The London School of Economics and Political Science

Manuhiri

The Politics of Place in Aotearoa New Zealand

Henry Lyons

A thesis submitted to the Department of Media and Communications of the London School of Economics and Political Science for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, London, March 2024

Declaration

I certify that the thesis I have presented for examination for the MPhil/PhD degree of the London School of Economics and Political Science is solely my own work other than where I have clearly indicated that it is the work of others (in which case the extent of any work carried out jointly by me and any other person is clearly identified in it).

I declare that my thesis consists of 97,999 words.

The image of the 'upside down' map of Aotearoa New Zealand on the cover of this PhD thesis is inspired by Fiona Cram. She recounted to me how distinguished Professor Graham Hingangaroa Smith would display this map via overhead projector (OHP) when introducing his presentations and explain its meaning. Fiona carries on this tradition using this exact image, which I have also chosen to display.

The image is significant because it speaks to a Māori conception and interpretation of the orientation of Aotearoa New Zealand. As Trinick, Meany and Fairhall (2015) outline, the legendary hero Māui pulled up a great fish from the depths of the moana (ocean) which became Te Ika-a-Māui (the fish of Māui – the North Island). Māui pulled this fish up while standing in a large anchored waka (canoe). The South Island is known as Te Waka-a-Māui (Māui's canoe). Stewart Island, which lies at the very bottom of Aotearoa New Zealand is known as Te Punga-a-Māui (Māui's anchor). Before European maps, the North Island and South Island were represented as mental images, and accordingly were orientated to the shape of the fish and canoe respectively.

Contents

Glossary of Te Reo Māori words

Te reo Māori is a nuanced language. Many words have multiple meanings, which vary depending on the context in which they are used. Most words and terms are translated at least briefly when they first appear, and are featured in this glossary. I encourage readers to refer to the glossary when particular words and terms are explained within the context of this thesis. If readers wish to gain further understanding, I suggest accessing Te Aka Māori dictionary (https://maoridictionary.co.nz/).

Ahuriri Napier – Napier
aroha – love
awa – river, stream, creek
Aotearoa – Māori name for New Zealand
hapū – selection of large kinship group, sub-tribe, whānau grouping
haere mai – welcome
hāngī – earth oven
hara – offend, violation of what is tapu (sacred), violation of law
harakeke – flax, native to Aotearoa New Zealand
He Awa Whiria – braided rivers
Heretaunga Hastings – Hastings, the Hastings area
hīkoi – walk, march, trip, journey
hui – meeting, gathering, assembly
iwi – extended kinship group, people, tribe, nation
kahikatea – native conifer trees, white pine
kaiāwhina – associate, helper, advocate
kaitiakitanga – guardianship, stewardship
kākahu – cloak, garment
karakia – incantation, prayer, set a ritual activity
kaumātua – Māori elder, elderly man
Kaupapa Māori – Māori principles, a Māori way, Māori-centred approach
kawa – protocol, etiquette
kāwanatanga – government, dominion

koha – gift, offering, connotations of reciprocity

kōura – freshwater crayfish

kōrero – conversation, discussion

kuia – elderly woman

mahi – work

mahinga kai – food gathering places, sites

manaakitanga – hospitality, kindness, respect and care

mana – status, prestige, honour, dignity

mana whenua – territorial rights, authority over the land, power from the land

mānuka – native shrub, tree

manuhiri – guest, visitor

mauri – life-force

marae – meeting place, specifically hapū meeting place, grounds

marae ātea – open space in front of the marae, courtyard, public forum

matua – father, parent, uncle

Māori – Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand

Māoritanga – Māori culture, practices, beliefs

mātauranga Māori – Māori knowledge, ways of knowing

Moa – large flightless bird, now extinct

moana – sea, ocean, large lake

muka – prepared flax fibre

Ngāti Kahungunu – iwi of the southern North Island east of the ranges from the area of Nūhaka and Wairoa to southern Wairarapa

ōhanga – economy

Ōtepoti – Dunedin

pā – fortified settlement, village

paepae – speaking platform

Pākehā – New Zealand European, White colonisers, settlers

Papatūānuku – earth, earth mother

pepeha – tribal introduction, motto, descriptive set of words

piupiu – waist-to-knees garment made of flax

pono – be true, valid, honest

pou – post, upright, pole, pillar

pūhā – watercress, native perennial sowthistle

pūtōrino – flute instrument

rangatira – chief

rangatiratanga – chieftainship, right to exercise authority

raupō – reed plant

taha Māori – Māori identity, character

taha wairua – the spiritual dimension

taiao – world, natural world, environment

tangata whenua – people of the land

tangata Tiriti – Te Tiriti o Waitangi people

taonga – treasure

tapu – be sacred, prohibited, set apart, protection

tauiwi – non-Māori

tautoko – to support, advocate

te ao Māori – Māori worldview

Te Awa o Mokotūāraro – Clive River

Te Ika-a-Māui – North Island

Te Matau-a-Māui – the hook of Māui, Hawke's Bay

Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa – Pacific Ocean

te reo Māori – the Māori language

Te Tiriti o Waitangi - the Treaty of Waitangi

Te Waipounamu – South Island

Te Whakaminenga – confederation of rangatira referred to as 'United Tribes of New Zealand'

tī kōuka – native cabbage tree

tikanga – customary system of values and practices, correct procedure

tino rangatiratanga – the exercise of paramount and spiritually sanctioned power and authority

tīpuna – ancestors, grandparents, plural form

toetoe – native long-stemmed grass

tūhono – to join, bond, connect

tuna – eel

tunanui – large eel

tūpuna – ancestor, grandparent

tūrangawaewae – domicile, standing, place where one has the right to stand

tūtanga – portion, segment

waharoa – gateway, main entranceway, entrance to a pā

wāhi tapu – sacred places, sites

wāhine Māori – Māori women

wai – water

Waipureku – the meeting of waters

waka – boat, canoe

whakapapa – genealogy, connectedness in natural world

whakawhanaungatanga – process of establishing relationships, relating well to others

whakataukī – proverb

whānau – extended family, family group

whare – house

whare wānanga – place of higher learning

wharekai – dining hall, cooking area

wharenui – meeting house, main building of a marae

whenua – land

Abstract

Manuhiri (guest, visitor) is an autoethnography which interrogates the essence of what is political in the place I call home. The focus of the study is the region of Te Matau-a-Māui (Hawke's Bay) where I live and work, with particular emphasis on the rural community of Raukawa where I grew up and the experiences of everyday life here. The main questions I seek to address in the thesis are how might Te Tiriti o Waitangi make visible the politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand, which can in turn facilitate a reinvention of conventional understandings of the political. Drawing on the approach of He Awa Whiria (braided rivers) (MacFarlane, 2009) which uses the metaphor of braided rivers as a means to depicting the levelling and intermingling of different flows of knowledge, the aim of the project is to advance a notion of research as restorative act. Taking a relationship-based approach which is underpinned by Te Tiriti, Manuhiri adopts a conceptual framework for comprehending a politics which is deeply immersed in place. This is significant because as a Pākehā (New Zealand European) living in Aotearoa New Zealand, Te Tiriti is my basis for being here offering me 'a chance to make a home in this land' (Jackson, 2022).

Within this framework, decolonisation is positioned as integral concept for Pākehā to engage with in addressing the practice of coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2007), essential for remembering the past and seeing the extent of the political in turn. Likewise, deimperialisation assists in undoing the overarching idea which guides this practice, through a centring of Kaupapa Māori which is affect-based, and not on co-opting or appropriation. This framework enables an exploration of the politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand where the political is ontological, and ontology is defined as the 'philosophy of essence' (Meyer, 2001). The politics of place is a politics of the essence of being, a politics which is all encompassing, pervasive and powerful in shaping present day society in this country. My existence is folded into this politics and the study is grounded in my lived experiences and connecting them to notions of politics and identity.

Manuhiri does not seek to offer succinct or concrete findings or solutions, instead it is a glimpse into the rich experience and dynamics of relational entanglement. My study makes an original contribution in conceptual and methodological senses to studies of the politics of place and the relations between Māori as tangata whenua (Indigenous people

of the land) and Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand as well as providing insights applicable to many related dynamics elsewhere in the world. It contributes necessary action with respect to the work of decolonising the social sciences, research methodologies, and the study of politics. It offers insights for Tiriti-centred relationships in Aotearoa New Zealand, specifically for Pākehā and tauiwi (non-Māori) who seek to be tangata Tiriti (non-Māori partners to Te Tiriti). This original contribution is relevant to the realisation of the promise of Te Tiriti, to people who call this place home, and for settler-colonial contexts beyond these shores.

Introduction

Bear with me. Unusual words to open a PhD thesis with. As the author of this project they feel a bit strange to type, and as a reader I can understand how they might seem underwhelming to type after 54 months working on this. However, I can assure you that opening with these words is both appropriate and necessary as I am trying to do things differently, and with maximum respect. So again – please bear with me. This project is an autoethnographic study of politics and identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. That is to say in a way it is autobiographical, grounded in my lived experiences and connecting them to notions of politics and identity. In particular, the interpretation of politics associated with this is not politics as it is traditionally understood. Generally speaking, politics can be defined in terms of a 'process' or in terms of a site or an 'arena', and then refined based on whether the approaches to these categories are extensive or limited (Leftwich, 2004). Politics as it is traditionally understood is limited and narrow in its interpretation, and considered to be something objective. It concerns debates, conflicts and agreements about policies and public affairs, played out in the arenas of government and public life, and administered by states.

The interpretation of politics I am advancing through this project encompasses these conventional norms, because it is an interpretation of politics which is expansive with respect to existence in a place, where 'place' too is political. It is a politics which concerns the very nature of being, and I describe this politics as a 'politics of place'. This politics centres on a relational reconfiguration with respect to place (Roy, 2009; Escobar, 2004; Dirlik, 2001), and ultimately seeks to engage place more meaningfully in research inquiry (Tuck and McKenzie, 2015). To see politics in this way as I do is not some curious choice or the product of a methodological bind, it is politics as I know it and have always known it. As a Pākehā who calls Aotearoa New Zealand home, politics does not exist as objective, externalised phenomena. Everything about my existence here is political. Standing and placing my feet on the ground here is political, as is feeling the sunlight, wind and rain on my skin. The politics of place is embodied within me and all that is around me, within this place, and within my presence in this place. This place which is whenua Māori (Māori land).

Coming to know politics in this way has not been an intangible or abstract realisation, learned from afar. As a Pākehā who lives in provincial Aotearoa New Zealand and has grown up on a farm in a rural community, it has been a coming to know which is in equal part based on tangible, observed reality over time, and of not knowing. Growing up and wondering why all of the large swathes of economically lucrative farmland in our community have been owned by Pākehā families for generations, while the smaller less lucrative residential sections are owned by Māori families. Noticing an unevenness when the children from these families – my friends – would always come up and use our swimming pool in the hot summer months, that some of their Dads would be working for my Dad on the farm, and borrowing his tractor from time to time. Not being sure about who I am and having no idea about my family history prior to their arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand. Not knowing about the history of our farm before its first Pākehā owner, or anything substantial about the meaning of its original name 'Hautapu' (sacred wind) other than the literal words of its closest English translation. Above all, realising that all of these things are rarely talked about.

These moments, moments which I felt as a grew older, sparked a constant sense of discomfort and unease within me. They have been transformative for me, they have helped me come to know and shape my sense of what politics is here. Moments like these, and the fact that they are rarely spoken about, speak to the politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand as I understand them and as I investigate them here, in relation to possible futures in this land. They are small threads in this pervasive political fabric, which is currently rendered largely unseeable primarily due to the sustained effects of imperialisation and colonisation in this land. These moments concern me and are about me. At the same time, they concern and are about everyone who calls this place home. They are why I believe an autoethnographic and deeply subjective study of politics and identity is both useful and required to truly understand what is political in Aotearoa New Zealand. This approach reveals what is at stake for making a positive future in this place for everyone who calls it home, with insights which are hopefully helpful for people beyond these shores too.

If you have read the contents of this thesis which comes before this introduction you may have recognised some weighty topics and concepts – 'decolonisation', 'deimperialisation', 'Kaupapa Māori' and the 'centring of Kaupapa Māori' – to name just a

few. Topics and concepts central to the politics of place as understood by and through decolonial and Indigenous scholars such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Moana Jackson, and Fiona Cram are often not considered to be the domain of Pākehā. I agree with this sentiment. As White colonisers Pākehā have inflicted harm on Māori for generations and occupy a hegemonic position in society in Aotearoa New Zealand as a result of colonisation. Conversely, this harm and associated Pākehā hegemony is central to the politics of place. In agreeing with this sentiment I would also like to advance the idea that this is not a sphere where Pākehā should be entitled to or encouraged to gain mastery or dominate, yet it is also a space where participation and humble learning are necessary. In particular, when this level of engagement is respectful, responsible and safe, then it can be productive toward addressing and undoing this harm and Pākehā hegemony.

This is why I have said – 'please, bear with me'. It is because I take this position, and through this project I undertake and attempt to articulate this engagement. This is difficult though because it feels as if the English language is ultimately inadequate for translating many aspects of the experience which comes with this commitment, which is profoundly relational. Most importantly though, and overwhelmingly so, I am aware of the risk that comes with taking this approach. I am aware of my position, the careful and deep consideration of politics and power dynamics involved with this, and that good intentions here are not enough for Pākehā (Thomas, 2020). I am aware of the dangers and potential for harm – of the White 'saviours' who see themselves as helping Māori, and the 'vampires' who seek use Māori for their own gain (Stewart, 2020a). I take this vigilance with me. I need to make it clear, as I do throughout this thesis, that my engagement is affective and shaped by conscious relating. I am not seeking to co-opt, appropriate or exert undue influence on these topics or concepts. Therefore, in taking this position and engaging in this way, I do so with the upmost respect, responsibility and accountability I can muster.

As with my interpretation of politics, I take this position and approach because it is what I know. As a Pākehā who lives in provincial Aotearoa New Zealand and has grown up on a farm in a rural community here, I have grown up grappling with, and being affected by, these topics and concepts. Aspects of my education, and now work in my community, by default require an active relationship with these topics and concepts. However, I am painfully aware that no matter how actively well-intentioned I am, how wide my eyes are

open to my position, or how respectful, responsible and accountable I am trying to be, ultimately this doesn't really count for anything, because the determination of the way in which this is received is not up to me. So, again, I ask you to please bear with me because I want you to hopefully go with me here. Bear with me and go with me as I attempt to productively advance thinking with respect to these topics and concepts named above, and many more of the ideas about politics and identity I am putting forward in this thesis.

The journey starts with the agreement which determines my ability to place my feet on the ground in Aotearoa New Zealand and call this place home – Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Using strategies of research and analysis that link past, present and future and which rest on relational principles of both epistemology and ontology, this research implements the He Awa Whiria (braided rivers) (MacFarlane, 2009) approach to the politics of place in decolonial contexts. In being relational, knowledge is brought about 'not from mastering esoteric facts or techniques, but in making connections across traditional boundaries – going wide rather than deep' (Luker, 2008, p. 13). The research responds to the following questions, which are surfaced through reflection on the past; how might Te Tiriti o Waitangi make visible the 'politics of place' in Aotearoa New Zealand, which can in turn facilitate a reinvention of conventional understandings of the 'political'?; How might Te Tiriti o Waitangi work as the fundamental basis for a place-based political solution in Aotearoa New Zealand?; How might Te Tiriti o Waitangi guide a tangata whenua (host) and manuhiri (guest) relationship on the whenua? The project generates research approaches that consider the importance of connecting with people and place, and contributes to Aotearoa New Zealand and global discussions on relating well across difference by foregrounding an interpretation of what it means to be 'manuhiri' in this context.

All of this means I'll need you to stay with me as we go. Autoethnography 'places the self within a social and cultural context' though 'it is primarily not about the self' (Reed-Danahay, 1997, p. 9). It is a method that 'provides a space for acknowledging and critically investigating our affective and emotional experiences, which in turn can generate innovative understandings of the importance of affects and emotions' in the study of politics (Reeves, 2018, p. 104). For this research it is strategic choice with respect to knowledge production as 'understanding the changing social location of research – and

researchers – gives you permission to break free from the traditional and often limiting rules about doing social research' (Luker, 2008, p. 16). In using these strategies of research and analysis for the exploration of complex ideas, this project does not have a conventional structure. It does not strictly follow the literature review-conceptual framework-methodology-data-analysis pathway. Instead it is intended to mirror the experience of what it means to discover and feel this politics, the sensation of comprehending place and what it means to belong in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore it is an evolving journey that cannot follow a preconceived script.

A key factor in shaping this process is the He Awa Whiria approach which is the all-encompassing conceptual and methodological foundation for this project. He Awa Whiria uses the metaphor of braided rivers to depict the different flows of Indigenous and Western knowledge systems (MacFarlane, 2009). The approach – which is explained in greater detail throughout the first two chapters of the thesis – is important for this research because it affords independence and equal weighting to these perspectives. This enables an important analytical dialogue between perspectives which I deploy throughout the thesis as a means to comprehending and analysing the politics of place.

It is also important for guiding the structure of the thesis. This is a journey of belonging and it unfolds as such. In working with He Awa Whiria in an all-encompassing way, it is my intention to have the metaphor permeate the project on every level. This has significant implications for the narrative. I have attempted to write the text in such a way that the narrative structure embodies the flow and potential akin to that of a braided river. Used in this way, I believe the narrative structure of the thesis becomes an important device in the comprehension and analysis of the politics of place. Topics and ideas are introduced, they then unfold and are developed within and across the chapters of the thesis. Where appropriate there is overlap, and this overlapping signifies moments of the important analytical dialogue between perspectives which assists in making the political visible. In some cases this takes time and these topics, ideas and overlaps have multiple threads. Again, in bearing with me I please ask that you stay with me on this.

Chapter Overview

Chapter One ‘Being Manuhiri’ provides the conceptual foregrounding of the thesis. It begins by introducing Te Tiriti o Waitangi and its adjacent text in English, the Treaty of Waitangi. This introduction includes a recapping of its history, the key differences between the Māori and English texts, framing its relational potential and outlining the tangata whenua (host)-manuhiri (guest) relationship its sets. The notion of the politics of place is briefly introduced and contextualised further. The project’s conceptual framework is developed and advanced as a means to ‘restore’ a Tiriti compliant ‘place’, set on a foundation of decolonisation as ‘seeing’ and ‘remembering’, and deimperialisation as ‘undoing’ and ‘repairing’. He Awa Whiria is framed as underpinning this. The project’s research questions are then outlined as a means to exploring this idea. Key to this, and the conceptual framework, is the affect-based centring of Kaupapa Māori. The chapter concludes with a brief summary and reflection on the notion of ‘being manuhiri’ and what this might mean for Pākehā and tauiwi in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Two ‘Doing Manuhiri’ harnesses the conceptual situation and focuses on the methodological outlay for the thesis which is built on this. Research is framed as a something with restorative potential, a useful tool which can connect people and work ‘for’ people. The focus then turns to Pākehā and addresses a predicament in which Pākehā find themselves in Aotearoa New Zealand as a result of colonisation, and Pākehā privilege. The implications for research of a centring of Kaupapa Māori are then covered with emphasis on responsibilities and boundaries. He Awa Whiria is contextualised further with respect to methodology. The focus then turns to the specifics of the style of the thesis, of taking a relationship-based approach, and the all-encompassing ways in which this effects the research process. I outline a departure from ‘methodology’ to ‘relational guidance’ and within the context of this I introduce my ‘research whānau (family)’ who have been integral in this project. Their role is expanded on and is followed by a reflection on what the methodological approach means for politics and identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Three ‘Comprehending My Place’ begins the reports on my exploration of the central questions of the thesis and is an exercise in positioning myself and my place in my community of Raukawa, and Te Matau-a-Māui. Through this process the idea of ‘place’ is

made more definitive. In particular, I frame the Pākehā notion of place as paradoxical. Existence in this place is as much shaped by what is visible as it is by what is forgotten. This framing is reached through an interrogation of the dynamics of history and belonging and serves to surface the incompleteness of Pākehā identity. The focus then turns to the politics of place and Chapter Four 'The House That Pākehā Built' starts by foregrounding the political, advancing the metaphor of 'the House that Pākehā built' as a means to assisting with this. This chapter pays particular attention to the history and effects of imperialisation and colonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand, based on the work of Jackson (2011; 2019), Mutu (2019), and Grosfoguel (2007; 2011) in particular. The notion of the political then emerges from this and is framed as ontological. Analysis of the functionality of Pākehā hegemony and the Western-Eurocentric norms and structures in society is deployed as a means to lending further, definitive context to this.

Investigation of the politics of place then moves to a deeper and more nuanced level in Chapter Five 'Separate Lands'. With the political established as the ontological, analysis moves to the dualities and tensions which emerge from this notion. The focus here is intentionally on 'micro' events and moments in everyday life to demonstrate the ways in which the politics of place is pervasive in Aotearoa New Zealand and how this reveals both the complexities of history and the present, and the potential for alternative futures. Particular focus is given to land and the dynamics surrounding land when politics is framed in this way. Chapter Six 'Shared Stories' serves as a reflection on the previous three chapters, grounding the ideas within the context of the tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship and the implication of this for supportive, relational political futures focussing on what these ideas might mean for the 'being' and 'doing' of manuhiri, the constitutional political context in the country, and the realisation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Chapter Seven 'Coming Home' is an overall concluding reflection on the project which is positioned as a 'continuation' in the spirit of the project's relational essence.

So, please bear with me, stay with me, and now let's go together from here.

Chapter 1: Being Manuhiri

The Place I Call Home

In Te Matau-a-Māui the hills are alive with the weight of the past. Not everyone can see or understand what this means though. For many, this is by choice, and to these people this place is only a recent place. For them it is a promised land, where the hills are alive with immediate, economic opportunity. It is 'property'; a place 'for' them, and for them alone, to benefit from. I was born and raised here in Te Matau-a-Māui, and the reason I exist in this place is connected firmly to this interpretation of place. I am Pākehā, and I grew up on a farm in the foothills of the Raukawa Valley, about a 15 minute drive south of Heretaunga (Hastings). The farm has been with our family for three generations and as far as I know, mainly thanks to my brother Zander's research, the reason we are fortunate enough to have inherited the farm is down to my great-great-great grandmother Eliza, on my Dad's side, marrying into a wealthy, landowning family in the late 1880s. This marriage occurred in her later life, after the mysterious disappearance of her husband Edmund in 1875. Up until this point Eliza and Edmund had had four children, since arriving from Carlow in Ireland in 1870, and had been managing what was known as the Accommodation House in the nearby community of Maraekakaho.

The farm is beautiful to me, and its rolling hills are among first to rise from the Heretaunga Plains to the south. From the top of these hills you can see for miles. The entire Heretaunga Plains are visible until they meet Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa (Pacific Ocean) on the horizon to the north east. So too are the hills and ridgelines which border the plains and the adjacent valleys. In the summer when the temperature climbs and the hot wind from the north west blows, the hills and the surrounding flat land, turn a shade of brown – "the colour of vanilla wine biscuits[1]", as my Mum would say. These dry hills, now tree-less and grass covered, with their soft curves, have become a celebrated symbol of the region, alongside the 'fruit bowl' that is the adjoining Heretaunga Plains, with its mass of orchards, crops and vineyards. I love these hills. I grew up walking, rolling over and

[1] Vanilla wine biscuits are a plain sweet vanilla flavoured biscuit manufactured by Griffin's in Aotearoa New Zealand. They have a soft, pale brown colour.

sliding down these hills. I know their smell, their look and their heat. They have always been special, and have meant something to me - but they are not mine.

Despite being stripped bare, this land holds keys to a past which remains obscured for many in Te Matau-a-Māui, and Aotearoa New Zealand beyond. Walking up the Awanui Stream, passing centuries old tī kōuka trees, through the small remnants of the Turamoe wetland next to the family farm, you can feel this past. Further up the valley, standing up the top of the Burma Road on the Raukawa Range, looking out over Te Hauke, Poukawa and the surrounding hills, sometimes you can hear it in the silence on windless evening. It is visible in the contours of pā (Māori settlement) sites which remain on the hills surrounding the Heretaunga Plains and neighbouring the region's rivers and lakes. It is present in many stories, including those of 'archaeologists' who years ago came door knocking up the Raukawa Valley in search of a giant underground limestone cave which was said to hold moa bones, and likewise, in the stories of local kaumātua (elders) who were said to have blown up nearby cave entrances to protect their wāhi tapu (sacred sites) from opportunistic looters.

It is Pākehā who choose to obscure this past and avoid these keys, which obscures the relationships that emerged from this past and which shape the present experience of politics in this land. Growing up we were told that, before being covered in pasture, fruit trees and vines, there wasn't much here. The region was supposedly a relatively barren place with pockets of harakeke, toetoe, and mānuka, devoid of the lush, expansive native bush which blanketed other parts of Aotearoa New Zealand. The rich, dark chocolate-coloured peat soil, and the massive kahikatea stumps in the swamp beside the farm tell a different story, however. So to do the dense pockets of tī kōuka which gather around the springs in the crevasses on the curves of the limestone hills rising up off the Heretaunga Plains. Although sporadic, these features are present just enough to be noticed by the untrained eye. As such, since a young age I have been entranced by these clues to another 'world' which make it impossible not to look around and imagine what this place might have looked like many years ago. It is these clues too which shape what the hills of Te Matau-a-Māui mean to me. They are not simply static, physical objects, rather their meaning is in motion, and conflicted, imbued with both a present day sentiment, the heavy spirit of the past, and hope.

This other ‘world’ speaks to a time before the arrival of Pākehā in Aotearoa and this ‘past’ refers to this time, though it also encapsulates the events which have occurred since this arrival. The reality is that, before the arrival of Pākehā and the advent of pastoral farming, everything was here. Generally speaking, this place and these hills were unequivocally whenua Māori. Māori were secure and at home in this place where there were no great mansions or huge temples built, ‘because the temples were in the land’ (Jackson, 2022). For me, this reality stimulates the sense of active and conflicted meaning the hills have. This land *is* still whenua, and this place *is* still Māori. The reality is that, since the arrival of Pākehā, and in the present day, colonisation, born from imperialism, and carried by its stems of disrespect and exploitation, has taken root to the extent that this is no longer appears unequivocally and universally so. Because of this destructive intervention, among many things, the notion of place has been appropriated, in concept and in form, with consequences for relations and therefore politics. If this is to be undone then we must look backwards. It is the past which holds the promise for the future and is the source of ‘hope’.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, the remnants of pā sites provide one of the most visible portals to another time. Literal temples in the land, these sites are often located on the low-lying hills near bodies of water, and in areas where resources were plentiful. They are survived geographically by their contortions in the earth; pits and raised surfaces which might have once accommodated features such as houses, food storage, and palisades, depending on the function of the pā. Readers, especially those who have been fortunate enough to travel abroad to Europe, would be forgiven for assuming that historical sites such as these might be afforded appropriate ‘heritage protections’ or the like, as do the remnants of ancient cities in Greece, for example. This is not the case however, and the majority of pā sites in Te Matau-a-Māui sit on the hills of privately owned farmland, just as likely to be cropped, or grazed by stock, as any other part of the farm. In this context, their existence is tenuous. I spoke with a builder once who’d been working at a location on a ridge of farmland in the Raukawa Valley. Their client had wanted to erect a building on the land, and had this builder not known the specific location was part of a pā site, the building work would have gone ahead, with this likely unnoticed, and the pā site destroyed.[2]

[2] At present protections do exist for sites of this nature in local government district plans. These protections are not comprehensive however as they rely on the sites having been officially mapped and recorded. This information is often sensitive to hapū and so too is mapping a resource intensive process therefore many are unaccounted for.

One afternoon in July, 2022, on the invitation of a friend, I went for a hīkoi (walk) to a site. In Te Matau-a-Māui the low lying hills which surround the Heretaunga Plains slowly descend into them, and hold the flatland like gentle, rounded fingers on a hand. Often between the fingers, streams flow from springs in the upper hills down onto what was once a massive area of wetland and river braids, and out toward Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa to the east. The particular site we'd decided to visit on this afternoon sits to the south of the plains, nestled into the foothills of Kohinurākau (Mount Erin). Kohinurākau is not a tall, jagged mountain like you might imagine, it sits just under 500m tall, has many valleys, and looks like hundreds of hills rolled into one if you're looking at it from a distance. The visit was the culmination of many conversations between us, driven by a shared passion for trying to understand the past, and in particular, what this place might have looked like in the past. This friend and I both feel as though we know these hills, though for him the connection runs deeper – they form part of his whakapapa (genealogy), which implies his belonging and relation here over time. In other words, he is these hills. I like to think I know these hills and feel connected to them, but I will never know them like he knows them, and that's ok, I don't need to.

The afternoon is clear and still. We park our cars in a gateway by a stream and walk up the side of a steep hill to the ridge where a section of the pā site is located. He leads the way, and, as we're on a piece of private farmland, we've called ahead to the farmer to let him know what we're doing.[3] It had been our plan to head up the opposite ridgeline but it's lambing season and there are pregnant ewes in the paddock which the farmer doesn't want us to disturb. Once on the ridge we can clearly make out deep rectangle indents in the ground and a raised terrace of earth. Standing here and looking around is like being on the stage in a huge, natural amphitheatre. Higher than us, to the left and right, sit several ridgelines with further pā site remnants on them. It's clear that the site where we're standing is part of substantial site or community of sites. Down below us to the right, the stream rushes noisily – kōura (freshwater crayfish) and tuna (eels) might have been gathered from here. To the left there's a large piece of angled flat land facing north east which even on this late afternoon in July is still caked in sunlight – vegetable crops

[3] In Aotearoa New Zealand there is no formal convention for visiting pā sites such as this. If the site happens to sit on private farmland then generally speaking the expectation is that the landowner is contacted in advance. In this instance we had phoned ahead, though more importantly his direct connection to the site and coordination of our visit made me feel respectful and comfortable with our visit.

would surely have been sown here. Behind us ridgelines fan upwards, merging into the side of Kohinurākau to the right – pathways to the eastern coast might have cut through the valleys here.

We spend several hours standing on the ridge talking about our different childhoods, Pākehā and Māori culture, feeling weight of the past and what might have been around us. Most of the time we stand facing the north east where the entire Heretaunga Plains are visible before us. Small bits of surface flooding and full streams from recent rainfall give us a hint of what the plains might have looked like in their former life. It is said that waka (canoe) were able to come inland to the hills where we are standing from the coast, with nearby hills baring their ancient mooring marks. Straight in front of us, in the distance many kilometres away, though clearly visible on the other side of the plains, are the hills above the Ngaruroro and Tutaekuri rivers, and Mataruahou (Napier Hill) – all too locations of major pā sites. Although not quite visible from where we are, these rivers eventually meet to form a large mouth into Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa to the east known as Waipureku (the meeting of waters). This location is home to Waitangi Regional Park, and the star compass, Ātea-a-Rangi. As a meeting place for two of the region's largest rivers, this place is significant for social and political reasons too. It is the approximate location where three rangatira (chiefs) from Te Matau-a-Māui signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi on the 24th June, 1840.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi)

On 6th February, 1840, roughly 650 kilometres north of this place, Te Tiriti o Waitangi was first signed by Governor Hobson, on behalf of the Crown, and around 46 rangatira on the front lawn of the then British Resident, James Busby's, house at Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 2016). An agreement signed by both rangatira and representatives of the British government, Te Tiriti is intended to be the basis for a relationship between 'two peoples' – those who were at home in their land of Aotearoa, and new arrivals to New Zealand. It is an 'addendum' (Mutu and Jacobs, 2023) to the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand, He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (The Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand), which was signed in 1835. Today, although it has no formal legal status, Te Tiriti is seen by many as a constitutional

document in Aotearoa New Zealand that, at least in theory, establishes and guides the relationship between the 'Crown' (embodied by the government), and 'Māori' (whānau, hapū, and iwi throughout the country). Despite almost 200 years passing since the signing in 1840, significant distance remains between Te Tiriti as an 'idea' versus the 'actuality' of Aotearoa New Zealand. The fact that it is not law offers just one hint at this gulf of distance, where mainstream society remains Pākehā-centric, and in turn, very much based around 'one people', contrary to the purpose and ethic of Te Tiriti.

Two texts of Te Tiriti o Waitangi exist; the text in te reo Māori, referred to as Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the document which was initially signed on the lawn in Waitangi on 6th February, 1840; and the English language text, the Treaty of Waitangi. In the six months following the initial signing, Te Tiriti was taken on a journey around Aotearoa New Zealand with new signatories sought. Eventually over 450 rangatira signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi, whereas only thirty-nine signed the Treaty of Waitangi (Mikaere, 2011; Orange, 1987). It is not my intention for this project to be an exhaustive, detailed, historical account of Te Tiriti and its nuances (for such an account, see the work of Carwyn Jones, 2016). Nor will I provide a complete analysis of the complication and pain which has arisen from the existence of these two texts, and the constant violations on behalf of the Crown. As David Williams (2023 in e-Tangata) recently and aptly puts it 'anyone who's really concerned about how our society is constituted today needs to understand that the Treaty was massively breached over many, many decades. That's the main historical fact'.

Through this project I would like to offer a critique of Te Tiriti which is situational and place-based, in that my analysis attempts to embed Te Tiriti in the land and what it means to be here in terms of politics and relations in the present and future. This critique focusses primarily on what Te Tiriti offers, and in particular, what it offers Pākehā; how it might affect a notion of 'place' in Aotearoa New Zealand, and in turn, how it might relate to belonging, including to the hills of Te Matau-a-Māui, which I have just described. In order to do this, it is necessary to broaden the focus beyond Te Tiriti as an isolated document to a means for being here. This entails consideration of the context and fundamental meaning of Te Tiriti just as much as the words of the text on the paper. In doing so, and again particularly where Pākehā are concerned, the relationship with Te Tiriti might be shifted to be behavioural, where 'being Te Tiriti' is an encompassing,

active, and operational ethic, rather than a detached, passive, and observed gesture. Significant work is required if this place is to be reached.

To attempt to briefly summarise, in isolation and in essence, Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a reaffirmation of Māori sovereignty and independence – that which was previously stipulated in He Whakaputanga. Te Tiriti cemented the overriding paramount authority of the rangatira through 'tino rangatiratanga', while granting permission to the Crown to govern and manage the behaviour of British nationals. However, drawn up in English, the Treaty of Waitangi stated that the rangatira gave sovereignty to the Crown, therefore the Treaty is a serious mistranslation which has been problematic for Aotearoa New Zealand ever since 1840 (Mutu, 2010). Particular issue is with the use of the word 'kāwanatanga' which was the translation for 'sovereignty', rather than the word 'mana' which was used in He Whakaputanga. Kāwanatanga 'did not convey a precise definition of sovereignty. Had the word mana been used, no Māori would have any doubt what was being ceded' (Walker, 2004, p. 91). Mikaere (2011) contends that the two texts are fundamentally unrelatable and irreconcilable, as according to the Treaty, the rangatira who signed ceded sovereignty to the Crown in return for guaranteed property rights. At the heart of this are issues around the expansive, all-encompassing and restrictive, narrow interpretations of sovereignty. As Mutu (2010, p. 26) outlines, the power and authority which tino rangatiratanga exercises is paramount and spiritually sanctioned. This differs from the English notion of sovereignty which 'does refer to ultimate power and authority, but only that which derives from human sources and manifests itself in man-made rules and laws'.

For many Pākehā, Te Tiriti o Waitangi marks a significant moment of 'beginning' in Aotearoa New Zealand. Commemorated with the annual 'Waitangi Day' public holiday, 6th February, 1840, is generally considered to be the day the country was formed, and for many Pākehā this is therefore the historical starting point. Flash-in-the-pan gestures such as this are a part of what might be described as a general, shallow, over-emphasis on Te Tiriti in isolation, and at face-value, in mainstream society. This serves to cultivate an idea that Te Tiriti really 'was the beginning', while simultaneously undermining Māori sovereignty and independence in this land, and how Te Tiriti came to be. With this in mind, and at the same time trying not to wade into a complete history of Aotearoa New Zealand, I'd like to focus briefly on some detail of what Aotearoa was like around the time

Te Tiriti came into existence. I believe this context offers lessons, which at a broad level, are just as valuable for the country in the present day as Te Tiriti itself.

Why We Have Te Tiriti o Waitangi

In the years immediately prior to 1840, despite the increased presence of European settlers, Aotearoa was still very much Aotearoa. In 1839 Māori outnumbered Pākehā by approximately 70,000 – 90,000 to 2,000, with hapū, under the leadership of their rangatira, having absolute authority over land, sea, water, resources and people (Mutu, 2010). Pākehā who were there at that time were mainly British settlers, an assorted mix of whalers, sealers, explorers and traders, who most definitely knew about Māori and Māori culture by 1840 (Orange, 1987). They were mostly based in coastal areas in the northern parts of Te Ika-a-Māui (the North Island), with the inland areas virtually unknown to them (ibid). There was some assimilation between these 'permanent' Pākehā, and Māori, though missionaries, who arrived in 1814, remained 'somewhat apart', imposing English culture, language, values and superiority on Māori (Mutu, 2010).

The new arrivals brought new things to Aotearoa, and Māori were quick to see advantages in some of the new technologies, commercial opportunities, and skills, such as writing (Jackson, 2011). Life was not completely harmonious by any stretch, and just as there had been some assimilation, mutual respect and exchange developed, so too had there been disrespect and some overstepping on the part of settlers. By the early 19th Century settler presence was expanding, French and American interest in Aotearoa grew, and with it the number of whalers and traders. As shipping increased so too did the associated problems, primarily in the form of lawless behaviour on the part of settlers (Orange, 1987). This was particularly bad in the Bay of Islands where in the 1830s, Kororāreka, the then largest coastal town now commonly known as Russell, was dubbed the 'hellhole of the Pacific', with settler drunkenness and violence rife (Belich, 1996). Alongside this, some settlers showed a complete disregard for te ao Māori (Māori worldview), and were offensive in their violation of tikanga and Māori custom (Orange, 1987). This unruly behaviour harmed and worried Māori who were growing increasingly wary and developed a desire to have settler misconduct controlled.

