identity, emotions and feelings and the identification and expansion of this element is a new contribution to kaitiakitanga.

It is critical that we utilise te reo Māori to ensure a deeper understanding of how we 'understand' and 'experience' kaitiakitanga. This means that emphasis must be on both the use of te reo and the whakaaro that underpins and informs our understandings.

Taonga tuku iho informs kaitiakitanga which includes tikanga and mātauranga passed through intergenerational knowledge transmission.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Colonisation interferes with and disrupts Māori capacity to assert tino rangatiratanga which limits the way Māori can participate in decision making regarding kaitiakitanga at structural and systemic levels, especially regarding te reo, whenua and environment.

Misappropriation, commodification, misuse, and appropriation of kaitiakitanga is highlighted in this study. There is a significant disjunction between how Māori understand kaitiakitanga and how it is interpreted and discussed in contexts that are not Māori.

Translation of parts of the Māori language in isolation to tikanga, whakaaro and kaupapa creates issues when that meaning becomes debased and divorced from its traditional and contemporary cultural settings. This means that its proper functioning is impaired.

It is critical that Māori re-establish autonomy over defining and controlling our knowledge and practices as these must be grounded within our tikanga and mātauranga. This study emphasises that it is essential within the context of kaitiakitanga that Māori are central to facilitating, defining, and leading processes and practices. This will ensure the protection of te reo, tikanga, whakaaro and mātauranga now and into the future.

It is critical that Māori views regarding kaitiakitanga are privileged and given priority. For kaitiakitanga to be understood, expressed, and practiced then it must be defined, controlled, lead, and practiced by Māori for Māori. This has been expressed as the assertion of tino rangatiratanga.

Kaitiakitanga in social work and implications for its use.

Kaitiakitanga is understood as connected to three realms, the metaphysical, physical, and human realm. All three realms are critical to its application and implementation.

Whakapapa is a pre-cursor to the practice and understanding of Kaitiakitanga.

When Māori carry the role of 'kaitiaki', they are nominated by their hapū, iwi or Māori collectives to represent or act on behalf of Māori. When outside of Māori collectives, 'kaitiaki' should not be used as a role, term, or concept if it is not determined as above and when considered alongside all of the other findings.

Kaitiakitanga is not a human centric or individualistic philosophy. It is a collective notion. This has implications for its use in one-on-one contexts, when utilised as a framework for assessment or case studies, or when removed from the other two realms of kaitiakitanga.

Non-Māori can be engaged in working alongside Māori, as Treaty of Waitangi partners, however they cannot lead or define it. Kaitiakitanga is mātauranga Māori, which is taonga tuku iho, replete with mana and rangatiratanga and distinct from any other body of knowledge. Kaitiakitanga should not be a philosophy that underpins non-Māori assessment practices at the SWRB. It is highly problematic that non-Māori are being asked to cross cultural boundaries and utilise our frameworks to assess us.

Māori are asserting in the kaitiakitanga space and other contexts that a Kaupapa Māori approach is necessary rather than crossing cultural boundaries.

A recommendation for the SWRB is that the kaitiakitanga framework be renamed, as it is removed and debased from its cultural understanding as highlighted in this study.

Kaitiakitanga is experienced, expressed, and understood within Māori contexts, and when removed from contexts that are Māori, it become isolated from its cultural expression, experience and understanding and loses integrity.

Constraints and Limitations

This thesis was written during the period 2019 – 2022. During this time, Covid-19 had entered our world. The first case of Covid-19 arrived in Aotearoa in February 2020. As part of the response to Covid-19, Aotearoa entered Alert Level 4-Eliminate status and a State of National Security was declared here on 26 March 2020 (Pihama & Lipsham, 2020). At this time, I had been holding individual hui with kaikōrero. As we entered lock-down here in Aotearoa, there was a need for me to move much of my study to an on-line environment. Hui with my hoa-haere and a final group hui were held on line. In the early stages of Covid-19 here in Aotearoa, there was an atmosphere of fear and of the unknown. I was affected during this time in a personal and professional way. My work as a lecturer moved online, and I needed to negotiate my own fears with that of my students who moved on-line with me. Much of my day was spent looking at updates on the television or negotiating space in my home to work and study, as the whole family was in lock-down. Covid-19 affected my ability to concentrate and maintain momentum. Covid-19 remains a part of everyday life here in Aotearoa and the world, and it continues to make life challenging. It has been a considerable constraint in terms of how I have engaged with my study over the last three years.

A further limitation is that this study did not include the literature or interview regarding kaitiakitanga through an environmental and legislative lens. The importance of the environment, resource management and legislative lens cannot be underestimated in the discussions and understandings of kaitiakitanga as it is the central understanding in contemporary times. Hapū and iwi assertions of kaitiakitanga, underpinned by mana, rangatiratanga and whanaungatanga make up the largest research area, and this should be respected and acknowledged. As discussed in the introduction, most of the literature regarding kaitiakitanga is based on the environmental and legislative lens, however, this thesis did not engage with legislative processes of kaitiakitanga, it also did not linger on the literature in an environmental space. Rather, this thesis engaged and explored the human realm of kaitiakitanga, or the social sphere as highlighted by Kawharu (2000).

The focus of my thesis was to investigate kaitiakitanga experiences, expressions, and understandings, what tikanga and mātauranga were inherent, what implications this had for social work and generally, and whether kaitiakitanga had morphed from its traditional understanding of being connected to the three realms to a human centric idea located within the human realm. These findings have provided insight into these broad pātai and aims. Having completed this study I can highlight further areas that could be researched and expanded on within the kaitiakitanga discourse and these are raised below.

Ongoing research

Further research could be undertaken to uncover pūrākau regarding the transmission of tikanga and mātauranga related to kaitiakitanga. Only Māori can adequately reflect Māori thought so this research needs to be carried out by Māori with Māori.

The metaphysical realm of kaitiakitanga is under researched. Kaikōrero rarely communicated their experiences, expressions, and understandings without weaving the metaphysical into their discussions.

The experiences and understandings of Māori concerning whenua and pito was raised in this study and is an area could be further researched. There is research concerning Māori birthing practices, but the tikanga regarding whenua and pito traditionally and in contemporary times has not been fully expanded upon in a kaitiakitanga discourse. This could include research regarding health benefits, revitalisation, tikanga and intergenerational knowledge transmission.

Whānau, hapū and iwi could carry out their own research highlighting their specific and particular 'kaitiaki', engaging ako, pūrākau and taonga tuku iho.

Mōteatea, whakataukī, whakatauākī and other Māori expressions could be examined for their alignment to the three realms of kaitiakitanga.

Issues of commodification, misrepresentation, and appropriation regarding kaitiakitanga could be further investigated and researched. Graham Smith (1997) and Wai 262 have several in-depth descriptions of commodification and appropriation of Māori culture, language, and structures.

