

Pūmau Tonu te Mauri

Living as Māori, now and in the future

Mason Durie

A Discussion Paper

Contents

Living in two worlds	p.2
Pathways to te ao Māori	p.3
1. Marae encounters	
2. Community resolve	
3. Iwi endeavours	
4. Whenua tupuna	
5. Educational opportunities	
6. Media content	
7. National initiatives	
8. Sporting events	
9. Cultural festivals	
10. Whānau transmission	
Culture and purpose	p.8
Building on the gains	p.9

Pūmau tonu te Mauri

Living in two worlds

A conclusion at the first Hui Taumata Mātauranga in 2002 was that Māori should be able to 'live as Māori and as citizens of the world'. That conclusion recognised the distinctiveness that characterises Māori as well as the possibility that many Māori would choose to live and learn in the wider world. It envisaged a time in the not too distant future when a Māori diaspora would see whānau residing in cities and countries across the globe. It also anticipated that despite the distance, Māori would still 'be Māori' insofar as they were able to retain those elements of a Māori identity that added cultural uniqueness to physical features and retained lasting connections with whānau at home.

Being Māori in the 21st century poses a set of the challenges associated with increasingly complex societies where over-population, ethnic diversity, political instability, technological innovations, inequalities, and competition for resources will reach levels unknown in previous centuries. Moreover, quite apart from international realities, New Zealand society will not be immune from those same pressures. Ironically, 'living as Māori' in Aotearoa may be equally challenging as 'living as Māori' in other parts of the world. Predictably, if only to survive in a competitive society, many Māori may not always aspire to 'live as Māori' and may be more inclined to pursue futures that are aligned to global values, languages, and lifestyles. Predictably also, whānau in the future will reflect a wider array of nationalities and ethnicities.

On balance, probably all whānau and all Māori will come to know some aspects of both worlds - being Māori and being worldly-wise citizens. But if the urbanisation experience is any guide, globalisation will threaten Māori participation in te ao Māori in favour of being participants in a global society where values, norms and protocols – often introduced through world-wide marketing campaigns and social media - reflect a more or less homogenous collection of on-line enthusiasts. Just as a shift from rural to urban communities in the past led to alienation from whānau at home, so living abroad or being totally immersed in digital worlds while in New Zealand, could similarly foster alienation. Moreover, for many whānau urbanisation did not actually deliver the major gains that living in cities had promised. The result was a double disadvantage; disconnection from te ao Māori and marginalisation within urban environments. In the new era of globalisation, the same double disadvantage would not be dissimilar though the results could be even more devastating.

That earlier experience, disappointing as it often was, does provide some pointers as to how best the same pitfalls might be addressed in the decades ahead. Compared to the urbanisation drift, the potential downsides of living in a 21st century context are magnified several times over. New Zealand's identity will undergo quite rapid change so that undertakings and relationships established in 1840 between Māori and the rest of the population, might be relegated to history, making it even more problematic for those who value living in a Māori world. On the other hand, retaining

an identity that reflects 'being Māori' could be enhanced by new technologies and methods of learning that will enable Māori to be just that, no matter where they are in New Zealand or across the world.

The challenge will be to ensure that the pathways to te ao Māori are well illuminated so that distance, or competition, or bias, or material disadvantage, do not preclude whānau from engaging with Māori values, language, land and whakapapa.

Pathways to te ao Māori

Over the past three decades, pathways to Te ao Māori have emerged so that access becomes possible in ways not previously available. No single approach has all the answers but it is possible to identify ten initiatives that have strengthened Māori cultural identity:

1. Marae encounters
2. Community resolve
3. Iwi endeavours
4. Whenua tupuna
5. Educational opportunities
6. Media content
7. National initiatives
8. Sporting events
9. Cultural festivals
10. Whānau transmission

1. Marae Encounters

Tikanga, kawa, manaakitanga, whaikōrero, Te reo Māori and waiata tawhito can be heard and felt on marae throughout the country. In that respect marae remain the most authentic site for accessing te ao Māori and increasingly programmes such as Marae Mapping are committed to helping individuals find, and then make contact with a marae known to be part of a whānau tradition. Over time marae associations may have been lost, but a new generation is now searching for lost connections so they can experience first-hand marae encounters.