> ‘The mouth of this river is what may be called a bar as the water does not rise more than 6 to 7 feet over it … the ground on its banks is also covered with the most beautiful sorts of trees and shrubs many of which I have not seen before but time would not allow to take a description of them. At the entrance of this river the natives have a few tempory [sic] huts where they are building a small canoe. Here we were kindly received by the Chief who rubbed his nose upon ours and asked us to eat with him.’
> (Shepherd, 1829, as cited in Park, 2018)

For Māori, as with Indigenous peoples generally, early visitors who arrived on the shores of Aotearoa were not discovers – they were strangers, and strangers who were often in poor health, and in need of shelter and protection (Mutu, 2019). In the late 18th and early 19th Century, Māori were accommodating to new arrivals in their land, a land which they had occupied for thousands of years, having migrated from across Polynesia (Mutu, 2010). To put it simply, it is this presence in place which is the basis for an unquestionable Māori sovereign authority. As Ani Mikaere (2011, p. 126) explains, this sovereign authority is derived from presence over time, and through the development of ‘an intimate connection with this environment and an intricate web of relationships to regulate our place within it’. An effort to accommodate strangers on the part of Māori reflects the relational nature of this sovereign authority, which requires balance in practice. As Mikaere (2011, p. 126) elaborates, Māori ‘system of law of tikanga was founded upon the imperative to maintain balance with whānau, hapū and iwi, the importance of which stemmed from the whanaungatanga of all living things through whakapapa’.

In the early 1800s, settler incivility was affecting Aotearoa’s balance, and Māori sought solutions. With impetus said to have come from rangatira Hongi Hika and Waikato, northern hapū and their rangatira came together as ‘Te Whakaminenga’, in response to the negative impact of settlers in their land. Hika and Waikato had travelled abroad to England, met with the King of England, and upon return Hika is said to have suggested the consolidation of hapū and Māori international trade as effective ways in which Māori could deal with increasing Pākehā lawlessness (Mutu, 2010). Growing demands were made by Māori for Pākehā to control their citizens and regulate their misconduct (Mutu, 2010; Walker, 2004; Orange, 1987). Māori sought to forge an alliance with the King of England for cooperation in this process. Considered to be of great mana, he was deemed

appropriate due to his esteem and ability to ensure his subjects lived under tikanga, or laws passed down through generations – that which Hongi Hika and Waikato had observed first-hand on their trade trips in England (Mutu, 2010).

In 1833 a British Resident, James Busby, was dispatched to manage British subjects and control lawlessness, though he would ultimately fail in this purpose (Walker, 2004; Mutu, 2020). During his tenure, Busby facilitated the drafting of He Whakaputanga, the Declaration of Independence, in 1835. Signed initially by the northern rangatira of Te Whakaminenga, which eventually broadened to include rangatira from Te Ika-a-Māui, He Whakaputanga 'was a declaration of rangatiratanga and the mana of the rangatira of Te Whakaminenga in respect of all their lands' (Mutu, 2010, p. 18). He Whakaputanga declared Māori authority paramount, and accordingly, 'that the rangatira would not allow any other persons or any other 'kāwanatanga' to have law-making powers over their lands' (ibid). An interpretation of He Whakaputanga was sent to the then King William IV, and was formally acknowledged, however despite the positive intentions of the declaration, settler disorder carried on (Mutu, 2020). Those whose home this was still required a solution which effectively controlled both their right to accommodate, and those who were to be accommodated.

He Whakaputanga was to be the foundation for Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Mutu, 2010), which marked the next stage in the quest for solutions for Māori. During the period between 1835 and 1840, settler lawlessness continued. In 1837 'European riff-raff' was involved in a significant outbreak of fighting in the Bay of Islands area, and control was required over Pākehā irregular settlements and an anticipated influx of settlers (Orange,1987). Māori demanded a solution which was based on stricter control of settlers, and 'by 1840, the rangatira decided that the British rangatira had to take responsibility for them' (Mutu, 2020, p. 274). So we return to the front lawn in Waitangi where on 6th February the rangatira and representatives of the Crown first signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This document, in te reo Māori, 'confirmed the 1835 He Whakaputanga, preserving the rangatiratanga of the rangatira, of the hapū and of the people. It devolved kāwanatanga (governance) over British immigrants to the Queen of England' (Mutu, 2010; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014; Mutu et al., 2017, as cited in Mutu, 2020).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi is therefore a formal means for the safe and effective accommodation of Pākehā in a Māori land. It is an invitation for a presence in place for Pākehā, which is fundamentally relational. In return for the privilege of being allowed to be in Aotearoa New Zealand, the Crown pledged to uphold the mana and rangatiratanga of the rangatira and their hapū, while making 'all aspects of English culture available to Māori' (Mutu, 2010, p. 28). Accordingly, tikanga Māori (Māori customs) regulates the relationship between Māori as tangata whenua (hosts), and Pākehā as manuhiri (guests) (Mikaere, 2011). Te Tiriti o Waitangi was 'a treaty of peace and friendship' promising acknowledgment and respect for the absolute power and authority of rangatira where they were relived of the responsibility for lawless settlers (Mutu, 2020), who would instead formally manage themselves. Te Tiriti o Waitangi sets out 'the terms of peaceful co-existence…along with the terms of trade in respect of allocating lands for Pākehā to live on' (Mutu, 2010, p. 36) Te Tiriti o Waitangi is, in part, why Pākehā are here, though it is not yet who they are here.

The Treatment of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

To put it simply, since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, Pākehā have chosen to see and do things differently, prioritising themselves ahead of the relationship which was extended to them. 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi' has been neglected by Pākehā in favour of the English language version, 'the Treaty of Waitangi' and therefore the English interpretation of the relationship to place and people. As I have mentioned, the latter states that those Māori rangatira who signed ceded sovereignty to the Crown, and in return the Crown guaranteed their property rights (Mikaere, 2011). The Pākehā-centricity of the Treaty has pushed aside the terms for co-existence of Te Tiriti, and a treaty of 'peace and friendship' has become one of power and control. In the years since 1840, an adherence to the Treaty, and this assertion, on the part of Pākehā has helped to support the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand by Pākehā, with devastating effects for Māori. In the present day, the power resides with the Crown, and Pākehā by association. The country has a Pākehā system of government and society which favours Pākehā, and is built on Western-Eurocentric values as derived from British settler-colonisers. In turn, this shapes the prevailing ways of being and knowing, with implications for the politics of place as I outline in this thesis.

Such is the extent of the power imbalance that Pākehā have the capacity to shape the nation's history, defining what is forgotten and remembered. Within this process, Te Tiriti o Waitangi has been conveniently masked, though it is thanks to the efforts of Māori, more than anything, that its significance remains (Orange, 1987). For many years, Te Tiriti remained largely forgotten and out of sight of mainstream society. This was literal in the case of the document which, between 1877 and 1908, was neglected to the extent that it became badly damaged by water and rodents (Archives New Zealand, 2023). During and around this time, Pākehā were able to cultivate an illusion of harmonious relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, which assisted in obscuring the need for any focus on the subject of Te Tiriti. 1940 marked 100 years of Te Tiriti, where at the celebrations Pākehā speechmakers heralded the 'best race relations in the world' (Huygens, 2011). However, these 1940 celebrations were not supported by Māori, who had instead celebrated the centenary of their sovereignty in 1934 (Orange, 1987), in line with He Whakaputanga.

Only in the latter half of the 20th Century did Te Tiriti o Waitangi begin to 'remerge'. The rugby union's decision to pass over Māori players and send a White All Black rugby team to tour South Africa in 1960 put racism on the country's agenda. This close-to-home presence of racist policies forced both Māori and Pākehā to give serious consideration to the domestic context in Aotearoa New Zealand (Huygens, 2011; Orange, 1987). Coupled with a rise in assimilative policies, which intruded on Māori identity and interests, protests emerged which brought about a renewed focus on Te Tiriti and its implications for the nation (Orange, 1987). Māori demanded greater recognition of Te Tiriti and in 1973 the Labour government made Waitangi day a public holiday. With public awareness on the up, attention then turned to enhancing the legislative effect of Te Tiriti. The Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975 marked an important step forward in this space. In particular, it created the Waitangi Tribunal to 'make recommendations on claims relating to the practical application of the principles of the Treaty and, for that purpose, to determine its meaning and effect and whether certain matters are inconsistent with those principles' (Orange, 1987, p. 246).

On a level these steps are progressive, though the reality is that the Crown, and in turn Pākehā, have remained very much in a dominant political, cultural and social position despite the progress. For a start, decisions and recommendations made by the Waitangi Tribunal are non-binding and not enforceable. While the principles at least acknowledge

Te Tiriti, in that they are a practical attempt to reconcile both Te Tiriti and the Treaty, they continue to privilege the English language version and 'water down' the meaning of Te Tiriti into something fit for a Western legislative framework. Accordingly, some see Te Tiriti and the Treaty as completely different and irreconcilable, where 'the extricable connection between He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti should be acknowledged, and the Treaty seen for the historical irrelevance that it truly is' (Mikaere, 2011, p. 126). More recently, others argue that the two can be reconciled and Te Tiriti, in English or te reo Māori, 'is still our best way forward' (Williams, 2023). Those who drafted the English text are said to have intended for Māori to have rangatiratanga and ownership over their lands, only for the process of colonisation to alter this understanding (Fletcher, 2022). Nonetheless, both positions point to the complex position Te Tiriti occupies within society.

Why Te Tiriti o Waitangi (not the Treaty of Waitangi) Matters

This broad overview of the treatment of Te Tiriti o Waitangi since 1840 demonstrates the ways in which it has largely been neglected and disrespected over time and also the potential for Te Tiriti to guide a deeper understanding of politics in contexts like the one of Aotearoa New Zealand. Progress since the 1960s has been promising, though there is still so much work to be done on so many levels, particularly on the part of Pākehā. In the present day, Te Tiriti o Waitangi remains at the heart of politics in Aotearoa New Zealand, and rightly so. It is constitutionally significant, and it speaks to the bicultural, relational underpinnings of the country's social fabric. To put it succinctly, it is the only basis Pākehā and tauiwi have for being here. Much attention has been given to the politics of the text in the documents of Te Tiriti, but it is not just the text in isolation which is political – everything about Te Tiriti o Waitangi is political. With this in mind, the way Te Tiriti is talked about matters. The words used to describe Te Tiriti, and the associated terminology, are all just as political as the words on the paper.

By this point I'm assuming readers would have noticed that I have opted to use the terms 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi' and 'Te Tiriti' throughout this text, making specific reference the 'the Treaty' as the English language version when the distinction is needed. This is an intentional political choice because without question for me it is Te Tiriti o Waitangi, in

principle and in te reo Māori, which must be upheld and is the foundation of relational politics in Aotearoa New Zealand as this thesis demonstrates. You do not need to look far to find supporting evidence, and the fact that over 95% of rangatira signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi in te reo Māori in itself is overwhelming. Further to this, to not uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi is to violate the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, where Article 37 stipulates that Indigenous language treaties must be prioritised (United Nations, 2008). The fact that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is not prioritised is further, stark evidence of institutional racism in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Readers who are not intimately familiar with Aotearoa New Zealand may be bemused at the contrast between this immense, concrete evidence, and the country's social and political reality. The bemusement is probably most amongst those who have become accustomed to the country's admirable, empathetic portrayal in international media. The fact is though that neglect and violation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi is deeply systemic. I recall studying 'New Zealand History' at high school in 2005, which was just that – a history of 'New Zealand' beginning with James Cook's 'discovery' in 1769. The compulsory textbooks were the works of prominent Pākehā historians, Keith Sinclair and Michael King. Our major assignment was to document the experience of British missionaries. We briefly touched on the 'New Zealand Wars' for a week, drawing from the work of another acclaimed Pākehā historian, James Belich. Colonisation was framed as something inevitable and necessary on humanitarian grounds, and we learned how the Treaty of Waitangi was a mechanism which progressively aided this. There was no Māori perspective. We were taught a racist history.

It's not even twenty years ago since I had this education which is arguably ahead of its time as only since 2022 has it been made compulsory for schools to even teach New Zealand history (O'Malley, 2021). Questions still remain around the delivery of this curriculum, and the extent to which colonial dispossession, confiscation, and brutality will be addressed. History has often been taught with a lack of detail, 'and the more difficult and violent aspects of New Zealand's colonial past' removed 'from school learning programmes' (O'Malley and Kidman, 2017, p. 3). Progress too has been made specifically with respect to Te Tiriti and education, and in 2020 the 'Treaty of Waitangi principle' was introduced into The New Zealand Curriculum. This principle 'acknowledges the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the bicultural foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand', and

‘calls for schools to understand and honour Treaty principles in all actions and decision making’ (Ministry of Education, 2023). This action speaks to the work which still needs to be done as much as it speaks to progress. Referencing the Treaty and calling for acknowledgement of the principles remains a considerable step away from properly recognising Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The irony here is you have the government, which fails to properly acknowledge the Treaty principles let alone Te Tiriti, calling on schools to better do so. In 2024 with the advent of the National-Act-New Zealand First coalition government, this progress this under threat.

Recently, in an effort to move away from the present day web of complexity in which Te Tiriti and the Treaty are caught, focus has turned to ‘intention’. For example, arguing that there has been an overemphasis on Te Tiriti to reflect that Māori did not cede sovereignty and retained the right to tino rangatiratanga, Fletcher (2022) and Williams (2023) posit that those who drafted the English language version saw ‘sovereignty’ as compatible with continued Māori self-government. Essentially, those on the British side of the equation were open to the possibilities of pluralism and doing things differently at the time. An excellent Pākehā-led contribution to the discourse, this work by Fletcher and Williams is especially timely with ‘co-governance’ currently on the political agenda. I can’t help but feel though that this argument is a ‘gateway’ for Pākehā, and particularly older Pākehā, to come to terms with the idea of co-governance. What, then, is the point of the English language version? Is it even required? The mana of those rangatira who signed it withstanding, and genuine intention on the part of early Pākehā considered – no it is not. Te Tiriti o Waitangi in te reo Māori presents a terms for peaceful, friendly co-existence in a Māori land.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi in isolation remains complicated however, especially for Māori, and ‘it is scarcely possible to speak of a single Māori understanding; there was a variety of understandings’ (Orange, 1987, p. 4). Misapprehension was evident on February 6th, 1840, and when Governor Hobson called for signatures none of the rangatira present moved (Walker, 1984). Te Tiriti was also not universally agreed upon or signed by all rangatira across Aotearoa New Zealand. Some rangatira refused to sign, and some were simply not given the opportunity to sign or refuse to sign (Orange, 1990). As I have mentioned, many inland rangatira did not sign, and engagement with Te Tiriti was primarily confined to populated coastal areas (Orange, 1987). I know, and have spoken

with, Māori who don't see the need for Te Tiriti at all in Aotearoa. I guess it is this conundrum which is a major factor in why Te Tiriti o Waitangi matters – particularly to me on a personal level. It matters because, at the very least, it gives Pākehā and tauiwi a relational foundation for being in Aotearoa New Zealand as manuhiri (guests) alongside tangata whenua (hosts).

This fundamental proposition is what matters most, as it is a guide for being in this land which remains relevant now and for the future. And this 'being' comes with responsibilities to which, for Pākehā, the work that is to be done must be grounded in. That is the work of this thesis, and to this end the research questions I ask concern the potential of Te Tiriti o Waitangi with respect to this. Specifically, its relational potential and capacity to facilitate a reinvention of conventional understandings of the political in this place. These research questions, which are expanded upon on page 62, are approached using the He Awa Whiria framework which connects Indigenous and Western perspectives (MacFarlane, 2024). I write more about He Awa Whiria in the coming section which begins on page 55 where I fully develop the conceptual framework. I then expand on it further in the following chapter on page 89 in terms of methodology, and the specifics concerning the braiding of these perspectives. Before this however, in the next section I set the historical and theoretical backdrop to the conceptual framework by deepening the political and relational contexts of Te Tiriti in the land and through my experience.

The Precious Gift of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

One of my earliest memories is a school assignment we were given by our teacher Mr Pearse at Raukawa School when I must have been around eight or nine years old. At the time Harold Pearse (Ngāti Kurukuru, Ngāti Kahungunu), or 'Mr Pearse' as we knew him as students, was the only teacher at the remote, rural primary school located up in the hills of the Raukawa Valley in Te Matau-a-Māui. A school which at that point in the early/mid 1990s fluctuated between 30-40 students, an even mix of Māori kids, predominantly from the nearby township of Bridge Pā, and Pākehā kids, from the surrounding farms, between the ages of five and twelve years old. The assignment was called 'My Place' and the task

was to describe our place of belonging, our home, on a large piece of white paper using whatever visual means we felt best encapsulated this for us.

Our 'place' as Mr Pearse explained, is our tūrangawaewae. A place where we have the right to belong, a place to stand, and a place to call home. I remember the class loving the assignment, which we worked on for a school term, culminating in each student talking the class through the story of their place. Big sheets of white paper came to life with colourful drawings, random items and foliage were tacked on. I still remember the energy and excitement in the room, and the feeling of pride which came from talking about our respective places to the class. For me it was our house and the surrounding farmland, located down the road from the school, in the foothills between the Heretaunga Plains and the upper section of the Raukawa Valley. I recall trying to draw the most perfect representation of the land, road, and surrounding streams on my piece of paper with coloured pencils.

Although I didn't realise it at the time, this assignment was my first lesson in Te Tiriti o Waitangi and, in particular, what it affords me as a Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand – to be allowed to be here, and as someone from somewhere else, to be allowed 'a chance to make a home in this land' (Jackson, 2022). In letting Pākehā be on the whenua in such a way, Te Tiriti is an invitation not only for Pākehā and tauiwi to be here, but for Pākehā and tauiwi to enter into a relationship with Māori. Reciprocity is integral to this relationship which is two-way, and comes with responsibilities for both parties. Fundamental to this is a responsibility to uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the first instance, and that is, to uphold Māori sovereignty and independence in this land. Therefore, tikanga regulates this relationship, where Māori, as tangata whenua, are 'hosts', and Pākehā, as manuhiri, are 'guests' (Mikaere, 2011). These are the conditions offered by Te Tiriti for co-existence in Aotearoa New Zealand, and specifically, 'the conditions under which Pākehā can remain in this country' (Mutu, 2010, p.13). Under the conditions offered by Te Tiriti 'being here' is not simply about being here, it means more in an ethical sense.

In offering a conditional invitation of this kind, Te Tiriti o Waitangi is an object, and a form of exchange, grounded in intentionality. A bilateral bind, committing two peoples to a unique relational state in action and in mind. Consequently, for Te Tiriti to 'be' the conditional commitment must be complete, and not partial. In her essay on the lives of

colonial objects, Lucy Mackintosh (2015, p. 25) describes a pūtōrino (flute). ‘The pūtōrino, connected intimately with life, resists being represented as an inert, fixed object. The instrument reaches beyond its small frame, encouraging a close yet ephemeral entanglement between musician and flute, subject and object, idea and thing, and present and past’ . Te Tiriti o Waitangi can be conceptualised in this way, as more than words on paper, and instead as an object of embodied relationality, offering conditions for ‘being’ here which transcend space and time. Therefore, Te Tiriti is not simply a historical document confined to a dark room in Archives New Zealand in Te Whanganui-a-Tara. Its meaning constantly reverberates, like sound, as a commitment of relational belief and conduct throughout the whenua.

What Te Tiriti offers in this sense, and the nuance of its relational conditions, is ever present within Māori spaces by way of associated tikanga. Looking at intention and conduct in these spaces can serve as a guide for behaviour, particularly for Pākehā and tauiwi, as to what it means to ‘be’ Te Tiriti. Durie (2002, p. 22) demonstrates this through his conceptualisation of marae encounters where the ‘prevailing ethos on a marae is concerned with expressions of generosity’. ‘The art of marae negotiation is bound to a goal of enhancement of the other’ by way of reciprocal relationship ‘whereby mana is enhanced, not by a show of power, but by the more subtle display of concern and kindness’ (ibid). ‘The balance lies between enjoying the benefits that can accrue from generosity without diminishing local advantage’ (ibid). It is tangata whenua, as hosts, who guide and guard encounter, and are afforded this advantage through continued presence over time in a locality (Durie, 2002).

Tapu helps to mitigate risk in encounter, especially during the early stages of connection and relationship building. This guides guest behaviour and ‘marae visitors who are aware of the significance of tapu usually demonstrate a cautious attitude and are at pains to avoid any action or comment that could be misconstrued as an intended slight on their hosts’ (ibid, p. 21). Koha practice is an example of reciprocity within relationships. As Durie (2002, p. 20) states, there are two aspects to koha practice. First, ‘is the desire of a visiting group to present a gift that will encourage the development of a relationship with the hosts’. Second, ‘is the acceptance of the gift and by implication the establishment of a relationship’ (ibid). To not accept, or to return the gift, would be a clear signal that ‘a relationship was not envisaged or desired’ (ibid). ‘In short, the nature of a gift, in Māori

eyes, is less about the generosity of the donor than the obligations placed on the receiver' (Durie, 1986, as cited in Durie, 2002, p. 20).

Through the conceptualisation of marae encounters we are given insight into obligations and behaviours which transcend to, and underpin, the intentionality and conditions offered through Te Tiriti. As they are on the marae, they are part of the broader 'host' and 'guest' responsibilities which guide relationships on the whenua, and help to create 'place' in Aotearoa New Zealand. The intentionality and conditions are fundamentally binary and are necessary to 'be' and to have a place here. Mutual accountability and action in equal measure is required if healthy, mana enhancing relationships are to be nurtured. Applying the logic of object and exchange, this intentionality makes the conditions of Te Tiriti o Waitangi comparable to a gift for Pākehā, and by implication the establishment of a relationship. Therefore, obligation is put down on Pākehā, as it is to Māori, to reciprocate accordingly, at every level, to respect and maintain this relationship, and in turn, their 'place' here.

Clarifying Key Terms

These guest responsibilities are not detached, they must be embedded in actions, and this includes communication of key terms. Choosing to refer to 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi' and 'Te Tiriti' within this text is not the only intentional and political act I am making with respect to terminology. Starting from the top, my overarching description for the whenua at this moment in time is 'Aotearoa New Zealand'. This feels apt because it centres 'Aotearoa', the Māori name for New Zealand, while at the same time conveying the current neither-here-nor-there state of affairs in the country. Despite mainstream society being Pākehā-centric, the country, as whenua Māori, remains caught between two worlds. Cram (2013) gives us the 'two lands' analogy which is apt here. On one hand there is 'Aotearoa' where Māori remain 'ordinary' in Māori situations where traditional cultural practices are upheld and commonplace. On the other hand there is 'New Zealand', the Pākehā-centric place where Māori often find they have to go for education, employment, health care, and welfare assistance. Correspondingly, when I seek to address an overarching context which concerns Māori or Pākehā, one more than the

other, I choose to name either ‘Aotearoa’ or ‘New Zealand’. Hopefully in the not too distant future this will simply be ‘Aotearoa’.

Similarly, ‘Māori’ is a relatively new word, resulting from Pākehā contact, and describes the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. When James Cook arrived in Aotearoa in 1769 he encountered a people who thought of themselves as ordinary, as ‘tangata Māori’, and the word ‘Māori’ was not used widely until the mid-19th Century (Cram, 2013; Orange, 1987). The word ‘translates to normal, uncontaminated, or ordinary’ (Mutu, 2017, p. 93), as Māori were in their land before the arrival of foreigners. I use the word when describing tangata whenua (people of the land), descendants of the whenua who make up the whānau, hapū, and iwi throughout this land, and who whakapapa to this land. Tangata whenua ‘carries the inherent meaning of having responsibility for and power and authority in respect of the well-being of the land in the specific area that one’s hapū holds mana whenua’ (Mutu, 2017, p. 93). Mana whenua is spiritual, passed down through ancestors it is the ‘ultimate and paramount power and authority in respect of the land’ (ibid). Hapū, or groupings of whānau, make up the more than one hundred and twenty iwi, or nations, of Aotearoa New Zealand, and membership is typically determined by descent from a common ancestor (ibid).

‘Māori’ was first used to distinguish between people of Māori descent and ‘Pākehā’. Pākehā are the White, settler colonisers of Aotearoa of European origin (Mutu, 2017; Huygens, 2011), and accordingly I use the term ‘Pākehā’ to refer to said people, past and present. I also attach the term to ‘the Crown’ here in that it is a White, settler colonial institutional product. I identify as Pākehā, and choose to align with some of Amundsen’s (2018, p. 146) reasons for doing so, and extend these reasons to what ‘Pākehā’ means in this text. I too consider self-identifying as Pākehā as a political act, whereby ‘it is a statement about my relationship to Māori as tangata whenua with recognition of a colonial past that needs greater discussion’. I consider ‘Pākehā’ to contain ‘inherent meanings of “whiteness”’, and that ‘having a Pākehā identity positions those of us who use it as being of Aotearoa New Zealand, within Aotearoa itself’ (ibid). It’s important to note that I see this ‘being of’ is derived from being ‘a part’ of Aotearoa New Zealand, while being on the whenua, and not intrinsic to it.

‘Pākehā’ is a term which comes from Māori, and is said to be ‘a shortened form of ‘pakepakehā’, which was a Māori rendition of a word or words remembered from a chant used in a very early visit by foreign sailors for raising their anchor’ (Te Kōhure, as cited in Te Aka, 2023). Many Pākehā strongly object to the name (Mutu, 2017), primarily because it speaks to a past which is preferably avoided. Efforts to decouple Pākehā from their European origins have prompted some to attempt to ‘resolve’ the term, problematically claiming Pākehā are ‘white natives’ and indigenous New Zealanders (King, 1985; 1999). Some, such as Amundsen (2018), see Pākehā as a ‘positive’ term, and a ‘taonga’. For Nairn (2009), this positivity comes from an acceptance of the term and a sense of commitment to belonging. I agree with both Amundsen and Nairn, though I position the term separately to both. While I understand the sentiment, Pākehā to me is a term which is neither positive or derogatory, instead it is ‘incomplete’, and importantly, recognition of a colonial past needs action as much as it does greater discussion.

In particular, the source of this incompletion with respect to the term relates to identity. Meaning considered, I understand the term ‘Pākehā’ to exist in relation to, but a step away from, ‘manuhiri’. I understand ‘manuhiri’ to be a relatively more absolute designation, and necessary destination-in-motion, for guests on the whenua, and therefore indicates an identity which is not yet complete. In present day Aotearoa New Zealand where Te Tiriti o Waitangi is not properly recognised, most tauiwi, and in particular most Pākehā, are yet to be guests on the whenua. Pākehā identity remains fragile and uncertain. Manuhiri is an ethic which comes with responsibilities by default, and is at the heart of what this thesis investigates as necessary for a relational ethic grounded in Te Tiriti. These responsibilities start at the ontological level and broadly speaking, require a commitment to relationality over individuality, and connection over control. Being manuhiri cannot be easily acquired, it requires work, which in itself will require the Crown, and Pākehā, to right the balance of power and relinquish control. It is to adopt a restorative perspective and ethic. It is to have found, and to know, one’s place alongside tangata whenua.

It is at this point that I would like to reflect on some important conditions of the notion of manuhiri as I interpret the term throughout this project. In particular, these conditions speak to temporality and the ‘more’ in the relatively more absolute designation with respect to identity. As its authors, first and chief beneficiaries, colonisation is inherent in

Pākehā identity and experience in Aotearoa New Zealand. Being manuhiri does not resolve this and is not a unilateral approach to resolution. It is not a perfect point of completion where what is fundamental ceases to be. Instead it can be positioned as an expansion which folds honesty and integrity into the fabric of identity, so that inherent traits might be engaged with equitably and their meaning confronted. Where this project is concerned, it is a relational standpoint born from my reflections at a moment in time that addresses among many things the heart of the colonial project, that is land (Wolfe, 2006). It offers a lens on this, and is an ethic for approaching the challenges which exist beyond this project where being a visitor is having a love for the land, respecting who has rangatiratanga, and respecting the radically generous invitation to be here.

'Tauiwi' and 'tangata Tiriti' are other terms whose appearance in this text requires explanation. 'Tauiwi' means foreigner (Mutu, 2017; Walker, 2004) and is often used to describe non-Māori who are not of European descent, which, broadly speaking, is my interpretation of the term. 'Tangata Tiriti' are Tiriti people, non-Māori partners to Te Tiriti, who support and advocate for Te Tiriti o Waitangi generally in Aotearoa New Zealand. As a term, Pākehā is often included within references to tauiwi and tangata Tiriti, though it is my intention to keep the terms separate, especially with regard to 'tauiwi'. Again, I feel that to lump the two together plays down and glosses over what it means to be Pākehā at this moment in time. In a way it resolves the term, and attempts to add a sense of completion while simultaneously deescalating the work which is required of Pākehā if they are to become guests. In this vein, as mentioned previously, I also keep distance between 'Pākehā' and 'manuhiri' as at this point the terms remain far apart. To conclude, I acknowledge that categorising meanings under these terms as universal identity labels in this way is fundamentally Western, and yet another concept brought to the shores of Aotearoa from somewhere else. In the case of this text it is unavoidable, and necessary for the purposes of explanation. It's a starting point which isn't perfect. For what it's worth I'm hoping the eventual sum will outweigh the parts.

In undertaking this project, in the first instance I am addressing my doctoral examiners. However, it is not my intention to hold the project within this relatively rigid scope and all going well, I intend for it to have a life beyond this. I would like to bind this vision to the thesis version by outlining at this point – beyond my examiners – who am I speaking to with this project? Primarily, I am speaking to Pākehā. That is, White, settler colonisers of

European descent who have directly benefitted from colonisation. I realise that 'Pākehā' is not a universal homogeneity, people who identify as Pākehā span the entire socio-economic spectrum, and not all Pākehā have benefitted equally from colonisation. Considering this, in particular, I am speaking to Pākehā who have benefitted the most from colonisation. I realise this category sounds flimsy, especially as Pākehā are quite good at obscuring the ways in which they have benefited, but those who are will know. A good litmus test is to open the front door of your house, walk outside and check if you're living on a hill with a view – if so you're likely to be in this category.[4] Regardless, there are a number of relatively obvious factors which have afforded some Pākehā this position. These include; land ownership, intergenerational wealth accrued primarily through land transfer, access to elite education, and in turn, relatively higher levels of economic, social, and political mobility in Aotearoa New Zealand. I speak from experience here, and the main reason I say those who are will know is because I am one of these Pākehā. Accordingly, when I mention Pākehā in the thesis I am including myself in this grouping, unless stated otherwise.

I believe that a positive future for Aotearoa New Zealand will rely, in part, on Pākehā being accountable, realising the position they are in, and relinquishing some of what they have, for the betterment of everyone. This applies to Pākehā individuals and groups, as it does to Pākehā institutions, and in turn, the Crown. It is these individuals, groups and institutions, currently afforded a position of power, who also by way of this position, have the capacity to right the balance of power. It is about moving toward a position of equality based on a reciprocal relations, that which Te Tiriti o Waitangi promised. This is what being a guest on the whenua looks like, which is one of the underlying propositions of Te Tiriti as I explore it as the foundation for relational politics in and through place. The same considerations apply for tauiwi as well, and especially Pākehā and tauiwi researchers on the whenua, who I am also speaking to with this project. Lessons for the latter will be made more clear in the methodological components of the project, as outlined ahead. It is likely these lessons, alongside the wider substance of the project may be applicable to White, settler colonial populations more broadly, and those involved in the work of decolonisation. On the whole though, this is about my place. I hope this work is of

[4] This is a tongue-in-cheek comment primarily aimed at affluent and socially mobile Pākehā who live in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is based on the assumption that property on a desirable, elevated site, particularly urban and urban-fringe residential property, is of a higher value than that which is low-lying.

interest to anyone who has a love for Aotearoa New Zealand, a passion and an interest in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and a desire for a positive future in this place. So too do I hope it is relevant to people with similar projects of reconciliation, recognition and relation beyond these shores.

The Politics of Place

So on that note, let's return to the notion of 'place'. Sitting here writing this in 2024, the meaning and sentiment behind my primary school 'My Place' assignment, with respect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, remain as true as ever. In teaching this assignment at a rural, public primary school in the 1990s, arguably Mr Pearse was well ahead of his time. In the present day I still continue to hold a love for my place, which I spoke about those many years ago. Though, as with the hills in and around my place, as I have grown older and learned more, this sense of love has changed and taken on added layers of tension, contributing to their conflicted meaning. Something doesn't feel quite right, it's a predicament, and it's as though something is missing. My place is my place because, thanks to Te Tiriti, I am allowed to be here. Moreso though, my place is also my place because of colonisation – specifically by way of the systems and structures brought to Aotearoa New Zealand by Pākehā. My place is alive with the weight of the past, which is defined by a relationship unfulfilled.

In simple terms, my place does not speak to Te Tiriti o Waitangi as it should, and the systems and structures brought about by colonisation help to enable this. The thing that is missing is a recognition of what Te Tiriti offers. That is, the intentionality and responsibility to the relational conditions I am afforded to properly be in my place. My place is not realised because it is not yet grounded in the gift embodied within Te Tiriti, that is, a responsible and reciprocal relationship. It is not yet 'a home in this land' (Jackson, 2022). It is a Pākehā place and in another life I might only know and care for its Pākehā past. I have no doubt that amongst the colour pencil shaded hills, road, and streams on my big white sheet of paper there was no reference to any of this. And fair enough, I simply had no idea. At the time I was blissfully unaware of the past, and the 'politics' of my place. It is interesting to contrast my response to the 'My Place'

assignment with a drawing by Māori academic Brad Coombes when he was nine years old, where past and politics are clearly visible.

‘Childhood Illustration of Purakaunui and Its Politics of Place’ (Coombes, 2016)

Central to Coombes’ drawing of his ‘place’ is the dispossession, redistribution, and alteration of land from Māori by the government. In this case his place is Purakaunui estuary, Mapoutahi peninsula and former pā, Moponui Hill, and the communities of Purakaunui, Mihiwaka, and Osborne near Ōtepoti (Dunedin) in Aotearoa New Zealand’s Te Waipounamu (South Island). The changes to the land were driven primarily by the development of a rail corridor around the 1890s (Coombes, 2016). Although, naively, it would not have been marked, unintentionally central to my drawing too was the dispossession, redistribution, and alteration of the land from Māori by the government, for the purposes of pastoral farming. I like to think that Coombes’ drawing and the memories I have of my own drawing intertwine to present very different understandings of, and connections to, contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand, which ultimately present a common thread.

What these examples have in common is the depiction of a tension which is Te Tiriti as unrealised, and specifically, the failure of Pākehā to be guests on the whenua. This tension underpins what I would like to conceptualise as an ever-present, pervasive, and in the case of the minds of a large proportion of Pākehā an intentionally ignored or not grasped 'politics of place' in Aotearoa New Zealand, which will be explored extensively through this project. Te Tiriti sought to accommodate Pākehā in this place on relational terms, though subsequently, Pākehā have sought to make this place only about them. Very rarely does this kind politics surface directly and visibly in mainstream society, let alone formal political arenas. If Pākehā are to be guests, then this politics of place, both past and present, must be faced up to. To be manuhiri is to fundamentally recognise this politics of place in this land. While I realise this idea is monumentally vast and complex, I intend to use this PhD to address it. Through an exploration of the politics of place, reflections on identity and power that come through this, I hope to shed light on the work which is required of Pākehā to be manuhiri in this land.

Importantly, what makes this tension identifiable is that which can be described as foundational to the articulations of the politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand. That which is Māori, specifically tino rangatiratanga and taonga Māori, the unceded sovereignty (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011; 2014), mātauranga Māori, Kaupapa Māori, tikanga, the cultural advancement, demographic development and resurgent economic success of Māori. Evident and articulated in the contributions which have been cited so far in this thesis, and throughout the chapters to come. All of which exist as the bedrock and groundwater beneath He Awa Whiria, and the driving force for the inspiring transformational energy in this land. Articulations which make it possible for me notice and feel the tension which I have identified above, and to ask the questions I am asking through this project.

It is appropriate to mention at this point that the conceptualisation of place as political in this way is nothing new and is an analytically productive undertaking. Politicising place affords autonomy to that which is often framed as abstract or nostalgic. As Kogl (2008, p. 10) states 'our everyday spaces are increasingly organised around narrow, economic functions, rather than a relatively transparent set of values that can be recognised in their spatial embodiments, and therefore critiqued'. A political focus on place ushers in 'new forms of cultural and political relations', 'creating new structures of power and new forms

of culture' (Harcourt and Escobar, 2002, p. 13). It opens up consideration of the extent to which places are relational, sites which 'possess a distinctive spatiality as agglomerations of heterogeneity locked into a multitude of relational networks of varying geographical reach' (Amin, 2004, p. 43). In this vein the politics of place 'is an apt imaginary for thinking about the 'problem-space' defined by imperial globality and global coloniality' (Escobar, 2004, p. 225). It is a 'practical politics' which centres specific context in social analysis and the production of knowledge of the world (Dirlik, 2001). The latter interpretation has significant implications for this thesis which will be explained further in this chapter and the next. In particular, in terms of the possibilities that place-based knowledges 'may offer in the restructuring of space' where 'social construction of the construction of nature in place-based ways' is sought with 'the past always before – not behind – it' (ibid, p. 40).

As I have outlined in this section, for me the politics 'of' place is very much a politics 'in' place. It is something inherently local and of the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, which can produce knowledge both 'of' and 'for' the world here and elsewhere. This is because I position these ideas as fundamentally relational. This has implications for the way in which the 'local' and localities are conceptualised within this project. As a method, autoethnography – which is detailed further in the next chapter – 'starts from the premise that the knowledge created is not absolute but relational' where 'the objective is not to prove a hypothesis, but to invite the reader to adopt a different theoretical outlook, and convince them that this outlook has something positive to contribute to our way of knowing' (Reeves, 2018, p. 113). Broadly speaking, with this project this positive contribution concerns our way of knowing politics and place. I extend this relational premise to theorisation and follow Roy's (2009, p. 280) 'rather paradoxical combination of specificity and generalisability'. That is, 'that theories have to be produced in place (and it matters where they are produced), but they can be appropriated, borrowed, and remapped' meaning theory 'is simultaneously located and dis-located' (ibid, p. 280). In particular this concerns engagement with context, and what is 'local' in this work is not is not isolated, it is relational. This is not to say that what is local is not unique or specific, it is to emphasise that this uniqueness and specificity is important and operative. 'The local' is both multifaceted, and traverses different scales at times in this project, and relationally co-constituted insomuch as the local exists in relation to other spatial scales.