This research started for me through an understanding of why our Nana chose the word kaitiaki to describe our pounamu. Ongoing research in the area of kuia is a particular area of interest for me, especially in terms of whānau, kaitiakitanga and transmitters of knowledge. In the last month I have agreed to co-edit a book called 'Taku Kuia e, Taku Kuia e" which engages pūrākau from Māori about their grandmothers and that unique relationship.

Closing reflections

The findings show overwhelmingly that kaitiakitanga is experienced, expressed, and understood through a Kaupapa Māori lens. It is therefore understood as being led, defined, practiced, and adapted, governed, framed, written, and designed by Māori; Whether its main tenants are different or have been altered, because of the changing nature of living as Māori, is not as important as Māori determining what that change looks like.

This study is the beginning discussion regarding the human realm of kaitiakitanga. And in fact, the kaikōrero did not stay in that realm as kaitiakitanga was understood by them in a much larger way. I started this thesis with a whānau understanding of what a 'kaitiaki' was, and what my 'kaitiaki' were. My whole understanding of kaitiakitanga surrounded that idea taught to me by my Nana.

What I have learned through this process and have been privileged to learn, is that Māori have tightly held onto knowledge that has sustained us over generations. That our people have the ability to adapt and transform, but we have tried to hold onto knowledge passed through generations in any way we can. This research process has been ngāwari, layered with notions of humarie and aroha. Joyfulness is an emotion that has stuck with me throughout the research period. Whenever I was asked how I was going, my reply would always be in line with feeling incredible excitement and aroha for us as people.

When I started this research, I understood kaitiakitanga as connected to the metaphysical, physical, and human realms. My understanding of this came from my own whānau rather than within hapū or iwi understandings. Because my Nana and her sister passed during the same week during my final year of this study, I was not able to check with either of them whether this could have been connected to hapū and iwi. Nana has no other living siblings. When I look across the kōrero, literature and findings, my respect and level of aroha for what I have learned from my Nana is foremost in my mind. She understood tikanga and mātauranga and despite living through generations of colonisation, held onto that knowledge for the wellbeing of her whānau. As noted, I have moved onto a book project about kuia, my grandmother's influence on me has meant I continue to be invited into spaces that bring me joy. As the journey of completing the doctorate is ending, a whole new world opens. What is the end of one journey, will be the beginning of another.

Karakia Whakamutunga

E Io taketake e

Anei ōu pononga e whakawhetai ana mātou mo ēnei kohinga kōrero ā kui ma, ā koro ma

Manaakitia mai mātou i roto i ēnei āhuaranga katoa

Hei whakahokia mai tōna mauri, tōna mana, me tōna tapu

Hei whakatō ki roto ki tēnā, ki tēnā o mātou ngā uri whakatipu

He iti ēnei kupu, e te Kaiwhakaora

Ko koe kei mua, kei muri, kei roto i o mātou ngākau

Hei arahina mātou ki te puna o te ora me te rangimārie

mo ake, ake, ake tonu atu, Haumi e, Hui e, Taiki e

                                        nā te Whānau Beverland

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Ethics Approval

MASSEY
UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Date: 04 July 2019

Dear Ms Marjorie Lipsham

Re: Ethics Notification - **SOB 19/24 - Meanings and understandings of kaitiakitanga**

Thank you for the above application that was considered by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: **Human Ethics Southern B Committee** at their meeting held on **Wednesday, 3 July, 2019**.

Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

Professor Craig Johnson
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics)

Appendix 2 – ANZASW Advertisements

HE PĀNUI – CALLING MĀORI SOCIAL WORKERS

Meanings and understandings of Kaitiakitanga

Ki ngā kaimahi o ngā hau e wha …

- Are you a Māori social worker?
- Have you, as a part of your role as a social worker, practiced Kaitiakitanga?
- Are you willing to talk about your views and experiences of kaitiakitanga and how this contributes to your social work practice and personal life?

If you have answered yes to these questions, I would like to meet with and interview you for my research. If you are interested in participating in this study, please contact me and I will send you further information.

Please forward this pānui onto anyone you think may be interested in taking part in this Massey University Human Ethics Committee approved research.

Overview of the project – Meanings and understandings of kaitiakitanga

The purpose of this study is to explore how Māori understand kaitiakitanga through their lived experiences in order to continue to develop the theory and application of this philosophy between humans in contexts which will include education, health, and social work.

This qualitative research project aims to address the current knowledge gap by exploring and identifying components of kaitiakitanga, and how this is seen between human beings. This could have direct implications for the provision of culturally competent practice in the provision of social work and health services in Aotearoa context as well as provide further clarity regarding the experiences and examples of kaitiakitanga within Māori human-to-human contexts.

Researcher: *Marjorie Lipsham*

School of Social Work,

Massey University,

Palmerston North

Email: *m.lipsham@massey.ac.nz* *Ph: 06) 951-6081 or* ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HE PĀNUI – CALLING MĀORI SOCIAL WORK SUPERVISORS

Meanings and understandings of Kaitiakitanga

Ki ngā kaimahi o ngā hau e wha …

- Are you a Māori social work supervisor?
- Have you, as a part of your role as a social worker, practiced kaitiakitanga?
- Are you willing to talk about your views and experiences of kaitiakitanga and how this contributes to your social work practice and personal life?

If you have answered yes to these questions, I would like to meet with and interview you for my research. If you are interested in participating in this study, please contact me and I will send you further information.

Please forward this pānui onto anyone you think may be interested in taking part in this Massey University Human Ethics Committee approved research.

Overview of the project – Meanings and understandings of kaitiakitanga

The purpose of this study is to explore how Māori understand kaitiakitanga through their lived experiences in order to continue to develop the theory and application of this philosophy between humans in contexts which will include education, health, and social work.

This qualitative research project aims to address the current knowledge gap by exploring and identifying components of kaitiakitanga, and how this is seen between human beings. This could have direct implications for the provision of culturally competent practice in the provision of social work and health services in Aotearoa context as well as provide further clarity regarding the experiences and examples of kaitiakitanga within Māori human-to-human contexts.

Researcher: Marjorie Lipsham

School of Social Work,

Massey University,

Palmerston North

Email: *m.lipsham@massey.ac.nz   **Ph: 06) 951-6081 or** ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮*

Appendix 3 – Information Sheet

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA

UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Meanings and understandings of kaitiakitanga

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher(s) Introduction

Ki te taha o tōku Papa

Ko Ngāti Pākehā te iwi

Ki te taha o tōku Māmā

Ko Taupiri, Kakepuku, Rangitoto me Pirongia ōku maunga

Ko Waikato me Waipa ōku awa

Ko Waikato Maniapoto te iwi

Ko Marjorie Lipsham ahau

Tēnā koe,

My name is Marjorie Lipsham, and I am conducting research with regard to kaitiakitanga and its practice in Aotearoa. This research is being carried out as part of my study towards a Doctor of Philosophy (Health) at Massey University. I am currently working at Massey University as an Assistant Lecturer within the School of Social Work.