While the great virtue of marae hui has hinged on face-to-face meetings, personal contacts, and time to reflect, increasingly digital connections are opening up other avenues for participation. There have already been examples of live 'on-line' attendance at tangihanga and other hui so that whānau in other countries can be involved in the formalities. Further, many marae have websites that keep whānau informed and involved in the day-to-day operations and business of marae.

But not all marae kaitiaki are ready to welcome relative strangers when there has been no contact with the marae for two or more generations. Kaitiaki have cared for the marae, used their own time, money and energies, often without full support from whānau. Now, in their eyes, the people who might have shown help are returning to be looked after. Re-establishing marae links is an important goal but one that needs to be discussed openly so that ongoing contributions can convert a journey of personal discovery into a vehicle for contributing to the sustainability of the marae.

2. Community resolve

In the 1960s an influx of rural Māori to urban areas reached new proportions. Eager to be part of a city economy their new lives often had little time or patience for 'back home' life-styles and even less for te reo me ōna tikanga. As a consequence a void was created, a vacuum that te ao Māori had previously filled. Aware of the struggles to adapt to urban living a cohort of Māori community leaders instituted programmes to aid the process and to make it possible for the rural migrants to retain elements of their culture and the associated values. Community centres such as Ngāti Poneke in Wellington, volunteer organisations such as the Māori Women's Welfare League, and social service providers such as Te Whānau o Waipareira, helped fill a gap and restore a sense of being Māori. 'Being Māori' in the city was not necessarily the same as 'being Māori' back home but it did enable the perpetuation of values, tikanga, te reo and whakawhanaungatanga within the city.

Over a two generational timeframe, many descendants of those original rural migrants developed a strong bond with each other and with community. It was not the same as whānau bonds built around a central marae but it was underpinned by similar values and a kawa that made sense in a multi-lwi community. In time the emergence of urban marae strengthened the opportunities for urban dwellers to experience marae encounters and to gain confidence in Māori cultural pursuits. Although the process bypassed many urban dwellers, it demonstrated how te ao Maori could flourish within city environments.

3. Iwi endeavours

Post Treaty of Waitangi settlements, a new era of Māori development has arrived. In many localities lwi have become major contributors to local economies and have been able to provide additional support to marae and to education. That support has frequently been directed towards building cultural competence by increasing fluency in te reo Māori, fostering wānanga to build connectedness and to explore whakapapa, and encouraging whānau to adopt values that align with tikanga Māori. The potential of lwi to increase access to te ao Māori has yet to be fully realised; it is strong in Tainui where there is a major focus on support to marae while in Ngāi Tahu there is an active campaign to strengthen te reo and to increase involvement in local Māori community or marae activities. Moreover, many lwi have identified strengthening access te ao Māori as a priority area

As part of their research into claims against the Crown for breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, lwi have also been able to generate an increase in awareness of tribal and hapu histories, whakapapa connections, and patterns of land ownership. By employing hapu researchers to capture local histories, Te Hono o Raukawa for example has brought aspects of tikanga and hapu settlements to the fore creating access to knowledge and understanding that was not previously fully realised. For many whānau the research process has opened doors that had hitherto been closed. And although research has been undertaken on a hapu-by-hapu basis, when there have been combined wānanga, a composite lwi story has been told, and hapu relationships have been strengthened.

4. Whenua Tūpuna

Central to Māori identity is land. The significance of land is reflected in the oft-quoted reference to 'tangata whenua' – people of the land. In fact, however, many Māori have no knowledge or first-hand contact with the land that defines their identity. In that respect identity is left wanting and a search for tūrangawaewae becomes an integral part of accessing te ao Māori. 'Tangata whenua' is an empty descriptor if there is a lack of land to justify the expression.

Finding tūrangawaewae is an important part of a bid to strengthen cultural identity. Ease of access to public land records will be increasingly important to whānau who know there is a land base somewhere but do not know the relevant land titles or the extent of holdings or who other owners might be. Māori Land Court files, knowledge held by other whānau or hapu members, and discussion with other whānau members will help the journey though sometimes the results might be less than favourable. The land in question may have been alienated. Or other shareholders may be reluctant to add more names to an already over-subscribed list of owners and may interpret the 'sudden' interest in the land block as only an interest in access to rent. In any event, the question of motive will almost certainly be raised. It should not, however, be enough to abandon the search.