In continuing to articulate this politics further and paving the way for the conceptual framework of this thesis, over the next two sections I would like to keep the focus on my place and what I see as an important historical juncture in this place. I would like to offer a deliberately detailed account of this juncture and my reasoning for doing so is twofold. First, I would like to put forward an initial conceptualisation of the politics of place which is grounded in my place. This place and its politics is shaped by imperialism and colonialism, concepts which are introduced across the coming two sections and are explored in greater depth throughout the coming chapters, particularly Chapter Four. Second, I would like to demonstrate the necessary attention to the nuance and complexity of place which is fundamental to place-based analysis and a theme of my analysis in the chapters which follow.

A Meeting of Awa, Where Awa Meet

On 24th June, 1840, Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed by three rangatira in Te Matau-a-Māui – Te Hapuku, Hoani Waikato, and Harawira Mahikai Te Tātere. This date is significant because it marks the moment that mana whenua, from what is now the region I am from, signed Te Tiriti. On this day, the three rangatira boarded the HMS Herald and signed Te Tiriti under in the company of the envoy Major Thomas Bunbury. The Herald was moored up in a significant geographical location, closest to the mouth of the Tukituki River (Orange, 1987), at the site known as Waipureku where four of the region's main rivers, including the Ngaruroro, Tutaekuri, and Te Awa o Mokotūāraro (Pākehā name is the Clive River), meet and mingle before entering Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa. At time, rivers were prominent 'hubs'; the living veins of the region, rich in food resources, housing communities in close proximity to their banks, and serving as key transport routes to and from the inland and coast.

Pākehā historian Claudia Orange's (1987) history of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and David Armstrong's (2009) local account, offer fascinating and insightful details into what happened on and around 24th June, 1840, in Te Matau-a-Māui. In the six months after the initial signings on 6th February, 1840, Te Tiriti was advanced around the country. As envoy, Bunbury's mission was to obtain further signatures from rangatira, and so in May, 1840, he departed to promote Te Tiriti in the south, taking the Herald and a detachment

of eighty troops. Bunbury was particularly interested in acquiring the signature of Te Hapuku, as he had signed He Whakaputanga in 1835, and was considered to be the principal rangatira of the Ahuriri (Napier) coastal area.

At this point, I would like to offer the signing of Te Tiriti in Te Matau-a-Māui on 24th June, 1840, as a microcosm for a conceptualisation, and analysis of, the emergence of the politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand. On this day, at this special place where the rivers meet, Te Tiriti was signed, and a special form of exchange was committed in act and in principle. So too, on this day, do the events which took place, and the motivations behind them, indicate a metaphorical meeting and braiding of rivers. An intermingling of fundamentally different perspectives, and intentions on the part of the Crown, which ran counter to Māori flow, undermining the figurative 'alluvial island' of a relationship being formed, and offered through, Te Tiriti. What emerges through an analysis of historical accounts amounts to an appropriation of place by British representatives. This appropriation of place is integral to conceptualisation of the politics of place. By the time Te Tiriti reached Te Matau-a-Māui, this appropriation of place was already well underway, the events of this day simply afford a brief window into what this means.

According to the accounts of Orange (1987), and Armstrong (2009), on arriving into Te Matau-a-Māui, Bunbury's expectation was that Te Hapuku would be 'evasive'. This was on account of how 'troublesome' he had been with whalers in the area, to the extent that Bunbury had threatened to send a warship to the region in 1838. Bunbury's expectations allegedly came to fruition when Te Hapuku proved hard to contact, only appearing after Bunbury clarified his mission via a Māori messenger. Te Hapuku refused to sign at first, and he alleged that Ngāpuhi, the northern iwi, had signed themselves into slavery by signing Te Tiriti. He is said to have indicated this by drawing a diagram on a piece of wooden board where he showed the Queen above the iwi. His concerns were eased however, and on the same day he added his signature alongside Hoani Waikato, and Harawira Mahikai Te Tātere, rangatira from the areas of Pukehou and Waimārama in Te Matau-a-Māui, respectively.

Both accounts go on to offer further insight into details of the signing, and specifically what helped to alleviate Te Hapuku's concerns. Regarding Crown supremacy, Bunbury is said to have eased Te Hapuku's worry 'by insisting that the British government would not

‘lower the chiefs in the estimation of their tribes’; rather, Te Hapuku’s assent to the treaty ‘could only tend to increase his consequence’’ (Orange, p. 81). He promised ‘good government’ while conveying British authority with a sense of inevitability, warning Te Hapuku and threatening ‘to demonstrate with the Herald’s guns unless local Māori returned a whaleboat stolen from Pākehā’ (ibid). He also relied on the support of Hara, a Ngāpuhi rangatira accompanying Te Hapuku, to encourage the signing. As Orange (ibid) summarises, ‘Bunbury had used flattery, promises, threats and chiefly support in order to achieve his objective’. Details in Armstrong’s (2009) report don’t appear to depict Te Hapuku as being particularly concerned post-signing;

> ‘The Hawke’s Bay settler F. Strum later stated that Te Hapuku returned from his visit to the Herald after the Treaty signing with a gift of two blankets, and told his people on shore that ‘he touched a little stick (a quill, perhaps) and got two new blankets for doing so’ (Armstrong, 2009, p. 99)

Considering the details of this account, which is primarily from the British perspective, the signing appears as though it was equally coercive as it was agreed. The events do not appear to be an exchange based on shared intentionality and relational conditions, rather they are laced with deception and an over extension of power. In promising ‘good government’, stating that the estimation of the rangatira would not be lowered, and consequence increased, Bunbury appears to present Te Tiriti as Te Hapuku would surely have understood it. That is, a reaffirmation of Māori sovereignty and independence with greater management of Pākehā behaviour by the Crown – something which he would have been familiar with given his allegiance to He Whakaputanga. Armstrong’s (2009) historical evidence supports this, claiming it is almost certain Te Tiriti would have been explained to the rangatira in te reo Māori, with Te Hapuku’s ‘chiefly position’ guaranteed. In saying this I’m not attempting to claim to know what Te Hapuku thought of Te Tiriti, or understood it to be, I’m simply drawing from the slim details of the two accounts of the signing in Te Matau-a-Māui and the limited knowledge I have of the general Māori rationale for Te Tiriti.

In assuming Te Hapuku’s ‘evasive’ nature, his behaviour with whalers as ‘troublesome’, and threatening to deploy the Herald’s guns in response to a ‘stolen’ whaleboat, Bunbury appears to contradict Te Tiriti. The extent to which Te Hapuku was affected by this threat

remains to be seen, though the Armstrong quote above appears to suggest not much. But this is beside the point – it's not only about Te Hapuku – that's the point. Bunbury's, and in turn, the Crown's actions contradict their conditions for being there and indicate a violation of Māori sovereignty and independence. In this context, it is for Māori authority and tikanga to regulate whaler behaviour, not the Crown. On this note, it's tempting to flag how Te Hapuku himself might have had grounds to consider whaler behaviour 'troublesome' too given the substantial increase in whaling around 1840. Off the back of increased French and American interest, eighty whalers frequented Aotearoa's waters in 1839 (Orange, 1987, p. 9). In fact, the very motivation for the Herald's voyage in the first instance was problematic. As Ranginui Walker (2004, p. 97) highlights, through the collection and aggregation of signatures from rangatira the 'coloniser initiated the process of undermining the authority structures of Māori society by the application of his own principle of majority rule'.

Imperialisation, Colonisation, and the Appropriation of Place

When Te Tiriti o Waitangi visited Te Matau-a-Māui, it was not only the Herald, and the various British representatives on board who arrived. These tangible, physically present items and people, brought with them, and actively demonstrated, a powerful and pervasive 'idea' which alongside its associated 'practice' are integral to the appropriation and politics of place. Accordingly, so too are they influential in shaping the conceptual foundation of this project. This idea is imperialism, and it is the continued buttress of power which underpins Pākehā-centrism in Aotearoa New Zealand to this day. If imperialism is the 'idea', then colonialism is the 'practice'. Both of these concepts have been monumentally definitive and destructive in equal measure since their arrival on these shores, in conjunction with the arrival of settlers. The imperialisation and colonisation of Aotearoa has shaped the tangible and intangible fabric of society in the country today, while at the same time pushing Māori ways of knowing and being to the periphery. Just as this was exhibited in Te Matau-a-Māui on 24th June, 1840, so too does it remain so in the present day. This dynamic is similar to other contexts where imperialism has shaped historical relationships, however the key difference is the continued presence and potential of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The imperialisation of Aotearoa brought Western-Eurocentrism to this land. The arrival of missionaries was particularly influential in this process. As Walker (2004, p.85) puts it, they 'were the cutting edge of colonisation', and driven by 'ethnocentric attitudes of racial and cultural superiority' missionaries 'were the advance party of cultural invasion'. A Māori authority, system, and place based on balance and interconnectedness was appropriated by a system and place based on superiority and individualism. This manifests as the current 'world-system', which is more than a 'capitalist' system, and to call it just is reductive. In essence it has evolved to be a racially hierarchical, patriarchal, sexist, Christian-centric, Euro-American, Western-centric, hetero-normative, capitalist, and colonial power structure (Grosfoguel, 2011). Imperialism, the foundation of this system, is influenced by European superiority born from modern Western philosophy, and significantly, the mind of Rene Descartes, where Western man replaced God as the foundation of knowledge in European modern times. A dualism between body and mind, and between mind and nature enabled the claim to non-situated, universal, God-eyed view knowledge (ibid, p. 6). With this came knowledge hierarchies with the Western man seen to be the only one capable of achieving superior, universal consciousness, and non-Western knowledge dismissed as particularistic, incapable, and therefore inferior (ibid, p. 7, Grosfoguel, 2007). This can be 'rendered' as the 'imperial attitude, which gives definition to modern Imperial Man' (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 245), an 'epistemic strategy' that hides the subject and 'has been crucial for Western global designs' (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 7). As Slater (2004) highlights, imperial knowledge has a continuity, and the imperiality of power and knowledge can be seen as having three intertwined elements;

> 'First, there is an acceptance and affirmation of the need for expansion and penetration of other societies and cultures deemed to be less advanced. Secondly, this underwriting of an enduring invasiveness goes together with a belief in the right to impose Western values and modes of organisation on the non-West. And thirdly, such an imposition is justified in relation to the posited inferiority of the other, and to a lack of recognition of the independent rights of other cultures and societies, including quite centrally…their political sovereignty'
> (Slater, 2004, p. 227)

It is imperialisation which lends an explanation to Bunbury's actions in Te Matau-a-Māui on 24th June, 1840, as it does the eventual prioritisation of the Treaty of Waitangi over Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and the shape of society in Aotearoa New Zealand. Near that place where the four rivers meet, imperialism and its associated motivations and perspectives met, and attempted to override, the Māori flow of life. Te Tiriti o Waitangi was unique in language, but in form it was nothing new to the British who had entered into treaties with Indigenous peoples prior to 1840, following the same format as those between European nations (Mutu, 2010). Imperialisation, and a sense of Western-Eurocentric superiority ultimately made the Crown insistence on upholding the rights of Māori in the treaty process deceptive (Orange, 1987). By the time Te Tiriti reached Te Matau-a-Māui, 'no longer were they considering a Māori New Zealand in which a place had to be found for British intruders, but a settler New Zealand in which a place had to be found for the Māori' (ibid, p. 31).

This historical juncture and its associated dynamics are indicative of the fundamental characteristics of the politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand. The arrival of imperialism and the imperial attitude signify a taking over of that which is intrinsic and specific to this context. The relational tension this produces is the politics at the heart of the 'problem' within Escobar's (2004) 'problem space' as defined by these ideas and their associated practices. Through imperialisation place becomes controlled and dependent on somewhere else, a node 'in a global and all-embracing capitalist system' rather than a 'site of live cultures, economies and environments' (ibid, p. 223). This process and its associated dynamics are the politics of this place. Fundamentally it is a politics which is not extrinsic or an attitudinal product, rather a politics which is ontological and concerned with the nature and relations of being. It is a politics which resides within Te Tiriti o Waitangi where the two simultaneous texts of the document offer two different ways of conceiving of politics which in turn foreground the politics of place. The nuances of this politics of place will be outlined further in the coming paragraphs, and explored extensively in the chapters which follow.

With imperialisation came the colonisation of Aotearoa, and increasingly so following 1840. Place became appropriated in practice, and in the most literal sense. As with other settler colonies, there was 'replication imperialism' at a systemic level and 'modern constitutional forms and constituent powers were imposed over the legal and political

systems of the Indigenous peoples, dispossessing then of their territories and usurping their governments by force and dishonoured treaties' (Tully, 2008). Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the only legitimate basis for Pākehā presence, was ignored, and illegitimate power structures and laws put in place which claimed Pākehā and their institutions, imported from Britain, to be supreme (Mutu, 2019). A land once grounded in connection became a place commodified. This appropriation was ubiquitous, encompassing 'Māori lands, minerals, seas, waters, foreshore and seabed, flora, fauna, air, intellectual property and anything else that could be commodified' (Waitangi Tribunal reports, as cited in ibid, p. 8). In the present day, the overarching idea of imperialism with its values and system remains, though the practice of colonialism has given way to 'coloniality', as explained below;

> 'Coloniality is different from colonialism. Colonialism denotes a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation or a peoples rests on the power of another nation, which makes such a nation an empire. Coloniality, instead, refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations.'
> (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 43, as cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013)

The actions of Bunbury, and those British representatives with him on the Herald, and there associated imperial underpinnings, contradicted the intentionality and relational conditions of the very agreement they had brought with them. In assumption and action they irresponsibly moved into a space which was not theirs to move into. These events speak to something bigger. By way of imperialisation, a detached notion of place based on individual superiority was brought to Aotearoa, appropriating that which was built on interconnectedness and relationality. This appropriation of place began before 24th June, 1840, has continued beyond, and will continue into the future so long as guest responsibilities are shirked. In this instance, this notion of shirking can be framed as a form of colonial 'violence', a repressive behaviour fundamental to the 'natural state' of colonial rule (Fanon, 1963, p. 61). The capacity to shirk is ultimately made possible through an active, overextension and imbalance of power, where the effect of power is a control which extends to a 'transformational capacity' (Hay, 2002). The idea of imperialism, with its continuity, and the practice of coloniality, make this power possible. Hay (2002) defines this power as being about context shaping, and the capacity of actors

to redefine the parameters of what is socially, politically and economically possible for others.

It is this power which enables the operative appropriation, and politics, of place. So too in the present day, as an embodiment of this power, does the Crown shape the context and mechanisms for a Te Tiriti relationship, which exists overwhelmingly at a superficial level. The appearance of a relationship is developed and maintained through rhetoric and shallow gestures. In reality, the parameters for these mechanisms fundamentally favour the Crown by default as they are derived from an imported Westminster system of parliamentary government, developed in England, which allows for the reproduction of Pākehā social, cultural and political dominance (Waitoa, 2018). This dominance shapes the norms and values of what is and what is not socially, politically and economically possible in mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand. Ultimately, it enables the Crown, and by association Pākehā, to falsely depict the country as 'theirs', and to avoid their conditions for being here.

Imperialisation, colonisation, and the subsequent power imbalance too has culminated in the cultivation of fundamental myths (Mutu, 2019) which permeate the country's social and institutional fabric to this day, normalising and embedding Te Tiriti breach as permanent. These myths include; misrepresenting land sales and in turn justifying land invasions and confiscations; false claim to Crown authority; that Māori were savages and rebels in need of civilising as a catalyst and mask for settler incivility (ibid). The myth of monolegalism where the 'prevailing constitutional narrative has been that New Zealand is monolegal in the sense that only state law has authority', here 'tikanga Māori only has authority when it's incorporated into the state law via the rules of state law regulating accommodation' (Charters, 2019, p. 1). Myths which are ultimately applicable to settler-colonial contexts beyond Aotearoa New Zealand and derived from the broader colonial project, the 'dehumanisation' of the colonial subject, turning 'man' into 'animal' (Fanon, 1963, p. 42). If all of this is to be addressed then attention must return to the intention and conditions of Te Tiriti, and acknowledge the politics of place. Moana Jackson (2020) informs us that in Ngāti Kahungunu, the principal iwi of Te Matau-a-Māui and therefore 'my place', treaty-making was often included in stories of relationship politics and diplomatic processes. 'In Ngāti Kahungunu the process is called mahi tūhono, the work that brings people together. To treat is to honourably seek or mend relationships' (ibid, p.

59). This relational belief and ethic is required to begin move toward a restoration of place.

Toward a Restoration of Place: A Conceptual Framework

If mahi tūhono is to take place toward a restoration of place then conditions must be set, which include recognition and acceptance of the impacts of imperialisation and colonisation, on the part of Pākehā. The following two sections outline these conditions, advancing them within a wider conceptual framework for this project. First, the coming section discusses decolonisation and the ethic of restoration. It details how for Pākehā one cannot exist without the other, and how decolonisation is essential, particularly for Pākehā to 'come into relation' with 'self', to enable the past to be 'seen' and 'remembered'. Therefore, decolonisation here is something that is relationally integral and cannot be figurative. Framing in it such a way is crucial to contributing to an ethic of restoration, and to being manuhiri. The following section expands on this and introduces the idea of deimperialisation as an undertaking which is integral to the ethic of restoration, especially with regard to affecting and 'undoing' the idea which shapes society in Aotearoa New Zealand. Deimperialisation can facilitate a 'repairing' by opening up a relational ethos once again, and decoupling from individualism. A restorative political act whereby repair is a 'specific kind of labour of care and social reproduction', 'a direct intervention' into the Western-Eurocentric social and political context, including the repair of the 'immaterial world' and the perception of 'complex systems and institutional practices' (Graziano and Trogel, 2019, p. 204). If colonialism and coloniality is practice, and imperialism the idea behind this practice, then both concepts must be addressed.

Fundamental to and underpinning this process is a focus on 'place' and a 'coming into relation' with 'surroundings' as well as 'politics', the latter which I define as ontological and concerned with the nature and relations of being. This politics is especially in relation to place. A politics 'of' place which I understand as occurring 'in' place to enable 'a critique of power that is thoroughly radical in its questioning of the very fundamentals of life and knowledge that inform contemporary existence' (Dirlik, 2001, p. 41). If place is to be framed as a political site then it must be conceptualised as central, something of essential importance, a necessary core of existence. In the present imperial-colonial

context, place is primarily ignored, disregarded as external through Western intellectualism's 'cleaving of the mind from the body, and of the individual from society and nature' and focus on 'epistemology at the expense of the ontological or material', with respect to the social sciences (Tuck and McKenzie, 2015, p. 635). Tuck and McKenzie (ibid) advance 'critical place inquiry' as an approach to focusing, 'theorising and practicing place more deeply'. Making 'place' the focal point is the pivotal basis for decolonialisation and deimperialisation. Place is conceptualised as 'interactive and dynamic'; interconnected and capable of 'influencing social practices as well as being performed and (re)shaped through practices and movements and collectives'; and the 'conceptual and empirical contributions of Indigenous epistemologies of land' are taken seriously (ibid). What is local is made relational, fluid and mobile, moving through time and space, just like water.

> 'I want to ask whether Ocean Studies might be better understood as if it were itself an ocean: without a singular starting point or origin; endlessly circulating. Not beyond genealogy, because nothing is, but possessed of a genealogy that is impossible and beautifully wide.'
> (Te Punga Somerville, 2017, p. 28)

These words from Alice Te Punga Somerville speak to a desire to move beyond epistemological narrowness, to consider nuance and the nuanced location of knowledges in an expansive and shifting way. This approach inspires the way I choose to conceptually situate politics and place in this thesis. Accordingly, fluid dynamics of interconnected knowledge systems that this thesis investigates as way to address the politics of place can be described as He Awa Whiria: A Braided River framework (MacFarlane, 2009). He Awa Whiria uses braided rivers as a metaphor for the braiding of Western and Indigenous knowledge streams, and in doing so it acknowledges the mana and integrity of these knowledge streams (MacFarlane, 2024). It is premised in the idea that 'simply giving the appearance of acceptance, or ticking the box, of new and relevant approaches is not enough' (ibid, p. 18). He Awa Whiria is an appropriate place-based approach that is intrinsic to Aotearoa New Zealand and is the all-encompassing conceptual and methodological foundation for this project. Specifically, it enables and facilitates a dialogue between independent knowledge streams which makes a meaningful analysis of the politics of place possible.

Decolonisation, Seeing and Remembering

In a recent chapter titled 'Where to next? Decolonisation and stories in the land', Moana Jackson (2020) suggests replacing the word 'decolonisation' with the term 'the ethic of restoration'. I'd like to begin this section of text with a brief reflection on both this word, and this term, what they mean, how they speak to this PhD project and to the prospect of reconciliation in Aotearoa New Zealand, people and land alike. In a way, both 'decolonisation' and 'the ethic of restoration' are intertwined. While I agree with Jackson, I believe that for Pākehā the time is not yet right for this replacement and that one cannot exist without the other in the pursuit of a substantial and productive undoing and repairing in this land. To get to this point though requires a fundamental understanding of, and undertaking toward, both. For Māori, despite the ever-present, stifling blanket of pain and injustice that is colonisation, this mahi (work) is well underway. For tauiwi, and especially Pākehā, it's time to wake up and pull weight, as there is significant work to be done.

Decolonisation is considered to be a critical understanding of systems and power structures brought about by Western imperialism and colonisation, it is 'a program of complete disorder' (Fanon, 1963, p. 36), a process of demystifying and 'coming to know' (Smith, 1999). In this sense, it is about seeing and recognising the pervasive presence of a colonial system, and unsettling that system. As a tool of perception, decolonisation presents itself simultaneously as one of the greatest threats to the cultivated, Pākehā-centric illusion that is 'Kiwi life'[5], and one of the greatest potential devices in the quest for a positive future for Aotearoa New Zealand. A quest which can offer lessons for settler-colonial contexts and Indigenous-settler relations the world over. This considered, decolonisation can be a way of 'seeing' and a process of 'undoing' which lays bare the extent of the impacts of colonisation, from the natural environment to the production and dissemination of knowledge, offering a slate from which to build from. Decolonisation is also not metaphorical (Tuck and Yang, 2012), and this 'unsettling' requires tangible change, relinquishing of control and the giving back of land.

[5] 'Kiwi life' is often used, particularly by Pākehā as a popular way of describing a harmonious and quirky collective identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Despite the productive clarity it affords, decolonisation is a word and notion which needs to be handled with care. I have noticed many Pākehā eagerly grab the word as a 'horse to ride in on' on what is often an individual, self-serving pursuit to 'purge' a societal niche or industry in which they are personally invested. Decolonisation is not all about Pākehā though, and to take this kind of approach is entitled and simply reinforces the patterns which brought us to this point in the first place. In equal measure, I have noticed many Māori, particularly kaumātua, who are uncomfortable with the word. They speak of the word being haunted by the past and not conducive to constructive progress, preferring words like 're-indigenisation'[6] with its Indigenous centring, at least at a nominal level, and sense of active replenishment. In this vein, Graham Hingangaroa Smith (2003, p. 3) sees decolonisation as a reactive notion, which 'immediately puts the coloniser and the history of colonisation back at the 'centre'. Jackson too points out, the word decolonisation may not be entirely appropriate for the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, because just like colonisation it is foreign and has arrived from somewhere else (Jackson, 2020).

A common thread across the interpretations of decolonisation is a fundamental questioning of the conditions and norms which ultimately prop Pākehā up in society. Arguably, there is no place whatsoever for Pākehā in the work of decolonisation – it is, in fact and of course, not about Pākehā. Despite this, I feel that it is necessary for Pākehā to engage with decolonisation. To not do so, and worst case to avoid decolonisation, is to prop up the current norms which privilege a colonial system. Pākehā need to engage with decolonisation if progress is to be –made – not to make it about themselves – but instead so they might 'see' and begin to develop a healthy relationship with the past, and the effects of colonisation. 'Seeing' opens the door to 'remembering'. Specifically, seeing will help to clear the 'social amnesia', and enable Pākehā to stop 'misremembering' the past (Jackson, 2019). It is not only about 'seeing' however, there are material consequences. 'The ethic of restoration' ensures decolonisation does not reside in the metaphorical, and is instead made 'relational'. This transformation is an essential stepping stone in the journey of what needs to be done to realise the promise of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

[6] This particular interpretation comes from a conversation I had with matua Te Huia Bill Hamilton after attending a Te Tiriti o Waitangi workshop which he facilitated in Ahuriri Napier in 2020. We had a dicussion about decolonisation at the conclusion of the session and he outlined this prefered framing.

The ethic of restoration is a term which reaches beyond decolonisation to a place of more substantial 'undoing', where context and past can help to shape decolonial futures. For Pākehā, its catalyst is this affect-based engagement with decolonisation. However, it is not only about an opening of eyes to the impacts of colonisation but also seeking a means to actively replacing it. First and foremost in Aotearoa New Zealand this requires a recalibration of power which places Māori at the centre. This will mean a rebalancing of relationships through the restoration of a 'kawa' (protocol) where meaningful interdependence rests on the independence of iwi and hapū (Jackson, 2020). It will mean a fundamental reaffirmation of the second article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi where tikanga Māori (Māori customs) regulates the relationships between Māori as tangata whenua (hosts), and Pākehā as manuhiri (guests) (Mikaere, 2011). In turn, it will mean a recognition that, in fact as it always has been, Aotearoa New Zealand is whenua Māori. My work in this thesis contributes to this ethic of restoration from a Pākehā perspective and investigates the action that is required of Pākehā with respect to the term.

> Restoration (like colonisation) is also a process, not an event, and it will require a change of mind and heart as much as a change of structure. There will of course be difficulties: such transformations must confront the implacability of a power unjustly taken. It will require courageous wisdom to change, and some will say it is impossible and unrealistic. But when the ancestors crossed Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, they overcame what seemed impossible and realised that courage is simply the deep breath you take before a new beginning.
> (Jackson, 2020, p.62)

In gifting us these words, Moana Jackson lays out the challenge and level of courage which is required. An ethic of restoration calls for reconciliation as, particularly for Māori, 'such an ethic derives from the lessons in the stories in the land about the potential to whakatika or to make right even the most egregious wrong, and to then whaka-papa, or build new relationships' (Jackson, 2020, p.62). For Pākehā, this reconciliation is the basis of the significant work that needs to be done. This work is not as straightforward as signing up for a te reo Māori class, or – to borrow a metaphor from Alison Jones (2021) – trying particular aspects of Māori culture on for size to see whether or not the fit is desirable. It's far deeper than this, requires a change in perspective, and demands much more. In essence it is a labour based on learning, trust and the relinquishing of control.

Although it may seem daunting, the fruits which can be borne from the process are a potential, meaningful Pākehā identity, and much craved sense of belonging (Mikaere, 2011), and the necessary structural changes to create a Te Tiriti o Waitangi-centred society.

For some Pākehā the challenge posed by this reconciliation may sadly prove to be a pill that is simply too hard to swallow – or even completely unfathomable. To do so is to develop understandings of ways of knowing that can create eventual strategies of relating. That is, learning to trust and relinquish control. As with colonisers everywhere, Pākehā are not used to being told what to do. Mikaere (2011) draws optimism for the future of our society from Pākehā who she feels 'have discovered that the sky does not fall' when relationships are negotiated on a tangata whenua-host and manuhiri-guest basis. Building on this, Mikaere urges these people to 'use their experiences constructively, to bring about the mind-shift required within Pākehā society as a whole' (Mikaere, 2011, pp.118-119).

Deimperialisation, Undoing and Repairing

Engagement with decolonisation is necessary so that Pākehā might come to 'see' and 'remember' the past and the impact of colonisation. In reaching beyond decolonisation, Jackson (2020) points out that the process of restoration requires 'a change of mind and heart as much as a change of structure'. Colonialism and coloniality have shaped the prevailing structures in Aotearoa New Zealand, and restoration must also address the overarching idea or 'mind' which guides this practice – that is, imperialism and imperialisation. 'Deimperialisation' is therefore necessary to an ethic of restoration as it addresses the Western-Eurocentric values and systems which provide the foundation for colonialism and coloniality. It is these values and systems which prioritise and uphold individualism, and keep people separate from, and above, the natural environment. 'Undoing' through deimperialisation is fundamental in moving toward an ethic of restoration, from the universal in isolation to considering the local, and 'repairing' through relationships and a reemphasis on the relational.

As an all-encompassing idea, imperialisation embeds the complex imperial system as a ceiling. In Aotearoa New Zealand, efforts to increase the recognition of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and decolonise will remain under this ceiling unless deimperialisation is not considered. Presently, these initiatives operate as a form of identity politics within this, only addressing 'the goals of a single group and demands of equality within the system rather than developing a radical anti-systemic struggle against the systemic and planetary Western-centric civilisation' (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 29). Deimperialisation addresses this ceiling and 'is a more encompassing category and powerful tool with which we can critically examine the larger historical impact of imperialism' (Chen, 2010, p. 4). There is intersection and interaction between decolonisation and deimperialisation, though uneven (ibid). Deimperialisation is complementary in its extension and its capacity to undo, as 'decolonisation must be deepened to deal with profound cultural, psychological and epistemological issues' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). This deepening and undoing makes a Te Tiriti-centred society based on host and guest responsibilities more reachable.

Chen (2010, p. 4) highlights that deimperialisation 'is work that must be performed by the coloniser first' where 'the task is for the colonising or imperialising population to examine the conduct, motives desires, and consequences of the imperialist history that has formed its own subjectivity'. As with the seeing and remembering afforded through engagement with decolonisation, deimperialisation can enable Pākehā to confront the very fabric of the systemic power imbalance which exists in Aotearoa New Zealand. Deimperialisation can undo this fabric as it entails abandoning Western-Eurocentrism, the spirit of imperial domination, and arrogance which breeds and perpetuates knowledge hierarchies (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). It entails 'the acceptance of non-Western people as human beings with ontological density equivalent to that of Western people' (ibid, p. 350). In undoing the idea, deimperialisation makes the decolonisation of place, mind and practice possible.

Undoing the idea, systemic, ontological and epistemological context can facilitate a repairing. Grosfoguel (2011, p. 30) describes this as a 'new imaginary' for which a common language 'could be provided by radicalising the liberatory notions arising from the old modern/colonial pattern of power, such as freedom, individual liberties or social equality and linking these to the radical democratisation of the political, epistemic, gender, sexual, spiritual and economic hierarchies at a global scale'. Power imbalance

might be corrected through a 'socialisation of power', localising and extending social equality and democracy to all spaces of social existence (Quijano, 2000), where the universal is necessarily pluriversal (Mignolo, 2000). In Aotearoa New Zealand, there is no need to travel to the highest level of the intellectual universe to comprehend this. This repairing privileges, and is embedded within, the local, that is, unequivocally whenua Māori. In this place, relationship is inherent, and this is part of the restorative process. This is my place.

Toward a Restoration of Place: A Grounds for Exploration

At this point within the context of this project it is practically necessary to set a grounds for exploration of these ideas. These grounds will serve as the relevant and useful tools for the facilitation of a necessary, deeper relationship with place and all that this encompasses. As questions and prompts they are the means for guiding an inquiry into politics and place within Aotearoa New Zealand where Aotearoa New Zealand is centred. I present them as follows and advance them as the core 'research questions' of this PhD.

As an object of embodied relationality;

- How might Te Tiriti o Waitangi make visible the 'politics of place' in Aotearoa New Zealand, which can in turn facilitate a reinvention of conventional understandings of the 'political'?

- How might Te Tiriti o Waitangi work as the fundamental basis for a place-based political solution in Aotearoa New Zealand?

- How might Te Tiriti o Waitangi guide a tangata whenua (host) and manuhiri (guest) relationship on the whenua from a knowledge and communicative perspective?

From this departure point, and with Te Tiriti o Waitangi as integral to the grounds for exploration, the capacity is afforded to proceed in ways in which the local and that which is intrinsic to the whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand is centred. To put it simply, in complete and practical terms this means centring all that is essential on this whenua

Māori. This is deimperialisation commenced and the setting of place. Only from here is it possible to realise the potential of Te Tiriti, as the total fabric of the relational components of Aotearoa New Zealand are made visible and afforded independent space to come into relation with one another and to become interdependent. The following section further sets the course on this journey. The method employed is autoethnography which uses 'self-reflection to explore anecdotal and personal experience, and connecting this story to wider cultural, political, and social meanings and understandings' (Rhodes, 2021, p. 107). The 'connecting' is pivotal here, and as the next chapter will outline this is an autoethnography which is relationship-based. I believe this is necessary for exploring these questions because it folds my existence and experience into the analysis of the politics of place. So too in being relational does it speak to the essence of Te Tiriti. I refer to this methodology as 'doing manuhiri' because it is an ethic as much as it is a methodology, and an ethic which I believe is necessary in realising the promise of Te Tiriti.

The Centring of Kaupapa Māori

Seeing and remembering, with undoing and repairing, support the ethic of restoration, which leads to a reconciliation of place where Kaupapa Māori is the focal point. For Pākehā, this represents a metaphorical 'line' of sorts. For comforts sake let's call it a wooden batten wire fence, with a line of barbed wire across the top.[7] On one side there is the 'status quo', Pākehā identity as it is now, incomplete, uncertain, and fragile. On the other there is 'home', a relationship with the past, a secure place to stand, a place of belonging where Pākehā are responsible manuhiri, and tangata whenua responsible hosts. A place where the fence is removed, where Aotearoa New Zealand exists beyond name, and Te Tiriti o Waitangi is fundamental. The line cannot be a barrier because if it is then restoration and reconciliation cannot occur. Climbing the fence will take courage, cuts might occur in the process (especially if there's barbed wire) but these cuts will be superficial, they'll heal and the benefits from crossing the boundary will be unparalleled. Landing securely on the other side requires the whenua to be made stable through a

[7] These fences are common on farmland throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, and widely recognised. For me these fences represent a form of imperial and colonial symbol, synonymous with pastoral farming.

responsible centring of Kaupapa Māori. This is as much about creating space for Māori as it is for Pākehā to step aside and effectively 'move out of the way'.

Being on the whenua and honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi means centring Māori ways of knowing and doing. Kaupapa Māori is 'literally 'a Māori way'' (Cram, 2022), and encompasses Māori philosophy, world-view and cultural principles (Smith, 2003). Emerging from the Māoritanga and taha Māori discourses, the term 'Kaupapa Māori' appeared in the 1980s, though its origins reside in a history which is thousands of years old (Pihama, Cram, Walker, 2002). Though both refer to Māori knowledge, Kaupapa Māori is not a synonym for mātauranga Māori (Smith, 2003), and distinguishing difference is that the latter is based upon traditional knowledge, while the former reflects the values of traditional knowledge in the development of new knowledge (Mikahere-Hall, 2017). At its core, Kaupapa Māori captures Māori desires to affirm Māori cultural philosophies and practices. It is for and about Māori, and being 'fully' Māori (Pihama, Cram, Walker, 2002).

I need to make it clear that is a territory which must be approached with extreme caution for Pākehā and tauiwi. Centring Kaupapa Māori is not about romanticisation or essentialisation, neither is it about acquisition, or 'possessing' Kaupapa Māori – it's about finding and knowing your place. I intend to contribute 'with' and not 'to' Kaupapa Māori. As Jones (2021) highlights in her assessment of recent Pākehā enthusiasm for te reo Māori – implicit in the interests of many is an attitude of "teach me your language". The worry for Jones is that, like land, te reo Māori may become yet 'another thing' that Pākehā acquire from Māori, trying it on for size to see if it suits as if it were a new jacket. Centring Kaupapa Māori cannot be a novelty, nor is it an invitation for appropriation, absorption or to take control. It is about stepping aside, making space, respecting that space, and giving Māori the room to be Māori on Māori terms. 'For Pākehā, effective engagement with Kaupapa Māori requires Pākehā to have a positive, reflexive sense of themselves in a relationship with Māori (Jones, 2012). This is why courage is needed to climb the fence. Rather than withering or fixating on guilt, Pākehā can own their ordinariness. It is about embracing the 'radical potential' (Smith, 2012) of Kaupapa Māori, finding a place, and, as Mr Pearse would say – standing tall in that place.

For this project, the radical potential resides in the structural challenge that is Kaupapa Māori theory, where the term 'theory', as deliberately co-opted by Graham Hingangaroa

Smith, is deployed to question what counts as theory, and challenge the narrow, Eurocentric interpretation of theory (Pihama, Cram, Walker, 2002). As Smith (2012) outlines, the cultural, political, and transformative elements of Kaupapa Māori are crucial to radical potential, both the former have 'praxis' or an analysis and action aspect. Centring Kaupapa Māori here is the basis for challenging power relations in Aotearoa New Zealand. Deploying Kaupapa Māori as 'a politicising agent that acts as a counter-hegemonic-force to promote the conscientisation of Māori people, through a process of critiquing Pākehā definitions and constructions of Māori people, and asserting explicitly the validation and legitimation of te reo Māori and tikanga' (Pihama, 1993, p. 57, as cited in Pihama, Cram, Walker, 2002). This is not at the expense of Pākehā. Kaupapa Māori, 'challenges, questions, and critiques Pākehā hegemony. It does not reject or exclude Pākehā culture. It is not a one-or-the-other choice' (Pihama, Cram, Walker, 2002). If Te Tiriti o Waitangi is foregrounded, and tangata whenua and manuhiri host-guest relations are to be restored then this is necessary.