Project Description and Invitation

Since colonisation began various aspects of the Māori language have been integrated into the wider New Zealand vernacular. Over time their meanings have shifted to reflect their continued use from a non-Māori worldview, and also arguably a Māori worldview. The word "whānau" for example, is constantly overused and translated in wider New Zealand culture merely as "family", but in Te Ao Māori has a much deeper understanding which in part relates to birth, being born, a sense of connection, obligations to others and close familial relationships. While it is important in one way to promote wider use of the Māori language, it is also important that the underlying meanings continue to reflect the lived experiences of Māori.

Kaitiakitanga is starting to become a common term within health organisations, especially in social work. A framework called kaitiakitanga has been developed by the Social Workers Registration Board for example, whereby it will be compulsory for workers to show their competence to work with Māori.

The purpose of this study is to explore how Māori understand kaitiakitanga through their lived experiences in order to continue to develop the theory and practice of this philosophy.

Participant Identification and Recruitment

I would like to invite you to participate in this research by attending a focus group with five other graduates. You have been selected because your knowledge, experience and participation would be highly valued and appreciated.

The focus group will take approximately two to four hours of your time. There is a possibility that a further three - five hours may be necessary to check any transcriptions after the focus groups are complete. Participants may edit their contribution as part of the checking process. If you decide to participate, we can negotiate where we will meet and what times and dates. Further, if you would like to meet before the focus group to go through what is required, we can organise that.

In the event that we receive more participants than is needed for this research, selection will be based on a first-come, first-served basis.

I would like to contact you directly via phone, Facebook, video conferencing or email initially and then whichever contact method works best for you. For your information, there are range of people being interviewed both individually and in focus groups for this study. This will mean that I will be able to gather a range of information, from different sources in order for analysis to be carried out.

If you have any questions or inquiries, I can be contacted at M.lipsham@massey.ac.nz or by contacting me on ███████████. Alternatively, you are invited to contact my supervisors:

Associate Professor Kieran O'Donoghue: K.B.ODonoghue@massey.ac.nz, or 0800 Massey

Dr Suzanne Phibbs: S.R.Phibbs@massey.ac.nz, or 0800 Massey

Dr Michael Dale: M.P.Dale@massey.ac.nz, or 0800 Massey

Data Management

The focus groups will be voice recorded and later transcribed by me. Please note that if you choose to participate, the focus group will be recorded from beginning to end without interrupting the recording. The information will be sent to each participant to check before the information received is analysed thematically. All the information obtained by participants at the interview will be confidential in that no participant will be named in the research.

The information will be kept on a USB stick, in a lockable cabinet until April 2024 when it will be destroyed. A back up copy with also be held on a password protected computer until such time as the thesis is successfully marked and achieved, it will then be deleted. All participants will have an opportunity to view the completed thesis as a copy will be made available to Massey University Library. Further, I intend to feedback the findings of the research via conference.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation and if you decide to participate, you have the right to:

Decline to answer any particular question.

Withdraw from the study; on withdrawal, all data which includes electronic, voice recorded and physical will be removed from the study. Please see statement above regarding voice recording of focus groups.

Participants have the right to withdraw from the study prior to acknowledging and signing the Authority for the Release of Transcripts form. From the date of signing this release, the participant information will be utilised within the study and withdrawal will no longer be an option.

Ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time.

Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation.

Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher.

Be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

Ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the focus group.

Concluding Comment

Thank you for your participation in this study. Your time and contribution is very important to me, and I appreciate your commitment to being a part of this journey. Ngā manaakitanga, Marjorie.

Compulsory Statements

<u>MUHEC APPLICATIONS</u>

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 19/24. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83657, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix 4 – Interview Schedule/Guide

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Meanings and understandings of kaitiakitanga

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Kaupapa – Questions as they relate to kaitiakitanga and its meaning and understanding which includes any definitions.

How do you understand kaitiakitanga? Has your iwi/hapū/whānau pūrakau of kaitiakitanga shaped your understanding?

Do you practice kaitiakitanga in your personal life?

Who decides whether kaitiakitanga is in action or being practiced or not? How do you know?

What does kaitiakitanga look like in your mahi? Is there a difference between how you understand it in your work to how it is experienced in other parts of your life?

Is the practice of kaitiakitanga valued in your place of work? In your whānau? Are there any factors that make it difficult to practice kaitiakitanga as you would like to?

Could you share any examples of kaitiakitanga in your work and in your life?

Has kaitiakitanga changed over time do you think? Has it changed over time in your whānau/hapū/iwi?

Tāngata – Questions that relate to kaitiakitanga as it is practiced with people.

What characteristics does someone hold who is practicing kaitiakitanga?

Is kaitiakitanga practiced between people?

Can non-Māori engage in the practice of kaitiakitanga?

Is kaitiakitanga an important part of being Māori and how Māori behave and interact?

In your view, do you think Māori understand kaitiakitanga?

Wairua – Questions that relate to the spiritual realm which include tupuna and atua. What does kaitiakitanga feel like?

Do atua, tupuna – other realms play a role in kaitiakitanga?

What does kaitiakitanga look like in others and what does that look like, feel like?

What other takepū/principles align with kaitiakitanga?

Is kaitiakitanga essential to mauri ora – and how?

Te Ao Turoa – Questions that relate to the environment – for example: water, land, resources, taonga, foreshore and seabed.

What is your understanding of kaitiakitanga as it relates to the physical environment?

Has kaitiakitanga changed over time as it relates to the environment? Why/Why not?

General -

Do you want to share any mōteatea, oriori, karakia, waiata that relate to kaitiakitanga?

Appendix 5 – Participant Consent Forms

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA

UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Meanings and understandings of kaitiakitanga

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read, or have had read to me in my first language, and I understand the Information Sheet attached as Appendix I. I have had the details of the study explained to me, any questions I had have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether to participate in this study and I understand participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time.

1. I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

2. I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.

3. I wish/do not wish to have the photo I provide published in the document.

4. I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Declaration by Participant:

I _____ hereby consent to take part in this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Meanings and understandings of kaitiakitanga

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I have read, or have had read to me in my first language, and I understand the Information Sheet attached as Appendix I. I have had the details of the study explained to me, my questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether to participate in this study and I understand participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time.

I understand that I have an obligation to respect the privacy of the other members of the group by not disclosing any personal information that they share during our discussion.