Where there are no known interests in Māori land or all the land in question has been sold or otherwise appropriated, tūrangawaewae might be associated with a whānau marae. That approach at least enables Māori to be part of communal land that has historical and intergenerational significance. More recently marae in urban settings have sometimes been nominated as tūrangawaewae for local residents. The land in question does not have historical associations but does allow people to gain a sense of being grounded – tangata whenua.

5. Educational Opportunities

The advent of Kōhanga Reo in 1981 saw the beginning of a new wave of educational opportunities for Māori. Educating learners in te reo Māori – the Māori language medium – was a pioneering attempt to revitalise the language at a time when it was in serious decline. Initially the early Kōhanga were under the tutelage of kuia, native speakers who were also well versed in kawa and tikanga. Within a decade kura kaupapa Māori and then whare kura were added to the options. Along with government funded Wānanga a full range of educational opportunities have been established to transfer knowledge and skill in te reo and at the same time to build educational cultures where tikanga Māori is observed.

In addition to Māori immersion education, an increasing number of schools also offer bilingual classes or have included te reo Maori within the curriculum. Many also have Māori cultural groups that compete in kapa haka competitions as well as Manu Kōrero speech contest. For a number of years, universities have included te reo Māori as a subject within degree programmes and some polytechnics have followed suit.

While the initial focus was on Māori learners and students, opportunities for gaining competence in te reo were also available to non-Māori studying alongside Māori peers. In effect educational institutions have adopted approaches that recognise te reo as a national language and a taonga for all New Zealanders.

6. Media Content

For many years national radio broadcasting included a ten minutes slot for 'the News in Māori'. The late Bill Parker for example was a sole announcer and in the brief time allowed his task was to transmit key news items to Māori audiences. Though extremely limited, the ten minutes was dear to Māori listeners; it represented a relatively rare chance to not only catch up on key events happening across the country but also an even rarer chance to receive information in te reo Māori.

Since then Iwi radio, Māori television, mainstream television and newsprint have increased Māori language inclusion in broadcasting and print in ways that would have been unimaginable to Bill Parker or his listeners. Māori Television is now an integral part of the wider New Zealand media environment and in that respect has close links to other television channels, radio broadcasting, on-line media and newsprint. Nor is the content solely about te reo. Other aspects of Māori culture are included in a range of programmes covering both contemporary cultural expressions as well as more conventional approaches.

Whether on-line communication can reach similar heights is uncertain but initiatives to use modern technologies for transmitting te reo Māori have been developed for emails, text messages, computerised programmes, and social media. There is, however, some debate about the extent to which te reo Māori should be pursued in the absence of a wider cultural milieu. Language in any culture has evolved within particular cultural environments so that meaning is not only contained in the words but also in an understood socio-cultural context.

7. National Initiatives

In 1986 the Waitangi Tribunal reported on a claim that te reo Māori was a taonga which Government had failed to protect, thereby contradicting the principles of the Treaty. In response the Māori Language Act was passed in 1987 recognising te reo Māori as an official language of New Zealand. It was a significant step that had been inspired by a 1972 petition to Parliament, led by Ngā Tamatoa. In order to provide for actions resulting from the 1987 Act, the Māori Language Commission, and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, was established.

After a series of legal challenges, Te Māngai Pāho (Māori Broadcast Funding Agency) was established in 1989 under the legal name 'Te Reo Whakapuaki Irirangi.' It recognises Māori Treaty rights to broadcasting and the need to actively protect te reo through "sustained regeneration and promotion of Māori language and culture by making wise investment decisions, contestable funding processes and the promotion of Māori language and music."

Māori Language Day was first promoted in 1975 and since then has been extended to Māori Language Week. The aim is to promote the use of Māori nationally and

across all communities for the entire week. More recently in 2016 Te Matawai was established to provide funding for all Māori language initiatives. The Board of Te Matawai includes representatives from Iwi clusters (7 members), Māori language stakeholder groups (3 members), the Crown (2 members) and will fund Māori Television, Te Māngai Pāho, and Taura Whiri i te Reo.