Choosing to centre Kaupapa Māori is to be structurally restorative, part of a process to deimperialise and to decolonise. It is the 'Kaupapa Māori-isation' of Aotearoa New Zealand, if you will, or the re-indigenisation, as matua Te Huia Bill Hamilton might say. Kaupapa Māori replaces imperialism as the overarching idea and system. With this comes a shift from individualism to relationalism, and accordingly the politics of place becomes grounded in the relational. Centring Kaupapa Māori is about fundamentally setting out to make a positive difference for Māori, privileging Māori ways of knowing and being (Smith, 2005), committing to transformative action (Smith, 2003), and the challenge of reclaiming New Zealand as Aotearoa (Cram, 2013) – for tangata whenua and manuhiri. In doing so, I am not attempting to contribute 'shape' to Kaupapa Māori, instead, I am employing Kaupapa Māori spatially as a device for structural critique of the conceptual, social and political landscape through this thesis. Finally, to echo Cram (2013) – by no means is this something new. It's approach which has been around since 1840 and was made foundational through Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the first place. As explained in the following chapter, this has significant implications for the research process, particularly for tauiwi and Pākehā researchers who seek to conduct research on the whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Being Manuhiri

> ‘We need to become the Pākehā that Māori had in mind when they signed Te Tiriti’ (Nairn, as cited in Huygens, 2011, p. 77)

Manuhiri is an ethic, a commitment to the precious, relational conditions embodied within Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Relative to identity, it exists as something more complete than Pākehā. The process of moving toward this Te Tiriti-centred horizon requires an ethic of restoration brought about through coming into relation with self and surrounds. Specifically through; decolonisation – so that the past to be seen and remembered; deimperialisation – so that the overarching idea, which has contributed to shaping this past, might be undone and repaired through a relational context; and making place the focal point. A centring of Kaupapa Māori is necessary in realising this, restoring and redefining the politics of place. All of these threads come together as a conceptual framework for moving toward a restoration of place, which I might advance as an analytical tool for ‘being manuhiri’ which support this perspective. Now let’s discuss what this means for the research process, that is, ‘doing’ manuhiri which comprises my approach to enacting Te Tiriti in order to address my research questions.

Chapter 2: Doing Manuhiri

Connecting and Working Together to Understand Things for Everyone

> From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful. (Smith, 1999, p. 1)

For those unaware, these are the first words of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's iconic book 'Decolonising Methodologies'. From the perspective of the colonised, Smith questions the very nature of research. I can recall reading this text for the first time – the slightly unsettling sensation coupled with the feeling of 'an itch scratched', for want of a better description. It probably sounds naive, but it's like a door was opened in my brain to a realisation that subjectivity and situation is everything, and simultaneously, things don't have to be as they are. Research doesn't have to be a looming force in an ivory tower that I have to somehow master, or at least perform as though I've mastered, if I'm to attempt to credibly understand things around me. It isn't as perfect and untouchable as it pretends to be. I have not been colonised, and to put it bluntly, my vantage point is that of the coloniser, though this does not mean that Smith's words cannot penetrate my senses. This process of feeling and being influenced demonstrates this. Colonisers cannot be colonised, and cannot speak from the vantage point of the colonised, but they can be altered by this perspective. Crucially though – while I can choose not to privilege the vantage point of the coloniser, this vantage point is me and will always be me to a certain extent.

In this previous chapter I conceptualised a perspective for 'being manuhiri' as the foundation for this thesis and its broader project. This way of looking at things in Aotearoa New Zealand is grounded in a ethic of restoration and is a fundamental recognition of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and the tangata whenua (host), manuhiri (guest) relationship. Underpinning and imbued within this approach are the concepts of decolonisation, deimperialisation, the centring of place and of Kaupapa Māori, which establishes

Aotearoa New Zealand as a relational place. For tauiwi and Pākehā, 'being manuhiri' is about moving responsibly and relating well. This conceptualisation is built on a praxis of analysis and action, therefore to 'be' manuhiri is also to 'do', and to do the work of restoration. As I have said, this has significant implications for research, and clearly, Linda Tuhiwai Smith's words ring true here. All of this considered, over the coming sections, I would like to advance a position of 'being vigilantly affected' as a departure point for a methodology for this project. From this position, I would like to frame 'research' as a relational process with a restorative ethic, defined as 'connecting and working together to understand things for everyone'.

Research as Restorative Act

For tauiwi and Pākehā researchers in Aotearoa New Zealand who are trying to be manuhiri, what Te Tiriti o Waitangi affords, and how it has been let down, presents both an obligation and an opportunity. Before delving into this, it's important to give further consideration to the role of research, which generally speaking does not have a strong track record of responsibility when it comes to upholding the rights of Indigenous peoples. Intertwined with imperialism, research has done, and in some cases continues to do, the work of colonisation. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p. 2) goes on to advance, the research process can be seen as 'one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realised'. Scientific exceptionalism, the product of Western thinking, has often privileged the idea of research as being something which somehow transcends human subjectivity, an objective 'all-seeing-eye' in its capacity for revealing 'truth' in a complex world. In turn, in many instances researchers have been able to escape their own gaze and neglect responsibility.

When this relatively untouchable position is privileged, research has been a loyal servant to imperialism and Western hegemony, ensuring Western ways of knowing prevail and permeate extensively. Stemming from Europe, asymmetrical binary oppositions separating mind over matter, people over the environment, civilised people over 'the wilderness' and 'savages', 'are deeply embedded in Western habits of mind' (Salmond, 2022, p. 10). With the help of research, these binary logics have served to divide and hierarchise nature and knowledge, creating an illusion that there might be superior and

inferior ways of being and knowing. Imperialism is born from these logics, and the practice of colonialism has carried them across the world, simultaneously destroying land, oppressing cultures and harmfully altering local knowledge contexts. There is a dislocation of knowledge whereby the imperial/colonial epistemology locates theory in the North, and studied subjects in the South (Grosfoguel, 2011). To be 'local' is to be 'inferior', local knowledge is framed as lesser than that which is universal. It is something which must always be pulled out of its context and set alongside something else to be made legitimate.

Despite Pākehā efforts to cultivate an image of historical and contemporary relational harmony, Aotearoa New Zealand is no exception to this. Imperialisation in this land has served to ensure Western logics touch, and influence, everything. When we focus on the aspects of everyday life which aren't as tangible as land, for example, the more pervasive, powerful and ongoing aspects of imperialisation and colonisation become sentient. So too do the threads which intrinsically bind research to these notions. At face value, terms such as 'Māori' and 'iwi' are colonial constructs, recent groupings which serve to homogenise, marginalise, and camouflage complex social structures and independent sovereign nations (Adcock and Cram, 2023). As Salmond (2022) reminds us, Te Tiriti o Waitangi was an agreement signed by rangatira, not 'Māori', and British representatives, not 'Pākehā'. Alongside this, the dominance of Pākehā history and culture has pushed te ao Māori and mātauranga Māori to the periphery. Māori forms of knowledge are often seen to lack 'mainstream' legitimacy, being positioned as 'non-scientific' and 'other' (Waipara-Panapa, 1995, as cited in Cram, 1997).

These examples of marginalisation are just some of the areas where research has been most complicit in upholding imperial and colonial ideals, failing Māori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. What this situation presents, at the very least, is a departure point for restorative action. In Aotearoa New Zealand, being manuhiri starts with the fundamental acknowledgement that 'research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions' (Smith, 1999, p. 3). The link between research, imperialisation and colonisation must be understood to be broken. As Cram (2013, p. 2) outlines, this 'begins with the recognition that the two are intertwined, followed by the active decolonisation of research and the recognition of the rights of Māori and other indigenous peoples to define

and represent ourselves'. Research can become a useful tool 'to find solutions to the negative impacts of colonialism and to give voice to an alternative way of knowing and of being' (Smith, 2005, p. 91). It can be transformed to be made functional, not only through the generation of new information, but through a capacity for connection, collectiveness, and restoration.

Addressing power dynamics, assumptions and adjacent processes is not something new within the field of research. Qualitative methods, such as ethnography in its contemporary form, at least nod to this in their emphasis on reflexivity where 'empathetic observation and self-reflexivity' give research findings 'their just scientific weight' (Bray, 2008, p. 315). The field of political ethnography takes us closer to a more rigorous interrogation of the researcher. Pachiart (2009) proposes two definitions of 'the political' in political ethnographic work, where the political nature of the project extends to the politics of access and participation. Efforts to mobilise research in the interests of social justice and resistance take a head-on approach and have reconceptualised research as 'anti-oppressive'. This connects with my interpretation of politics in the previous chapter as it calls the position and process into question, considering the nature and relation of being. In particular, anti-oppressive research seeks to break down the researcher-researched barrier with an emphasis on reflexivity and knowledge construction. As Potts and Brown (2015, p. 19) outline, an anti-oppressive perspective means, 'knowledge does not exist "out there" to be discovered', instead it is produced through interactions and is socially and politically located, just as people are. While this is productive in the sense that researcher gaze is turned somewhat inward, and research processes and outcomes are challenged, it still does not go far enough – research is still research.

> 'Decolonising research…is not simply about challenging or making refinements to qualitative research. It is a much broader but still purposeful agenda for transforming the institution of research, the deep underlying structures and taken-for-granted ways of organising, conducting, and disseminating research and knowledge.'
> (Smith, 2005, p. 97)

As Smith (2005) makes clear, to decolonise, research needs to structurally transform itself. To decolonise, be restorative, and completely 'break the link', research also needs to deimperialise. It needs to shed its own skin to transform. It must look proactively

outward as much as inward, and challenge the imperial values and system from which it is a product. It must decouple from Western norms to become relational, with a focus on respect, accountability, and context. At the heart of this transformation there must be an epistemological shift, and a fundamental acceptance that imperial ideals, and in turn Western science, do not prevail. This is how, in essence, research becomes less about extraction and individualism, and more about people connecting and working together to understand things for everyone. In advancing this position I'm not claiming to have all of the answers as to how this might look in practice. But perhaps this question of needing to have answers with respect to process is the antithesis of this in practice. That is, to research in a restorative way is to operate in a methodological space where there is no methodology other than the restorative ethic itself, and working within a state relational unfolding. In my case, this position is fundamentally shaped by the influential work of critical social science scholarship, decolonial and autoethnographic approaches which are discussed over the coming paragraphs.

For tauiwi and Pākehā researchers in Aotearoa New Zealand specifically, research as a restorative act must be built on a foundation of reflexive responsibility. Deep and constant reflection, a situating of self, and an equal legitimisation of Māori ways of knowing and being. In doing so, research, by default, becomes a collaborative and relational process. Researchers on the whenua might approach research as they would a Māori space. As with the previous chapter, the marae context can offer some guidance as it provides a 'defined and demarcated cultural space grounded in tikanga' (Pihama, 2022, p.39). It is a space where Māori's role as tangata whenua and host is clear. Likewise, tauiwi and Pākehā on the marae are manuhiri, and guest. Manaakitanga (hospitality) guides conduct, and with respect to the marae this 'requires an ethic of genuine care, an ethic of kindness, an ethic of being pono (genuine), an ethic of giving and sharing what you have, an ethic of reciprocity' (Lee-Morgan and Te Nana, 2022, p.113). One of the core responsibilities guests have is to this overarching ethic, which I see as an integral 'input' to the work of tauiwi and Pākehā researchers in making research a responsible, restorative act.

The Pākehā Predicament

As I mentioned in the first section, for Pākehā researchers in particular, things are not as straightforward. These questions of positionality pose particular challenge to Pākehā engagement. There is an added layer of problematic complexity which requires further and necessary interrogation. To make research a restorative act is to consciously choose not to privilege the vantage point of the coloniser. It is to be vigilantly affected by the vantage point of the colonised. Although some assume it to be the case, for Pākehā this does not mean that colonialism or the vantage point of the coloniser magically disappears overnight by way of empathetic mindset or performance. Tamatha Paul put it nicely when she said 'you can't karakia-at-the-start-of-the-meeting your way out of legacies of colonisation' (quoted in Tang, 2022). So too is this notion of performativity at the expense of responsibility applicable to settler contexts beyond Aotearoa New Zealand (Ambo and Rocha Beardall, 2022). No matter how you choose to think or act, these factors remain embodied within the Pākehā experience – this is the Pākehā predicament. As such, this problematic complexity is a question of identity and power as much as anything else. I choose to centre this predicament in my place, though it is likely to be a predicament shared by settler-colonial populations beyond these shores, and therefore has additional relevance for contexts elsewhere. At this point I need to make it clear too that it is not something at all unique or isolated to be Pākehā and to be questioning research practices, decolonisation, identity and power structures in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. The path is well worn and before I go further it's important to reflect on contributions here.

This path hasn't always been around, though it started to become clear during the latter third of the 20th Century. At this time Pākehā questions of racism, injustice, Pākehā identity and hegemony emerged alongside anti-racism movements. As with Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori activism was key in triggering this. Protest and challenge particularly concerning rugby and the country's relationship with then apartheid South Africa, the commencement of Waitangi Tribunal claims hearings in 1985, and the publication of texts which offered a critical perspective on Pākehā culture by influential authors, such as Dick Scott, Tony Simpson, and Donna Awatere, led to further acceleration (Huygens, 2011). These moments and events pushed Pākehā to ask questions of themselves, and the extent to which racism and injustice might be occurring within the domestic context (ibid).

The philosophical works of Frantz Fanon (1963), Paulo Freire (1970) (who visited Aotearoa New Zealand in 1974), which questioned colonisation, power dynamics, knowledge and social structures, influenced Pākehā activists (Huygens, 2011), as they did Māori (Smith, 2003). Pākehā began to be aware and interrogative of colonisation, and critical of the social and political conditions in the country.

Some early attempts by Pākehā to grapple with the predicament focused on their 'belonging' in Aotearoa New Zealand, and what a Pākehā identity meant. Authors such as King (1985) and Black (2000) focussed on the uniqueness of Pākehā identity in relation to Māori, as separate cultural identities. As I have mentioned, for King, this focus was, problematically, on the lack of Pākehā identity, indigeneity and the Pākehā claim to being native in Aotearoa New Zealand. Focus on the Pākehā relationship with Māori, and specifically 'engagement', has since been maintained and developed. King (1999) situated his understanding of Pākehā identity to be forged at the interface of the engagement of Pākehā with Māori. More recently the identity discourse has evolved with a focus on decolonisation, suggesting Pākehā belonging can be found through an identity forming 'third space' from the engagement process (Forsyth, 2018; Brown, 2011). Amundsen (2018) dissects this further, assessing the influence of engagement with te ao Māori on Pākehā identity and decolonisation practice through a transtheoretical examination of her own cultural perspective, within the context of education research.

This grappling with the Pākehā predicament can be extended to acknowledge the contributions of Pākehā authors who have taken a critical approach to Aotearoa New Zealand's history. This includes the influential work of historian Claudia Orange (1987; 1990; 2023) on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which offers thorough documentation of its history with focus on Māori desire for partnership, control over their affairs, and not a giving-away of authority. Orange's (2007) work also explores exercised Māori-government interaction and exercised Māori autonomy through analysis of organisation of the Māori war effort. Historian Vincent O'Malley (2019; 2016a, p. 13) challenges harmonious Pākehā-centred narratives with respect to the history of the New Zealand Wars, highlighting British atrocities committed against women and children in the Waikato region, and calling for Aotearoa New Zealand to 'own its history, warts and all' if the 'nation is to reconcile itself to its troubled past'. In unsettling and disrupting Pākehā-centred narratives, critical histories such as these examples do crucial work, calling into

question the established patterns of selective remembering and forgetting in what counts and does not count as national history.

Exploration of the ways in which Pākehā identity interacts with critical approaches to history have been important contributions. Avril Bell (2006, p. 265) argues 'that Pākehā should not remember/forget history in the interests of constructing a unified and cohesive sense of identity, but precisely to 'trouble' their identity and, in so doing, to learn more about who they are'. This notion of learning through troubling identity in the interests of ultimately enriching identity has seen Pākehā researchers focus on critical family history research. As Dani Pickering (2022, p. 1) highlights, when investigating the 'constitutive forgetting' their ancestors undertook, critical family history research 'is a powerful tool for distinguishing between larger historical narratives and the smaller stories of the individuals participating in that history'. Illuminating these smaller stories is important, and 'it pays not to disparage these small histories: they may not be History but they are history nonetheless', they are 'our first histories, and they matter to the ways in which we make sense of and engage with the world' (Shaw, 2021, p. 11). Likewise, Bell's (2020, p. 1) study of unequal relations between Pākehā and Māori communities emphasises the potential for critical family history research to illuminate 'societal relations of inequality through focusing on the experiences and trajectories of particular families'.

'Inward' looking assessments of Pākehā identity and belonging extend to further reflexive, and historically grounded accounts. Notable contributions here include the work of John Campbell (2022), Alison Jones (2020), and Peter Wells (2018), and are confessional, 'unsettling' reflections on the authors' own lives. A 'coming to know' of their identity relative to their relationships with Māori and colonisation over time. So too are there influential autoethnographic contributions from Esther Fitzpatrick (2018), Kyle Eggleton (2020), Natasha Heard (2020), and Anna Parker (2013), which are expanded on further in the coming sections. While productive ground has been found for grappling, and coming to terms with Pākehā identity, the question remains – what have Pākehā learned from all of this? Sitting in the library writing this PhD at the end of 2022, I looked over the 'Top 10 of 2022' articles from the magazine 'E-Tangata'. One of these articles, by Māori academic Elana Curtis (2022), is an upsetting account of the blatant, violent racism, directed toward Māori, she had experienced during an online seminar with the University of Auckland. The fact is, in Aotearoa New Zealand, Pākehā remain fragile, insecure, incomplete – and the

effects of this can be devastating. While the path of questioning Pākehā identity and power structures might be well worn, it requires further wearing. Pākehā need to do more, and bring others with them on the journey to make restoration possible in the context of research and beyond. This reason is influential in shaping the approach in this project which has been to provide a narration of my own position in relation to the politics of place and to Te Tiriti, in an autoethnographic manner.

Growing up in Raukawa, with Bridge Pā and Pakipaki nearby, Māori, and Māori norms are present in everyday life. Visit Raukawa and you'll see fenced paddocks, vineyards and orchards are everywhere. Large, white weatherboarded houses dot the landscape. The road signs are in English. The majority of farmers are Pākehā, and their land surrounds small clusters of houses and communities, like Bridge Pā and Pakipaki, which are, more often than not, predominantly Māori. Just as Māori and Māori norms are present in everyday life, so too are Pākehā norms, and far more visible is Pākehā hegemony. Because of these noticeable differences, for as long as I can remember I have felt the uncomfortable pang of the Pākehā predicament, which I understand as being bound by an awareness of privilege and an unease toward this. It has never felt right, though it's tangible, socialised presence has evolved over time for me. From a young age I saw the predicament emerge through comments about difference at primary school, it morphed into self-effacing behaviour at high school, eventually to now where it is something conscious, something which is source of fragility, insecurity, and incompletion, something which needs addressing.

Growing up where I grew up, in a way, I feel as though I have been on the same path of questioning practices, identity and power structures, though there are particular moments I can pinpoint which made me want to stick to it. I feel it is necessary to elaborate on some of these moments, which drift into the conceptual, in the interests of lending further methodological substance to the project. One of these was in 2019, which was the first year of my PhD. Before discussing this, I need to provide some necessary context. Prior to moving to London to begin the PhD, I had been living in the place I grew up, the coastal region of Te Matau-a-Māui (the hook of Māui), commonly known by the Pākehā name of Hawke's Bay. Generally speaking, on so many levels, life in Te Matau-a-Māui is very different to life in London. In my case, from 2017 onwards I had been working as a researcher on a range of projects in the local community, primarily with local government

and community organisations. Relative to academic life the work was 'hands on', and I use the word 'researcher' here loosely. The role had a focus on community engagement, and in particular, making this as inclusive and wide-reaching as possible. Projects tended to be partnerships with groups, employing qualitative and participatory methods to attempt to achieve this. I was fortunate to be able to work with a broad range of people across the region. Projects were deeply collaborative, challenging, and focussed on actionable, shared, positive social outcomes.

In September 2019 I made the move back to London to begin the PhD as I was fortunate to be offered a Studentship with the LSE. It's always a bit of a shock making the move, and it tends to take a couple of months to adjust. The air has a different taste and smell. People feel further away despite being many more in number, and literally far closer. As was compulsory in the first year, I attended general, theory-based seminars for the first and second year cohorts. In one of the weeks 'decolonisation' was introduced to the class. We read high level articles from influential male Latin American scholars on the topic, and then discussed the relationship between decolonisation, theory, and our respective PhD projects. Unfortunately though, like most of these seminars, the discussion never really got going. I always found the atmosphere tense. Discussion felt like academic performance, with people worried they might say the 'wrong' thing. At times it was completely beyond me. While this is probably down to a lack of intelligence on my part, where the topic of decolonisation is concerned, something didn't feel quite right.

In this context, the sensation of something 'not feeling quite right' made me stick to the path, and the reflections since have played a major part in shaping my project, and in particular its conceptual framing. In the years prior to 2019, back in Aotearoa New Zealand, I was introduced to the notion of decolonisation in a very different way, through working with a team of predominantly wāhine Māori kaiāwhina[8] (in this case 'health navigators') on a project with a primary healthcare provider in Te Matau-a-Māui. The provider serves a community which is predominantly Māori, and the project involved substantial engagement with whānau. In the early stages of working together, kaiāwhina

[8] Kaiāwhina in this sense are important support people within healthcare organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand. Their role can be a mix of community outreach, secondary care referral management, and general support for staff and the community.

lead Donna Whitiwhiti encouraged me to read the work of Fiona Cram and Linda Tuhiwai Smith to deepen my understanding of Kaupapa Māori and the relationship between Te Tiriti o Waitangi and research. Accordingly, my introduction to decolonisation came by way of Kaupapa Māori, and an application of associated principles within a project. While this project didn't reinvent the wheel, in being a Kaupapa Māori project, it's agenda was fundamentally against the established norm.

Through the 'doing', the regular hui and kōrero (conversation), the moments of discomfort and connection, I found my place on the project, and in turn established my early understanding of decolonisation as something integral. This contrasts considerably with the way in which I then experienced decolonisation within the context of an academic institution at the LSE in 2019. Here, decolonisation was introduced as a topic which was tacked onto a curriculum of Western theory, and discussed as something which might be somehow shoehorned into, navigated, or avoided altogether, with respects to our PhD projects. At the time there were flyers and seminars on 'decolonising the university' as the institution grappled with, and attempted to make manageable, what it considered to be a frustrating thorn in its foot, emerging from 'the Global South'. As reflections on decolonisation in the previous chapter have made clear, the reality is far greater. As I have already mentioned when outlining my conceptual framework, decolonisation is not something metaphorical, and the metaphorization of decolonisation enables strategies of evasion and serves to trivialise (Tuck and Yang, 2012). Decolonisation cannot be tidied away into a Western cupboard, it seeks fundamental difference from the norm. When coupled with deimperialisation in can be prevented from manifesting figuratively as it did in my classes in 2019.

Reflecting on this 'Pākehā predicament', there is one notion in particular which might link the collection of literature, thoughts and examples together – privilege. It is the idea of privilege which underpins the Pākehā predicament, that is, the mess in which Pākehā find themselves in present day Aotearoa New Zealand as a result of colonialisation. To see and have the capacity to act on the predicament is to be privileged. Privilege is a product of colonisation, which enables its continuity. It is a stone in the shoe of Pākehā belonging, and the unique layer of complexity which asks questions of Pākehā in the restorative process. Whether Pākehā choose to acknowledge the predicament, their privilege, and address it, or continue to dig their heads in the sand and avoid it is influential in shaping

the required undoing and repairing. For too long now the privilege afforded to Pākehā has gone unacknowledged and unaccounted for in mainstream society. Most simply cannot see it, or if they do, turn a blind eye to it, burying it deep below the surface as if it doesn't exist. Some who are aware of it, and troubled by it, choose to wallow in the guilt, remaining paralysed by it. If Pākehā are to become manuhiri, predicament by way of privilege must be acknowledged, and constructively dealt with. Pākehā researchers are a better position than most to do this.

Addressing Privilege (and Predicament) Productively

Addressing privilege is a responsibility for Pākehā in engaging with decolonisation. In Aotearoa New Zealand it is an important part of the 'seeing' and 'remembering' – the deep reflection and situating of self which is required if research is to be made a restorative act. For the 'undoing' and 'repairing' of deimperialisation to be considered, then this 'addressing' cannot simply be an acknowledgement of or a 'speaking to' privilege – it must be productive and involve action. Addressing privilege productively starts with understanding it inside out. When introducing their research on disparities in Aotearoa New Zealand, Borell et al. (2009, p. 31) combine Frye (2003), Paradies (2006), and Schulz (2006) to put forward a functional definition of privilege as referring 'to systematic discrimination and marginalisation to produce population group differentials in access to, among other things, societal goods and services, and exposure to stressors'. This interpretation serves to describe the tangible effect of privilege on society. Underneath this though, privilege has many layers which enable systematic discrimination and marginalisation.

> First, privilege is a special advantage: it is neither common nor universal. Second, it is granted, not earned or brought into being by one's individual effort or talent. Third, privilege is a right or entitlement that is related to a preferred status or rank. Fourth, privilege is exercised for the benefit of the recipient and to the exclusion of detriment of others. Finally, a privileged status is often outside of the awareness of the person possessing it.
> (Black and Stone, 2005, p. 244).

As Black and Stone's (2005) definition makes clear, privilege is something pervasive, elusive, and supports power imbalances, which research is not exempt from. It is intrinsically historical, and 'historical privilege' describes the way these special 'complex and collective structural advantages' are experienced by groups of people 'over time and across generations' (Borell et al., 2018, p. 26). In supporting power imbalances it has the capacity to deprivilege, acting as a metaphorical gatekeeper where knowledge is concerned. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Pākehā have benefited substantially from historical privilege. These benefits are many, often inherited and intangible, in a society where Pākehā are autonomous. As Thomas (2020, p. 48) highlights, they include intergenerational wealth amassed through the inheritance of land, and the inheriting of 'cultural knowledges' that enable Pākehā to feel 'in place' in social and institutional contexts. For instance, universities – if not the country's whole education system – 'fit' culturally for many Pākehā, thanks to their Eurocentric basis. It is important to emphasise here that the notion of privilege is complex and multifaceted (Borell, 2009), and does not apply to Pākehā in a monolithic sense. There are many Pākehā families and communities who have materially benefitted less – who do not own land, who do not own property, who live in or close to poverty. This is not to say they do not benefit from their Pākehā status, it is instead to emphasise the many layers encompassed in the notion.

As visible in my LSE seminar example, Western knowledge and ways of knowing are those which are privileged within the academic context. If this privilege, and subsequently the power to define what constitutes acceptable knowledge, is not addressed, then an ethic of restoration is not possible. Different knowledges remain oppressed, inferior, or are shut out. This notion of addressing privilege extends to myself, my position as a researcher too – both with projects in my local community, and in doing this PhD as a student at the LSE. These activities are, and must be seen as, the same thing, and something in which I am personally located. This locating is holistic in that it is grounded in both the past and the present, meaning who I am and where I come from must be visibly subsumed into the project methodology. I am presented my position because of my privilege as a Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand. This has enabled me to be 'lucky' enough to 'research' in my community, and to do this Studentship I'm currently undertaking at an elite London-based institution.

I am deeply grateful for these opportunities, though I still wear McIntoch's (1990) 'invisible weightless knapsack' of special, advantageous 'life' provisions which this privilege affords. I choose to engage with this head on. As I have indicated a productive unpacking of this bag is necessary for restorative research. Therefore, if deimperialisation and decolonisation are to be positioned as integral rather than figurative, then methodologically speaking, strategies must be implemented to holistically account for the privilege of Pākehā positionality in the research process, alongside a de-centring from the imperial ideas. This is not something which is straightforward. It can be a confronting experience for Pākehā who might experience feelings of 'responsibility and guilt' (Huygens, 2011, p. 75), as well as insecurity and alienation, particularly when Western ways of knowing are not at the centre of everything. As Thomas (2020) aptly highlights, rather than be avoided, discomfort can be embraced, and it can be productive to think about where this feeling is coming from and what it can teach us.

> 'it's about being in relation to our whenua, to our history, to te ao Māori, to our colonial past…It's about being good accomplices, good allies…Sharing the load. Sharing the burden…Being in for the long haul, not the occasional weekend haul, the long, lifelong haul.'
> (Smith, 2022)

> 'Pākehā good intentions aren't enough if we don't think very carefully and deeply about the politics and power relations involved.'
> (Thomas, 2020, p. 50)

Both of the quotes above broadly concern Pākehā and the work of decolonisation, and therefore they're applicable to restorative research in this context. The advice put forward is fundamental, and accordingly, should absolutely be adhered to by Pākehā who are interested in engaging in this work. However, in being very careful Pākehā must avoid being too careful. The consequence of this is to arrive in a place of stagnation, where problems are described and redescribed, and no one is willing to roll up their sleeves and actually do the work for fear of mis-stepping. This is not to say do not be careful, it is instead to place particular emphasis on Linda Tuhiwai Smith's comments and say – do not forget the 'doing' and especially what can be learned through relating. It is ok to get things wrong, it's how you react to this which matters most. As Smith (2022) goes on to

say when discussing the context of Aotearoa New Zealand – 'by being an island nation, you kind of have to work things out. You can't just walk to the border and think I don't like this place, I'm just going to walk somewhere else…If you commit to staying here, you have a problem to solve'. This problem solving requires an appetite for a 'politics of disappointment' and 'a determination to not turn away in frustration, or engage superficially, but to remain in positive, engaged struggle together/with each other' (Jones, 2012, p.109). Engaging with the Pākehā predicament, productively doing to undo and repair is a willingness to get your hands dirty, and proceeding with maximum care, in equal measure.

What the Centring of Kaupapa Māori Means for Research

As I have outlined, being on the whenua, working restoratively, and upholding Te Tiriti o Waitangi means centring Kaupapa Māori, which has significant implications for the research process. For tauiwi and Pākehā researchers in Aotearoa New Zealand centring Kaupapa Māori is spatial exercise, and contributing 'with' and not 'to' Kaupapa Māori. It is about making the necessary space for Kaupapa Māori, and in turn by default, employing an approach to Kaupapa Māori research in the relational sense – that is research done the Māori way (Cram, 2013). Centring Kaupapa Māori is deimperialisation. It is about decentring, and taking steps to decentre, from the dominant system and prevailing Western norms. In employing a Kaupapa Māori approach to research, arguably researchers 'are employing quite consciously a set of arguments, principles, and frameworks that relate to the purpose, ethics, analyses, and outcomes of research.' (Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Durie 1992; Johnston, 2003; Pihama, 1993; L. T. Smith, 1991; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997 as cited in Smith, 2005 p. 90). For tauiwi and Pākehā employing this approach, these arguments, principles, and frameworks are rooted in relationship, and the fundamental recognition of tangata whenua (host)-manuhiri (guest) conditions.

It is important to stress that this centring of Kaupapa Māori and employing an approach to Kaupapa Māori research is not about acquisition, appropriating or possessing Kaupapa Māori – it's about finding and knowing your place. For Pākehā researchers this process can be unsettling. It's easy for Pākehā to see this as exclusionary when they assume it concerns 'them', though Kaupapa Māori theorists, and the language of

Kaupapa Māori is for Māori, not Pākehā (Jones, 2012). Tolich (2002) describes 'Pākehā paralysis' where Pākehā researchers, who are so used to being in control by default of their cultural standing, become afflicted with a sense of immobility, unable to distinguish their role in Māori-centred research. This notion is not exclusive to research, and Hotere-Barnes (2013, p. 2) describes Pākehā paralysis 'as the inability of Pākehā to be active participants on social and cultural relations with non-Pākehā people or groups'. This paralysis, which 'can come about due to fear of "getting it wrong" or negative cross-cultural encounters and experiences' (ibid), can be overwhelming and negatively affect Pākehā engagement, at times to the detriment of Māori. As Hotere-Barnes (2015, p. 42) explains, it can lead to an attitude of '"it's too difficult and not my problem"', with Pākehā avoiding or opting out of Māori-centred research. Accordingly, expertise and resources, which might work in support, are held back or removed completely, which can be counterproductive.

To put it simply, Kaupapa Māori is an impetus to do better research. As Fabish (2014, p. 35) highlights, for Pākehā there is much to be gained in 'learning to be affected' (Gibson-Graham and Roelvink, 2009, as cited in Fabish, 2014) by Kaupapa Māori, which can be 'an invitation to radically rethink the way we do research'. 'Subtle learning' can be experienced through being challenged, and engaging with Māori, and 'the feelings of awkwardness' which can come from 'being decentred' and 'culturally deskilled' in the process (Fabish, 2014, p. 35). In a way, I am seeking to extend Fabish's position here. Centring Kaupapa Māori is crucial in holding the necessary space for Māori, making research functional, and a tool for assisting Pākehā to become responsible manuhiri by way of this learning, which in part is affect-based. The process of holding and respecting this space is not about establishing strategies to accommodate Pākehā, and stabilising the experience. Rather, Pākehā can come to know their place through being influenced, guided and informed by Kaupapa Māori. This is 'being vigilantly affected'. Crucially, this requires strategies for connection and clear boundaries to prevent the old control-orientated habits from creeping in.

Responsibilities and Boundaries

Centring Kaupapa Māori in research is a relational process, and when the experience is productive, it is a shared productivity. It definitely cannot be about tauiwi and Pākehā researchers becoming the experts or 'the knowers' (Adcock and Cram, 2023). In the current Western-Eurocentric system it is possible, and tailored, for this to occur. To make research about yourself is to counter deimperialisation. If you understand or feel the Pākehā predicament then you will know Pākehā learning about te ao Māori is political (Thomas, 2020). So too is the act of Pākehā and tauiwi centring Kaupapa Māori. As mentioned in the previous section, it is necessary to proceed with maximum care as this politics too is shared. Proceeding with maximum care is different to being effacing and guilty though. Centring Kaupapa Māori does not mean Pākehā researchers become 'mōkai Pākehā ('pets' that do the bidding of Māori)' (Jones, 2012, p. 107). Again, this only serves to uphold the status quo, it is patronising and defectively limiting in the sense that it does not make Pākehā ordinary, it maintains their main character role. Finding a place through a centring of Kaupapa Māori and the subsequent engagement that comes from this is to find – and stand tall – in this place.

Being in this place, on the whenua, and stepping into a conceptual and methodological context where Kaupapa Māori is centred is like being at someone else's house. There is a host to consider, and attention needs to be given to what it means to be in the host's house and the company of those who are present. This attention should not become a straightjacket, stifling the capacity to connect. Instead it is about establishing a base level of respect which can be a foundation to the experience. In this context, being in the host's 'house' requires guests to be ontologically openminded and epistemologically prepared to proceed collectively, collaboratively, so that comfortable connections might be cultivated. It means you don't try to overstep your mark – for instance you don't start ripping up the carpet because you don't like the colour, or make a hasty exit, grabbing a rug you might like on the way out. You don't try and become the host while you're there either. There are boundaries and responsibilities to each other.

Sometimes this overstepping might be less direct, unintentional or subconscious and derived from imperialisation and colonisation. Georgina Tuari Stewart (2020b) highlights 'the slippery path between romanticism and imperialism' whereby there is a 'romantic

inclination to identify ‘the Māori world’ with a functionalist or symbolic version of a whole way of life rather than a critical history of a whole way of struggle’ (Webster, 1998, p. 188, as cited in ibid). Romanticised notions of te ao Māori as a ‘pure and untouched Indigenous culture’ amount to an escapist ‘strategic essentialism’ which decouple Māori experience from material struggle (ibid, p. 17). Accordingly, boundaries and responsibilities must extend to the ways in which ways of being and knowing are positioned. In centring Kaupapa Māori and making reference to te ao Māori with this project it is my intention to demarcate a fundamental difference between imperial derived ways of knowing and being brought to this land, and ways of being and knowing which are intrinsic to the whenua.

This demarcation considers the socio-economic context and the effects of this for Māori and Pākehā. Within this process I acknowledge the complexities which exist within te ao Māori. Complexities which are completely beyond reach when communication is the English language from within the Western academic canon. It is appropriate at this point to address the politics of language. As Muller (2021, p. 1441) outlines ‘linguistic privilege describes the advantages from the command of a certain hegemonic language, in this case English’, making knowledge produced from a primarily Anglo-American locations, ‘ostensibly more universal, and therefore more valuable, than that produced in other’. He goes on to suggest the decolonial project faces a paradox in that 'its articulation in English risks perpetuating the very hierarchies it seeks to subvert’ (ibid, p. 1446). I am aware of my position and the position of this project with respect to this privilege and politics of language. While I cannot disentangle from it, I believe that centring Kaupapa Māori, taking a relational approach, and acknowledging linguistic privilege at least goes some way to addressing the issue.

Responsibly connecting and working together to understand things for everyone, by way of this approach, begins with first questioning whether or not you’re ok to be in the house at all. The role of tauiwi, specifically Pākehā, in research which directly involves Māori has been debated at length. Those, such as Harry Walker (1990), suggest there is no place at all for Pākehā, who should step aside as Māori research must be conducted by researchers of Māori descent (as cited in Cram, 1997). Others see things differently and Pākehā researcher Evelyn Stokes (1985) suggests researchers may be Māori or Pākehā, as being on Māori land makes you a Māori researcher. Stokes caveats this, and

emphasises the need for Pākehā to be bilingual and culturally responsive to 'retain credibility in the Māori world, and translate with credibility for the Pākehā world' (1985, p. 9). Though Waipara-Panapa (1995) argues that objectivity is reinforced in taking this position as it diminishes the role of researcher values and subjectivity (as cited in Cram, 1997). Considering the role of the Pākehā researcher, as Cram (2013) states, arguably while tauiwi and Pākehā researchers cannot do Kaupapa Māori research, they can support a Māori Kaupapa.