I understand that all the information I provide will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law, and the names of all people in the study will be kept confidential by the researcher.

Note: There are limits on confidentiality as there are no formal sanctions on other group participants from disclosing your involvement, identity or what you say to others in the focus group. There are risks in taking part in focus group research and taking part assumes that you are willing to assume those risks.

I agree to participate in the focus group under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet attached as Appendix I.

Declaration by Participant:

I _____hereby consent to take part in this study.

Signature: _____   **Date:** _____

Appendix 6 – Peer Reviewed PhD Publication Output

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: Constructing a methodological approach centred on whānau pūrākau

Marjorie Lipsham (Waikato Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa ki raro, Tūwharetoa).
Kaiako, Massey University.

ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION: This article discusses the development of a distinctively Māori methodology that centres knowledge and practices that are embedded within whānau. Mātauranga-ā-whānau is a Kaupapa Māori approach that brings a focus upon Māori knowledge that is transmitted intergenerationally.

APPROACH: The development of Mātauranga-ā-Whānau as a methodological approach supports both the assertion by Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) that Kaupapa Māori must be committed to the validation and legitimation of Māori worldviews and the argument by Leonie Pihama (2001) that there are multiple ways of expressing Māori theories and methodologies. Pihama (2001) highlights that affirming whānau, hapū and iwi ways of being within the broader discussion of Kaupapa Māori is critical. While it is beyond the scope of this article to provide an in-depth discussion of both Kaupapa Māori theory and Mātauranga Māori, it is important to note that both cultural frameworks inform the way in which Mātauranga-ā-Whānau is discussed.

CONCLUSIONS: Drawing upon whānau knowledge, experiences and practices, through pūrākau, this article introduces how Māori can approach research applying culturally grounded methodologies.

KEYWORDS: Kaupapa Māori; mātauranga Māori; research methodology; Mātauranga-ā-Whānau; Indigenous research; pūrākau

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau has been integral to my work as a social work educator and is central to my current doctoral research. It was developed as a methodological approach within my master's thesis (Lipsham, 2016) and is founded upon Kaupapa Māori theory and Mātauranga Māori. It is an approach to research that supports the assertion by Smith (G. H. Smith,1997) that Kaupapa Māori must be committed to the validation and legitimation of Māori worldviews and to the argument by Pihama (2001) that there are multiple ways of expressing Māori theories and methodologies. Pihama (2001) further highlights that affirming whānau, hapū and iwi ways of being within the broader discussion of Kaupapa Māori is critical. Pohatu's (2015) article on Mātauranga-ā-Whānau further supports the affirmation of whānau knowledge within research and his analysis regarding the politics and discourse of decolonising methodologies is crucial when working with Māori.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau is a distinctively Māori approach which centres knowledge and practices that are embedded within whānau, and focusses upon ways of

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knowing and being that are transmitted intergenerationally. To explain Mātauranga-ā-Whānau, I will discuss briefly the nature of Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), Whānau and Kaupapa Māori as it relates to relationships and the transmission of knowledge. This will be followed by a sharing of pūrākau from my own whānau, as a means by which to highlight the mātauranga that stem from each of the pūrākau and which have guided me in the identification of key methodological signposts that form, what I refer to as the Mātauranga-ā-Whānau framework.

Mātauranga Māori

Mātauranga Māori is embodied knowledge, understanding, wisdom and practices that we as Māori use in our everyday lives. The role of ancestral knowledge and practices has been well documented as central to Mātauranga Māori, Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous methodologies (Mead, 2003; Nepe, 1991; H. R. Pohatu, 1995; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999). The centrality of our grandparent generations in the transmission of mātauranga Māori is also critical to the revitalisation and regeneration of our language and cultural ways of being (Pere, 1994; Pohatu, 2015). The application of Mātauranga-ā-Whānau as methodology is grounded upon mātauranga handed down through generations that is being sustained for current and future generations. Learning from people such as "our Nana" is central to this discussion as they often hold and unlock knowledge and practices from generations before her. Her memory is of three generations before her. The teachings from her mother and other kuia and koroua also have their origins three generations before them.

Relationships are important to the transmission of mātauranga Māori (Mead, 2003). Whatarangi Winiata (2020) highlighted that mātauranga Māori is "a body of knowledge that seeks to explain phenomena by drawing upon concepts handed down from one generation of

Māori to another" (p. 1). Furthermore, he highlighted the ways in which the process of intergenerational transmission contributes to both the maintenance and growth of mātauranga Māori, stating:

> Accordingly, mātauranga Māori has no beginning and has no end. It is constantly being enhanced and refined. Each passing generation of Māori make their own contribution to mātauranga Māori. The theory or collection of theories, with associated values and practices, has accumulated mai i te ao Māori/from Māori beginnings and will continue to accumulate providing the whakapapa of mātauranga Māori is not broken. (p. 1).

Hirini Moko Mead (2003) also emphasised the expansiveness of mātauranga Māori and the contribution made to the growth of Māori knowledge by each generation. Mead (2003) noted:

> The term "mātauranga Māori" encompasses all branches of Māori knowledge, past, present and still developing. It is like a super subject because it includes a whole range of subjects that are familiar in our world today, such as philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, language, history, education and so on. And it will include subjects we have not yet heard about. Mātauranga Māori has no ending: it will continue to grow for generations to come. (pp. 320–321).

Both Whatarangi Winiata and Hirini Mead are highlighting that each generation needs to contribute to the changing nature of mātauranga and it is the upcoming generation's obligation and responsibility to its growth. The considerations to this growth include ensuring it is tika (correct) and that the integrity of the mātauranga is upheld and honoured. Nepe's (1991) earlier work adds to such understandings and further highlights that we have a "systematic organisation of beliefs, experiences, understandings and

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interpretations of the interactions of Māori people upon Māori people, and Māori people upon their world" (p. 4).

What is clear is that, in order to be able to grow mātauranga, we need to make contributions at every level, whether big or small. For example, this can occur through theory, practices, sharing pūrākau and language. My Nana knows this inherently and goes about the business of teaching us and helping us to learn through a Māori lens daily by transmitting important knowledge to us from rongoā to karakia, raising and caring for children, te reo and pōwhiri, dressing and cleaning and thinking and caring. Mātauranga that is transmitted intergenerationally is highly valued and evolving. It also includes all Māori being able to explain their world through experiences within whānau.

