

GROWING RESEARCH SKILLS AT IWI LEVEL

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INTRODUCTION

The charter for research in Maori culture is laid down in the creation myth of Ranginui and Papatuanuku. Tane and his brothers lived in the world of darkness between the enclosing bodies of their parents. The darkness in the myth referred as much to the darkness of mind, as the absence of light. Tane's restless search for enlightenment is encapsulated in the phrases "kimihia e Tane, rangahau e Tane." These phrases, cited in the tauparapara, 'Toia Tainui tapotu ki te moana' identify Tane as the progenitor of research activity. Tane's search for enlightenment culminated in the separation of earth and sky, bringing te ao marama, the world of light, into being.

In Maori epistemology, all knowledge emanates from the celestial realm of the gods. Rangiataea the storehouse of occult knowledge and prototype of kura and whare wananga was situated in uppermost realm of the heavens. In the tauparapara 'tenei au te hokai nei i taku tapuwae,' Tane ascended to the uppermost realm of the heavens to fetch the three baskets of knowledge, te kete tuauri, te kete tuatea and te kete aronui. This knowledge Tane disseminated on earth to be discovered by human beings for their use.

The human progenitor of research was the culture hero Maui who reached into the baskets of knowledge for karakia of good and evil and the material things that humans need to know for their sustenance and well being. The ideal of research is to benefit humankind. This Maui did by inventing ropes, bone weapons, fishhooks and unlocking the secret of fire-making. Subsequent generations of humans made increments to the store of knowledge started by Maui. Ruatēpūpūke, the patron of carvers, for instance, fetched knowledge of carving from the domain of Tangaroa. The accumulated knowledge was passed on orally in schools of learning known as kura or whare wananga.

Students known as pia were carefully selected for training in whare wananga. The schools met in the winter months and studied a complementary curriculum divided into two parts, Te kauae runga (The celestial realm) and Te kauae raro (The terrestrial realm). Graduates emerged as tohunga (experts) in the various fields of human endeavour after several years of study. These experts included tohunga ahurewa (high priests of astronomy, whakapapa, sacred and esoteric knowledge), and tohunga makutu (masters of witchcraft). There were also sub-branches of tohunga for technical knowledge in carving, house-building, tattooing, canoe building and so on.

The pre-European culture fashioned by Maori is preserved in museums and written accounts published by Rev. Richard Taylor, Percy Smith, Elsdon Best, Sir George Grey and John White. The vast literature on the subject of pre-European Maori culture provides modern day Maori researchers with the backdrop to help them understand the impact of European colonisation and illuminate the present survival of that culture.

With the advent of Christianity and modernity in the nineteenth century, chiefs sent their children to mission schools instead of whare wananga to learn the secrets of a more advanced technological culture. That objective was thwarted by the limitations of the religious curriculum. The mission schools were replaced by the Native Schools Act 1867 and with the passing of the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 wananga faded into history. On the other hand, converts who learned to read and write spread literacy as well as the word of the Bible to most villages in the country. This had the effect of shifting oral recording and transmission of knowledge to doing it in writing. The most notable scribes in the transition from the stone-age to modernity such as Te Rangikaheke, Te Matorohanga and Whatahoro Jury recorded their knowledge in manuscripts and family whakapapa books. These early manuscripts are written in Maori, so a researcher wanting to access matauranga Maori recorded in the nineteenth century needs to be able to read Maori and translate it accurately.

WHAKAPAPA

Matauranga Maori is codified in whakapapa. For this reason, whakapapa is more than just a list of ancestors from canoe forebears down to a living person. The word whakapapa means the layering of information from the beginning of the universe in a sequence that is rational and progressive in the sense of evolution. Orators in their whaikorero on a marae invariably structure their speeches according to the principles underlying whakapapa. Thus a speech might begin with references to the creation era of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, the homeland of Hawaiki, the ancestral waka that brought forebears to Aotearoa and culminate in the whakapapa of the orator, thereby identifying himself and his right to speak on the marae. Each period, level or name in a whakapapa, have korero or stories attached to them. These hapu and iwi stories are usually encoded in the visual forms of carving and tukutuku in ancestral meeting houses. Ancestral houses as well as whakapapa books are a primary source of information for a student of matauranga Maori.

For the uninitiated, a caveat is entered here on the nature of whakapapa. The whakapapa of founding ancestors in New Zealand connect up with the myth figures such as Maui, Tawhaki and Rata who lived a long time ago in the Maori mythological garden of Eden known as Hawaiki. New Zealand whakapapa dealing with real men and women range from 15 to 30 generations in length, giving a time depth of less than 1000 years of human history. The contradiction is reconciled by the construction of some genealogies as 'tatai hikohiko'. These words translate as a lineage of flashing lightning, signifying that it as a lineage of luminaries.