I'd like to point out that as a Pākehā researching with Māori and in Māori spaces, Stokes's (1985) work is pioneering in its location of Pākehā with respect to the research process in Aotearoa New Zealand. Put forward in the 1980s, her critique of research itself, Pākehā hegemony within this, and the contradictions between Pākehā and Māori worldviews offered insight which continues to shape contributions. Recent Pākehā contributions to the decolonisation discourse, in the interests of Pākehā responsibilities and boundaries, are naturally applicable in this context too. Huygens (2011) outlines four decolonisation practices for Pākehā: revisiting history; supporting emotional response to shift in worldview about the colonial relationship; building a critical sense of cultural collectively; working towards accountable, mutually agreed relationships with Māori. In particular, critical family history for Pākehā can be seen 'as a necessary but insufficient precondition to decolonisation; transforming people's understandings of their family histories', shining torches 'into the heart of colonial darkness' (Shaw, 2021, p. 11). Likewise, Amundsen (2018) pushes for decolonisation through reconciliation. In reaching for this, she recommends Pākehā work to understand themselves; respect cultural identity; enter into and commit to long-term relationships; be transparent and humble; listen and reconcile.

Hotere-Barnes (2013) reflects on themes regarding Pākehā working in Kaupapa Māori spaces which are necessary to consider when Kaupapa Māori is centred. These include 'knowing yourself', taking an 'unknowing position', being a 'careful listener', embracing the 'complex and unknown;' and 'reflecting on the benefits' (ibid, p. 19). As these themes indicate, this is not a straightforward process. The influential work of Jen Margaret (2010), which Hotere-Barnes is building on here, offers valuable insight. When discussing the practice of 'working as an ally' in social justice work, Margaret points out that it is 'contextual and relational, therefore issues need to be worked through with regard to the

specific circumstances and relationship/s' – 'there is not a specific checklist that allows you to 'be a good ally'' (ibid, p. 6). Working in this way is a continuing 'practice and process', learned and honed through experience and feedback, 'on-going checking in with others', and 'deep reflecting' (ibid, p. 9, p. 11). Equally so, Emily Beausoleil (2021) places emphasis on the important and undertheorized art of listening. A practice which she describes as 'profoundly active' on account of its high responsivity and 'complex process of active commitment and continual negotiation' and 'its effects within and beyond the communicative context' (ibid, p. 25). Strategic listening in this sense is fundamental to the process of responsibly connecting and working together as it is a productive part of what is reciprocated in the communicative process, contributing to shared understanding.

The notion of 'being vigilantly affected' which I am advancing, is shaped by the sentiment that there is no place for Pākehā. As Alison Jones (2012, p. 101) summarises, those who argue against Pākehā involvement see Kaupapa Māori as providing 'a set of rules defining a philosophical and methodological research space strategically formed by Māori, for Māori purposes; Pākehā – whose position of power and whose destructive and controlling research 'on' Māori forced such a response into being – are necessarily outside of its development'. This argument takes us to the interface of de-centring. As Jones (2012) goes on to state, it is the basis for Pākehā anxieties with respect to Māori-centricity, and comes from the default, self-centred Pākehā position. To situate self here is to be incomplete, and counter to the relational conditions of place. Kaupapa Māori is not 'for' Pākehā. However, to be on the whenua, and to be Te Tiriti o Waitangi compliant – it is essential, and therefore it is essential for Pākehā to develop strategies to respectfully and responsibly engage with this. Pākehā must exist 'with' Kaupapa Māori as central to being manuhiri, regardless of whether they are researchers or not. Kaupapa Māori shapes responsibilities and boundaries, which in the context of research, begins with essential spatial strategies at the ontological and epistemological level.

Centring to Decentre

An obvious question at this point is then 'why autoethnography'? A method which fundamentally embeds the researcher in the research process, relying on 'the use of the

lived experience of the researcher as a methodological resource' (Reeves, 2018, p. 103). If self-centred Pākehā need to de-centre themselves then why adopt a method which upholds this centricity? This is because that while engagement cannot be all about Pākehā in the sense of self-service, simultaneously so much of the work required to break this pattern of self-service *is* about Pākehā. Therefore it is necessary to 'centre' to 'decentre', to sufficiently come into relation with self for seeing and remembering, and surrounds, for undoing and repairing. This is the essence of what makes this project unconventional – that the method of autoethnography is used to do a piece of work looking to decentre Pākehā.

Crucially, autoethnography focuses on the interplay between self and structure, requiring the researcher 'to gaze, first through an ethnographic wide-angle lens, focussing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience; then they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract and resist interpretations' (Ellis and Bocher, 2000, p. 739, as cited in Tomaselli et al. 2014, p. 348). Engagement with self-experience and identity is intentional, reflexive and productive. It involves examining emotion as a means to enhancing reflexivity, as 'emotional reactions' and 'the normative judgements they entail come out of a particular location' (Reeves, 2018, p. 119). As Butz and Besio (2009, p. 1660) outline, fundamentally 'autoethnography may be understood as the practice of doing this identity work self-consciously, or deliberately, in order to understand or represent some worldly phenomenon that exceeds the self'. This process is not one of concrete conclusion, rather constant instigation and dialogue due to the reflexive essence of the method. A reflexive essence that, as Tomaselli et al. (2008, p. 348) highlight, 'seems to ask more questions than it may answer', all of which autoethnography cannot resolve as 'the human experience is fundamentally ambiguous and far too complex for single approaches'.

In the quotation below, Butz and Besio (2009, p. 1671) outline an 'autoethnographic sensibility' with respect to autoethnographic research practice in the field of geography. I apply this sensibility to my research approach, and it requires researchers' to;

> '(i) perceive themselves inevitably (even if not intentionally) as part of what they are researching and signifying; (ii) understand their research subjects as autoethnographers in their own right, whose self-presentations in the context of research are reflexive; and (iii)

> conceive of research as unfolding in an expanded field where their own self-interested project of self-narration interacts with those of their research subjects in the context of an existing network of social relations.'
> (Butz and Besio, 2009, p. 1671)

These characteristics indicate the epistemological territory the method resides in, that which is fundamentally critical and 'contests notions of objectivity and neutrality' (Denzin, 2008, p. 9). In fact, autoethnography 'emerged in the 1990s parallel to the critical turn in ethnographic research' as 'a reaction to social-scientific research and the dominance of White/Western voices within social inquiry' (Chawla and Atay, 2018, p. 4). Characteristically, 'critical pedagogy embraces a dialectical, relational view of knowledge' conceiving 'of the human agent in active terms' (Denzin, 2008, p. 12). Not only do both of these citations offer important context for the autoethnographic method, they are also deeply relevant to the way in which I deploy the method.

The irony is not lost on me that as a Pākehā researcher undertaking decolonial research I am using a method which exists as a response to the dominance of White voices within social inquiry. However, as Chawla and Atay (2018, p. 6) elaborate on the notion of decolonial autoethnography; 'on one hand, decolonisation entails a process whereby the colonised critique and challenge Western ideologies and power structures, on the other hand, it addresses the coloniser, who must strive to achieve a degree of self-reflection, which illuminates the negative impact of colonisation and how she has gained from it'. Esther Fitzpatrick (2018, p. 44) echoes this in her research exploring Pākehā identity, arguing critical autoethnography as decolonising methodology and that 'non-indigenous researchers' 'should also engage in decolonising methodologies, understanding that our identities are a "collection of all stories we've inherited from those that have come before" (Ballard and Ballard, 2011, p.73'. In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, illumination concerns an important part of the Pākehā experience, and is made possible through autoethnography.

In my study I am not a passive observer, I conceive of my human agency in active terms. I deploy autoethnography critically as a reflexive accounting tool for charting the relentless accrual of settler privilege and power, a context in which I am situated. I do so through what I hope to be an engaging and accessible personal account of social issues. This is

the dialectical, relational approach inherent to critical analysis where the aim is 'to produce interpretations and explanations of areas of social life which both identify the causes of social wrongs and produce knowledge which could (in the right conditions) contribute to righting or mitigating them' (Fairclough, 2010, p. 8). My position as a researcher is not discrete, and nor are my objects of research. They are 'constructed in a transdisciplinary way' to foster a relational approach to theorisation, and to 'allow for 'various points of entry' which focus upon different aspects of the object of research' (ibid, p. 5). The practical specificities of this relational approach are expanded upon further in the coming sections.

As I have said, the essence of what makes this project unconventional is that an autoethnographic approach has been used to do a piece of work looking to decentre Pākehā. Although it is unconventional, it is not unique and follows in the footsteps of the influential work of Pākehā Tiriti scholars adopting autoethnographic methods. This includes Anna Parker (2013), who engaged autoethnography and positioned self as 'insider' in a narrative inquiry study exploring the stories of 'third-generation' Tiriti activists, and the meanings they construct about their Tiriti and decolonisation work. Kyle Eggleton (2020), who used a Kaupapa Māori congruent methodology alongside autoethnography to explore the measurement of the quality of Māori health providers, critiquing how tauiwi paradigms impact on quality. As well as Natasha Heard (2020), who articulated the experience of encountering te ao Māori, personal identity and the potential of Te Tiriti through autoethnography, affect and collaborative story telling.

He Awa Whiria: Assembling and Braiding Knowledges

In centring Kaupapa Māori there is a fundamental acceptance that there is no longer one prevailing way of knowing and being. Mātauranga Māori is alongside, not 'an interesting aside' to, Western scientific knowledge, and it is 'acknowledged that Western scientific knowledge offers just one way of understanding the world and that is not the only way' (Cram et al., 2002, p. 55). To safely and effectively hold space in this context requires devices, which, in the case of research, typically begin and end with the practical, ethical elements. We need to go further than this if we are to be restorative, and make this more than a futile, voyeuristic exercise in cultural fetishization. 'In Western research, Indigenous

knowledges tend to be viewed as cultural artefacts rather than legitimate knowledge systems' (Hunt, 2012, as cited in Adcock and Cram, 2023), therefore devices are required which afford knowledge systems legitimacy, independence and room to breathe.

To avoid ontological subsumption, a space such as this can be seen conceptually as an 'assemblage of knowledge spaces'. The ontological ground is akin to a research field or body of technoscientific knowledge/practice, which are assemblages 'whose otherwise disparate elements are rendered equivalent, general and cohesive through processes of 'heterogenous engineering'' (Turnbull, 2000, p.44). In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, He Awa Whiria (MacFarlane, 2009) is an approach which can guide us here. He Awa Whiria uses braided rivers as a metaphor for the levelling and intermingling of different ontologies. It affords different worldviews independent space to thrive, while at the same time allowing room for new knowledge to be created through streams coming together and forming 'alluvial islands'. Through He Awa Whiria, water flows as knowledge, and helps us to recognise the often separate journeys taken by mātauranga Māori and Western knowledge systems.

When knowledge spaces are assembled, technical devices that provide for connections and mobility are vital as they serve to 'enable otherwise incommensurable and isolated knowledges to move in space and time from the local site and moment of their production' (Turnbull, 2000, p. 44). In a context where knowledge systems are at odds with each other in their inherent locality and universality, He Awa Whiria can enable this insulated yet interactive form of movement. In the metaphor 'both streams start at the same place and run beside each other in equal strength. They come together on the riverbed and then they move away from one another. Each stream spends more time apart than together' (Superu, 2018, p.8). This can provide what Moko Mead (2022) describes as a 'clear pathway through competing ideologies, cultures, and technologies' necessary for the revival of lost portions of mātauranga. Additionally, 'when they do converge, the space created is one of learning, not assimilating' (Superu, 2018, p.8). If the identity, power, and the politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand are to be safely and effectively explored through the lenses of self and structure, then knowledges must be assembled and braided in a Te Tiriti o Waitangi compliant way such as this.

He Awa Whiria assembles knowledges on an equal foundation in relation to one another. Western-Eurocentric knowledge systems are not the single, accepted norm. Assemblages such as this are nothing new. For example, in Canada, an Etuaptmumk or 'Two-Eyed Seeing' approach has been implemented by marine researchers 'to speak to circumstances where Indigenous and Western scientific knowledge systems contribute in parallel to produce an enriched picture and mutual understanding' (Reid et al., 2020, p. 246). Indeed in Aotearoa New Zealand similar examples exist such as 'Waka-Taurua' as depicted by two waka lashed together where each waka 'represents the worldview and values of the people who are coming together to achieve a common purpose/whainga…each group is inherently different, and the knowledge, values and actions of each, are not made to fit into the other' (Maxwell et al, 2019, p. 2). Across both of these examples, equal and independent space is prioritised.

While there are similarities between these approaches and He Awa Whiria, there are key differences which in part, reside in the metaphors. He Awa Whiria's strength is that it is just a river, and in being just a river knowledges are able to flow freely, to intermingle, to define their own path. They are not rigid, dense material structures lashed together with rope, or intrinsically human features, set in their form. Through He Awa Whiria, knowledges are not two-way and framed exclusively as paradigmatic. In this context, universality is embedded and similarities must always be found between situated knowledge localities which are ultimately always aggerated upwards to fit their linear place. This is evident in Reid et al.'s (2020) summary of various knowledge coexistence models, where similarities are drawn between Indigenous knowledges around the world. This is the local deprioritised and deemphasised, it is figurative decolonisation which upholds imperialism. When knowledge is as liquid, as in He Awa Whiria, then the 'local' can flow separately and the emphasis doesn't become one of finding which parts of its flow are similar to others, it is about relating.

In their study of racist discourse Wetherell and Potter (1992, p. 8) discuss the 'issues' and questions which are raised when 'reality', 'society' and 'identity' are analysed as 'analysis involves resolving each of these issues in one way or another' – issues and concepts which are interconnected where 'answers to one suggest the likely organisation of answers to the others'. Wetherell and Potter offer a 'practical stance' in addressing this, acknowledging the 'incoherence of social life', not attempting an 'ironing out all of the

theoretical contradictions and inconsistencies' or developing and contributing substantive new positions. Instead, they seek 'to work out a 'take' on these issues as a preliminary' to enable analysis (ibid, p. 8). The intention here is not to 'close off' debates or assume a final position, and instead they develop the position that 'some of tensions here are not only irresolvable but may actually prove to be productive for analysis' (ibid, p. 8). To me, this approach to critical analysis speaks to both my own approach generally, and to the analytical potential He Awa Whiria affords. In particular, the analytically productive tensions which emerge when different knowledges braid and intermingle. A productive analytical potential which is enhanced further through the reflexivity which is fundamental to critical autoethnography.

Through this project I would like to deploy He Awa Whiria as an active extension of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. An instrumentalization of Te Tiriti as embodied relational object which further emphasises its capacity to transcend space and time. He Awa Whiria offers a metaphorical landscape for the interpretation of the politics of place, and the braiding of independent ontologies and knowledges. Considering this, I position 'braiding' as something which is fundamentally premised on respecting integrity and boundaries. Braiding aims to calibrate ways of being and knowing 'towards a generative orientation and interweave their strands to create something new and contextually relevant, while not erasing differences, historical and systemic violence, uncertainty, conflict, paradoxes and contradictions' (Jimmy and Andreotti, 2019, p. 21). It is 'not an endpoint, but rather an ongoing and emergent process' (ibid) which is not a preconceived process. As I see it, this is the relational intention of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Kia Whakatōmuri Te Haere Whakamua

> 'Abstract rational thought and empirical methods cannot grasp what is the concrete act of existing which is fragmentary, paradoxical and incomplete. The only way lies through a passionate, inward subjective approach.'
> (Marsden, as cited in Meyer, 2014, p. 16)

In centring Kaupapa Māori, braiding knowledge through the frame of He Awa Whiria, the door is opened to ways of knowing and being which can enable Pākehā to reconfigure

their approach to the world. This reconfiguration is a process of coming to know one's place, learning and growing to try and find comfort in one's skin, and a stable footing on the whenua. Establishing the conceptual ground does not mean Pākehā set about trying to become Māori, fetishizing or cherry-picking appealing aspects of te ao Māori for themselves. Finding what might be described as a 'restorative essence' can see Pākehā accept the challenge of being influenced by Māori ways of knowing and being. This means the past is fundamental, and finding this essence can start with the development of a visible and healthy relationship with the past. For research, this means strategies to account for the past and a 'deep subjectivity' must be embedded within the process.

Jackson (2019) outlines how Pākehā are capable of 'misremembering', that is being selective in the way in which history is used to dampen the pain of the colonial past. William's (2022) transfers this sentiment to the Crown whereby 'historical amnesia' shapes the ways in which the partnership between Pākehā and Māori has unfolded where historical acts in breach of this partnership are conveniently forgotten. In ways, this is the Pākehā predicament at work. It is a failure to front up to a colonial past, and it is a key factor in making contemporary Pākehā identity uncertain and fragile. In the same vein, contributing to this is what Borell et al. (2018) describe as 'active forgetting'. This process;

> 'helps the current-day recipients of historical privilege assuage contemporary feelings of guilt and shame and assists them to forego significant acts of collective responsibility that may be drawn forth from reminders (often by Māori activism) of the historic pain of colonisation and the contemporary suffering that continues for those impacted by historical trauma.'
> (Borell et al., 2018, p. 30).

A coming to terms, and getting comfortable, with the past is necessary if Pākehā are to become manuhiri. Coming face-to-face with Kaupapa Māori can help this to occur, and can bring 'active forgetting' to the surface. As with 'seeing' and 'remembering', Huygens (2011) sees this 'revisiting' of the settler coloniser relationship with Māori as a necessary decolonisation practice. An active and healthy relationship with the past can help Pākehā effectively situate themselves, and come to know their place. For Pākehā researchers this is an essential component to making research a restorative act. Centring and creating

space for Kaupapa Māori does not make a Māori way of knowing and being 'something nice to look at', like a gallery or museum in our minds – it requires a respectful, alternative epistemological context which takes us beyond the Western-Eurocentric norms of knowing. Indigenous Hawaiian author Manulani Aluli Meyer refers to such epistemological context as the 'triangulation of meaning', which uses;

> 'body, mind and spirit as a template for meaningful research' through extending 'through our objective/empirical knowing (body) into wider spaces of reflection offered through conscious subjectivity (mind) and, finally, via recognition and engagement with deeper realities (spirit).'
> (Meyer, 2014, p. 14)

In this context, we are not detached from our past. It is baked-in and influential. It is my intention to draw from Meyer's 'triangulation of meaning' to, among other things, situate myself and bake the past into my PhD research, making the necessary deep subjectivity possible. In doing so, I accept the challenge and potential of this epistemological context where importantly, the past is embodied as 'our senses are culturally shaped, offering us distinct pathways to reality' (Meyer, 2014, p.14). This means the past effects everything at every level. My 'fieldwork' includes my existence beyond the typically cut-and-dry period of time in which I was in Aotearoa New Zealand throughout the duration of my PhD. Accordingly, my writing is not directly related to this period of time in isolation, instead the past is braided in, and interwoven moments and memories are a fundamental part of the project, and in turn, the politics of place are made completely visible. In the coming paragraphs I will elaborate on further epistemological categories and the associated 'navigational techniques' I have adopted to respectfully accommodate these. Though broadly speaking, this is my interpretation of and response to Tuck and Mckenzie's (2015) 'critical place inquiry', and how I have chosen to locate myself in place. It is what I deem necessary, particularly for Pākehā, tauiwi and settler-colonial researchers who might be engaging with decolonisation. It weaves my being, my past, and my presence in place into this process and the politics of place.

Specifically, I would like to acknowledge the whakataukī (proverb) 'kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua' (I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past) as an epistemological 'device' of sorts for illuminating this approach for my research. This

whakataukī has influenced my thinking, and I came to know it through the process of connection. I was first made aware of it when listening to Kathleen Morrison (Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, Ngāti Porou, Ireland) discussing the restoration of Te Kinakina wetlands as part of an online conference presentation for the Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua project (2022). In this the abbreviated 'ka mua, ka muri' (walking backwards into the future) was referenced. I was then introduced to the longer, complete version in discussion with Fiona Cram regarding the personal resonance of the whakataukī for my work. I'm grateful for the influence of this whakataukī which has been a guide for me in this space enabling the past to be brought in, as a bridge to bring forth memories, and ultimately as a way to try and reach for a restorative essence with my project.

Places and Spaces as Pools and Containers

The politics of place is central to my project, and therefore I extend this influence, relocation, and subsequent integration to 'place', as I have done with the 'past'. Physical places and spaces are not apolitical, they are embodied with identity, politics, and constructive capacity through relationships. Place and space is 'just as inchoate and subject to interactional processes as human identities; the social construction of place influences identities, and identities influence the social construction of place' (Coombes, 2016, p. 75). These components of our world do not sit separately from us, we hold a symbiotic relationship with them. For Meyer (2014, p. 5) this is an epistemological priority, 'with regard to research, our early spaces help create the topic you choose, the questions you formulate, and the way you respond to data. It is all shaped by space. Not time. Conscious-shaping space. Space-shaped consciousness.'

To make it clear – to understand 'place' in this way is to understand 'land' in this way. And 'this way' is nothing new to Māori, it is as it always has been. The point of clarification I'm trying to make in this paragraph and the next is one is more directed at Pākehā, and tauiwi, if they are to become manuhiri. 'This way' is to conceive of land as whenua Māori, and something intrinsic to human life. Relating to land in this way is conducive to restorative ethic toward a restoration of place. As Moewaka Barnes and McCreanor (2019, p. 28) contend, 'reconceptualising relationships with whenua as a underpinning determinant of health and a way of healing people and environments, calls

for a move away from land as property to respectful relationships where whenua is person'. To begin to understand 'place', and to reflect meaningfully on 'identity' and 'power' in Aotearoa New Zealand, we must see whenua as person, reconciling the political with the ecological, so that we might listen to and learn from the whenua as we do one another.

> 'Land as an epistemological cornerstone to our ways of rethinking is all about relating in ways that are sustaining, nourishing, receptive, wise. Knowing with land should help you find out more about your own self, and when that process begins as a researcher, you start to open your own phenomenological inquiry into your origins of space.'
> (Meyer, 2014, p. 5)

In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, to relate to land in such a way and to consolidate 'place' with 'being' is absolutely essential. As tikanga, it is integral to Kaupapa Māori. It is also nothing new for the nation, as Te Tiriti o Waitangi is grounded in place – 'a shared sense of home' where 'home is a concept of place, a concept of belonging, a concept of being' and 'being home' is something with a meaning yet to be clarified (Jackson, 2022). In part, this clarification will come from the work that Pākehā need to do as to fulfil their role as manuhiri, and, as with 'past', might be made possible through a reconfiguration of relationship with 'place' as something integral to being on the whenua. Therefore, I intend to use physical, community places and spaces as a departure point for investigating the politics of place, and to reflect upon identity and power. Metaphorically, within He Awa Whiria, I would like to advance a conceptualisation of community spaces and places as 'pools' within flows of knowledge.

For example, take the Maraekakaho Hall, one of the community spaces near where I grew up, which I have worked with for this project. It is not only a white painted, wooden building about the size of a small church next to a gravel carpark. It is a 'container' with a permeable membrane through which currents of being and knowledge flow. Just like the pools in rivers and streams, the Maraekakaho Hall at time holds sections of flow as it does the histories and views of familiar and likeminded people. As a large rock does underwater, the hall shapes and calms the flow, thus offering a safe haven and a portal to life above ground. It is via these containers that we are able to catch glimpses of the realities of political life in the land and in society. These are the sites in our communities

where people find their ‘tribe’, where traditions are upheld, where people are welcomed and conscientized. The beds of rivers and streams contain deposits of sediment which are susceptible to alterations in channel flows. Pools can give shape to, and become, alluvial islands in time. Community spaces and places can be conceived of in the same way.

The Centring of Relationship

With a centring of Kaupapa Māori, a centring of relationship is fundamental, and this too is vital to conducting restorative, Te Tiriti-based research toward realising the promise of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In the previous sections I have described what a centring of Kaupapa Māori means, particularly for Pākehā, in terms of integrating and reconfiguring relationships with past and place. Now is time to give specific focus to what a centring of relationship within this context means methodologically for the research process and beyond. To do this we need to unpack the notion of ‘relationship’ to attempt to understand what it means for Tiriti compliant research, and knowledge generated on the whenua. A key concept and starting point is ‘accountability’, shifting from individualism, understanding and making research accountable to people, communities, and the environment. This includes researchers themselves. In centring relationship, researchers become a part of the research and cannot escape their own gaze (Ceglowski, 2000), and if relationship is everything then so too is accountability.

Understanding accountability in this context starts by looking at the relationship we have with research, and where accountability lies. It also requires us to challenge established Western norms where knowledge is largely seen as something to be attained, which sits separate from self, floating out there waiting to be unearthed. In the social sciences, the status of the ‘researcher’ is often elevated to that of ‘expert’, and separated from groups or individuals who become the ‘researched’, in many instances with no accountability, or relational grounds established. There is often a hierarchical sentiment that research conducted for a community need, or ‘applied’ to a specific problem is less valid, and somehow inferior to that which is conducted in a detached academic institution (Stokes, 1985) focused on high-theory. ‘Research’ is about power, as whether it be ‘on, with, and/or for people it involves the gathering of information which may be done for its own

sake but is often done with a view to informing resource allocation and facilitating control' (Cram, 1997, p.2). Or for the purposes of self-interest, such as the enhancement of an academic's individual career (Stokes, 1985).

For Māori, knowledge is bigger than the individual. Its purpose 'is to uphold the interests and mana of the group; it serves the community' (Cram, 1997, p.3), and research serves this purpose. When the role of knowledge is to be accountable to people, then knowing for the sake of knowing is pointless, and the role of the detached academic who takes no responsibility for the repercussions of research is insufficient (Stokes, 1985). Te ao Māori is fundamentally at odds with the idea of 'detachment'. It is holistic and relational, based on a web of connections, which encompass 'taha wairua' (the spiritual dimension), and a foundation of whakapapa, which connects people to each other and the land (McGowan, 2009). If research is to be restorative and Te Tiriti o Waitangi compliant, then relationality must be central. Power must be relinquished to aid this process, and research made accountable to both Māori as tangata whenua, and to the responsibilities of manuhiri.

Relational Knowing

Transforming research and researcher accountability in accordance with Kaupapa Māori through the centring of relationship is key in enabling research's functional capacity. The implications for knowledge production are significant as it is no longer solely 'about' people, instead now 'with' and 'for' people. Knowing becomes relational, and research is not just about working towards a set of outcomes – it encapsulates the entire process. It is about 'feeling' things out, navigating connections, tensions, and ultimately working toward a goal which is common. There is no set methodology, though it is a reciprocal process of 'bringing' and 'learning'. Knowledge is produced through interaction, exchange and finding shared meaning. This process is capable of generating a level of understanding far deeper than numbers and words. Knowledge produced within the context of connection has restorative capacity.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, in a way, research might become Te Tiriti o Waitangi in practice. When Māori, Pākehā and tauiwi work together through a relationship-based approach, research becomes a platform for understanding tangata whenua and manuhiri

boundaries and responsibilities. It is a platform for producing the kind of new and (k)new knowledge which is only made possible through this relational cultural entanglement. It is the promise of Te Tiriti. Bring in He Awa Whiria and we can start to see how all of the parts I've covered in these sections might come together. The alluvial islands, which emerge when knowledge flows come together to create 'new knowledge', are the product of relational knowing. Mason Durie (2004) calls this 'exploration of the interface' where opportunities emerge for the creation of new knowledge that reflects both ontologies. For me relational knowing, by way of relationship-based research, feels fitting, if not the only, way to explore and attempt to understand the politics of place, and what it means to be on the whenua.

Being Wary of Frameworks

When the research praxis has been altered to be that which is 'for' rather than 'on' Māori, culturally appropriate, accountability-based approaches have been advanced. Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1990) puts forward four models here; 'Tiaki' model (Mentor), where research is guided by authoritative Māori people; 'Whangai' model (Adoption), where the researcher becomes whānau doing the research; Power sharing model, where community assistance is sought to develop research meaningfully; Empowering outcomes model, where research supplies answers and information Māori want to know (as cited in Cram, 1997, p. 5). It's worth noting that these models were advanced in the interests of fostering culturally appropriate ways of doing research at a time when there were relatively fewer Māori researchers. In this vein, Fiona Cram (1997) proposes 'partnership model', which fits with Graham Hingangaroa Smith's power sharing and empowering outcomes models.

Other examples have seen Pākehā researchers deepen their ethical approach to Kaupapa Māori, particularly through the incorporation of frameworks. Heather Came (2013) advocates for the use of the Kaupapa Māori Te Ara Tika ethical framework to reaffirm Māori experience and embed Te Tiriti in research. Developed by Māori researchers, the framework incorporates elements of whakapapa (relationships), mana (justice and equity), tika (research design), and manaakitanga (cultural and social responsibility), into the research process. While the application of this approach requires deep engagement with te ao Māori and reflection on dominant Western norms, it also requires considerable

expertise, in both te ao Māori and Western research practice, to be applied. My worry is that for Pākehā here, as with all culturally responsive frameworks, the pattern for cultivating 'expertise' in a topic is reinforced, and the researcher-researched divide and detachment may remerge. There is a risk of enabling more of what Tina Ngata (2022) describes, with tongue-in-cheek brilliance, as 'coloni-splaining', that is 'when colonisers explain colonisation (and what should be done about it) to Indigenous people. Quite often with theories they pull outta their colon.'

If frameworks are to be successful they must have 'relationship' and space for the process of connection at the very centre. In doing so, it remains completely possible to be ethically rigorous and accountable – the relationship can be the framework for this, it's as simple as that. The more frames that are applied, the further the experience moves from the context. More often than not, frameworks come from outside of a given context and in turn, make research more open to co-opting, manipulation, and application to different contexts, which are not appropriate. The emphasis can shift from 'assessment' to 'guidance' as there is a fundamental understanding that there is no perfect way, no perfect level of attainable expertise by which to conceive of something. Centring relationship, and subsequently the process of connection, means that Pākehā cannot 'learn' themselves out of discomfort, or into an meticulously pre-planned experience.

In advancing a notion of partnership research, Cram (1997, p. 5) outlines that it is 'research primarily of benefit to the Māori community and for which the researcher is primarily accountable to that community'. While primarily directed 'at' Pākehā, in looking at Aotearoa New Zealand more broadly, I see my research as indirectly working for Māori and tauiwi. Therefore, it is my intention to advance Cram's notion of 'partnership research' as a foundation for what I would term 'relationship research'. Relationship research is connecting and working together to understand things for everyone. I see this research not as Kaupapa Māori research per se, but as a Kaupapa Māori approach which is supporting a Māori Kaupapa in that it reinforces fundamental roles, in adherence with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. There is structural benefit and accountability to the Māori community generally in their position as tangata whenua through the vigilant, affect-orientated centring of Kaupapa Māori, with the intention of developing Pākehā and tauiwi awareness of their responsibilities as manuhiri on whenua Māori. Advancing a relational notion embeds an ethic of connection and restoration necessary to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

From ‘Methodology’ to ‘Relational Guidance’

Underpinned by the bind of connection, relationship research cannot be individually claimed. This makes it difficult for Pākehā, or anyone for that matter, to control or fashion it into a ‘horse to ride in on’. The latter will be addressed in the coming chapters. A centring of relationship through relationship research cannot be pre-learned – it is learned through ‘doing’ and honing intuition in the process. It is about moments, and there is no framework or predetermined methodology which is going to walk itself off the pages of a document to tell you when to laugh, when to hold someone’s hand, or when to admit you’re wrong. This is braiding close-up – an ethic in action, a state of being, and not of preconceived knowing. In the coming sections I present the techniques I have employed through this project. Likewise, I do not intend for these to be easily lifted off the page into a transferable, generalisable methodology, instead these sections are both an explanation of a relational project unfolding, and a form of relational guidance for people, and in this instance hopefully Pākehā, who might be interested in walking this path.

Employing an approach to Kaupapa Māori research starts with an interrogation of researcher motivations, and in doing so, ensuring that domestication and academic co-opting cannot occur. Graham Hingangaroa Smith proposes four tests which should be applied for a practice to be called an effective Kaupapa Māori-informed strategy:

> ‘The first is the praxis test: Are both practical and theoretical elements present? Second, the positionality test: What is the record of the researcher/commentator that lends legitimacy to their work in this area? third, the criticality test: Does the commentary or analysis adequately take account of culturalist and structuralist aspirations and political analysis? And fourth, the transformability test: What positively changes for Māori as a result of your engagement or your application of Kaupapa Māori?’
> (Smith, 2012, p. 20)

Through my conceptual framing I have attempted to establish a context where the theoretical positioning is one of structural critique. When ways of being and knowing are not centred in such a way, the potential for critique of this nature is difficult, it is

straightforward for institutions to masquerade tokenistic gestures as inclusion while the status quo is maintained. As Sara Ahmed (2012) points out, 'the will to include diversity becomes a wall to diversity becoming normalised in modern (academic) institutions' through 'a politics of stranger making' where 'diverse bodies are instrumentalised towards institutional agendas' (as cited in Jimmy and Andreotti, 2018, p. 2). The theoretical positioning and structural critique of this project is intended to confront this by widening the conceptual parameters pluralistically so that ways of being and knowing are encompassed, simultaneously folding bodies, structures and institutions into this lens.

I've attempted to translate this into a methodological framing where the critique is addressed through understanding by way of 'doing' and practical experience. This approach, which encompasses my past and experience in engaging with the topics of place, power and identity broadly speaking, is grounded in the notion, and ethic, that engagement cannot occur without action. In doing this I am not claiming to be an expert, or to have achieved anything. I'm simply wanting to try and make a positive difference in Aotearoa New Zealand, and to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi. To me, supporting a Māori Kaupapa, in concept and in practice through structural critique, is to contribute to positive change for Māori and for Aotearoa New Zealand. Coupled with Smith's (2012) tests, initially the following 'meta-questions' need to be asked of the research process (Smith, 1996, as cited in Cram, 1997):

- what research do we want to carry out?
- who is the research for?
- what difference will it make?
- who will carry out the research?
- how do we want the research to be done?
- how will we know if it is a worthwhile piece of research?
- who will own the research? And
- who will benefit?

As Cram (1997) states, partnerships between researchers and Māori communities can address these questions. In exploring the politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand, my research does not involve Māori communities in isolation, and research within 'my community' has encompassed a range of communities in-kind which might be broadly

described as Māori and/or Pākehā and tauiwi. In being on the whenua, I have had initial and ongoing discussions of these questions with Māori who whakapapa to the area. Addressing these questions can be a constructive, albeit challenging process 'of negotiation, testing, and trust-building that can at times leave researchers feeling like they are stuck between the proverbial rock and hard place' (Cram, 1997, p. 6). These words have certainly rung true in my experience with my project. Crucially though, as I have seen, this process can be one of the key contexts within relationship research where relational knowing is forged.

Going Beyond Partnership and the Role of the Research Whānau

To guide me in my research I chose to create a 'research whānau' (extended family) to assist not only in answering these questions, but to guide the project on every level. The idea of a research whānau is not new. For example, a research whānau of Māori and Pākehā Tiriti workers was integral for Pākehā researcher Heather Came (2013) in informing research design, structure, direction and detail. I have tried to adapt this, and my decision to work with a research whānau was motivated first, by a premise that as a Pākehā researcher on whenua Māori, my work needed by be guided by Māori. In conjunction with this, I saw a research whānau was an avenue to making my work more ethically rigorous and reflexive. When addressing his concerns around Pākehā engagement with Kaupapa Māori, Eggleton (2020, p. 99) states 'there is a role to play as a White researcher and that is to highlight oppressive White structures that I am a part of. In addition I suggest that dismantling theses oppressive structures requires analysing my own thinking, feelings and position in the world'. I agree with this assertion and saw the research whānau as a space to enhance this process of self-analysis. Finally, and related to the previous point, a research whānau was a chance to try and make my research collaborative, more useful, and to bring in community perspectives more substantially. In my opinion, if research is to be Tiriti-compliant them a research whānau in some form or another is fundamental.

In their essay titled 'A Decolonial Feminist Politics of Fieldwork: Centring Community, Reflexivity, and Loving Accountability', Boer Cueva et al. (2024, p. 2) highlight that 'fieldwork is a colonial enterprise, but perhaps other futures of fieldwork are possible'.

They go on to advance an approach to critical fieldwork which is grounded in feminist and decolonial, anti-racist, anti-capitalist politics. This approach centres 'knowledge cultivation as a collective endeavour; the building of community and kinship; reflexivity and emotional investment; and the practice of loving accountability' (ibid, p. 3). I agree with this approach and in particular, a feminist research ethic which 'urges researchers to conceptualise fieldwork not as an extractive process of mining data and information for the research output, but as a process of creating community with research interlocuters or consultants, of which knowledge production is only one dimension' (ibid). My research whānau is an essential part of the process and, especially where community perspectives are concerned, I conceptualise it as 'fieldwork'. It is as much about knowledge production as it is guidance, advice and building relationships.

I am a part of my research whānau, as are my LSE supervisors Nick Anstead and Alison Powell whose continued support and guidance I am deeply grateful for. I see the research whānau as an integral, relational component in my project, and a practical step toward advancing an ethic of restoration. Relationships with the research whānau will live on well beyond the conclusion of my PhD, and it also offers a challenge to the rigid, individualistic structures of the social science PhD process. Within the research whānau I have worked closely with people from the community, who might be traditionally thought of as 'participants'. These relationships have been on an individual basis, grouped collectively as research whānau, with all members aware of their role and one another. The relationships I have with these people are integral to the project. They include Lily Stender (Ti Aitanga-a-Hauiti, Ngāti Porou), Gretta Carney (Te Atihaunui-a-Paparangi, Ngāti Tuwharetoa), and Jonathan Stockley (Pākehā). Alongside these people I have worked closely with Kaupapa Māori researcher Fiona Cram (Ngāti Pāhauwera, Ngāti Kahungunu). I am deeply grateful for all of these relationships, and in particular Fiona, who has become a mentor and an Aotearoa New Zealand-based supervisor-of-sorts with the project.

Broadly speaking, outside of my formal supervision arrangements, the research whānau operated on two levels. Those from the community were collaborators and sounding boards throughout the course of the project. Lily and I met approximately once every couple of months, either face-to-face during my regular visits to Uawa where I would stay at the Tolaga Bay Inn for several days, where she lives and works, or via Zoom. We regularly discussed the issues, dynamics and ideas which are covered in this thesis.

Likewise with Gretta, who I met with greater regularity due to our proximity as business neighbours. With Jonathan the meetings were less frequent but equally as influential. Jonathan lives close to the farm where I grew up and introduced me to places, people and information which were particularly formative for the project as far as the reflections on my own identity, and Pākehā identity, are concerned. Many of these experiences with my research whānau are documented in the coming chapters. While not formalised, Fiona has been my 'research whānau supervisor'. We met once a month, and she has been an integral sounding board and advisor for the project throughout.