Whānau

Whānau, within this context, refers to a Māori model of extended family that is inclusive of at least 3–4 generations and which stretches across multiple layers of relationships that are grounded within whakapapa (Māori cultural genealogical template). Whānau refers to both extended family and to give birth. As such it is both a concept and practice that affirms intergenerational and intragenerational relationships. For Māori, whānau is a source of knowing—and experiences should be drawn from this source of "potentiated power" for the purpose of fashioning frameworks (Pohatu, 2015, p. 39). Pohatu (2015) stated:

> When asking the question, "where is the first place that we would go to, to draw experience of mātauranga from?", this small piece proposes that whānau is an obvious 'first place' to turn to. It proposes that for Māori, whānau is an acknowledged rich source of applied knowing and experience to draw from, where there is a willingness to invite it as a highly valued companion (hoa haere) in

kaupapa, no matter what it is, where we are and who we are with. (p. 32).

This highlights that whānau wisdom offers us well-tried ways of working and that this knowing can be invited into spaces as signposts for our research approach. My whānau knowing is invited into the space of research moving it from the margins to assume its position "in guiding us at all levels of our lives … so that deep discussion can be invited, reflected upon, endorsed by cultural thought" (Pohatu, 2015, p. 42). The affirmation of whānau as key to Māori approaches is highlighted by the inclusion of whānau as a key principle within Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology. Kaupapa Māori gave some urgency to revitalising, validating and inviting intergenerational knowledge into the research space in the 1990s, and continues to do so today (Nepe, 1991; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999). To contextualise this, a brief overview of Kaupapa Māori is now provided.

Kaupapa Māori theory

Kaupapa Māori is a Māori philosophical foundation that has underpinned the development of the methodological approach discussed in this article. Kaupapa Māori requires Māori researchers to have an awareness of te reo and tikanga, and ground processes and methods upon them (L. T. Smith, 1998). In its broadest sense, Kaupapa Māori refers to Māori knowledge and Māori ways of knowing and doing. G. H. Smith (1997) highlighted that a Kaupapa Māori foundation for theory and research provides a platform for the (i) validation and legitimation of te reo and tikanga Māori; (ii) the prioritisation of the revitalisation of te reo and tikanga; and (iii) the assertion of self-determination and autonomy for Māori.

Much of the early work within Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology emerged from a direct challenge by Māori to the mainstream Pākehā education system and the assimilation policies and approaches upon which it is based. Education is a

particular site of struggle which is controlled and determined through dominant interest groups (G. H. Smith, 1997). The development of colonial schooling and education systems in Aotearoa has been central to the marginalisation of Māori language, culture and knowledge systems (Simon, 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). A key component of that marginalisation was a deliberate process of individualisation within education to align with wider colonial systems that privileged a nuclear family construct over the collective relationships embedded within Māori societal structures of whānau, hapū and iwi (Pihama & Cameron, 2012).

Most specifically, Kaupapa Māori educational sites such as Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura and Whare Wānanga have been central to the design and implementation within the education sector as a Māori designed response to the erosion of Māori language, knowledge and culture (Hohepa, 1990; Royal-Tangaere, 1997). Our ancestors had clearly defined spaces and pedagogical approaches to learning and teaching with multiple sites, both formal and informal (Hohepa, 1999; Nepe, 1991; Pere, 1994; Royal-Tangaere, 1997).

Schooling was not the only colonial structure that intentionally contributed to the breakdown of the fabric of Māori society. The breakdown of traditional Māori structures in terms of culture and language through colonisation is described by O'Regan (2006, p. 157) as a context where Māori were "systematically alienated from their homelands and livelihoods." The impact of this on whānau and intergenerational knowledge transmission has been significant and, for many whānau, highly destructive (Durie, 2001). This included the whānau as the initial site of learning within a context that was inclusive of multiple generations and where the grandparent generation was most critical in the transmission of all aspects of mātauranga (Pere, 1994).

To construct a methodological framework within whānau, and to build on knowledge transmission within whānau, the recalling and retelling of pūrākau is a crucial component. Pūrākau, a form of Māori narrative, will be shared to illustrate how knowledge is transmitted and thought, and will show the pathway to the methodological signposts that form the Mātauranga-ā-Whānau framework.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau—Framing the methodology

This methodology informed by Mātauranga-ā-Whānau is about understanding experience, ways of knowing and ways of being when working with Māori, in a way that works for Māori. Intergenerational transmission of knowledge through pūrākau is key to Mātauranga-ā-Whānau. Cultural thought and cultural patterns are readily recognisable through pūrākau (a traditional form of storytelling) (Pohatu, 2015). Pūrākau have the "potential to unlock philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori" (Lee, 2015, p. 98). Within this section, five pūrākau are shared, a short comment on the theory from a Mātauranga-ā-Whānau lens follow, then the key concepts are transferred into methodological signposts from each of the pūrākau. The methodological signposts are briefly expanded further on in the article. These pūrākau have elucidated key principles and practices that have formed the Mātauranga-ā-Whānau framework shown in Figure 1.

Pūrākau

Nana, my maternal grandmother, is the ultimate philosopher. She was raised among her iwi in Ngāti Maniapoto (King Country, Aotearoa, New Zealand) and has spent most of her adult life living in the Waikato region of Aotearoa, New Zealand. My Nana is a deep thinker and theorist. She navigates various roles as an agreed leader of our whānau and has provided deep learnings for me as a Māori woman. Her first language is te reo Māori, though she is more

than proficient in English. Given that any methodology should be equally concerned, not only with the access of knowledge and people, but must also be grounded upon the values and principles that underpin how the knowledge and the people should be treated and engaged with, it is my Nana's teachings that inform this for me. Nana does not change the way she moves and engages with the world regardless of whether the context is Māori or non-Māori. The way that she engages in her world is naturally occurring, is logical to her and is guided by her life-long learning within Te Ao Māori. Further, tikanga, which include, in part, the values and principles of manaakitanga, aroha, ngā ture, tapu and whakapono, underpin her engagement. Several pūrākau, or personal narratives within our whānau, are now shared.

Pūrākau 1—Koha

When I was in Nana's care as a child, I would be allowed to go and stay with my cousins during the holidays. Nana would hand me a $20 note and would say, "give this to Aunty for letting you stay with her, make sure you work while you are there and do what you are asked." This may not seem like much to the untrained eye; however, Nana was teaching me how to treat people in terms of respect, behaviour, reciprocation and being thoughtful of the needs of others. This was not a one-off practice; it happened every time I visited someone else's home. There may have been other underlying factors connected with the money in terms of what Aunty would have needed to take care of me for the week. Twenty dollars was a lot of money in the 1970s, however, this practice was not about the money.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: The practices here are foundational in our whānau and arguably within Te Ao Māori. Specifically, the principles of, āta mahi (to work diligently), āta whakaako (to deliberately instil knowledge and understanding), āta whakaaro (to give time to thought—to be creative and reflective) and āta whakarongo (consciously

listening with all the senses) apply in this example. Nana did not carry out these actions or teach me about them because it was 'the right thing to do'—she was engaging tikanga. Tikanga underpins a methodology grounded in Kaupapa Māori theory. Respect, good behaviour, reciprocation and being thoughtful to the needs of others as noted in the pūrākau are koha through a Māori lens and play a crucial part in being able to engage with Māori or Kaupapa Māori. The giving of koha is seen on the Marae, as part of a formal pōwhiri process and it is common today for the koha to be monetary. However, its primary focus is not about recompense, but mutual obligations and strengthening ties (Durie, 2001). It is common for Māori to koha money, food, labour or time to their communities. The practice of koha for Nana does not just belong at the Marae during pōwhiri, or at kaupapa. Tikanga extended into all areas for Nana.