Given the thousands of years of human existence in tribal societies it was not possible to record the names of all ancestors by oral transmission. Only the luminaries who had pivotal roles in the evolution and development of the Maori world were recorded in whakapapa. Because genealogies were truncated, they were not absolute. They could also be lengthened by the insertion of extra epochs in the creation, or deities in human lines to enhance them. A tribal whakapapa in effect is a comprehensible paradigm of reality

capable of being stored in the human mind and transmitted from one generation to the next.¹

THE TOOLS OF RESEARCH

The basic tools of research are the five senses of hearing, sight, smell, touch and taste. It is through these five senses that humans make observations about facts in the world of reality. But making sense of the facts observed occurs in the mind, by way of classifying data, seeing connections, establishing causal relations and generating hypotheses that can be tested by experimentation. This is the essence of the scientific method. With the exception of lunatics and the feeble-minded, all adult humans are capable of this higher level of intellectual activity. Polynesian forebears of the Maori demonstrated the veracity of this proposition by their observations of the movement of celestial bodies across the night sky, and using them to navigate on voyages of discovery around the Pacific Ocean. Celestial navigation was supplemented by observations of other natural phenomena such as cloud formations over land, ocean currents and migratory birds. In the case of migratory birds flying overhead at night, their association with navigation is recorded in the aphorism 'he kahui ariki ki rangi, he waka tere ki te moana.' Using the doppler effect the navigator stayed on course by detecting any variations in sound frequency of the birds overhead.

TOOLS OF TECHNOLOGY

With the advent of modern science, observations through sensory perceptions have been supplemented and amplified by technology such as microscopes to peer into the world of microbes and telescopes to detect galaxies in the outer reaches of space. It is important to note that technology does not change the fundamental principles of research based on observation through our senses. Technology merely expands our view from the micro to the macro levels of reality. In our own time, the range of observation has been extended by electron microscopes down to the atomic level and radio telescopes to the very edge of the universe and the beginning of time.

Rapid advances of technology in the twentieth century also increased the range of methods for recording and retrieval of data from typewriters to tape recorders and computers. Computer literacy is as much a prerequisite for a researcher now as the ability to write. A researcher must also be able to write to an acceptable standard in the English language. This means being able to write English in a logical, lucid and precise manner. Notwithstanding such abilities, the first draft of a report should be submitted to at least one or two able proof-readers for corrections and suggestions for improvement.

DEVELOPMENT OF IWI RESEARCH

It is an unfortunate fact of history that British Imperialism in the nineteenth century all but destroyed Maori language and culture. Maori adapted to the new world by sending their children to Pakeha schools of learning instead of wananga. Consequently, wananga became moribund and matauranga Maori shriveled and almost died out. Children in the

¹ See Walker R., 'A paradigm of the Maori View of Reality' in *Nga Kete Wananga*, Manukau Institute of Technology 1999, pp.6-11.

urban milieu grew up not knowing their iwi, their hapu or even their waka. But the cultural revival promoted by Sir Apirana Ngata in the first fifty years of the last century effloresced into a stunning cultural renaissance in the second half of the century. That renaissance was marked by a desire to find out about the past, by way of whakapapa, or iwi and hapu tikanga that might culminate in a report or book on tribal history. Published books of this era include *Tuhoe, Te Arawa, Tainui, Takitimu, Tuwharetoa* and *Whakatohea*. These tribal histories had an integrity of their own arising out of the sacred nature of knowledge taught in whare wananga.

In the final quarter of the last century the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal gave new impetus to hapu and iwi research. The objective of research for treaty claims is to extract settlements from the Crown for breaches of obligations entered into under the Treaty of Waitangi. Research for treaty claims must have integrity not only in terms of the tapu nature of wananga, but also be able to withstand scrutiny under the rigorous conventions of Pakeha scholarship. Research reports on claims to the Waitangi Tribunal, or to the Minister of Treaty Settlements, without the citation of sources are useless.

RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

Research on whakapapa for whanau, hapu and iwi, or treaty claims against the Crown, might be carried out by anyone who belongs to the groups under investigation. In this case a researcher has the advantage of being an insider, of already knowing some of the terrain under investigation. Alternatively, outsiders might be commissioned to do such research. The caveat for the insider is the need to be objective and hard-headed to avoid the pitfall of bias in the selection of facts uncovered by research. The outsider, although not having the insights of an insider nonetheless has the stranger value of fresh eyes. Whatever the case, whether insider or outsider, there are protocols to ensure that the research is rigorous, relevant, and of benefit to the people:

- The first step is to define the subject of research. This means giving the research topic a succinct title that encapsulates what the kaupapa of the research is about.
- Research must be informed by theory to select facts relevant to the kaupapa. In the case of treaty claims a theory of power, domination, struggle and emancipation would be appropriate. Maori intuitively understand a theoretical framework of this kind, but might be reluctant to state it as the basis of their research because it is a challenge to established regimes of power. There is ample justification for taking up such a theoretical position in the works of Gramsci, Fanon, Freire, Foucault and Said.
- The kaupapa of the research should be elaborated by a statement of its objectives and a demarcation of its boundaries, including the time period under investigation, so that the research is focussed and does not stray into unrelated territory.
- The third step is to pose the questions to be investigated concerning waka, ancestors, territory, settlement, papakainga, battles of conquest or in defense of territory,

mahinga kai, urupā, the impact of colonisation and the acts of the Crown that led to dispossession of land and resources.

- The fourth step is to set out the methodology, how the research is to be carried out. These include observations of hui on marae, interviews of kaumātua and other informants, recording interviews in long-hand, on cassette, audio-tape or even video camera. Although most Maori are accustomed to these devices, it is a matter of courtesy and research ethics that permission be sought from informants before using them.
- Included in methodology is the search for documentary evidence in existing literature, whakapapa books and archives in local and national libraries. Government documents particularly Appendices of the Journal of the House of Representatives, parliamentary debates and the files of Native Affairs are important sources of information. The selection of material to photocopy is determined by the questions posed in the research paradigm.
- One of the most valuable sources of traditional evidence that should be consulted for hapu and iwi history is the minute books of the Native Land Court. But these must be treated with a degree of circumspection as the court was the new battle ground over land, where some claimants were not above distorting whakapapa to gain advantage.
- Research sometimes uncovers information not anticipated by the questions set out in the research kaupapa. For this reason the research paradigm should not be a straightjacket that prevents the inclusion of serendipitous discoveries. That is one of the purposes of research, to discover new information and insights to add to the known body of knowledge.
- It would also be useful to establish a timetable to complete sections of research tasks otherwise the research might drag on longer than is necessary.
- The research report might include tribal maps diagrams and graphs for territory, population, place-names and areas of hapu occupation. While much can be done by an amateur using computer graphics, cartography is the domain of the specialist, so mapping costs have to be factored into the research programme.
- The aphorism “ma te huruhuru te manu ka rere” is a truism for research activity. This means the researcher must establish a budget before commencing research. Costs to be factored into the budget might include travel, accommodation, photocopying, purchase of material and equipment and whether the researcher is paid or voluntary labour.
- Having established the research paradigm (kaupapa), the ethics of research require the researcher to seek permission and support from kaumātua and community leaders before proceeding. The ideal is collaborative research between the researcher and the

community. Community ownership of a research outcome makes it a politically more potent document.

STORAGE AND RETRIEVAL OF DATA

Once research starts, data begins to accumulate. The researcher must ensure that the information is stored in appropriate files, catalogued and easily retrieved. Storage may be in hard copy or electronic form. In the case of computer files, back up copies should be kept on discs and stored in a separate location from the computer. When the researcher is satisfied that the field has been mined of all the relevant information, the next step is to synthesise the material into a succinct report. The objective of a report is to argue a case, underpin it with facts and critical analysis and draw conclusions. If the project is large enough, the written outcome might be a book. As each section of a report or a chapter of a book is written, it would be prudent for the researcher to submit the first draft to a small select group of kaumätua or community leaders to read for approval, suggestions or corrections of matters of fact. This *modus operandi* ensures that the research has integrity as a joint enterprise between the researcher the subjects of the research and other stakeholders.

CITATION OF REFERENCES

In writing a report or a book, the researcher must cite accurately the sources of information as footnotes or endnotes. Modern computer programmes have these facilities built in. Failure to acknowledge a source of information devalues a report and leaves the researcher vulnerable to a charge of plagiarism or 'whanako korero.' If the source of information is a published book, the author's name, date of the book's publication and the page number are cited in the footnote or endnote. But the full details of the book, naming the author, title of the book, publisher and date of publication must be set out in a separate section at the end of the report as a bibliography. Similarly there should be a separate section listing Maori or other newspaper sources cited in the report. Examples of these conventions can be studied at the end of most scholarly books. Where a report has Maori words or phrases incorporated in what is mainly an English text, a glossary should also be included at the end for Pakeha readers.

TREATY CLAIMS AGAINST THE CROWN

The research methodology set out above is applicable to the preparation of an iwi claim to go before a hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal, or if the case is well founded, to enter into direct negotiation with the Crown.