At this point you'd be forgiven for thinking 'that's all well and good, but isn't the research whānau all about you?'. This tension of who benefits and at what cost is pertinent at a time when Māori are leant on heavily to offer advice in the cultural space. This means often Māori who are working in tauiwi dominated fields like academia are under extra pressure to perform a 'cultural double shift' to account for the extra cultural labour which is done alongside their formal workload (Harr and Martin, 2022). I have been conscious of this issue throughout, as well as the authority and power I bring to the situation in my role as a researcher (Ceglowski, 2000). I have attempted to mitigate imbalance through reciprocation and making myself useful as much as possible throughout the process. I have sought to make this 'being useful' integral, rather than a token gesture, and it has contributed significantly to the connections I have developed and the relational knowledge which has been produced. I need to make it clear that I don't think this imbalance has been reconciled in this case, as I feel what I have gained far outweighs what I have tried to give. As with anything relational, it's a work in progress.

The 'reciprocation' has covered a range of areas, and I'd far rather the reader experiences this as 'doing' within the chapters, rather than a glorified list form in this section. For the sake of context though I'll briefly outline some examples. When working with Lily Stender, I have helped with administration work, putting presentations together, attending events, and using my marketing experience to assist with general tasks for Tolaga Bay Innovation. The context and associated dynamics of this are detailed in Chapter Four of the thesis. Through my relationship with Lily, I assisted as a researcher/writer on the Mana Taiao Tairāwhiti (MTT) submission to the Ministerial Inquiry into Land Use in Tairāwhiti and Te Wairoa in 2023. Gretta Carney and I have worked together throughout the time I have been working on this PhD, sharing business advice, grappling with

problems, borrowing furniture off each other, and running events together in our community. We are literal neighbours in the sense that we both own businesses that lease buildings in the Ahuriri Napier CBD which are adjacent to each other. Our relationship is very much on a 'roll up your sleeves and help each other whenever' situation, which I am deeply grateful for. I even cooked tortilla omelettes for customers in her café kitchen one Saturday in 2021. Gretta's work is detailed and discussed in Chapter Five. With Jonathan Stockley, who first features in Chapter Three, one thing led to another and next thing you know my brother and I are assisting his wife Judith Burkin with local war veteran history, a book which she has since published. This, along with countless similar moments, is the beauty of relationship research.

In working with Fiona Cram I have attempted to lend myself as much as I can, though the wealth of enlightenment I have been fortunate to receive through our regular conversations seems impossible to match. Perhaps what has been reciprocated in this case is purely relational, and speaks to our shared interests and the research intention. Our conversations have led to us writing a chapter (Cram and Lyons, 2024) which will hopefully be helpful for researchers in Aotearoa New Zealand. The title of the chapter is 'He Rangahau Whiria: A research methodology for both parties to Te Tiriti o Waitangi', and in it we present an approach to guiding genuine relationship-based and Te Tiriti-led research, engagement and interactions. We discuss host and guest responsibilities, and offer instructional advice for doing better research in Aotearoa New Zealand that supports the wellbeing of all peoples. He Rangahau Whiria means something close to 'the research braids' in English, and includes an adaptation of Cram's (1997, adapted from Smith, 1999) Kaupapa Māori researcher guidelines (see Table 1) which, alongside He Rangahau Whiria, I have used to guide my conduct at all times.

Cultural Values (L. T. Smith, 1999)	*Researcher Guidelines (Cram, 2001)*
Aroha ki te tangata	A respect for people—allow people to define their own space and meet on their own terms
He kanohi kitea	It is important to meet people face-to-face, and to also be a face that is known to and seen within a community
Titiro, whakarongo … kōrero	Looking and listening (and then maybe speaking)—develop understanding to find a place from which to speak
Manaaki ki te tangata	Sharing, hosting, being generous
Kia tupato	Be cautious—be politically astute, culturally safe, and reflective about insider/outsider status
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	Do not trample on the "*mana*" or dignity of a person
Kia mahaki	Be humble—do not flaunt your knowledge; find ways of sharing it

Table 1: '"Community-Up" Approach to Defining Research Conduct' (Cram, 1997, adapted from Smith, 1999)

Navigational Techniques

In bringing all of these parts together there are a range of additional devices or what I'm going to term 'navigational techniques' which I have employed to guide the project at every level. These include key devices and conduct as outlined above, and broadly speaking, apply directly to; the places and spaces I have worked with closely; the connections I have made; the 'analysis' and 'findings'. These navigational techniques will be made fully clear when reading through the following chapters. They are borne from the experience of doing this work on the conceptual and methodological ground I have created for the project, unlocking of the politics of place, and what it means to 'be' and 'do' manuhiri. That is, the influence of centring of Kaupapa Māori and relationship, and the braiding of ways of being and knowing through He Awa Whiria so that knowledges may be afforded equal space, with the capacity for new knowledge via relational knowing.

Broadly speaking, the navigational techniques are derived from tenets of the critical and indigenous pedagogies which shape the methodological foundation of this project. I deploy autoethnography performatively, where this performance 'is a form of agency, a bringing culture and the person into play' (Denzin, 2003, p. 12), and primarily through personal experience narrative. In line with Butz and Besio (2009, p. 1666), I 'focus

intensely' on my 'own life circumstances as a way to understand larger social or cultural phenomena', using 'personal narrative writing as a representational strategy that incorporates affect and emotion' into my analysis. Represented contexts are 'performed experiences', 'the sites where felt emotion, memory, desire, and understanding come together' (Denzin, 2003, p. 15). These senses are important as 'performing autoethnography involves noticing and analysing not only what you see, but also what you feel' (Reeves, 2018, p. 111). Unsurprisingly the notion of 'centring to decentre' runs through the purpose of this focus on personal experience, in that there 'is an explicit effort to inform readers' understanding of some aspect of the social world that exceeds' individual experience (Butz and Besio, 2009, p. 1666). This is what differentiates autoethnography and personal narrative writing from autobiography.

The overarching navigational technique is 'connection', which has guided the project and shaped the way it has progressed. This started with situating myself, connecting the project to my past and my community. Therefore my memories are essential, and are deployed as a literary device throughout, to anchor past and place. 'One does not simply learn about land, we learn best from land' (Meyer, 2014, p. 4), and in reaching for a deep connection to place I hope to transfer this meaning to the investigation of the politics of place. Alongside this, connection in terms of building relationships and relating well has determined what might be described as the geographical 'flow' of the project, beginning close to home in Te Matau-a-Māui, through to Te Tairāwhiti, and returning to Te Matau-a-Māui. I have tried to bridge these notions through 'place', and in an attempt to further speak to He Awa Whiria, through referencing adjacent awa (rivers) throughout. Again, I see this as a literary device to deepen meaning against the core concepts. In guiding the project, connection has been iterative and not premeditated. Connecting with a person and place has then lead to new connections with new people and new places.

Navigating these connections with people and places through the project has meant devising context-specific approaches to informed consent and confidentiality. People and places that appear in the thesis fall into three groups. First, there are those who are directly involved in the project. This group includes my research whānau who agreed to participate from either before or since the first year of the project. This agreement was based on informed consent which was verbal and initially followed a script (appendix 1.1), in conjunction with introductory emails outlining the project and my role as a PhD

researcher. Second, there is a broad spectrum of people and places which are mentioned though are not as directly involved with the project as the research whānau. In some cases these mentions form part of a vignette or autoethnographic reflection. Here the agreement for involvement followed that of the research whānau and going via an initial point of contact for a place or space. Often the context beyond the initial point of contact for informed consent was relatively more complex, for example, a public meeting or event where multiple people were present. In these cases I was always present in my role as a researcher and made this, and the project known to people as much as I could. I have opted to not to name people in these instances to protect confidentiality.

At the other end of the spectrum are one-off mentions of, for example, influential and special people in my life. I feel it important to mention these people by name to acknowledge them accordingly. As is the case with these people and places, as well as all named people and places in the thesis – I have made contact to update them on the project, to let them know they are mentioned, and to clarify the nature of the mention. Finally, there are people and places that appear in the thesis where the decision to include the context was made retrospectively, or informed consent simply was not possible. For example, a reflection on an event which occurred during the formative stages of the project, or a reflection on an event which occurred in the past before the existence of the project. In all cases here the names of people and places have been anonymised, with details and locations changed to protect confidentiality and identification. These situations are footnoted when they appear in the thesis.

In terms of navigational techniques, a main source of the geographical flow and analytical journey of the project in Te Matau-a-Māui came in the form of a pilot study. This was quite literally close to home in the sense that it was a study of the politics of the intersection which was closest to my house in Ahuriri Napier at the time. The intersection between Shakespeare and Coote Roads, located in between Middle Hill and Bluff Hill, is a typical Aotearoa New Zealand suburban environment. It's nearby two local high schools, there's a dairy[9], a hairdresser, and a fish and chip shop. I spent many evenings hanging out there in the summer of 2020. I began to recognise people and got to know the owner of the fish and chip shop who I ended up assisting with some marketing advice. It was clear through this experience of 'doing' and honing of intuition that the politics of the

[9] A dairy is a local convenience store, similar to that of an off licence in England.

intersection were everywhere. From the configuration of the infrastructure which favoured the movement of vehicles over people, to the visual displays on walls which placed murals of Māori historical figures alongside real estate signs. From the way birds flew through the space with their aerial pathways dodging overhead powerlines, to my relationship with the space, my presence and the people I encountered, their relationships with me and the space. Everything in this place was political.

Relationships have the potential to last for an infinite amount of time, and I have intentionally written in the present tense throughout to avoid the sense of completion which can be conveyed when research texts are written in the past tense (Ceglowski, 2000). Further to this, in writing in the present tense I 'invite the reader into the present moment' (ibid, p. 90), which I hope will deepen connection to 'place', and help to make the 'past' feel more present. On that note, I choose to write as I experience situations and moments, with feeling and emotion. This approach can be described as 'lyrical sociology' which is 'characterised by an engaged, nonironic stance' aiming 'to communicate its author's emotional stance toward something, 'rather than seeking to "explain"' (Abbott, 2007, 67). I'm being deliberately, constructively evocative, and this is performance writing. As Denzin (2003, p. 24) explains, 'performance writing shows, rather than tells. It is writing that speaks performatively, enacting what it describes'. Reflection on these present moments shifts to the past tense as if to mimic a sense of 'immersion' followed by 'a standing outside and looking in', again further speaking to He Awa Whiria and how we might observe bodies of water and their pools. Please be mindful of this intentional 'tense switching' when reading.

It feels strange to me to write about a place I know so well and to pepper that writing with the work of authors who probably don't even know it exists. If we are culturally shaped then I see locality and knowledge of place of paramount importance to the project inputs. This is most reflected in my research whānau, and I have attempted to draw on the work of Aotearoa New Zealand and Kaupapa Māori authors. Wherever possible I have referenced authors who whakapapa to, or are familiar with, Te Matau-a-Māui and the area which I describe as my community. I acknowledge though that the concepts and methodologies I am advancing are relational, so it is both inevitable and appropriate that I draw on the work of critical and radical scholarship from beyond this locality, and in particular the variety of ways that feminist, anti-racist, post and decolonial scholars

engage with these. Te reo Māori words in this text are not intended to be a symbolic gesture of support for Māori as per the current fashion. They are felt and words I use in my everyday life. These are either words I have known prior, or that I have come to know through the project.

These factors then lead to a form of 'analysis' and a written presentation of 'findings' which are fundamentally relational in that they are derived from the experience of connecting, feeling, learning, and the process of finding shared meaning. This might be related to Meyer's (2014, p. 14) 'triangulation of meaning' which emphasises the role of 'spirit' or 'the recognition and engagement with deeper realities', beyond the empirical and subjective. Meyer makes clear that in this case 'spirit' is not religion - 'spirit as a point is all about seeing what is significant and having the courage to discuss it', it is 'whole, contemplative, intuitive, metaphoric, joyful, liberating' (ibid, p.18). For me 'spirit' is what might be attained through connection and relational knowing. I have attempted to create the conceptual and methodological ground to support 'spirit', and this, alongside 'body' and 'mind' are an epistemological underpinning to these navigational techniques.

Trying to Find Home in the Place I Call Home

To conclude, I might summarise this as a methodology not only for making visible the politics of place, or something for manuhiri researchers to work with, but for 'trying to find home'. This meaning of home echoes Jackson's (2022) understanding of the Māori (tangata whenua) notion of home as being relational, and his assertion that Te Tiriti offers all people in Aotearoa New Zealand the chance to make a home in this land. The 'trying to find' speaks directly to Pākehā like myself who are yet to understand themselves completely, relinquish control, find their place and be at home here. A process and dynamic I am embedded in, constantly exploring, and learning from. More broadly, it speaks to the work which is required of Pākehā, and tauiwi, if they are to become responsible guests in their role as manuhiri, to make this possible. This methodology is intended to make visible the politics of place, the dynamics of identity and power, which must be grappled with if home is to be found.

It is Jackson's (2020; 2022) hope that we might come to realise this shared sense of home, and the promise of Te Tiriti, through shared stories in the land. This can be made possible through a shift from the notion of decolonisation to an ethic of restoration (Jackson, 2020). Through this project I have attempted to link these two ideas together, and make them integral, as decolonisation remains crucial if Pākehā are to 'see' and begin to understand the devastating and ongoing impacts of colonisation. Equally, I have outlined a place-centred approach to research which attempts to be restorative in two ways. First, through decolonisation (seeing and remembering), deimperialisation (undoing and repairing), centring Kaupapa Māori, I have created a conceptual space where Māori ways of knowing and being are afforded equal breathing space alongside Western knowledge. This centring is based on being vigilantly affected – I am not attempting to appropriate Kaupapa Māori, or to do Kaupapa Māori research. I am attempting to create a context where Pākehā are forced to confront *what this means*; to make visible the notion that on the whenua the past and land are essential to human life, not unavoidable or disposable.

Second, through centring relationship, research is made accountable to people, and knowledge production is transformed in that it is relational and connection-based, collective rather than individualistic. Underpinning all of this, of course, is Te Tiriti o Waitangi. We do not need the Treaty of Waitangi. Te Tiriti o Waitangi recognises Aotearoa New Zealand as whenua Māori where Māori are tangata whenua, and anyone else on the land is manuhiri. Nearly 200 years later and this is nowhere closer to being realised. I have tried to advance a methodology here which supports this idea, and is holistically Tiriti compliant. He Awa Whiria is an approach which makes this possible, and is a guiding framework under which this research sits. Accordingly, this project might be considered an alluvial island of sorts, built on relational knowing, shared stories in the land, where home might be found. Through this research I hope to offer some understanding for Pākehā as to what it means to be on the whenua, with lessons for the tauiwi research community, wider society in Aotearoa New Zealand, and settler-colonial contexts beyond these shores.

Chapter 3: Comprehending My Place

Where I'm From

I'm from Raukawa, and the place I call home is located at 215 Raukawa Road, R.D.4, Heretaunga Hastings. Turn left as you drive through the township of Bridge Pā, carry on for about five minutes further and you'll find it. There's an unmissable large white gate – take the steep driveway to the left and mind the bumps. We're actually fortunate to still have the house here. A large fire tore through the area in 2017, burning everything except for the house. I grew up on my family's farm here, in rural Te Matau-a-Māui. I went to school locally, and then moved to Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington) for university. Since then I've been fortunate enough to have had a professional and academic career, studying both my Masters and PhD with the LSE, and setting up a research business in Ahuriri Napier. For these things I am grateful beyond belief, and I love this place with every inch of my being. For me, there's no better feeling than coming home. This is me, and this is where I'm from.

But what does it mean to be fortunate in this case? And what does it mean to be from here? I'm from Raukawa, and the place I call home is located on what was once one of the country's largest sheep and cattle stations. This land, which has been in my family for generations, was historically acquired by Donald McLean, one of the most controversial figures in Aotearoa New Zealand's history, with a track record of illegal and questionable land deals (Te Ara, 1990). You have to search hard for information on this though, for he exists as an admired local figure too, a founding father of "our" community and country. Such is the level of regard, the region's stadium, McLean Park, is named after him. The occasional drought considered, growing up on this land has meant we've always been relatively secure. School, university, and a career were always a given. If we worked hard and applied ourselves we'd get good grades, a good job, and in my case, accepted into an elite university.

This is a very privileged Pākehā existence in Aotearoa New Zealand, and this paradoxical situation which foregrounds it is not something isolated. It is ubiquitous, yet rarely spoken about, and defines all aspects of this existence, which remains incomplete so long as it

goes unaddressed. Really, the only element of fortune featured in this anecdote is our house not burning down. Everything else which is considered to be 'fortunate' is 'expected' in equal measure. This paradox is fundamental to a politics of place for Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand. A place which is partial, made possible by colonisation, historical privilege, and Pākehā hegemony in society. This chapter explores this paradox with respect to Pākehā history, belonging, and 'home comforts'. If Pākehā are to be manuhiri in this land then the politics of place must be comprehended, grappled with, and made relational.

A History of My Place

The Paritua Stream begins high up in the Raukawa hills. From here, it winds its way down Torran Hill and eventually settles on the flats of the Raukawa Valley where it flows through a series of farm paddocks, one of which is behind the buildings that used to house Raukawa School. I grew up in Raukawa, attended Raukawa School from ages five to ten and I have fond memories of the Paritua Stream. As children at the school we used to swim in the stream frequently. With its clear dark water, abundant tuna and kōura, it was always a captivatingly beautiful place. The highlight of practising our weekly cross-country run was getting to go through a section of the stream as we made our way helter-skelter, barefoot and shirtless, up to a section of the ancient pā site which sits atop the range of hills behind the school.

At the end of school year celebrations, on a warm evening in the late spring of 1997, my final year at Raukawa School, I vividly remember attempting to swim up the stream with a group of friends to see how far we could go. Any dip always came with a sense of anxious excitement – in the years prior a group of children had encountered a huge tuna in the upper reaches of the stream. Allegedly as thick as a tree trunk and as long as one of the girls who saw it, this tuna came to be known as 'Tunanui', meaning 'large eel', and quickly attained a mythical status amongst us kids. Tuna of this size can be up to 80 years old, and at this stage are ready to begin their extraordinary trip out to Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa to breed and die (Department of Conservation, 2022). Little is known about this migration, and the mystery of tuna and the ever-presence of the mythical Tunanui are part of what makes the Paritua Stream so enchanting.

As a child I spent a great deal of time observing tuna in streams such as the Paritua, and grew to appreciate their relationship with their natural habitat, and vice versa. Tuna typically reside under the ledges of the deeper pools in the streams and rivers of Aotearoa New Zealand. Here they are relatively sheltered from the more aggressive currents, and less visible from both above and below the surface of the main water channel. These pools are a distinctive feature of bodies of water, often shaped by significant erosion of sediment or large rocks under the surface. They are usually calm spots which contrast the relatively more rapid sections of a channel. The natural geography of pools means they shape the flow of water, slowing and containing current while simultaneously allowing it to pass through. This reduces the level of disturbance on the surface and, when the water is clear, pools can provide a portal to life below.

Above the surface, not far from the Paritua Stream, and directly over the range of hills behind Raukawa School, is the rural settlement of Maraekakaho. The settlement contains a small township which is surrounded by a mix of lifestyle blocks[10], farmland, orchards and vineyards. One of the focal points of this township is the Maraekakaho Hall, a community hall which sits next to Maraekakaho School. Shifting to the present day now – Friday 29th October, 2021, marks the first time I've visited this hall since the mid-90s during my years at neighbouring Raukawa School. The drive out to Maraekakaho takes you across the heart of the Heretaunga Plains, and westward toward the low lying hills where the township is located, adjacent to the Ngaruroro River. On this particular morning it's raining and the low heavy clouds which hang in the air, obscuring the hills and subtle contours of the pā sites on them, are an above ground reminder of the moisture-rich alluvial land below and the nearby rivers and streams which shape it.

I arrive at the hall and walk across a neat, gravel carpark to meet Jonathan, who is the custodian and chairperson of the Maraekakaho Hall Trust, which oversees the administration and operation of the hall. The hall is a 19th century-era white painted wooden building about the size of a small church – in fact it is designed to resemble a church with large arch-topped windows and pointed triangular roof. Inside there is a

[10] A lifestyle block is a small piece of rural farmland typically 1-5 hectares in size. Lifestyle blocks sit between residential properities and larger farms in terms of their charateristics. They are an attractive option for people who would like to live rurally, on land which is easily manageable compared with a larger farm.

particle board floor which, thanks to the scale provided by painted lines, is exactly the size of a badminton court. These court lines are a common feature on the floors of rural halls throughout the country and speak to a time pre-urbanisation when rural communities and townships were more populous. Beyond the floor is a wooden stage, and on the morning I am there a cream coloured metal jug sits in the middle of the stage, bursting with a display of fresh flowers; birds of paradise and brightly coloured delphinium. Jonathan informs me these are left over from the Samoan community church group who used the hall for their service the previous Sunday.

Jonathan and I chat for a period of time in the hall foyer about a meeting which had taken place the previous evening, and then he kindly gives me a tour of the place. We begin in a side room which is the oldest part of the hall. It was constructed in the 1870s and was originally used as a church, library and reading room. Jonathan and those on the hall committee are trying to restore it, as they are with all aspects of the hall. The side room feels like an art gallery of sorts. Several rows of new and impressive museum-style lights hang from the ceiling, illuminating several large, laminated posters with images and text which tell the story of the hall's history. Jonathan shows me a book shelf which contains an abundance of books from the early days of the hall – he and his wife Judith discovered these and cleaned them up. Back in the main room, and bathed in the light from one of the arch-topped windows, we survey the walls on which hang more posters of historical figures from the community. A sleek looking portable audio-visual unit with a large flat-screened TV stands to attention on one side of the room. People who use the hall are able to use this equipment to assist with their activities.

There's an air of change about the place, and a sense that the Maraekakaho Hall is 'on the up'. Jonathan has recently become chairperson of the hall, alongside a fresh committee of local residents. He mentions that before they took over the custodianship, the place was completely neglected, with the hall unused and packed full of junk from the school. Since then, as Jonathan proudly outlines, the hall has been transformed and is now considered to be one of the region's flagship community halls. In part, this is thanks to funding from the Hastings District Council (HDC), with support from the central government's Provincial Growth Fund (PGF), designed to support and encourage the promotion of local communities and their heritage. In this instance it has supported renovations, the development of the historical resources on the walls, and purchase of

the electronic equipment. Jonathan is passionate about the hall, and he's determined for the hall to be a key asset and focal point for the community. He sees it as a place for community building, mixing, mingling, preserving and showcasing local history.

We take a moment to observe the posters on the wall. Some of these contain scans of old newspaper articles about the hall's construction and information on the community's history. Others are profiles of notable people from the community, all Pākehā men, including those from the surrounding area who served in The First World War. At the time of construction in the 1870s, the hall, and the then fledgling settlement, sat on Maraekakaho Station, which was then one of the country's largest sheep and cattle stations. My ancestors worked on, and came to own, large parts of this station when it was eventually broken up, and I recognise their names on the posters. Jonathan shows me under the hall's stage which is like a time capsule. There's a small-bore rifle range under there (another common feature for rural halls in Aotearoa New Zealand), an old lectern, some books and sports equipment from decades gone by. Bits of graffiti and names are tagged on the wooden boards, some of them centuries old. Preserving this history is of paramount importance for Jonathan – 'it's our community'. I express my respect for his sentiment, and commend him on the work he's done with the hall.

Before we head back out from under the stage Jonathan picks up one of the books to show me. Its title is "A Changing Land: Sir Donald McLean's 'Maraekakaho' – 1857 to Today". I recognise this book. It's author is amateur historian Alan Scarfe, and it is considered by many to be a key source of history for the local area. The book documents the history of Maraekakaho Station, and its associated families. There's a chapter on my family in there, which even includes a brief section on me which contains high-level details such as my birth date, schooling, and under graduate studies, parts of which aren't accurate. It's always bugged me, mainly because I didn't consent to being in this book. I didn't know about it at all until a copy of it turned up at our house randomly in the post not long after it was published in 2013. Jonathan thinks the book is excellent – not surprisingly, he's very interested in the history of the area and its people. He and Judith are relative newcomers to Maraekakaho, having immigrated from the United Kingdom to start a new life here in 2014.

I can't resist voicing my frustrations with the book to Jonathan, I outline some of the inaccuracies, and my feelings about being mentioned in there. He's interested to hear this and informs me that Judith is working on a book herself. It's a detailed history of people from the community who served in The First World War, and their families, up until the present day. The book was then near completion, and set to be released in time for Australia and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) Day on April 25th in 2022. Judith's motivation for writing the book is to draw more attention to local servicemen, and those whose names are mentioned on the war memorial cenotaph not far from the hall. My great grandfather's name is on the cenotaph so he, and my family, will be covered in the book. Judith has lead the development of the posters of servicemen on the hall walls, and her extensive research has uncovered old photos and archive material, which are now displayed on these posters. I exclaim positively as Jonathan tells me this news, but I also feel a slight sinking feeling inside me.

The work Jonathan, Judith, the committee, and the community have put in to breathing new life into the Maraekakaho hall is impressive. Although he is reluctant to take credit for it, much of this is down to Jonathan's commitment and passion. He feels as though he is starting to see the fruits of this; more people are visiting the hall, both locals and people from outside of Maraekakaho; yoga classes have become a regular occurrence, as have community group meetings; there have been concerts held in the hall; and a popular coffee cart has set up in the car park. The renovations and improvements to the hall's structure are continuing, and the Maraekakaho Hall Trust are investigating additional funding avenues to make this possible. Jonathan specifically mentions that people are interested in the history of the hall and local community, and appreciate the effort that has gone into improving the documentation of this history. For this alone, the hall has become a destination for tour groups of the region.

This history, captivating, capable of pulling tour buses to Maraekakaho, and contributing to a sense of community and identity, is not as descriptive and straightforward as the book and laminated posters let on. It is more complex than this – a powerful, multi-layered paradox. The meaning of this history exists as much in what is said, what is worth saying, and what is tangibly visible, as it does in what is not said, and what is left out. At face value, this history tells the story of a community which came into existence during the latter half of the nineteenth century – 1857, as Alan Scarfe might have it. This place is

a Pākehā place, ultimately made possible by the industrious efforts and bravery of British settlers. However, this history does not offer a complete and legitimate picture, ignoring that which sits in plain sight. It does not address the contours of the pā site I drove passed on the way out to Maraekakaho – it does not talk about what came before. It is not interested in 'Tunanui' or with what's in the Paritua Stream, only who owns it. It is a Pākehā history which helps to shape the 'historical privilege' that Pākehā have within society in Aotearoa New Zealand as a result of colonisation. That is, as Borell et al. (2018, p. 26) define it, 'the complex and collective structural advantages experienced over time and across generations by a group of people who share an identity, affiliation, or circumstance'.

This place is my place – a place built on this complex, paradoxical history and historical privilege. Comprehending this can be frustrating, daunting and confronting all in equal measure. It's a core source of the 'bug' and the 'sinking feeling' I experience when I come face-to-face with it – like I did with Alan and Judith's books, when I visited the hall. Just as these books document local histories so too do they contribute to the 'remembering and forgetting' which are fundamental to the function of this historical privilege. As Borell et al., (2018, p. 29) go on to outline 'historical privilege tends to use memory to construct representations of progress and nationhood, the hardworking pioneer, or of events that contribute to a collective "coming of age"'. For my community, 'A Changing Land: Sir Donald McLean's 'Maraekakaho' – 1857 to Today' documents a history which amounts to this 'coming of age'. The laminated posters which line the Maraekakaho Hall walls represent this sense development, and the figures who have enabled it. My community is built on this narrative, and being from a fourth-generation farming family, whether I like it or not, I am a part of this – a notable name and cog in this wheel of progress.

Taking this to scale, in Aotearoa New Zealand, perhaps no day is quite like ANZAC Day with respect to this notion of constructed representation. Commemorated annually on April 25th, ANZAC Day marks the anniversary of the first engagement of Australian and New Zealand forces in The First World War in Gallipoli, Turkey. In present day form, it is a poignant, national day of remembrance for ANZAC soldiers who have served and lost their lives in conflicts. This act of collective remembrance is on a national-scale, and the day is a designated public holiday. Televised memorial services take place across the country, receiving considerable government and public support. Acts such as this are

seen to favour the dominant societal group, as they 'are relatively rare and carefully constructed to reinforce particular narrative about collective identity and ignore, mask of "forget" memories that might detract or challenge these representations' (Borell et al., 2018, p. 29). In Aotearoa New Zealand this manifests in the discrepancy between the level of resource allocation and support for the commemoration of ANZAC Day, over the Indigenous and settler fought 'New Zealand Wars', which is vast (ibid). In fact what attention these wars – which were fought between 1843 and 1872 – have received in recent years is largely thanks to a 12,000 signature petition led by students from Ōtorohanga College, which was delivered to parliament in 2015 (O'Malley and Kidman, 2017).

In my community, ANZAC Day is one of the most prominent days of the year. Soldiers, both of Māori and Pākehā descent, left Aotearoa New Zealand to serve in the First and Second World Wars. Most of the longstanding, land owning families in the area have ancestors who served, myself included – my grandfather and great grandfather served in both wars. On the morning of April 25th, 2022, I attend the community's memorial service which takes place at the Maraekakaho cenotaph, just a stone's throw from the Maraekakaho Hall. I head along with my Dad, and we immediately greet Jonathan and Judith, who by chance happen to be walking passed as we pull up in Dad's ute[11] to park just down the road from the cenotaph. The service is poignant, and like I've tended to do with events like this my whole life, in the moments of silence I think about my grandparents. There are around 100 people at the service, many of the aforementioned families, people I know well, and have grown up around.

In one of the silences, three small aircraft from the nearby Bridge Pā Aerodrome fly overhead in a 'fly-by' tribute. Several local residents dress in replica uniform and fire rifles in ceremonial salutation. One of these residents, who collects military equipment, uses the occasion to dust off his antique Vietnam War era armoured personnel carrier (APC). It's about the size of a cattle truck, and rumbles passed the cenotaph, guns trained on the crowd. I resist the urge to duck. The crowd watches on in solemn silence. The retired New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) commander who addresses the service speaks to those who served in past conflicts involving Aotearoa New Zealand. He also talks about

[11] A 'ute' is short for 'utility vehicle', it's a colloquial term for a small, flat-decked truck which is a common vehicle for farmers in Aotearoa New Zealand.

the present day conflict in Ukraine, and warns of the threat posed by Russia and China to our 'way of life'. Just as they offer moments for reflection and remembrance, events like ANZAC Day speak to a 'master narrative' (Haebich, 2011). This narrative of nation building, independence and citizenship through sacrifice, only seems to intensify with each annual commemoration (Borell et al., 2018). The event in Maraekakaho certainly seems to echo this, and feels as glorified as it does commemorative. Before we leave, I walk over to the cenotaph to read the names etched into the stone, among those my great grandfather, John Lyons. I wonder what he would have made of all this.

Despite the deeply personal connection I have to this event and place, it seems unusual that such lengths are taken to remember and acknowledge wars fought on the opposite side of the world, when the memories of the New Zealand Wars, parts of which were fought on lands now owned by some families in the community, exist in relative silence. The reality is, 'for a time in the 1860s there were more British troops in New Zealand than almost anywhere in the empire outside India' (O'Malley, 2016b). In Maraekakaho there is no overt mention, or indication of tension, historical or contemporary, between Pākehā and Māori. Afterall, according the NZDF commander that day, men from Ngāti Kahungunu had lobbied the British to fight and, after acquiring their own weapons because they were denied the assistance, alongside local Pākehā they left the shores to fight the common enemy. This is the sustained, collective 'forgetting' which Borell et al., (2018) highlight, and consider to be a contemporary marker of historical privilege. This forgetting can be constitutive with respect to identity formation. It 'becomes part of the process by which newly shared memories are constructed because a new set of memories are frequently accompanied by a set of tacitly shared silences' (Connerton, 2008, p. 63).

> 'Forgetting and ignorance are never benign conditions: they do things.'
> (Haebich, 2011, p. 1036)

This 'forgetting' supports a master narrative, and contributes to a 'standard story' of harmonious race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand (McCreanor, 2009). This story assumes the country has 'the best race relations in the world' – something I'm often told in the present day, when speaking with Canadian and Australian colleagues – and 'needs to get over this politically correct rubbish about colonisation' (ibid, p. 9). As O'Malley

(2016b) ‘what a nation chooses to remember and forget speaks to its priorities’, and ‘those who tell Māori to “stop living in the past” or to “get over it” rarely apply the same logic to first world war commemorations’. Forgetting breeds ignorance, and ignorant accounts like this, by affording misinformation value and creating a context where its authority is not questioned (Haebich, 2011). It prevents reminders, dampens feelings of guilt and shame for the present day recipients of historical privilege, and enables collective responsibility to be forgone (Borell et al., 2018). What results is a situation whereby, for Pākehā descendants, there is extremely limited knowledge of Māori histories, language, culture and people, and also their own history and its relationship to Aotearoa New Zealand (Turner, 2008, as cited in Borell et al., 2018). Just as my place has been built off the back of Pākehā industry and bravery, so too is it paradoxically made and remade, through remembering and forgetting.

A Sense of Belonging

The Paritua Stream begins high up in the Raukawa hills. From here, it winds its way down Torran Hill and eventually settles on the flats of the Raukawa Valley where it flows through a series of farm paddocks, one of which is behind the buildings that used to house Raukawa School. Over the ridge of hills directly behind the school is the settlement of Maraekakaho and the Maraekakaho Hall. In the immediate opposite direction, sitting at a similar distance eastward, is the Raukawa Hall. I consider this hall to be ‘my hall’, I grew up just down the road, and first went to the hall as a new-born, then for kindergarten, or ‘play school’, as it was known. The Raukawa Hall is similar in structure to the Maraekakaho Hall, though it’s more box than church. A weatherboard building with a side room and kitchen facilities, true to type, it has badminton court markings on the floor. I love this place and its steady presence in my life. When I was younger the hall was a focal point where local families would regularly meet for school events. These turned into 21st birthday celebrations, and then regular ‘pub ‘n grub’ evenings over the years.

Although generally considered to be within one overarching community, Raukawa and Maraekakaho have significant differences, and exist as separate communities in their own right. Before coming into existence, both areas were part of the then gargantuan Maraekakaho Station, and in the early 20th century the station was broken up. At this time

the township was developed in Maraekakaho, and the area of Raukawa remained as farmland with no central township. Since this time, the farmland has stayed in the hands of the descendants of the original owners and workers of the station. Accordingly, Raukawa has not changed or 'grown' in the way that Maraekakaho has done. The same families remain on their farms, spread several kilometres apart. Maraekakaho, on the other hand, has seen relatively steady population growth, primarily driven by people coming to live in the township and its adjacent lifestyle blocks. The stories of the communities' respective schools are indicative of this. Due to a lack of local population growth, Raukawa School permanently closed in in early 2000s, whereas Maraekakaho School remains in the present day. There's a strong rivalry between the two communities, which was fierce during my primary school years – people from Maraekakaho are seen as newcomers, 'city slickers' or 'townies', people without the mettle to match those from Raukawa.

Many years on from my primary school days, on the evening of December 20th, 2022, I find myself standing on the corner of Raukawa Road and Anaroa Road with a red felt 'Santa hat' on my head. This intersection is adjacent to the Raukawa Hall, and the reason I'm standing here is because I'm picking up a sack of Christmas presents. It's the annual Raukawa community Christmas party and this evening I'm 'Santa's helper', working alongside 'Santa', who's a local guy who lives further up the valley. The sack of Christmas presents, gifted by local parents for their kids, has been tactfully dropped by a passing parent on this corner just down from the hall, and my task is pick it up and return to the hall to hand out the presents. It's a typical warm, summer evening. There's a layer of high cloud about, and the air trapped underneath has a familiar aroma of hot dry grass. Down the road to my left the hall is bustling, though where I am at the intersection, it's quiet enough to hear the lap of the breeze in the air. Standing out in the vast and quiet open space like this, with farmland and rolling hills around, always feel moving. There's a serene stillness, and in moments like these I feel lucky to be from this place and to have grown up here.

Later that evening, once the presents have been distributed and the barbeques fired up, this sentiment is echoed in conversations over beers on the deck[12] outside the hall.

[12] A 'deck' is Aotearoa New Zealand slang for a 'porch', or a wooden platform verandah that sits adajacent to a building.

Sentiment and conversations such as this are typical within rural, and predominantly Pākehā, farming communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. Equally as typical is the lack of interrogation and comprehension of what it means to be 'lucky', and to feel this sense of belonging. Farms in Raukawa didn't happen by chance, they are the 'historical windfalls' Pākehā have experienced through colonisation and taking possession of indigenous land, the benefits of which are shared across multiple generations via the intergenerational transfer of wealth, power, social position and status (Borell et al., 2018; Bell, 2020). For as long as I have lived in Raukawa, outside of my immediate family, I have certainly never engaged in conversation about this. Walker (2015, p. 48) states that 'the psyche of both Pākehā and Māori is scarred by colonisation'. Perhaps this silence is subconsciously intentional, and serves to prevent further disfigurement.

Like its history, my community's notion of 'belonging' is a multi-layered paradox. The community's 'being here' essentially began with the commencement of its history, that is, the acquisition of large swathes of land, when Maraekakaho Station disbanded. The impact of the silence and 'forgetting' around this means that, for Pākehā, very little is known about the land before this time. The 'remembering and forgetting' and multi-generational nature of historical privilege produce a notion of privilege as something 'lived'. This 'affective-discursive privilege' is privilege as social practice, incorporating feelings of 'entitlement, comfort, and belonging, where 'spaces and places ought to feel as if they are 'ours' to enjoy as 'we' (Pākehā) see fit' (McConville et al., 2020, p. 133). Just as this makes it acceptable for me to be 'Santa's helper' at the hall, so too does it make it all the more easier for conversation about the paradox of 'belonging' to be avoided. Rather than think too hard about colonisation, it's easier to moan about the latest thing some annoying upstart from neighbouring Maraekakaho has done, to strengthen a sense of place and a claim to being here.