Methodological Signposts: Tikanga, Mātauranga, Ako.

Pūrākau 2—Raising mokopuna

Nana shared the responsibility of raising her mokopuna. During my early childhood, at a time when both of my parents did not have the capacity to raise us, my eldest brother and I lived with Nana, our middle brother became whangai to my Mum's eldest sister, our sister was adopted to our Mum's cousin at birth and our youngest brother lived with my Mum's youngest sister. Although there came a time when we were returned to our parents during our teenage years, my Nana had already played a significant role in my life, and she still does today at 90 years of age. Nana was raised by different kuia and koroua in her childhood. Sharing the responsibility of raising grandchildren is a normal practice in Te Ao Māori and being in our grandmother's care as children was an enriching and empowering part of our lives.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: A key epistemological belief within this pūrākau is that the whole whānau is involved in

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the raising of a child and this is true also for engaging in research. There will be times when a Māori researcher will not only be involved with the participant of the research but, depending on the research, their whānau, hapū and iwi and other Indigenous knowledges and people. As a Māori researcher, you should expect to learn about the whakapapa of the whānau and my experience has been that whānau want to be engaged in kaupapa. My whānau play a pivotal part in my doctoral journey, from my Nana to my eldest brother, cousins, my son and my niece. Before choosing the topic for my doctoral research I met with my Nana to ask her permission—it was at that point that whānau members became involved. Nana wanted my eldest brother and older cousin involved as they were who she trusted in terms of taking care of and keeping our whakapapa information safe. I chose another cousin to be involved as she is a fluent speaker of te reo and would be able to talk with Nana more effectively. My son and my niece were chosen as first cousins to enable them to learn about research and be part of the intergenerational transmission of knowledge. What I know from my experience of having my whole whānau involved in my upbringing, to now being involved in my doctoral journey, is that whakapapa is a central principle and cannot be underestimated. Nana's decision to include others in this research is underpinned by her wanting everyone to be part of a learning and teaching experience to enable mātauranga to be transmitted.

Methodological Signposts: Ako, Whanaungatanga, Hui/Wānanga

Pūrākau 3—Karanga

A karanga is a Māori ceremonial call, or a welcome call, that is carried out in many different contexts which can include the birth of a child and welcoming people onto a Marae or an equivalent event of welcome. My cousins and I asked our Nana about the prospect of learning karanga. She replied by asking us what we thought that meant and

that if we wanted to have further discussions on the topic, we would need to set a date that suited all of us, and that the meeting would need to be held at our whenua (our ancestral land) in Benneydale. The meeting held at our whenua, as discussed by Nana, may not include the actual teaching of karanga, but rather, the tikanga of karanga, and that there will be reasons why some will be selected for karanga and others may be appropriate in other roles. As mokopuna, we understood her body language, the tone of her voice and the feelings we had as she talked. We understood these things as a collective, but also as individuals. Interestingly, that initial discussion would start to naturally weed out, if you will, those who were truly interested and those that were not. Although it was not confirmed, Nana's theory of selection was already in play.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: Nana's strategy in the karanga pūrākau was to offer up the place in which Hui (meetings/gatherings) could take place in order that she might see who was interested in karanga. Underpinning the strategy was the idea that the conversations are held at a place that was appropriate and fitting to the context and study of karanga, rather than the carrying out of karanga proper. The questions that were part of the continuing conversations regarding karanga are cultural markers. For example, learning karanga is steeped in tikanga and therefore, if possible, researching at one's Marae, a place of importance to them, or on whenua is important. Learning in wānanga is important. Nana knows this, and her questions were based around this thinking. The questions in the pūrākau lend themselves to analysis, processes, hui, inquiry, conditions, place, space and curiosity. When engaging in research with Māori, the following questions are important:

- who is asking?
- why are they asking?
- where will conversations take place?
- what will be discussed?
- who will take part and why?
- was the discussion relevant and

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appropriate at that time and place, and

• who was it relevant to, appropriate to, who would it benefit?

It is necessary to understand the where, when, why and how questions regarding Māori knowledge. Māori regard some knowledges as tapu, and an example of this follows in the next pūrākau. Also, Māori are protective of information because, in the past, non-Māori have misused research for their own power, control and gain (L. T. Smith, 1999).

Methodological Signposts: Tikanga, Mātauranga, Aro, Wā, Wāhi, Hui/Wānanga

Pūrākau 4—Tapu

Nana considers Māori knowledge to hold aspects of tapu and treads carefully, especially when teaching aspects of Te Ao Māori that are part of tikanga. This is partly why the conversation regarding karanga developed as it did. Nana would consider karanga as a ritual steeped in tapu. I recall a time during my early years in tertiary education—I was completing a National Diploma of Social Work and we were asked to research our whakapapa. I returned to the Waikato to ask Nana, very enthusiastically, who my tūpuna were and what their names were, etc. I had a pen and paper ready to write the information down. She did share information with me, and I wrote everything down. After the conversation, she asked what I'd do with the paper—"paper?", I asked, "yes" she said, "that you wrote our whakapapa on." She was worried that it would be thrown away, ripped up or discarded. To her, the paper represented whakapapa, and therefore people who had passed, and the deep respect that she held for them meant that she worried about their wellness, as well as mine if I did anything wrong with the paper. The paper became tapu through her lens as Māori because tūpuna names were written on it.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: This is an example of how mātauranga is transmitted and the

multiple layers of learning and teaching. The idea of tapu has evolved over generations and Nana is carrying through her knowing into what we might consider today as a contemporary example. Tapu is explained by Rangimarie Rose Pere (1994, p. 39) as "spiritual restriction, ceremonial restriction, putting something beyond one's power, placing a quality or condition on a person or on an object or place; but whatever the context its contribution is establishing social control and discipline, and protecting people and property." Tapu is a critical concept within the broader understanding and practices of tikanga. Whether it is a contemporary example or not, the consequence of tapu is still relevant and cannot be disregarded as superstition. Tapu is a means of social control and protection but it often occurs and is largely a concern at a whānau level. Tapu is important when thinking about engaging with others, things, knowledge, places or any context within research. "Just because you are Māori, or your topic and/or participants are Māori, doesn't necessarily mean you are conducting or engaging in Kaupapa Māori research" (Rautaki Limited, 2016, n.p.). To engage in Mātauranga-ā-Whānau you must be able to think about the safety of whānau and self through a Māori lens. Tapu acknowledges those things that exist outside of being human as well as very practical considerations, and we need to always be aware of our responsibilities to all things physical and metaphysical. Our role as insiders to research is also important here. We should be reflecting on the concept of tapu to uphold the tino rangatiratanga of whānau and mātauranga in our research, the consequences will not just be on us otherwise, but on the participant whānau, our whānau and wider communities.