Making a claim against the Crown under the Treaty of Waitangi assumes that the researcher understands the Treaty itself and the current discourse between Maori and Pakeha on the Treaty. Current debate on the treaty centres on terms such as 'partnership', 'principles of the treaty' and 'tino rangatiratanga.' Of these, only the latter is to be found in the Treaty. The words 'partnership' and 'principles of the treaty' came out of the judgements in the High Court on the Maori fisheries claim and the State Owned Enterprises claim.² The words 'partnership' and 'principles' were not defined and have tended to obscure what Maori want and can secure from the Crown.

² Walker, R. *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou Struggle Without End*, 1990, pp.26-268, & pp.273-277.

If the debate is based on the Maori version of the Treaty signed by the rangatira of the hapu, and the English version is used only as an auxiliary to the primary document, then the kaupapa of the Treaty becomes explicit:

- 1 Under article one Maori ceded Kawanatanga, not mana to the Crown. This means the Crown had the right to set up a system of government and the mechanisms of the state including Parliament, government departments, the judiciary, law enforcement and local bodies.
- 2 Under article two the Crown guaranteed Maori the 'tino rangatiratanga,' absolute chieftainship over their lands, forests, fisheries and taonga. The word taonga subsumes intangible values as well as material treasures.
- 3 Under article three the Crown guaranteed Maori all the rights and privileges of British citizenship. Subsumed under citizenship are Magna Carta, habeas corpus, the Bill of Rights and the democratic values of freedom, equality and justice.

Most treaty claims against the Crown are made under article two. So the objective of research for a treaty claim is to prove a breach by the Crown of the rights it guaranteed under this article.

TREATY AUDITS

With the advent of Tomorrow's Schools and the educational reforms that came into vogue in the last decade, all educational institutions make reference to the Treaty of Waitangi in their charters. Consequently, holding agents of the Crown accountable for delivery of equality to Maori under article three of the Treaty has come into vogue by way of Treaty compliance audits of educational institutions. Universities and polytechnic institutions are extensions of kawanatanga and may be interrogated on their performance in increasing the recruitment of Maori students, their retention and graduation rates. They may also be interrogated on their accommodation to tino rangatiratanga by way of provision for Maori in their governance, management and staffing structures. The objective of a Treaty audit is to persuade tertiary institutions to take active measures to close the educational gap between Maori and Pakeha towards the ideal of equality guaranteed in article three of the treaty. The following institutions have undergone treaty Audits:

Auckland University

Otago University

Manukau Institute of Technology

The Royal College of General Practitioners

The Treaty Audit reports are available on inter-loan from the Auckland University Library. The kaupapa in these documents might be used as a paradigm by iwi who want to interrogate their local education providers.

Treaty audits might be extended to other arms of kawanatanga such as local bodies in the light of hardly any Maori being elected in 2001 to Regional Councils and Health Boards. Iwi researchers wanting to do something about the inadequate representation of tino rangatiratanga by kawanatanga in Regional Councils and Health Boards might begin by seeking answers to the following questions:

- 1 The composition of the population in the iwi region.
- 2 The number and proportion of Maori to Pakeha on the Regional Council and Health Board.
- 3 Is the kawanatanga of the Regional Council and Health Board balanced by representation of tino rangatiratanga?
- 4 Did the iwi put up and support Maori candidates for local body elections?
- 5 What are the obstacles to Maori election to local body office?
 - 5.1 Pakeha out-voting Maori?
 - 5.2 Maori not appealing to Pakeha voters?
 - 5.3 Low Maori voting?

The iwi of Mataatua in the Eastern Bay of Plenty made their position on Maori participation in local bodies known to their Regional Council. The regional Council was aware that Maori representation on the council was inadequate, erratic and could not be guaranteed. In an attempt to rectify the situation, the Council supported the introduction of The Bay of Plenty Regional Council (Maori Constituency Empowering) Bill by the member for Eastern Maori, Mr Mita Ririnui. The bill aimed to establish one or more Maori electoral districts in the Bay of Plenty region. The number of Maori electorates would be determined by dividing the Maori electoral roll for Parliament, by the total number of voters in the general electorates of the region.³ The bill was enacted last year and provided for three Maori seats in the recent municipal elections thereby setting a precedent for other regional councils.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this paper indicates that research is a natural human pursuit whose aim is to discover truth about the nature of reality. All humans are capable of finding out things for themselves, and when they do they discover that knowledge is empowering. But where empowerment through knowledge is sought at the political level, such as a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, or representation in local government, then to be effective in achieving the desired objective, research must be conducted in a manner that is rigorous, professional and above all bullet-proof.

Heoi ano, he korero tupato hei whakamutunga. Ka pikihia e te tangata rangahau nga nga wawata.

READING

³ Bay of Plenty regional Council (Maori constituency Empowering) Bill, Sections 5(2)(b) and 6(2) p.2

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