8. Sporting Events

The promotion of Māori culture has been linked to a number of sporting events. *Iron Māori*, for example, is a half-marathon held annually in Napier. Up to 2000 competitors register either as individuals or as part of a team. The success of the event is largely a factor of whanaungatanga and the introduction of tikanga Māori into the way the day is structured. There is a strong emphasis on whānau participation and a culture of support and encouragement tends to over-ride the more conventional tri-marathon emphasis on competition. Completing rather than competing is stressed and from the sound of the pūtara at the commencement, to the intermittent haka as competitors reach the finish line, the resonation of Māori themes can be heard and seen.

Other sports also foster greater interest and active participation in te ao Māori: waka ama, ki-o-rahi, mau rākau, and Pa wars. Although the intention is to encourage Māori to become fitter and more active, there is an underlying message that recognises the significance of te ao Māori in a wide range of domains. For rangatahi in particular, sport has become regarded as an entry point into Māori language, culture, and whānau relationships.

The endorsement of Māori culture through sport is also recognised by New Zealand's national teams when international matches are played. While in decades past the haka was performed as something of a caricature, now it is performed with skill and appropriate feeling. It has become a trademark of national sports as well as a key feature of games when Māori teams come up against other Māori teams.

9. Cultural Festivals

Pathways to te ao Māori are especially obvious in kapa haka events at national, regional, and school levels. The biannual *Matatini* festival showcases roopu from around the country. Haka, waiata, poi, and pātere are performed to large audiences with items that reflect old compositions as well as modern arrangements. All contain exemplars of te reo Māori with gestures and movements that typify Māori expression in performing arts.

For many participants, although the words in waiata or haka are well learned, there has frequently been limited understanding of their meaning or significance. .But an important consequence of the festival has been the increased vocabulary and fluency in te reo.

In regions across the country, secondary and intermediate school students also compete against each other in kapa haka. Through kapa haka students engage with te reo Māori, Iwi stories, tikanga and kawa in ways that might otherwise have lacked a sense of real meaning and relevance. The inter-secondary school whaikōrero

competitions similarly allow students and their supporters to demonstrate knowledge, intonation, and commitment to Māori kaupapa. A strong sense of solidarity and kōtahitanga prevails as each school group takes turn to be represented before a panel of judges. Invariably, success is marked by haka. The Pei te Hurunui award for the best senior Māori student recognises the contribution to te reo Māori, Māori history, and Māori philosophy by a great Tainui scholar.

10. Whānau Transmission

The transmission of language and culture across and between generations is most successful when it is an integral part of whānau life. Retaining and furthering te reo Māori me ōna tikanga will be more certain when it is embedded in the lives of parents, grandparents, siblings, aunties, uncles and cousins. Further, when the knowledge therein is shared across close and distant family members it is likely to be perpetuated into the future. Largely as a result of pathways developed over the past 45 years, many whānau have regained ground that was lost when earlier generations were discouraged from speaking Māori or from living lives enhanced by Māori culture.

But regaining lost ground has not been equally felt across all whānau or all Māori households. Consequently too many Māori children and their older siblings remain on the periphery of Māori society, not by intention but by circumstances that have precluded them from accessing opportunities at home. Building whānau confidence and enthusiasm is a pre-requisite for nurturing kaupapa Māori within the home, which in turn is a prerequisite for enabling all Māori to be part of te ao Māori.

Fortunately there are sufficient examples to provide optimism for whānau who have not yet had the opportunity or the encouragement to adopt Māori cultural values within the home. Related to that is the wider concern that all too often whānau do not have a kawa to guide whānau life – even when whānau might be speakers of te reo. Kawa is integral to marae encounters; it guides the development of relationships and trust. Too often the principles behind kawa are left on the marae. Developing a whānau kawa may well be a start to fostering whānau life where tikanga, reo, and kōtahitanga can be sustained in a consistent way .