Methodological Signposts: Wā, Wāhi, Tikanga, Mātauranga

Pūrākau 5—Whānau Hui

My upbringing was informed by Māori principles, Māori ways of being and Māori

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rationales. These areas were particularly noticeable on the Marae, in the home or at specific events like tangihanga (funerals). Another of these forums was the whānau Hui or family gathering. In my whānau the Hui was a forum specifically used for dealing with any tensions or conflict inherent in the family. There were several uncles who could facilitate the Hui, but they would seek advice and guidance from Nana. Children were privy to the tensions within our Hui but importantly, they were privy also to the way that tensions were managed and the resolutions that resulted. The Hui would start in much the same way every time we met. Firstly, karakia (prayer) by our Nana, then a mihi (informal greeting) regarding the reason we were all there, then each person (including children) would be given the opportunity to speak moving in the direction of the next person to the left. Finally, after everyone in the family had spoken and resolutions obtained, a karakia and mihi to end the Hui would be carried out before proceeding to share in a meal. Inevitably however, the Hui would take a considerable amount of time, sometimes crossing into two days. During the Hui, voices would be raised, comments would be made, crying was inevitable, and emotions ran high. In these moments, my Nana often used cultural skills and techniques to guide the Hui while gently reminding the family about behaviour and engaging respectfully with one another. This is where I first heard Āta phrases. My Nana would stand and, in te reo Māori, discuss the family's ability to āta whakaaro— or think clearly and think deliberately. She would use the term āta kōrero—the ability to watch tone, speak with clarity and speak in a manner which conveyed respect. In these moments, the atmosphere calmed and the reflection this prompted was evident (Lipsham, 2012, 2016).

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau: Hui can be translated to mean a gathering or meeting. Hui could be explained as qualitative in nature and has some similarities including, studying personal constructs, oral histories and human interaction. However, the inclusion of Hui means ensuring Tikanga Māori (Māori protocols) are within the process of meeting with the participants and qualitative research has not always allowed for a cultural dimension (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996). Hui include tikanga or protocols such as karakia (acknowledging sources), whanaungatanga (getting to know one another), sharing intention or kaupapa (reason/topic for Hui), addressing the kaupapa in Hui, closing rituals and sharing in food (Bateman & Berryman, 2008; Salmond, 1975). These processes are key to a successful research Hui and if one cannot carry out these processes themselves, then a companion could be asked to contribute their time to make sure that the Hui is carried out with integrity. Hui are important because they carry with them an understanding that, within a Māori context, a high value is placed on manaaki, whakapapa, aroha, ensuring personal mana and protecting the mauri and wairua within relationships (Mead, 2003). When engaging the signpost of Hui in research, the researcher must know the appropriate tikanga associated with Hui. This includes being able to enter, engage and exit the Hui accordingly.

Methodological Signposts: Tikanga, Mātauranga, Ako, Aro, Hui, Wānanga

Discussion

The pūrākau presented here illustrate a range of intergenerational teachings and learnings. It is from my lens as a mokopuna, though many of my cousins and siblings may have different interpretations of what has been shared here. What we would all agree on however, is that Nana has been able to transmit knowledge to us all in a way that is positive, caring and nurturing. Nana is a very humble individual, who is very calm by nature. She knows all of her mokopuna intimately, all of their names, their habits and connects to us in terms of our mauri daily. There are many more pūrākau that will be utilised in my doctoral study that may include stories from my siblings and cousins which will further add to the Mātauranga-ā-

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Whānau framework. This section, however, has concentrated on identifying the pūrākau, the theory and the signposts that form the framework.

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau framework

From the pūrākau, the Mātauranga-ā-Whānau theory and the identification of methodological signposts, a framework was constructed for my master's research. Since engaging in my doctoral research however, I have added further methodological signposts including Ako, Aro, Mātauranga, Wā and Wāhi. In the following section I will give a brief overview of each of the framework signposts that I have identified in the pūrākau above, which are illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Signpost 1: Pūrākau: In research, a pūrākau approach unlocks philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori (Lee, 2015). Pūrākau is a traditional Māori storytelling approach that engages Māori voice, heart, mind and soul. Pūrākau have inherent power with the potential to create transformation for Māori. Māori value knowledge and value the telling of their own pūrākau for the purposes of sharing, transmission, developing, learning and teaching in part. In my doctoral research, pūrākau is the vehicle through which Mātauranga-ā-Whānau is transmitted, engaged and understood.

Signpost 2: Ako: Ako is the pedagogy of learning and teaching in the Māori tradition which includes a range of tikanga. Within research it is acknowledged that both the researcher and the participants are involved in the teaching and learning, it is a reciprocal relationship (Pere, 1994). This includes the consideration of Āta and its varying signposts (Pohatu, 2004). Ako is important to my doctoral research as it also considers the positions of mana, tuakana/teina, equity, power and control.

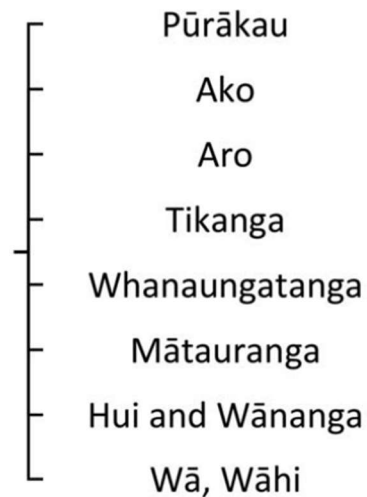**Signpost 3: Aro**: Aro is reflective praxis throughout the research process for all

Figure 1. Mātauranga-ā-Whānau framework.

involved. As the researcher, having a critical lens is important. It is important for me to reflect on politics, colonisation, relationships and power at micro, macro and chrono levels when engaging in research that involves Māori. For the participants, there is a need to allow time to think through and connect to the questions. It is important, too, not to restrict time allowing time to ponder, talk with other whānau, hapū, iwi, and sit with the information.