The Making of Home

If you follow the Paritua Stream down the Raukawa Valley, past the school, you'll eventually come across another body of water – the Ngaruroro River. The Paritua Stream does not join this river, instead it briefly runs parallel before turning away toward the township of Bridge Pā. Beginning its life in the Ruahine Range, the Ngaruroro River is one

of the region's largest rivers. Several kilometres downstream from where it runs alongside the Paritua Stream is the small settlement of Twyford, through which flows the Raupare Stream. This is where I'm heading on the evening of October 27th, 2021, for the Rural Halls Workshop and Networking Event which is held at the Twyford and Raupare Memorial Hall – commonly known as the Twyford Hall. I haven't been to Twyford since I was a teenager, when I'd attended a party in an apple orchard – I can still taste the Smirnoff Double Black. As I drive there, the sun is setting over the Ruahine Range on the horizon. The distinctive and stunning sight of long fingers of golden light mixing in to the dark clouds is familiar to anyone who's from Te Matau-a-Māui. There's a shower of rain when I pull up at the hall carpark, which is outside Twyford School. I head inside the hall, it too is a typical rural hall. The small foyer area, the wooden panels, the shiny particle board floor, and of course, the badminton court lines.

This evening's event is run by the Hastings District Council (HDC) and is for representatives of rural halls in the district. The HDC's jurisdiction spans a large portion of the region, including Maraekakaho and Raukawa, and alongside the Napier City Council (NCC), is one of the region's local government entities. Both councils encompass the region's largest cities, Heretaunga Hastings and Ahuriri Napier. The purpose of the event is to get the various representatives together for some general networking, and to update them on relevant news and topics. I'm attending the event as a guest of Jonathan's, and as an official supporter of the Maraekakaho and Raukawa Halls. Jonathan greets me warmly as soon as I get inside the hall. There are around 30 people at the event, the majority are representatives from the 21 rural halls across the wider Heretaunga Hastings area, though there are also some staff from HDC present. I recognise a few people and there are a few friendly 'eyebrow raises' and smiles of acknowledgement between us.

Interestingly, sitting in the LSE Library writing this PhD, I'm arguably geographically as close to Twyford as I would be if I was writing it back home, in Te Matau-a-Māui. These 'Twyford's' are of course two completely different places, though the Twyford in Aotearoa New Zealand takes its name from the Twyford near Reading, in England. The name means 'double ford' (Mills, 1935) thanks to two historical crossings over the River Lodden. Given that Twyford, in Aotearoa New Zealand, sits between the two bridges which cross the Ngaruroro River, I'm going to assume something similar. This is not uncommon, and British place names are ubiquitous throughout the country. One of the

many cultural symbols brought by colonisation and settlers who sought to familiarise and make this ‘new place’ feel like home. This process too is an additional, taken-for-granted paradox. Just as ‘naming’ might familiarise, so too is it an administrative and political act, one which constitutes an expression of power (Belshaw, 2005). In fact, to use the word ‘naming’ here is political because it assumes a beginning, when in fact in most instances it is ‘re-naming’ as tangata whenua had names for all features of the physical environment well before settler arrival (ibid).

Colonial ‘re-naming’ of places, important sites and features of the physical environment serve as everyday reminders of the colonial project, contributing to the contemporary renewal of historical privilege (Borell et al., 2018). Re-naming facilitates silence, with the use of unassuming place names alienating Māori histories, ‘rendering them invisible and in some cases, removing them from memory’ (Belshaw, 2005, p. 9). This process is overtly racist, as it was in the city of ‘Napier’ – where I’d driven from to get to Twyford for the evening event. The city owes its present day Pākehā name, and the majority of its street names, to the Englishman, Alfred Domett, who in in 1854 was appointed Commissioner of Crown Lands and Resident Magistrate at Ahuriri Napier. Ahuriri is considered to be the original name for the area, derived from a rangatira (Tu Ahuriri) from the coastal community of Mahia in the north of the region, who was able to clear a blocked outlet of the large estuary adjacent to the where the city is now located. This historical act cleared the surrounding area of flooding, which had been caused by the block, and in the present day the port area of the city remains known as Ahuriri.

Alfred Domett had a ‘disdain’ for Māori names and sought to banish them completely (Schwanecke, 2023). In a letter he described local Māori place names as ‘particularly harsh, discordant to European ears or low and disgusting in signification’ (Knowledge Bank, as cited in Schwanecke, 2023). ‘Napier’ was instead re-named in honour of Sir Charles Napier, who led the Battle of Meeanee in the Indian province of Scinde. Many street names in the city follow suit, commemorating the colonial era of the British Indian Empire. Domett went on to name other streets in the city after people who he considered Victorian-era literary greats, playwrights, poets and scientists. There are no Māori street names in central Ahuriri Napier, and Māori history is relatively more hard to come by in conventional local discourse. I’m only fortunate enough to know the story of the name Ahuriri through conversations with tangata whenua – you won’t find this kind of

information readily available on Wikipedia. For mainstream society, and particularly Pākehā society, it has been replaced, co-opted into obscurity by the complex process of remembering and forgetting. Perhaps then the 'Twyford and Raupare Memorial Hall' being commonly known as the 'Twyford Hall' is not insignificant. It is further evidence of the long-standing patterns of power made by colonialism, where a name imported from a village on the other side of the world takes precent over a body of water which is embedded in the area.

The Comforts of Home

Back at the Twyford and Raupare Memorial Hall, where the atmosphere for this evening's event is relaxed, comfortable and upbeat. Everyone takes their seats, which are arranged facing toward the rear of the hall. Covid-19 protocol means that the group sits with a bit of distance. There's some space in front of the seats where a small desk sits with a large TV on it for presentation and a handheld microphone. The format for the evening is that the group will hear from a number of speakers who work in areas which relate to rural halls in various capacities. The session begins with introductions, with everyone around the room taking turns to introduce themselves and the particular hall they're associated with. When the time comes, I introduce myself, describe my association with both halls, and that I'm there with my PhD research in mind too. I keep this brief and broad, mentioning that I'm researching politics and identity in New Zealand, and interested in the role of rural halls and communities in society. Although this feels well received, most people seem surprised about the research and a bit baffled by me being there – 'what on earth would our rural halls have to do with that?!' I hear, and someone asks jokingly 'how much are you being paid to be here?!'.

The first speaker for the evening is from Civil Defence, the national government organisation in charge of emergency management, who have a local office and team based in Heretaunga Hastings. They talk about earthquake and fire safety in rural halls, detailing the standard protocol and equipment that is required for halls. The decline in hall use over the years means that emergency supplies, such as tinned food and blankets, are no longer stored at halls as they once were, instead they are now located at local schools, which as you've probably gathered by now, tend to sit adjacent to halls. The

next speaker is from HDC and outlines the ways in which halls can receive and apply for funding. They explain that recent changes with the HDC mean that, as part of their role, they are now the dedicated point of contact for rural halls. This seems to be positively received by those present. Next there's a presentation on a series of concerts which have been held at various halls across the region. The pandemic has meant that many shows were cancelled across 2020 and 2021, though the sessions are on track to resume.

The final speaker is a lawyer and not-for-profit law expert, who has been tasked with updating everyone on upcoming changes to the law effecting 'incorporated societies' and 'charitable trusts' in Aotearoa New Zealand. This information is of significance to most of those present, because in order for halls to operate, and in particular for them to be eligible for community grants, national and local government funding, they need to be registered legal entities. The incorporated society and charitable trust mechanisms are commonly used by halls for this purpose. They make halls legitimate operations, as well as leading to tax exemptions, and enable an entity, for example the Raukawa Hall, to sign contracts, buy property or borrow funds, in its own name rather than in the names of members of the community. In introducing the speaker it's made clear too that 'we're lucky to have someone of this calibre speak to us'. Before talking us through the details of the changes with respect to halls, the speaker establishes their credentials and career successes to the room. They're quick to point out that they have published various books in the area of not-for-profit law, including a book on meeting procedure which is now in its third edition.

This address has been billed as the main event for the session, and the speaker appears to play up to this somewhat. They're dressed in a suit and tie, and are not afraid to wade passionately into the technical detail on the specifics of the legislation changes, which is met at times by looks of bemusement and glassy eyes from many of those present. I sense the speaker quietly revels in this. Their delivery is akin to that of a newsreader announcing a national tragedy during an unscheduled 'breaking news' event. They make no effort to make the subject matter accessible or to reduce the complexity of the information they're presenting. It's as though they enjoy the distance this puts between them and the audience. 'Right, now does anyone have any questions?' they ask the room at the conclusion of the presentation, as if to declare victory. It's almost as though there's a collective release of breathe as these words are uttered – 'thank God that's over', I hear

someone whisper. Instead of questions, there is frustrated reaction. Someone comments that the legislation changes are simply ‘too hard’ for people to fully master, especially given most who manage or are involved with rural halls are ‘pushed for time as it is’ and are doing so in a voluntary capacity outside of their full time jobs.

The presentations conclude, and the speakers are thanked. Steaming hot sausage rolls, samosas and mini-pies are rolled out, and the majority of those present remain for conversation with one another. All too often situations like this passed over, seen as, in this case, another Rural Halls Workshop and Networking Event done and dusted. This gives further credence to the notion that there’s ‘nothing to see here’ and an event or situation such is this is not worthy of any great detail of attention. As was indicated when I introduced myself – if you’re not involved, then unless you’re being paid, why on earth would you be there? On the contrary, there is much to see here. In particular, what this event demonstrates is further evidence of tangible privilege and associated structural advantages particular people and groups have over others in Aotearoa New Zealand. The event itself and those present; the lawyer’s demeanour and the baffled reactions of many; the threads of familiarity and way in which I was easily accepted into the group – these often overlooked, and seemingly subtle features and moments, are significant, and are worthy of attention in the work of comprehending what it means to be here in this land.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, privilege contributes to disparities between population groups through ‘systemic discrimination and marginalisation’, producing differences in terms of access to ‘societal goods and services, and exposure to stressors’ (Frye, 2003; Paradies, 2006; Schulz, 2006, as cited in Borell et al., 2018, p. 31). In Te Matau-a-Māui, rural halls, which primarily serve rural Pākehā communities, are the only community entities for which council-run events like this are held. That is, events where extensive legal and civic support from practitioners, and representatives of local and central government is readily on offer. As far as I am aware there are no equivalent events for similar community organisations which cater to different groups, for example, marae, which primarily serve Māori communities. That’s not to say support does not exist for these organisations – Oranga Marae for one is a programme of ‘support, advice, and investment for marae’ (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2023). It’s also not to say that this is an exclusively, binary, Māori-Pākehā discussion. Significant disparities and levels of privilege, or ‘social gradients’ exist within population groups regardless of ethnicity (Borell et al., 2018). Although not the most stark

example, this was evident at the Rural Halls Workshop and Networking Event. With respect to the topic of not-for-profit community law and rural hall governance, the lawyer's education, expertise and experience afforded them greater mobility relative to many of those in attendance. Those who did not understand, or did not have the capacity to understand, were not granted this level of access.

Crucially, on the whole though, privilege does discriminate. In particular, it works covertly to cultivate a status quo of 'special advantage' for Pākehā to the detriment of Māori (Borell et al., 2018; Borell, 2009). In Aotearoa New Zealand, the established system has Pākehā culture, beliefs, concepts, practices, and processes entrenched within it. The normalisation of this 'dominant culture through the political and social systems presents a fundamental privilege that is invisible and unquestioned' (Borell, 2009, p. 35). As a researcher, I am not exempt from this, and my presence at the Rural Halls Workshop and Networking Event is affected by this. I could, however, choose not to acknowledge this. I could convince myself of a prevailing, superior notion of objectivity in terms of my research. In turn, I could prioritise an objective approach, and attempt to study 'politics' in such a way. To do this though is to uphold the dominant culture, avoid extensively unpacking privilege, ignore what is obscure, ultimately rendering subjectivity irrelevant and the political reality invisible. To take such approach is to further the status quo, that is, a notion of politics and life in Aotearoa, which is fundamentally paradoxical.

Being at the event that evening was easy for me, as I'm sure it was for many others. A familiar experience, where I recognised people and felt in place. Thanks to my prior education and work experience, I found it relatively straightforward to comprehend what the lawyer was saying. The notion of 'networking' is nothing new to me, it was something which was integral to my previous career working for a multinational corporation. This experience of special advantage sits with the benefits which many Pākehā receive; the cultural accessibility and inherited cultural knowledges which mean many Pākehā feel 'in place' in places based on Eurocentric ideas which 'fit' culturally (Thomas, 2020, p. 48). Being able to attend the event in an official capacity too, was easy for me. Underpinned by a well-known and elite university, my status as a researcher literally opened doors and earned me respect here.

This situation speaks to what McConville et al., (2020, p. 132) describe as one of the 'key accomplishments of Pākehā hegemony', that is, the entrenched idea that 'success is associated with superior attitudes, talents, and a strong work ethic, rather than a historical context of racism and theft that has disposed and debased indigenous peoples'. While the latter does not completely rule the former out, it is yet another confronting, obscured layer in the paradox of place for Pākehā. This entrenched idea enables Pākehā to incorporate perspectives into their identities 'that justify, enable and embody differential resource distribution and use. This is reflected in a symbiotic sense of belonging, rights, comfort and entitlement and in the confidence that established social hierarchies will serve their interests' (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2014, p. 9). These internalised effects intersect with an inherited sense of self-worth, bolstered through historical privilege, 'that promotes and builds social and psychological agency and efficacy' (ibid). When privilege is so internalised, it becomes harder to identify. It makes it seem as though rural halls, and a Rural Halls Workshop and Networking Event, have nothing to do with politics and identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Probably equally as important, and considering the local context, is my family name 'Lyons'. When I was younger, when meeting people, I would sometimes be met with a response of 'Lyons – that's a good Hawke's Bay name'. This sentiment, alongside intergenerational land and wealth transfer, comes with inherited status, which assists in making this experience normal, which in itself is a special advantage. As Borell et al., (2018, p. 27) highlight 'never having to be concerned about what opportunities may be denied to you because of your Anglo-sounding name marks a contemporary manifestation of the "normal" social order based on the historical imposition of Pākehā governance, institutions, language and culture'. In Aotearoa New Zealand, this normality and the sense of comfort it provides, is political. It is the politics of my place here. It is not just about me though – it's an attempt to draw attention to something I see as important and related to Pākehā being here. It is a politics which applies to many Pākehā who benefit from a paradoxical history, belonging, and sense of comfort in this land they call home.

Comprehending My Place

> ‘And there remains that niggling silence of buried thoughts that remain nearly forgotten and the reminders that bring them forcefully to life before they subside back into the forgetfulness…’
> (Haebich, 2011, p. 1045)

The captivating beauty of the Paritua Stream, an embedded flow through the place I call home, offers a portal to life below the surface through its still, clear pools. Likewise, these rural halls, these ‘above ground’ pools and associated junctures, offer situational perspective. What else can be divulged from these moments, these glimpses into places embedded, through which people flow? What do these places say about my place? As much as they appear as physical structures, or intentional yet unbounded consequences, they are permeable containers where the invisible can be seen. For Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand, they are a window into the powerful, layered, and lived paradox of history, belonging, and the corresponding tools of familiarity and comfort. All of which combine to create and cultivate a sense of place and feeling of home which is disconnected. In turn, they offer the means for comprehending this place, enabling a foundation for a reconciliation of self which can assist ‘Pākehā’ to become ‘manuhiri’, toward a more comfortable, complete and relational place.

These permeable containers are sites where perhaps the ‘settler dream’ (Turner, 2011) and the exotic place of settlers’ perception is most lucid. For Pākehā, this dream is ‘more than the migrant dream of a better life in a new country, it is the idea of making it one’s own that structures settler consciousness, and constitutes “New Zealand” as the dream’s reality’ (ibid, p. 114). It is the essence of the paradox, the problematic means for making place and home in this land, ‘where home, in the sense of identity and belonging, is not given but made’ (ibid, p. 117). At the heart of this is a contradictory, deterministic cycle where place is made and remade based on a far-flung idea, where Pākehā are the focal point and there is an ‘it’s always meant to be’ sense of cohesion. The settler dream is the vantage point of the coloniser. It makes ‘coloniality’ (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013) possible and embeds this within this notion of place and home, shaping the long-standing patterns of power that define culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production in Aotearoa New Zealand.

For Pākehā, decolonisation cannot be something obtained out of a state of innocent ignorance, where Pākehā attempt to understand Māori, or make themselves or things around them seem more Māori. Nor can it be something which is exclusively externalised, where Pākehā only choose to sit on the fence, or get out of the way, and respectively stand aside to make space for Māori. Most importantly, the place for Pākehā in the work of decolonisation is in confronting this dream and vantage point – a space which is constructed and occupied exclusively by Pākehā. It is about acknowledging that this dream and vantage point facilitates a hegemonic common sense, coloniality, and colonialism as a harmful structure, and not an event which is confined to the past (McConville et al., 2020; Kauanui, 2016). This work requires Pākehā to 'see' their position, and the extent to which they have benefitted from colonisation, and 'remember' forgotten histories and why they are here. As Bell (2006, p. 265) highlights, it is clear 'that understanding is not possible without attending to history'. 'Seeing', 'remembering', understanding self and surroundings, is what Haebich (2011, p. 1,036) terms an 'epistemology of ignorance that examines practices that account for our lack of knowledge about particular phenomena'. Just as this is necessary for an 'analysis of why we know' (ibid), so too is it necessary reflexive responsibility required for comprehending place.

Shedding light on privilege is essential here. Privilege underpins the relative position of power which Pākehā occupy, and simultaneously, the settler dream and vantage point of the coloniser enable the invisibility of this privilege. As mentioned, this privilege is historical, a product of colonisation which 'affects descendants long after the historic acts of acquisition have taken place' (Borell et al., 2018, p. 28). Inheritance of wealth and land permits this, and contributes to structural advantages which make many Pākehā relatively more upwardly mobile in society (ibid). Most of the established inter-generational farming community, my family, and myself personally, have experienced this to some degree, and sit alongside these many Pākehā. It's vital to pause here and acknowledge that, in many cases, to sit here was not something consciously intended. I have not been motivated since birth to capitalise on my position in society in order to negatively impact anyone. The relative advantages, status, and power I have in life are a direct result of the normalisation of the dominant Pākehā culture I am a part of, and the historical privileges I benefit from, which span multiple generations (Borell et al., 2009; Borell et al., 2018). For

Pākehā, conscious occupation of this position can come with fear, 'feelings of responsibility and guilt about their cultural group asserting control of society to the detriment of Māori' (Huygens, 2011, p. 75). It is also important to acknowledge again that there are Pākehā who are more advantaged than others, and that privilege is closely related to class (Borell, 2009).

To understand place, honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and to be manuhiri in this land, these feelings cannot not be a barrier – they must be engaged with and overcome. No matter the intention, this privilege must be addressed, as it unquestionably contributes to social disparities which harm people in Aotearoa New Zealand. Taking time to look into 'above-ground containers' and related junctures as I have done in this chapter, demonstrates that aspects of this privilege manifest in plain sight, yet they remain largely unseen or unseeable. The discursive strategy of invisibility and silence has created what Moewaka Barnes et al., (2014, p. 6) term an 'elephant on the sofa' scenario, where 'despite the obviousness of the phenomenon to the critical observer, the everyday realities of Pākehā advantage are effectively obscured to the unwilling or non-reflexive'. My worry is that feelings of fear, responsibility, and guilt may prove to be too much of a barrier that the elephant on the sofa might never be seen or moved. This is why it's vital to take time to pause and acknowledge that many Pākehā did not willingly coax or allow the elephant to sit on the sofa in the first place.

Where I Belong

Fundamentally, upholding Te Tiriti o Waitangi and centring Kaupapa Māori on the whenua as it should be, is about being relational. For Pākehā, this entails coming into relation with 'self', and is as much a reflexive, identity-orientated process, as it as an exercise in connecting with tangata whenua. Comprehending place is about identifying the disconnect which exists between what is portrayed, and what is – what is seen, and what is unseen. Being relational and reflexively responsible with respect to this is about coming into relation with this lived paradox, engaging with and interrogating self and surroundings. This is the place I belong, but is not yet home. In the coming chapter analysis will turn to the formation and organisation of place in Aotearoa New Zealand, the

wider effects of Pākehā hegemony on society and politics, with particular emphasis on imperialisation and the ‘ceiling’ this has created.

The lived paradox of place for Pākehā is fundamental to the politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is a multi-layered paradox of belonging and of history and historical privilege which ultimately shapes what is seen and remembered, what is valid and what is not valid. This paradox and its associated context for Pākehā are the ‘benefits’ of what might be described as the prevailing ontological flow in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Western-Eurocentric ways of being and knowing which enable Pākehā hegemony in this land. An ontological foreground which is in fact politically central in this land, and integral in the formation and organisation of place here. This is the place in which I currently reside, but it is not yet home.

Chapter 4: The House That Pākehā Built

The previous chapter was all about me, and the place I call home – what could also be described as an introduction to the paradoxical politics of 'self' and 'place' in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is a deliberate attempt to embed myself, past and present, within these politics. In this chapter I attempt to expand things out further, and to consider 'structure' as further political foregrounding. That is, the economic, ideological, and power structures which shape society, and are influential to the positioning of 'self' and 'place'. Ultimately this structure is the product of a prevailing ontological flow in this land. This flow is the predominant Western-Eurocentric Pākehā conditions of being and knowing, and their blinding, totalising presence.

As with the previous chapter, through the exploration of experiences and junctures, I attempt to advance an understanding of this notion. In particular, I advance a metaphor – 'the house that Pākehā built' – as a device to assist in explaining the ways in which the structure functions. This metaphor is inspired by Moana Jackson (2001, as cited in Ross, 2020) who has described colonisation as the process of replacing one house with another, where the houses represent societies. I begin by outlining, describing, and trying to bring this idea to life. I then go on to look at its details and limits. The final section then establishes a segue for the remaining chapters where, having set the scene of 'self' and 'structure', the analysis will deepen and attempt to 'deconstruct'. Focus will move to the dualities and tensions which manifest in everyday life, and to the relational prospect of shared stories in the land, as a means to realising an ethic of restoration and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Paying a Visit

> Founded by farmers, predominantly, many of whom were also military men, and business owners, from around Hawke's Bay, the Club has evolved over the years to what it is today. The membership now comprises mainly business owners, with some farmers, and several professional people e.g. accountants, doctors, solicitors, and stockbrokers. It is, in fact, a reflection of society.
> (Hawke's Bay Club website)

This is the Hawke's Bay Club – or at least the chunk of text that attempts to describe it – lifted from the home page of the Club's website. I'm on the Club's website getting myself up to speed on information because, after four months of unanswered emails and phone calls, I've finally managed to arrange a visit. It's Thursday 27th January, 2021, and I've arranged to meet a member of the Club for a tour at 4:45pm. It's the height of summer and the day is still, clear, and hot – probably around 30 degrees. There's a fresh breeze coming in off Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa. I feel this mixing in with the hot air coming off the baking concrete surfaces around me, as I make my way on foot through the streets of central Ahuriri Napier, to the Club. The breeze is typical for this time of year, when the land gradually heats up throughout day, eventually becoming so hot that it draws the cooler air from the moana (ocean) inland. This breeze is home, and it carries with it the familiar clear, cool aroma of vast, uninterrupted open space.

Situated on a large corner section on the foreshore in front of the city, the Hawke's Bay Club occupies one of the most beautiful and desirable pieces of land in Te Matau-a-Māui. The Club's building, which was constructed in 1906, is an expansive two-storeyed, white, wooden colonial villa, bounded by covered wooden verandas on both levels. In front of the veranda at the ground-level is a large, perfectly manicured lawn – which could easily pass as a golf green – with wooden furniture and umbrellas sitting on it. I know this lawn exists because I've managed to glimpse it by perching up on my tiptoes, and peering through a gap in the high, thick hedge, which borders it. This hedge, which obscures the Club from people passing-by, speaks to the Club's presence in the community. As does the website description, the lack of public signage, the persistence which led to my 4:45pm visit, and the surprised reaction of my friends upon hearing I secured this visit and tour. Prominent yet discreet, the Hawke's Bay Club wants to be there, and to be seen, but at the same time it doesn't want to be noticed, to 'show-off' or draw attention to itself.

I arrive at the Club's front door at 4:45pm on the dot. The door is huge, easily double my height. I feel dwarfed and mildly intimidated by it, like I'm suddenly a child again and there is some overbearing adult standing in front of me. There is no sign on the door though there is an old, bronze buzzer to the right, which I press. After about a minute the door slowly swings open and I'm greeted by a young person dressed in a suit and tie. I explain

that I'm there to meet the member, and they instruct me to head inside to 'the office', which is to the left of the foyer, and knock on the door. As I make my way there I notice a couple of women, which is notable given the Club has only allowed women members since May, 2021 (Sharpe, 2021). I feel like I'm at high school knocking on a teacher's office door, which is ajar, and I can hear people talking in the office. The member opens to door and greets me with a firm handshake. There are two people in the office – another member, and a local politician.

I feel like a child, I'm clearly underdressed, and as I tend to do in moments like these, for some reason I begin to sweat profusely. We make small talk, which mainly amounts to the politician complaining about the government's tight pandemic regulations, while I convince myself that the wider I smile, and the more I nod, the more likely the beads of sweat are to vanish. The member I've arranged to meet offers to take me on a tour of the Club. We begin in the billiard room, which is next to the office. The building is old and magnificent, the walls and ceilings are made of beautiful, dark native timber – I recognise tōtara and kauri.[13] There is an elegant grey carpet on the all of floors. The billiard room itself is the size of a rural hall, perhaps even larger, and its perimeter is lined with old leather couches. Not surprisingly, the member recognises my surname. We pause the tour for several minutes and make connections. They knew my grandparents, Beth and Ian, and speak fondly of their memories of them. I appreciate this, as my grandmother had passed away the month prior, and I was very close with her.

We continue on, and the remaining tour takes around 30 minutes. The ground floor of the Club has a bar, kitchen, as well as several lounges and meeting rooms. We pass through a dining room that has a muted aroma of wood polish and the memory of 1,000 roast meals. A huge portrait of Queen Elizabeth hangs on the wall in the middle of the room. We head upstairs, passing underneath grand chandeliers, beside fire places, and fridges brimming with ice-cold green bottles of European beer. The member informs me that the Club, which was founded in 1893, is open 24/7 for its members, who 'can access anything', and are free to use the Club as a work and meeting space. To become a member you have to be nominated, and then your name goes up on 'the board' for a month. During that time a member can 'black ball' you to prevent you from joining. The

[13] Both are promiant native trees in Aotearoa New Zealand.

member says this doesn't really happen now-days, and it's to make sure 'you haven't been to jail or something like that'. We stop on the upstairs landing to observe four huge portraits, the size of small billboards, which hang between the two floors, dominating the centre space of the building. They're all of older, formally dressed, Pākehā men whose names I recognise, as many of the regions parks, streets, and schools hold them. 'Some good Hawke's Bay names there, Henry!'.

Upstairs there are more meeting rooms, another smaller dining room with a bar, and several bedrooms – the largest of which is named '10 Downing Street'. More portraits of Pākehā men hang on the walls, though I notice what appear to be several historical illustrations depicting Māori, dressed in piupiu, in one room. Members can think of the Club as 'their home', respectfully of course, they explain to me, when we stop and talk outside on the upstairs veranda overlooking the City's foreshore. I'm not surprised to learn that the Club is struggling to remain relevant. The membership base is ageing, and growth has stagnated. The member has advocated for the introduction of women members, and is committed to getting younger people to join the club and committee. I can't help but feel my visit is as much a recruitment campaign as it is a tour. One of their conditions for becoming a Club member was that there be a woman committee member appointed. The Club's committee are trying to recruit this person as we speak, and they think they have someone – 'a young lawyer who's intelligent, articulate, attractive and would make history should she choose to join'. They're hopeful she will.

The suspected recruitment campaign becomes reality when I'm asked if I'm interested in joining the Club. I respectfully decline. The member then kindly asks if they can shout me a beer. I take them up on this, and we head back downstairs to the bar which is set back into the building in a cool, windowless, wood panelled room. The tops are pulled off a couple of a cold beers, and poured into tall glasses by a suited barman. 'Cheers', they say, and we clink our glasses. I'm very appreciative of this, for the tour, and of them for giving me their time, though I can't help but feel like I'm catching up for a drink with my old high school principal. There are several people in the bar, all formally dressed. I'm introduced to one of them. I don't catch their name, though they inform me they're 'from Havelock North', and that it's their first day as a member. 'We're ready and waiting to hear from them about what we need to invest in to bring the Club up to spec for businesses', the member who I've just had the tour with says, gesturing toward the

person. Improving technology and capacity for businesses appears to be an avenue the Club are exploring for future revenue and sustainable existence. ‘You’re the future’, they add, rubber stamping the conversation.

They then introduce me to their good friend, and fellow member. Again, not surprisingly, this person recognises my surname. They know my Dad and say I’m ‘a chip off the old block’. They’re both interested in what I’m up to, in my work locally, and they ask me about my research. I explain that I’m passionate about the Treaty of Waitangi, and the role of community spaces and places, like the Hawke’s Bay Club, in society in Aotearoa New Zealand. Te Tiriti discussion is passed over. ‘We need places like this, Henry’, the member who’s showing me around emphasises. Their friend signals their agreement, mentions that there are now women members, and states their desire for more younger people to join. ‘You’re the future’, they say to me. Respectfully, I’m conscious that I don’t want to overstay my welcome, and also, I want to get out of there. I politely decline the offer of another beer and say that I’m going to head off. I shake hands with both of them warmly, and thank the member profusely for showing me the Club. They say I’m welcome back anytime, and to email them. As I walk away I’m sure I overhear them saying to their friend ‘he probably feels a bit overwhelmed!’. I depart out the front door, into the evening light and the welcome, clarifying grip of the breeze.

Observing the House

If they did say this, they’re right – I really did feel overwhelmed. Both literally and metaphorically, the Hawke’s Bay Club is ‘the house that Pākehā built’. A place, which for me, felt so familiar, yet so conflictual. Despite my visits to the Club’s website, and in-person, I’m still not completely sure what the Club is and why it exists. However, the Hawke’s Bay Club appears to be a part of a network of similar Club’s from around the world, all linked to the National Liberal Club, in London. Founded in 1882, the National Liberal Club states that it is ‘The Home of British Liberalism’ and ‘has been a bastion for broadly Liberal values ever since’. A place not just for ‘some of the world’s most eminent statesmen but also for others from different backgrounds and ethnicities who were embraced by Britain’s 19th-century liberal culture just as they are today’ (National Liberal Club, 2023). Visiting the Hawke’s Bay Club was like stepping into a museum of Pākehā

culture. Nothing about my experience suggested that 'it is, in fact, a reflection of society'. In many ways though – it is. A place and system, which much like Aotearoa New Zealand, was designed by Pākehā, for Pākehā (Awatere, 1984).

The foundations of this 'house' were first marked out with the arrival of European explorers and settlers from the 16th to the early 19th centuries, well before the Hawke's Bay Club was founded, and its building constructed. The blueprints came even further before this, through the emergence of European imperialism in the 15th century. The notion of imperialism is used in a number of ways when describing this, namely; as economic expansion; as subjugation of 'others'; as an idea or spirit with many forms of realisation; and as a discursive field of knowledge in being understood from the perspective of local contexts (Smith, 2021). This 'Eurocentrism' came with a 'spirit of imperial domination' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013, p. 349), and 'the imperial right', or the 'coercive imposition and protection of the legal and political conditions of Western imperialisation on the non-West' (Tully, 2008, p. 22). This included the implantation of European settler colonies, indirect colonial rule, and informal or free trade imperialism (ibid). 'Colonialism became imperialism's outpost', with outposts being 'cultural sites which preserved an image or represented an image of what the West or 'civilisation' stood for' (Smith, 2021, p. 26). Aotearoa New Zealand was no exception here, firmly embedded in this proceeding.

This imposition of these ideas onto Aotearoa New Zealand established Western-Eurocentric ways of being and knowing as the norm, and accordingly the prevailing ontological flow in this land. Jimmy and Andreotti (2019, pp. 13-14) usefully group and describe these ways as 'brick sense and sensibilities' standing 'for a set of ways of being that emphasise individuality, fixed form and linear time' favouring 'ordered hierarchical structures', value measured against 'capacity to 'move things forward'', and self-worth 'dependent on external validation'. Brick ways of being 'are goal- and progress oriented', and ways of knowing 'take language to be something that describes and indexes the world' (ibid, pp. 14-15). 'Brick sensibilities tend to communicate through 'thick scripts' of normativity, protagonism (individualistic heroism), reason and virtue that take different forms in different contexts' (ibid, p. 16). They sit in contrast to what the authors' outline as 'thread sense and sensibilities' which generally speaking are fundamentally relational,

standing ‘for a set of ways of being that emphasise inter-woveness, shape-shifting flexibility and layered time’ (ibid, p. 14).

There were then pivotal moments which followed, ushering in and embedding the prevailing Western-Eurocentric norms and ontological flow as ‘structure’. That is, the economic, ideological, and power structures (Smith, 2003), which shape Aotearoa New Zealand and are organised around dualistic, individualistic, ‘brick’ ways of being and knowing, which are intrinsic to this flow. These pivotal moments made it clear that Te Tiriti o Waitangi would not be recognised, and Māori would not be afforded space in their own land. In particular, the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 was instrumental in its creation of the colonial state. This Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom established a government built on an imported liberal values system – and without Māori representation. As Graham Hingangaroa Smith highlights, it was this Act, in its co-option of the Westminster model of democracy, ‘that allowed for the reproduction of Pākehā social, cultural and political dominance’ (Smith, 2000, as cited in Waitoa, 2018, p. 34). From this point, and aided by the New Zealand Wars, the British then consolidated and expanded their gains, while the Māori economic, social and cultural base was actively destroyed (Nairn and McCreanor, 1991). Subsequently, ‘Māori have struggled actively and collectively against the colonial state and latterly the pressures of international capital to avert being relegated to the status of second class citizens in their own land’ (ibid, p. 248).

As Nairn and McCreanor (1991, p. 248) go on to outline, this sits in contrast to a ‘standard ideology’ in Aotearoa New Zealand, which claims ‘mutual respect for each others’ strengths and tolerance of idiosyncrasies’ has produced a ‘harmonious, egalitarian relationship’, collectively ‘working constructively for the common good’. This ‘story’ suggests Māori have an ‘inability to cope in the modern world due to inherent flaws in their character or culture’ (ibid). Opposition to this is framed as the work of a minority who seek to promote wider discontent ‘to further their own political ends’ (ibid, p. 249). Nairn and McCreanor wrote about this ‘standard ideology’ in 1991, and I’m being deliberate in my emphasis here because, in the present day, it remains influential. This is because, as the authors state – it is an ‘ideology’ – it is something grounded in a system of ideas or ideals. Like many social features, this standard ideology is a product of a power imbalance, which is legitimised through the marginalisation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and

political mechanisms, such as the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852. Therefore, it is inherently structural. It will take more than futile, surface level gestures, such as claims to simply being 'a reflection of society', to attempt to address and reconcile ideological structures. A deeper interrogation of power, the ways in which it manifests, and the values which underpin it, is required.

Just as the Hawke's Bay Club committee set their terms of membership, likewise it is Pākehā who hold the power to do so in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is because, ultimately, it is the colonial state which serves Pākehā cultural interests, first and foremost. A symbolic and cultural power facilitates this – something which Pākehā gained, alongside material wealth, through land confiscations and theft of property, as beneficiaries of colonisation (McConville et al., 2020). This symbolic and cultural power is articulated 'through the Crown's institution of legal, economic, and other systems' (ibid, p. 132), and it enables its own form of 'black balling'. That is, the capacity to define what is, and what is not, considered to be culturally, politically and socially allowable. This 'power to define' shapes the culture for society, a hallmark of dominant groups, who 'are able to ignore their own ways of being as cultural, since their culture serves as the basis for all of society's institutions and practices' (Black and Huygens, 2007, p. 50). This is the house that Pākehā built, where ignorance is both blissful, and strategic (Mikaere, 2011). It is ignorance which assists in making power possible, which in-turn, assists in keeping prevailing ontological context and 'structure' intact.

By way of these conditions, a 'selective amnesia' has emerged, revealing itself socially and politically 'in an apparent ability to conveniently forget vast chunks of history as and when it suits' (Mikaere, 2011, p. 69). Again, as is the case with ignorance, so too is this amnesia strategic, and useful, in keeping the structure intact. In particular, it has exacerbated challenges in Crown-Māori relations where 'historical amnesia' has seen successive governments forget the lessons of past partnership building, embedding a cycle of Māori-initiated partnership emergence, and eventual government stymieing (Williams, 2022).[14] This is the power to keep things as they are, and it is enhanced when a forgetfulness, with respect to the past, is ubiquitous in a society. As Moana Jackson

[14] Justice Joe Williams refers to formal Crown-Māori relations, emphasising the disingenuous way in which the Crown has operated with respect to partnership building with an ongoing cycle of progress versus backtracking. This is being experienced in the present day with the 2024 National-led coalition undoing policies and initiatives in this space made by the previous Labour-led government.

(2019) explains however, in Aotearoa New Zealand, this is something conscious – 'a deliberate misremembering of history that has obscured the reality of what colonisation really was and is'. Importantly, 'it has replaced the harsh reality of its racist violence and its illegitimate usurpation of power with a feelgood rhetoric of Treaty-based good faith and Crown honour' (ibid). Misremembering means that certain 'myths' (Mutu, 2019)[15] are baked-in to society, sanctioning a standard ideology.