Culture and purpose

Māori culture comprises a range of elements, often considered separately. Learning a haka for example without also learning the situations where it is appropriate and where it is not, defeats the purpose. In the domain of Tūmataunga, such as the marae ātea, haka is consistent with the purpose of the domain. But in the domain of Rongo, inside a whare nui, a haka contradicts the concepts of peace and goodwill. Similarly, volume is sometimes seen as a substitute for harmony. Waiata that are shouted rather than sung, or karanga that are yelled rather than chanted do little justice to the intentions.

In both instances enthusiasm may overshadow purpose and impact. Importantly all cultural elements, including kawa and tikanga, have a purpose. Understanding the purpose is at least as important as practising the execution.

Moreover, the connections between haka, karanga, waiata, te reo, hongiri, marae, and whanaungatanga are less well known than each individual component. Yet it is the culture as a whole that affords meaning and provides a korowai that enables the particular element to flourish.

Important too, is the recognition that culture is an essential part of identity; it is a foundation for wellbeing. Health and socio-economic statistics show that Māori wellbeing has yet to be realised for all Māori. For the most part, attention is given to compensating for material and relational deficits. Dealing with a crisis is important but aiming for wellness is likely to avoid crises in the future. Building a sound cultural base that is purposeful, shared, and relevant to social and physical environments receives less attention but in the long run has sustainable impact. Culture is a foundation for identity and a basis for building lives that can flourish.

The point is that approaches to building solid cultural foundations are steps towards wellness. Wellness is different from not being sick, and or having a good attendance record at school. Instead wellness is about the whole person being able to stand tall, engage with others, look to the future and contribute to society. Wellness is located on a continuum that leads to the realisation of potential. In contrast, cultural voids and deculturation, are precursors for languishing.

Building on the gains

The ten pathways to te ao Māori so far described are not exclusive. But they are known avenues that have been able to effect change and for that reason warrant ongoing support.

Whānau transmission is one area where the gains already made can be magnified. To that end, Whānau Ora is a programme aimed at building whānau capability across a range of family functions: whānau self-management; healthy whānau lifestyles; participation in education, society and the economy; whānau economic security; whānau cohesion; the realisation of whānau aspirations; and *confident whānau participation in the Māori world*.

While there has been a strong emphasis on health and social services, Whānau Ora is also about building cultural competence across the whānau (*confident participation in te ao Māori*). That aspect will require skills and services that are not always available to Whānau Ora providers and may need to be added into the mix. Alleviating distress and dealing with urgent matters should not preclude opportunities for introducing whānau to te reo me ōna tikanga so that a kawa based around optimal whānau functioning and tikanga Māori can be introduced. The intention is that whānau as a whole should flourish.

A further necessity for building on the gains already made, is to determine whether current support for cultural programmes is sufficient. The establishment of Te Mātāwai to oversee and fund Māori language initiatives should provide for greater collaboration between agencies such as Māori Television and Te Taura Whiri, and should similarly be able to determine where the best outcomes can be achieved. Additional funding for Māori language and for Whānau Ora in the 2016 budget could also be important catalysts for those programmes but unless cultural achievement, especially on marae and within whānau, is recognised as a key determinant of Māori wellbeing, progress will inevitably be limited.

It is clear from the ten pathways there is a mix of public, private, Iwi, community, whānau and charities funding. The assortment of funding sources is important. Community initiative has a vitality that cannot be replicated by total reliance on external funding. But there is also room for increased Government support. How that support is delivered so that initiative and a sense of ownership are not undermined, will be an important consideration.

It is also important that the significance of cultural attainment is not seen as an optional extra, but as a central determinant of wellness. In that respect there are clear implications for health and education programmes, especially public health and social programmes aimed at improving conditions for families. A shift to a model of wellness places emphasis on attaining wellbeing rather than simply treating disorders or managing a crisis or providing additional material support. A shift to a wellness model would see cultural attainment being part of Government funded social policy programmes, including health, education, rangatahi services, and community support programmes.

A move away from a deficit approach to one that aims to promote Māori wellness with cultural confidence is well illustrated in the ten pathways described earlier. It is also an approach that has a longer-term reach than crisis intervention can ever realise.

The challenge is to adopt and support policies and programmes that foster a secure cultural identity so that Māori might live well as Maori.