Signpost 4: Tikanga: Tikanga is the fundamental values, protocols and practices that inform us as Māori. Mead (2003) notes that tikanga provides us with the processes by which to do things in a way that is tika, or correct. In the research relationship, from entry and engagement to the exit, one must consider tikanga. Tikanga is a huge subject which means the Māori researcher (or their hoa haere) has to be capable in areas such as te reo, kawa, karakia, manaaki, etc., and to also ensure that the research process is affirming and validating of the cultural relationships, values and practices that are critical to Māori.

Signpost 5: Whanaungatanga: Whanaungatanga means to action the

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process of coming together as a whānau, being relational and connecting to each other's whakapapa. In this research it relates to building relationships, strengthening ties, building rapport and establishing a connection on a physical and spiritual level. Whanaungatanga means I need to know the community I am working with, my own communities and be connected in some way (or make connections) to the people that I want to engage in research with. It will also mean maintaining those relationships post-research.

Signpost 6: Mātauranga Māori: As discussed briefly above, Mātauranga Māori is a broad body of knowledge that seeks to explain phenomena by drawing upon concepts handed down from one generation of Māori to another. Mātauranga "encompasses all branches of Māori knowledge, past, present and still developing … It is like a super subject" (Mead, 2003, pp. 320–321). In my research, mātauranga is a hoa haere (constant companion) to thinking about pūrākau and drawing on knowledge from the past and present. In my view, I am not able to view pūrākau through a Māori lens without understanding Mātauranga in the first instance.

Signpost 7: Hui and Wānanga: Both of these processes offer the opportunity, through culturally grounded processes, to gather together to engage with, and transmit mātauranga. These processes include traditional welcomes, tributes, ceremony, respect paid to the living and the dead and to the hosts and food. Both hui and wānanga provide an atmosphere that engages the physical and metaphysical sites of being Māori. Both have survived principally through the activities of the Marae where traditional knowledge is passed down the generations by word of mouth. When utilised within my research, both can be explained as qualitative in nature and have some similarities including studying personal understandings, oral histories and human interaction (Salmond, 1975). As noted above, however, hui and

wānanga ensure tikanga Māori is central (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996).

Signpost 8: Wā, Wāhi: My upbringing and the pūrākau in my whānau have taught me that time and place are very important aspects of life. Wā meaning time, and wāhi, location or place. This signpost considers when and where the research will take place. This can be considered a conversation between the researcher and the whānau; however, wā and wāhi should be considered the choice of those who are participating in the research, unless they would consider it appropriate for the researcher to host them. As the researcher I am considering their aroha, their koha and their mātauranga as a central focus of the research and therefore, where they may want to share information is crucial.

The above signposts, although only briefly introduced, show how I will and have approached research. Inviting pūrākau, teaching and learning, reflective praxis and analysis, ethical practices informed by Māori, building relationships, knowing knowledges, gathering in ways that are appropriate and at times and places that suit the participants are the signposts that will inform my doctoral research. The development of each of the signposts is key at this stage of my doctoral journey.

Concluding reflections

The use of Kaupapa Māori methodologies within research has been advocated for by Māori for over thirty years. This article has provided an overview of a methodology not only grounded within mātauranga Māori but within whānau specifically. As Pohatu (2015, p. 37) stated, Mātauranga-ā-Whānau "is an important site and source where Māori have the daily opportunity to use our own images, sources, people, experiences, words and knowing, locating messages, then interpreting them into our contexts."

Mātauranga-ā-whānau brings forward the capacity for Māori to support, through

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the affirmation of whānau knowledge, a wider revitalisation agenda that focuses on the reconnection of our whānau to ourselves, our lands, our language, our cultural ways of being. This is an affirmation of whānau as ora, though we must be cognizant of the fact that some Māori continue to experience disconnection and displacement from their whakapapa. This may be considered a limitation; however, as methodology, Mātauranga-ā-Whānau requires us to commit to placing our whānau and broader whakapapa connections at the centre of our processes. This aligns with Pohatu (2015, p. 32) who emphasised that

Mātauranga-ā-Whānau "offers whānau-members opportunities to see and shape its wider usefulness in the many worlds we connect with and move in through our lives." Mātauranga-ā-Whānau as a research approach brings a focus upon Māori knowledge that is learned within whānau intergenerationally and ensures that the research process is affirming and validating of the cultural relationships, values and practices that are critical to Māori.

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Glossary

Ako	Practice of teaching and learning. The idea that teaching and learning occurs at every level and across generations.
Aro	Reflection, reflexive practice, to understand, consider, pay attention to
Aroha	To sow compassion, love, connection, warmth
Hapū	To be pregnant, or sub-tribe
Hoa haere	Considered or constant companion
Hui	Meeting or gathering
Iwi	Tribe
Karakia	Prayer, incantation, spiritual guiding words to Māori deity
Karanga	Ceremonial call of welcome
Kaupapa	Floor, stage, platform, topic, policy, matter for discussion
Kawa	Protocols, customs
Koha	Valued contribution, gift
Kōrero	Conversation, talk, talking
Kuia	Older woman
Koroua	Older man
Mana	Prestige, power, spiritual power, charisma, authority
Manaaki	Hospitality, uplifting one's mana
Manaakitanga	The practice of being hospitable, being kind, generosity, showing respect.
Māori	Native, indigenous person of Aotearoa New Zealand
Mātauranga	Knowledge that is Māori, see explanation in text.
Mauri	Life essence
Mokopuna	Grandchild/ren
Ngāti Maniapoto	Tribal group located in the King Country - geographical area of Aotearoa New Zealand
Ngā ture	Law, lore, rules
Pōwhiri	Formal ceremony of welcome
pūrākau	Narrative. Story. Messages of kaupapa and whakapapa.

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Rangatira	Chief, leader, one who can lead and gather others
Rongoā	Medicine, remedy, medication
Tapu	Sacred, prohibited, set apart
Tangata Māori	Māori person/people
Tangihanga	The funeral process
Tautoko	To support, prop up, verify, advocate
Te Reo	The Māori language
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Te Kōhanga Reo	Early childcare centres
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Primary school level
Whare Kura	Secondary school level
Whare Wānanga	Tertiary level institutions
Tikanga	Correct procedure, habit, lore, method, manner, practice, convention
Tino rangatiratanga	Autonomy, self-determination, self-governing
Wā	Time, a period, a term
Wāhi	Location, place
Wairua	Spiritual essence
Wānanga	Gathering for the purpose of learning. In-depth learning centre. To meet, discuss, consider.
Whakapapa	Genealogy, to layer, lay flat upon one another
Whakapono	Knowledge of what is true, truth
Whānau	To be born, give birth, family, be connected familiarly
Whanaungatanga	Building connections between whakapapa, rapport building, establishing relationships
Wharenui	Meeting house, large house at a marae
Whenua	Earth, land, ground, placenta

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