When reflecting on structure and power relations, instinctively focus turns to the state, as state mechanisms are crucial in the maintenance and delivery of economic, ideological, and power structures in society. Though there is a certain power which exists within this instinctive assumption, that in itself, is a product of the structure and power relations, and in particular, the values derived from the prevailing Western-Eurocentric 'brick' ways of being and knowing which underpin them. Like that of a 'god-trick' (Haraway, 1988) or view that knowledge is only achieved by adopting an objective, disembodied, impartial view from nowhere. So too is the idea that structure and power come from a far-off, faceless place like the 'Crown', an 'Act', or 'government'. Yes, they do – though so too do structure and power exist within me, and within the Hawke's Bay Club, just as much as they do the state. Which brings me to my point – high hedges, which have to be peered through on tiptoes, matter. Portraits of stern-faced Pākehā men, which hang on walls, are not only significant for the fact that their names adorn local parks, streets, and schools. Claims to being, in fact, a reflection of society, are not made 'true' simply through words on a website. The Hawke's Bay Club matters because it is just as much a site for the articulation of Pākehā symbolic and cultural power as a Crown institution.

The Hawke's Bay Club is literally and metaphorically the house that Pākehā built in that it is a precise portal to a system built by Pākehā, for Pākehā. A tangible consequence of the prevailing ontological flow in this land. A place which embodies the Western-Eurocentric derived economic, ideological, and power structures of the figurative 'house' which are shaped by this flow, and just like this system, retains its colonial links. A place which, despite the hedges and lack of signage, serves as a reminder for the reality of what imperialisation and colonisation 'really was and is'. A place which for me felt

[15] These myths are outlined in the conceptual chapter, and include the justification of land invasions and confiscations; British rule; and that Māori were savages and rebels rather than hapū defending their homes, whānau and lives (Mutu, 2019).

uncomfortable for this very reason, yet familiar for its connections, cultural markers, and that it is designed for me – somewhere in which I'm comfortable, and able to fit in easily. Somewhere where I'm supposed to be 'the future'. Perceiving 'the house that Pākehā built', and normalising its pervasive presence, is the starting point of a deeper interrogation of power, the ways in which it manifests, and the values which underpin it. Having observed the house, it's now time to get up close, to understand further how the structure functions, and its implications for everyday life in Aotearoa New Zealand and beyond.

The House within the House

> Nau mai! Haere mai![16] A social enterprise in the heart of the East Coast. Sharing our space, sharing our skills and sharing our resources to build sustainable livelihoods in our rural homelands. By working together in collaboration we are creating new jobs and business opportunities within tourism and technology, to keep our home fires burning.
> (Tolaga Bay Inn website)

This is the Tolaga Bay Inn – or at least a chunk of text that describes it – lifted from the homepage of the Inn's website. I'm on the Inn's website, via my phone, because I'm interested in finding out more information about the place. The reason being – I'm actually sitting in the Inn, at a high, four-legged table in the middle of Inn's pub, to be exact. I've travelled up to Tairāwhiti (Gisborne, East Coast region), making the infamous drive up from Te Matau-a-Māui, around Devil's Elbow, via Osler's for a pie in Wairoa, through Gisborne, eventually arriving in Uawa (Tolaga Bay).[17] When I drive into Uawa on the overcast, mid-winter evening of Friday 31st July, 2020, the Uawa River is in flood. Its milk chocolate-brown coloured water is swollen high up its muddy banks, which in parts are stripped bare of vegetation, revealing gaping cracks, like open mouths, on the surface of the damp clay bed. After a prolonged drought the region has suddenly experienced a deluge of rain, and record flood levels, the likes of which have not been seen in 15 years.

[16] This a typical welcome greeting in te reo Māori, which roughly translates to 'Welcome! Come here!', 'Come on in!'.
[17] The Ahuriri Napier to Tairāwhiti road is etched into local folklore. It's the only link between the regions. Devil's elbow is a hairpin corner, which has claimed many cars, and Osler's is renowned bakery which makes incredible pies.

With the flood waters has come tonnes of forestry slash[18] from the commercial pine forests in the hills around Uawa, massing and bulldozing the river bank vegetation in its path to the sea. Such is the volume of slash that the normally expansive sand beach of Tolaga Bay is completely covered.

After crossing the bridge, I drive down the main road, passed the Uawa Foodmarket, and turn right into Solander Street where I pull into the muddy gravel carpark of the Tolaga Bay Inn. I've booked in here for the night with my girlfriend, Billie, and we're heading further north to Tokomaru Bay the next day. The Tolaga Bay Inn is an iconic and distinctive East Coast building. Originally built in 1886, then destroyed by fire, it was rebuilt in 1930 and designed by French-Canadian architect Sholto Smith in the Tudor House design style. In a town of small single storey shops and houses, the Inn stands out. It is an 'L' shaped, three-storey building, with its original facade and accommodation section facing out on to Solander Street. The ground floor café and pub are both situated at street level on the main road, Cook Street – named after James Cook who, in 1769, anchored in a nearby cove to repair and restock his ship, HMS Endeavour. It always feels good to be up the coast – a place I love, and know well. My grandmother lived in Gisborne city for many years, and over the years I have spent many summers up here, visiting her, and staying with friends in Whangara, Uawa, Anaura Bay, and Hicks Bay[19]. There's no place in Aotearoa New Zealand quite like the coast, it gets under your skin.

After checking in and dropping our bags, we make our way over to the pub. Pubs like this, in remote, rural parts of Aotearoa New Zealand occupy a unique juxtaposition in society. They are places which are treasured – nostalgic time capsules, which speak to a bygone era, when rural communities were a lot more populous than they are now, yet synonymous with shaping the country's binge drinking culture. Typically Pākehā owned, pubs were often among some of the first structures built in rural communities and provincial towns as they began to grow throughout 19th and early 20th centuries. When I step into the pub at the Tolaga Bay Inn, I assume I'm stepping into a classic example of a rural pub. The fridge is stacked full of crate bottles, and I purchase a couple of Export

[18] Forestry slash is the bark, branches, and other wood debris which are left behind on the hillsides by forestry contractors after the harvest has taken place. Slash is a major problem in Tairāwhiti as it harms erosion prone land, blocks waterways, and impacts communities.
[19] These are some of the many small coastal areas and communities up the coast. If you've happened to have seen the film Whale Rider, it was filmed in Whangara.

Golds. There's a wooden framed dartboard, two large pool tables in the middle of the room, and a TV in the corner. A couple of signed and framed All Blacks jerseys hang on the wall. There's a large, enclosed box fireplace, which is roaring. Everything is as it should be, so to speak.

As I take a seat at one of the many high tables in the room, pour some Export into a couple of quart glasses, and take a look around, I start to realise that there's also something really quite different about the Tolaga Bay Inn. Between the bar and the fireplace, there's a large whiteboard with bits of A4 paper taped here and there, and what looks like the markings of some kind of 'brainstorm' type of exercise. Alongside the All Blacks jerseys on the main side wall of the pub, awards for community and business excellence hang. There are framed certificates from the Eastern Institute of Technology (EIT), the local tertiary institute for Tairāwhiti and Te Matau-a-Māui. And so – I take out my phone and access the Inn's website via their Google listing to find out more, and I'm greeted with the homepage text that introduces the Inn. I move to the 'About' section of the website;

> Your host is Lily Stender, a descendant of the coast and one of the trustees of the Tolaga Bay Inn Charitable Trust. Our vision is to keep our history alive for future generations. Our mission is to restore and preserve the Inn by utilising her as a vehicle for economic, social and cultural development in our community.'
> (Tolaga Bay Inn website)

It would certainly appear that the Tolaga Bay Inn is not your typical rural pub. That evening we met Lily, and after a brief conversation about the Inn, my work back down in Ahuriri Napier, and PhD project, I promised to give her a call when I got back to Te Matau-a-Māui. As I have been lucky enough to come to learn in the weeks, months, and years that have passed since this point – the Tolaga Bay Inn is a unique and special place. A pub, accommodation, café, community centre, 'business hub' all rolled into one, for want of a better description. That's the Tolaga Bay Inn. A place that owes its existence to Lily's dedication and guardianship, which commenced in 2011, when the Inn was purchased by her brother Kamil, and East Coast rugby icon and former All Black, Rico Gear. From this point the function of the Inn was transformed, and for the first time in its over 130 year existence, it was under Māori ownership.

Since 2011, and under Lily's leadership, the Inn has expanded beyond its traditional pub-hotel-café remit to become a space for the community in the broader sense. As Lily puts it, the Inn is 'a place for people to learn and up-skill through technology…it's a space for the community to use. A space for training, organisation and making connections with others'. Crucial to this evolution has been the Inn's relationships with, and provision of wrap-around support for, grassroots businesses in the Uawa community. This has come via a 'business hub' program, known as Tolaga Bay Innovation (TBI). TBI operates under the Tolaga Bay Inn Charitable Trust, which was established in 2011, when Lily's whānau purchased the Inn. Lily sees this as a counter to urbanisation, enabling alternative, independent employment opportunities for those wishing to remain, return or relocate to Uawa. To date, the Inn has worked with a wide range of small businesses and individuals in various capacities, from offering the Inn as temporary office space, providing access to training, laptops and audio visual facilities, to supporting funding acquisition through the Charitable Trust entity.

In particular, what makes the Tolaga Bay Inn unique in its present form is its organisational structure and business model. Thanks to the Tolaga Bay Inn Charitable Trust, the Inn is able to operate as if it is essentially a quasi-community hall, while simultaneously maintaining its function as revenue generating pub and accommodation business. It is an independent, whānau-owned and operated space for the community which is not solely reliant on support or funding from formal iwi, local, or national government entities, as many community spaces are in Aotearoa New Zealand. Figuratively speaking, it is a house within the house that Pākehā built. Given the Tolaga Bay Inn's mission, and this degree of relative organisational freedom, you might begin to assume that the existence and operation of the Tolaga Bay Inn is readily supported by national and local government entities. The reality, however, is far from this.

Seeing the Ceiling

Thursday 29th April, 2021, is a long and unseasonably hot day in Uawa. It's autumn and Tairāwhiti, like Te Matau-a-Māui, is in the grips of another lengthy drought. Everything feels dry and tense. 6pm is rolling around and I'm in Lily's office packing up my laptop and notebook for the day. Lily ducks her head in the door and says to head over to the

pub – grab a table outside, so we won't be interrupted, and a beer – she'll be over soon. We crack a couple of cold beers and launch into one of our many conversations about the challenges faced by grassroots community organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand. In these conversations I draw from my experiences working on community projects in Te Matau-a-Māui, and Lily, the Inn. Today's conversation centres on relationships with formal government and community funding organisations. This time Lily grabs a pen and draws a diagram of how she sees things on a page from my notebook. For her, the system is too top-down and the people at the face of communities, with a mandate from their communities, are not given enough respect, support and autonomy. Fundamentally, as Lily sees it, there is a lack of trust. Not to mention 'you need a bloody PhD just to fill out the funding application forms!'.

One of the main contributing issues here is 'impact', and how to understand this. Specifically, how formal government and funding organisations measure the 'impact' of the community development initiatives they are funding. Primarily, the metrics associated with impact measurement are quantitative. Where the Tolaga Bay Inn is concerned, if they receive funding to support people for small business training, as they did in April 2019 from a central government agency, they are required to provide evidence of the impact of this support on the local community. Where the problem lies is that the required impact measures are often too much too soon, difficult to prove, and fundamentally detached from the 'on the ground' reality. As Lily explains, the partnership in 2019 provided wrap-around business support services for ten grassroots businesses. In order to prove the partnership was having a positive impact on the community, the government agency required evidence, such as the number of jobs created, and the number of people transitioning from unemployment benefits to employment. All of this evidence was required within the year. Lily sees this as an unrealistic timeframe given the level of training and administration required for the businesses at the very least. By focusing on these high level, quantitative metrics, ultimately the government agency is promoting a form of community investment which is unsustainable, short-sighted, and out of reach.

This issue is not only relevant to central government support, it applies at a local government level too. Proving impact and value of investment in community appears to come before anything else. Beyond the lack of trust, perhaps what's most frustrating is what this approach misses completely or what it fails to understand. That is, that the

Tolaga Bay Inn exists in Uawa as my community hall, the Raukawa Hall, does in Raukawa. It's an independent place for the community, and in the case of the Inn, a place that is dedicated to supporting initiatives, and people who are seeking to get their ideas off the ground. Time and time again, in her experience, Lily has worked with people who have been on a journey that starts with confidence building. Often turning up at the Inn, or messaging the Inn's social media pages, intrigued about what's going on, wanting to learn more and get involved. What impact measurement and its associated metrics fail to do is account for this, and in particular the growth in confidence that people experience, and the ways in which this might effect someone's life. This process takes time, it does not immediately produce businesses, which are then immediately creating jobs. As Lily says when discussing the local economic development agency – accompanied with a headbutting motion – 'I'll show you impact!'.

As it turns out, I've thought about this conversation a few times since we had it. Not only for the 'I'll show you impact' comment, which had us both cracking up, and has since been reused on numerous occasions. Or that the issue comes up time and time again in my community engagement work in Te Matau-a-Māui. But more so in particular moments – like when I visited the Maraekakaho Hall later that year and Jonathan explained how the hall was able to receive funding, via the government's Regional Economic Development and Investment Unit, for the state-of-the-art AV unit, hall upgrades, and development of historical resources. There were no requirements for a demonstration of community impact in this case of community investment. Jonathan didn't appear to have any issues with the application process either. That's not surprising though as he, and members of the Maraekakaho Hall committee, have extensive experience in working with local government and community funding entities. Lily's experience sits in contrast to this, where the process of access not only requires technical skills akin to a 'PhD', in her view – it is at odds with her way of doing things fundamentally. 'We don't ask' – she once told me after getting off a Zoom call with an advisor who'd demanded to know what her 'pitch' was for the Inn, and why it deserved support.

These moments matter. What these junctures demonstrate is the prevailing ontological context and derivative economic, ideological, and power structures of the house that Pākehā built, in action. In particular, we can see the ceiling, and that accessing the roof area is easier for some and more complicated for others. This is institutional privilege,

‘constituted in requirements, conditions, practices, policies or processes that maintain and reproduce avoidable and unfair advantages to particular ethic/cultural groups’ (Paradies et al., 2008, as cited in Moewaka Barnes et al., 2014, p. 8). Pākehā are institutionally advantaged in Aotearoa New Zealand, culturally and demographically – and particularly so in this situation where Maraekakaho is a predominantly Pākehā community, and Uawa, predominantly Māori. The ceiling remains unseen because Pākehā are blind to their own culture and its ubiquity, unable to ‘see’ Māori from a cultural point of view, making differences a racial matter ‘of brown versus white’ (Awatere, 1984, p. 8).

It is what shapes Crown persistence with ‘predominantly neoliberal policies, that continue to restrict and marginalise Māori political and economic organisational forms and rights’ (Bargh, 2018, p. 293). These policies ‘include reducing the size of the state, promoting forms of trade that have few barriers to the movement of goods and finance, and are premised on the belief that the market is the best-mechanism to regulate all forms of human behaviour as people are predominantly self-maximising and selfish individuals’ (Bargh 2007, as cited in ibid, p. 294). This is the ‘transformational capacity’ (Hay, 2002) of Pākehā cultural power, where power is about context shaping and redefining the parameters of what is socially, politically and economically possible for others. In Aotearoa New Zealand, this includes what is culturally possible, and in this system, these moments are not seen as significant as they sit outside the narrow parameters of the problematic.

To contextualise this further, the work of Jimmy and Andreotti (2019) and their ‘brick’ and ‘thread’ sense and sensibilities is again useful in assessing the effects of the predominant ontological conditions at work in Aotearoa New Zealand, and in this instance, Uawa. At a broad level, Lily’s experience with the Inn and ‘impact’ can be framed as a clash between bricks and threads. The brick-like Western-Eurocentric conditions are totalising, demanding shared convictions about reality that ultimately bind human purpose as contribution ‘towards the imagined idea of progress’ (ibid, p. 15). Impact can only ever be seen as external, the value of something ‘measured against its capacity, achievement potentiality’ to contribute to this ‘progress’ (ibid, p. 14). If impact were to be understood on collective, relational thread-like terms then the value equation would broaden to consider ‘intrinsic (insufficient and indispensable) inherent worth within an integrative and

dynamic whole', centred on 'connection with something beyond the individual self, but also found within it' (ibid). Responsibility is relational, centred on collective wellbeing rather than the individualistic, legacy-oriented idea of progress. In Aotearoa New Zealand, when being and knowing is externalised it becomes possible for central government departments to 'assess' the Inn and Uawa from a detached standpoint as the accepted norm. Fundamentally at odds with, and unable to see, mātauranga Māori with its 'core of inherited knowledge, plus the values and ethics that go with it' (Moko Mead, 2022). This clash of impact is a product of a totalising Pākehā context where 'if you don't ask, you don't get'.

In this context 'racialised common sense' exists, where race is dismissed as a legitimate topic of concern, as 'without an understanding of colonial history and group position, discourses of equal opportunity and meritocracy inform and legitimate actors' psychological orientations to social and cultural issues' (McConville et al., 2020, p. 131). Social problems are isolated from their historical, social and cultural context, and Māori are constructed as deficit when compared to a Pākehā population (Cram, 1997). When power is interrogated in this way it becomes possible to understand why a sense of distrust defines the relationships between the Tolaga Bay Inn, and formal government and community funding organisations. How can the Inn be expected to successfully deliver community impact when the prevailing logic already assumes otherwise? Māori are constructed out of the system in name, and by way of active exclusion of culture. Furthermore, this situation means that efforts to mitigate systemic inequalities are seen as afforded privileges, and the idea that Māori are privileged is deeply entrenched with social discourses (Borell, et al., 2009; Nairn and McCreanor, 1991). Designated seats in central and local government, resource allocation, such as fishing rights, 'closing the gaps' policies and budgetary support have all been attacked (Borell et al., 2009; Mutu, 2002). So too have superficial gestures, including Māori sports teams, and the increased use of Māori protocol in public life (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2014).

When the house denies access, and prevents the additions of extensions to accommodate, then it becomes a question of adaptation. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2022) states, part of the role for Māori in society is to 'really understand these systems and to figure out how to make them work, at the very least'. For Lily this has meant partnering with the Edmund Hillary Fellowship (EHF), a global network of mentors with a funding

platform to support the projects of EHF Fellows. Lily has become an EHF Fellow, and accordingly the Tolaga Bay Inn is supported. Lily has been able to access the mentorship network, with mentors visiting Uawa, spending time at the Inn and offering their expertise to those who are interested. The EHF's funding platform has assisted in purchasing technology for the business hub, which has included an AV unit and laptops. There is no strict criteria for Lily to demonstrate the impact of these investments, instead the relationship is more trust-based, and on the Inn's terms. This is not to suggest that the EHF exists outside of the house that Pākehā built. It too is structurally embedded and a colonial project. In particular, there is an incentive for people living outside of Aotearoa New Zealand to lend their skills and investment to the EHF because doing so contributes points towards Permanent Resident Visas (PRV).

In offering Lily and the Tolaga Bay Inn the respect, support, and autonomy to be as it chooses to be, the EHF example reveals – particularly that of the visa points system – quite literally, a preferred criteria of entry into the house that Pākehā built. That is one which is investment based, fundamentally echoing and supporting the wider, prevailing logic of the economic, ideological, and power structures it is built on. What is it then exactly that the house that Pākehā built is seeking to exclude? What are the specificities of the logic at work which appears only capable of seeing 'impact' in this way? How exactly does it function to support the structure at a local level in Aotearoa New Zealand? To attempt to answer these questions, we need to get even closer to the details. This is something I was to experience through my work with FOLKL[20] in the months immediately following this conversation with Lily.

Grappling with the Details[21]

It's Thursday 6th May, 2021, and I'm sitting in a meeting room in the offices of a healthcare organisation in Ahuriri Napier. I'm here in my capacity as a researcher with FOLKL, for a meeting about a project called 'Rural Healthcare Provision Co-Design'. The meeting is intended to be an introduction and formal briefing for the project. In the weeks prior, the organisation had contacted FOLKL to see whether or not we would be

[20] FOLKL is the name of my social research business in Ahuriri Napier.
[21] The names of people and places have been anonymised to protect confidentially.

interested in working with them on what was to be a project with the purpose of improving the provision of healthcare services for people in rural communities in the region, namely Wairoa and Māhia – two communities which have a relatively higher proportion of Māori. The plan was for the project to be 'community-up' and qualitative. Initially a stage of community engagement, or 'whānau voice', would inform understanding of the situation, and potential issues with respect to service provision. This was to be followed by a 'community co-design' process, which, building on the initial engagement, would assist in designing a new service offering, which would eventually be rolled out to the communities.

This way of working was something completely new to the organisation, which typically operated a top-down model of healthcare provision. The organisation's managerial staff who made contact, were excited about it. 'There's every chance we might be able to publish this, Henry' one of them commented, with an air of anticipation, on our introductory Zoom call in late-April. The organisation had heard about FOLKL's work with another local primary healthcare provider, where we had worked with the kaiāwhina team on an extensive 'whānau voice' engagement project. The project had generated interest, particularly with the local primary, and government health organisations, including this one, because of how thorough, and useful, it had been. In particular, the provider had made significant changes to its services off the back of the work, which had been well received by the community. The project was to be something similar. Importantly, and the details which gave me confidence, were that it would be Māori-led in partnership with the organisation's Māori Health Team, and that it would be genuinely community-up, prioritising experience and a qualitative approach.

There were more people than I expected in the meeting. A mix of the organisation's staff, including the managers, doctors and administrative staff joining via video link from Wairoa and Māhia. Probably around 15 people in total. Before the meeting began the Māori Health Team lead said a karakia (incantation, prayer). We then went around the room, and people gave their pepeha (tribal introduction).[22] The organisation has been undergoing efforts to develop its cultural competency, engagement with te ao Māori, and accordingly the Pākehā staff attempted their own pepeha in te reo Māori. In the moment this felt

[22] This is typical protocol in Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly in situations where Māori are present, and increasingly commonplace in local and central government organisations.

awkward and laboured – one person appeared to breathe a sigh of relief as they concluded, and returned to English. The time hasn't felt right for me to learn te reo Māori, so when it came my turn I spoke in English, and to what I understand to be a sentiment of connection behind the introduction. I briefly mentioned where I was from, that I'd grown up and worked locally, that I'd briefly met a couple of the organisation's staff, and attempted to build on some humour that felt like it was developing around the Māori Health Team lead referring to me as Henare (the te reo Māori name for Henry). After some back and forth, through which I discovered I'm friends with their younger cousins, the Māori Health Team lead said, 'let's go with Henare!'. This interaction got people laughing, and the room started to feel more relaxed.

One of the managers spoke first, and gave a lengthy introduction of the project. The Māori Health Team lead then spoke and introduced another member of their team, who would also be working on the project. There was some time for questions and comments. Generally, people were excited for the project to get underway, though there was some hesitancy too. 'How genuine would the approach be with respect to Kaupapa Māori?'. 'Would 'whānau voice' really mean 'whānau voice', or was it just a nice name?'. A manager jumped in and reiterated that the project would be a legitimate attempt to 'do things differently', the Māori Health Team lead appeared to back this up, mentioning their team's role, and their desire to get thorough whānau[23] input. I felt compelled to speak at this point, and stated that I wouldn't work on a project like this unless I had assurances that it would be Māori-led, and that it would deliver for whānau. As a Pākehā researcher, I would be involved where it suited the Māori Health Team, as had been the case with similar projects, I explained. This was met with what felt like a satisfied reaction from those who'd asked the questions, and from the members of the Māori Health Team. The manager who spoke initially then concluded the meeting. On my way out, that same person grabbed me – 'Henry, this is our new CEO – Henry's working with us on an innovative project – I think it's something we might be able to publish'.

As I had already begun to discover, particularly throughout the course of the meeting and afterwards, this project was not what I thought it was. In the initial planning meeting which followed, the Māori Health Team were not present, only the managers. I flagged

[23] The word 'whānau' generally means 'family' though sometimes it's broadened to include Māori in general, and used as a singular term. This is the case in this situation.

this as a concern, and subsequently a follow-up meeting was arranged with the Māori Health Team. I'm going to assume this would have happened regardless. A member of the Māori Health Team and I were established as the project managers, with the immediate support of the managers and team lead. From this point I began to work closely with the Māori Health Team primarily as research support. The project was renamed in te reo Māori, and it was established that workshops and interviews would be conducted with whānau for the initial engagement, guided by Kaupapa Māori researcher guidelines (Cram, 2013, adapted from Smith, 1999). A project tikanga (custom) was established, and communication materials were developed in te reo Māori. A member of the Māori Health Team and I headed up to Wairoa, conducting two workshops in the Wairoa Hospital building with whānau to guide initial understanding and help shape the subsequent interview process. The plan was then for the Māori Health Team to conduct an extensive number of face-to-face interviews with whānau, in locations which suited whānau, across Wairoa and Māhia.

It was at this point that one of the managers, whose involvement had dropped off by this stage, called me out of the blue with some concerns. They were worried about the direction the project, and the data we were going to get from 'subjects' – 'how would it be robust enough? How would we be able to validate and weight the findings? Would it be possible to stratify the sample in such a way as to ensure we would be able to extrapolate and universalise the data?'. So too were they worried about the logistics of interviewing a large number of people – or 'consumers' in the organisation's speak – face-to-face, in what would likely be their houses. 'Couldn't we just do phone surveys?'. We would have to streamline and change the approach, with the manager confirming their preference for a small sample of telephone interviews. My frustrations were made clear, though the change was non-negotiable.

Since this moment, the project has stalled. The member of the Māori Health Team I was working with has since moved on from the organisation, resigning not long after this meeting. Despite repeated requests, I am yet to receive an update on the project. As far as I know, the people involved with the workshops have not had any follow up. People in rural communities in Wairoa and Māhia have not had their opinions heard, and have not been involved in any design process for changes to service provision. Things remain as they were. It's important to note that these events did take place in and around a

relatively heightened stage of the Covid-19 pandemic, with a nationwide lockdown occurring in August, 2021. Similarly, I cannot speak to the internal dynamics and processes of the organisation, and specifically how these may have affected aspects of project at any point, and beyond my knowledge. However, the point is not to avoid analysing this situation because of these potential influences because this only serves to insinuate a lack of relevance of the wider dynamics. Neither is it to narrow or restrict an analysis to project-specific details. Again there are prevailing ways of being and knowing and associated structures at work in this situation which can lend further understanding to the detail and function of the house that Pākehā built.

The Logic of the Logics

Writing this piece of text, looking back over my emails, meeting notes, calendar entries project documents, and reflecting on the details of events, I wonder, should I have got involved with this in the first place? Even at the time of contact from the organisation, I was hesitant, and sought advice from trusted mentors in the areas of healthcare and Kaupapa Māori research. The signs were there from the get-go in the manager's attitude to the project, particularly their fixation on publication. I'm at the point now though, and have been for a few years, that to not get involved is to not work towards positive change in Aotearoa New Zealand. It's easy to stand on the side lines and point at problems, and to describe and redescribe these problems – but this does not really change anything. I take my motivation for involvement from the likes of Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2022), reflected in her advice – 'it has to be about solving problems, understanding the systemic underpinnings of problems, understanding where the best solution…can be built', 'it doesn't have to be heavy if you embrace it. And it's not negative…it's about doing positive things…take heart that it's work worth doing, it's intergenerational work'.

The project with the healthcare organisation did not go well. Most significantly, it failed the communities it sought to involve and benefit. However, I am wiser to the system because of it, and at the very least, reflecting and pulling apart the experience through this PhD puts to use in some way. What is demonstrated through this experience is further evidence of power being exercised in non-violent ways as a product of predominant ontological conditions. In the early days of the project the member of the

Māori Health Team and I drove up to Wairoa for the workshops, buoyed with the hope that things might be done differently, that there might be a genuine attempt to listen, to embed Kaupapa Māori, and affect change. So often though, projects begin with a feeling like this, and then the 'might's' just turn out to be 'might's'. In reality, the Māori 'perspective' that was being sought here was only a 'cultural' explanation of something which 'normality' and 'truth' had already been determined (Jackson, 2011, p. 179). Grounded in scientific rationality or economic reality, this form of 'power to define' is again Pākehā 'culture bound' (ibid). 'In effect it denies the validity of other ways of seeing the world, and thus privileges its own gaze above all others (ibid). It is the engineered reality of brick sense and sensibilities (Jimmy and Andreotti, 2019). It intrinsic to Western-Eurocentric ways of being and knowing, and is the source of cultural blindness.

This power operates on a number of levels, making it not only a culturally oppressive, Māori-centred issue, but also a fundamental oppression of the subjective experience. Organisational-level efforts to engage with te ao Māori, karakia and pepeha at the start of meetings, project names and communication materials in te reo Māori – these are incredible steps forward. Equally though, in a context defined by Pākehā hegemony, and shaped by Pākehā economic, ideological, and power structures, these steps further 'the myth of the postcolonial world' (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 219). That the politics of colonial history involve 'moving on', 'getting over', and 'forgetting' the past (Goldberg, 2009, as cited in McConville, 2020, p. 132). It makes the idea of an institutionally innovative, Māori-led, community-up project, seeking to understand peoples' experience and design a healthcare service based on this – seem possible. In present day Aotearoa New Zealand, there can only ever be one form of knowledge which is privileged. Accordingly, 'Māori-led' initiatives exist primarily in name only, with no substantial, penetrative ontological reach with respect to this. In the house that Pākehā built, hegemonic scientific knowledge turns rival knowledges into either raw material, or rejects them on the basis of their falsity or inefficiency in light of the hegemonic criteria of truth and efficiency (de Sousa Santos, 2004). A project like that which was attempted with the healthcare organisation, simply, is not possible. Nor is the Tolaga Bay Inn's 'community impact' in the eyes of the central government agency.

Yes – the project with the healthcare organisation did not go well, and failed in its intended objective – but it shows what is at stake. Reorientated, the project is a success

in the ways in which it clearly exposes structural flaws, and their genesis. The same structural flaws which frustrate Lily, foster distrust, and hold the Tolaga Bay Inn back. And the same structural flaws which discreetly normalise the Hawke's Bay Club, and the idea that someone like me is supposedly 'the future' of a place which upholds liberal values and claims to reflect society. The project experience exposed a totalising logic which underpins Pākehā hegemony, configures economic, ideological, and power structures, and through this process, defines the expression of colonialism in Aotearoa New Zealand, as a past event. This logic is a product of imperialism – an imperial logic of European knowledge superiority, stemming from the social, economic, political and historical conditions of possibility for a subject to surpass, and be positioned 'as the foundation of all Truthful knowledge'. This is Grosfoguel's (2007, p. 215) outline of the 'Imperial Being', that is, 'the subjectivity of those who are at the centre of the world because they have already conquered it'. This is the logic of logics, particularly visible in the 'impossibility' of the project with the healthcare organisation. The molecules of water which form the current of the prevailing flow in this land.

The Ongoing Renovations

As long as the ontological terms are imperial, there can be no decolonisation. The house that Pākehā built – the prevailing economic, ideological, and power structures in Aotearoa New Zealand – are rooted in these terms. Colonialism, the action of the imperial idea, was foundational to modernity, and therefore is a structure, and not an event (Wolfe, 2006). The economic, ideological, and power structures were made possible by an acceptance of the myths of civilised progress or racial superiority, which rationalised coloniser intent, transforming colonisation 'from a raid to a culture' (Jackson, 2011, p. 170). As far as I know the manager calling me out of the blue to voice their concerns about the project with the healthcare organisation, was not motivated by an intent to sabotage the project, or to harm people. It was an action which is the product of this culture – something learned and lived. Their assumptions were structurally bound and grounded in an epistemological superiority, which accordingly, lead them to believe they were making the right decision for the good of the project. This is imperial logic at work, and it is the same logic which shaped the central government agency's understanding of 'impact' with

Tolaga Bay Inn partnership. It's nothing new, and is likely the same reason my ancestors set foot on a ship in Ireland, bound for Aotearoa New Zealand, and a better life.

Under these conditions it is imperative that colonialism is seen as being in constant motion, something pervasive, active and alive. It is not dormant, passive, and relegated to the past. In this vein, many authors have advanced the notion of 'coloniality' as referring to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, defining culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production beyond administrative limits (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Coloniality and modernity can be seen as two sides of the same coin (Grosfoguel, 2011), whereby coloniality is the constitutive underside of modernity and its condition of possibility (Singh, 2018). It is the living legacy of colonialism, the structure of power or 'coloniality of power' which exists through systems of racial hierarchies, the Eurocentric system of knowledge, and cultural systems which reinforce Eurocentric economic and knowledge production systems (Quijano, 2000). Coloniality signifies all that has been 'denigrated, marginalised, suppressed, and rendered invisible by the modern project and its myriad forms of power/knowledge, as well as the structure and process by which this occurs' (Singh, 2018, p. 333). Framing colonialism in this way gives the house that Pākehā built intangible, metaphorical fluidity for structural conceptualisation in Aotearoa New Zealand. It makes moments, and places in their physical, material form matter. In this imperial-colonial matrix the house remains under constant renovation.

Finding Power to Realise Promise

Being manuhiri is about being 'in relation', and ultimately in relation to the whenua, and tangata whenua. This starts with being in relation to self – situating self, comprehending place, and the paradoxical politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand. For this to occur at a substantive level, the prevailing ontological conditions which shape the economic, ideological, and power structures that constitute the house that Pākehā built, must be made visible and seen. Only at this point is decolonisation, deimperialisation, and a realisation of the promise of Te Tiriti o Waitangi possible. Even then, this notion of possibility relies on a process of structural relationality, for this is necessary to deconstruct the house. Much like situating self and comprehending place, this process

requires that contemporary conditions be put in relation to the past, and the local context be put in relation to the global.[24] The latter is crucial, as the power for deconstruction resides in the local. As Smith (2021) outlines, only from the local context the can the extent of the discursive effects of global forces can be seen. In Aotearoa New Zealand, centring Kaupapa Māori is deconstruction.

Centring Kaupapa Māori, and the essence of its structural critique, makes the invisible visible. In this case, I liken the centring of Kaupapa Māori to de Sousa Santos' (2004) 'sociology of absences'. That is, 'an inquiry that aims to explain that what does not exist is, in fact, actively produced as non-existent, that is, as a non-credible alternative to what exists' (ibid, p. 238). As he explains, 'to be made present, these absences need to be constructed as alternatives to hegemonic experience, to have their credibility discussed and argued for and their relations taken as object of political dispute' (ibid, p. 239). Therefore, centring Kaupapa Māori 'creates the conditions to enlarge the field of credible experience' (ibid). It is the tool to breakdown the house that Pākehā built, and the means to empower positive change. As Moana Jackson (2011, p. 182) puts it, reflecting on the words of Frederick Douglass – 'power never gives up of itself without a struggle. It never has, it never will, but knowing something of its whakapapa and finding power in our own stories and the alternatives they might offer to change constitutions, economics and the ethics of life still offer hope for a better and more substantive enlightenment'.

In the coming chapter, the analysis will move to a more nuanced level, further investigating the details and textures of the politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand. In particular, focus will centre on the nature of the 'political' within this context. This notion of Kaupapa Māori-centred deconstruction will be extended and deployed to articulate the political through understanding the dualities and tensions which manifest in everyday life. Following this, the final chapter will build on these powerful words from Moana Jackson, with a focus on relationality, finding power through home and shared stories in the land, and ethic of restoration.

[24] In the latter half of this sentence I have loosely adapted Goldberg's (2009) requirements for 'antiracist politics' (as cited in McConville et al., 2020.

Chapter 5: Separate Lands

> ‘All these new words – pedagogy, epistemology, ontology. I know them now with my eyes closed because I see them now as the main source for how people misunderstand each other. But using such words is a sensitive issue back home because it is assumed that you are separating yourself from others if you speak like this.’
> (Meyer, 2001, p. 192)

These words, from Manulani Aluli Meyer, aptly describe a fundamental separation which foregrounds everyday life in Aotearoa New Zealand. This separation is based on a misunderstanding of worldviews, and it could be described as the country’s fundamental ‘politics’. This politics is an ontological politics – the politics of place. The nature of the political within the politics of place is the very nature of being. The political is the ontological where ontology is defined as ‘the philosophy of essence’ (Meyer, 2001, p. 195). Therefore, the politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand is a politics of the philosophy of the essence of being. This politics foregrounds a ‘dualism’, which although fundamental, remains peripheral in the discourse of mainstream society. This is on account of the prevalence of Pākehā culture and Western ways of knowing and being which generally speaking are individualistic, over te ao Māori and Māori ways of knowing and being which are relational.

In delivering these words at the top of the page, Meyer is not referring to Aotearoa New Zealand. What she is describing, although deeply relevant, is something which is not geographically confined. It is a description of difference, which includes terms for articulating particular ways of teaching, knowing, and being, and in-turn, misunderstanding. In this instance, it is based on her experience as an Indigenous Hawaiian studying philosophy at Harvard University. While these terms might not be geographically confined, as Meyer goes on to highlight – they are culturally bound. These respective ‘ologies’ all have their roots in ancient Greek philosophy, and for Meyer (2001, p. 189), they were part of a process of ‘learning to barter in the language and culture of power to get a message across and thus resist erasure’.

While I certainly cannot relate to the notion of resisting erasure – as a Pākehā, having ridden the coattails of colonisation, as it stands, I’m set for life. Where I do find resonance

though, is with Meyer's critique of philosophy and empiricism as 'acultural', and subsequently, how this affords these words a deconstructive potential, which ultimately makes them useful for me and this PhD project. Seeing philosophy as something cultural makes a politics of knowing and being possible. It makes Aotearoa New Zealand's ontological politics clear and the politics of place possible, where underpinning Pākehā hegemony there are dualities brought about through different worldviews, which are at odds in their centring of the individual or relational, respectively. Crucially – it puts these two contexts into relation with one another.

In the previous chapters I have explored the idea of 'place' in Aotearoa New Zealand. Specifically the influence of colonisation in establishing prevailing ontological conditions, and Pākehā cultural hegemony in shaping the economic, ideological, and power structures. In this chapter I explore this politics and in particular this dualistic idea further through a braiding and dialogue of different knowledge streams. How it relates to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and being in this land, and the ways in which it manifests in everyday life. It's important to reiterate here that in doing this I too am inextricably culturally bound. To begin this exploration I'd like to return to my community and the Maraekakaho Hall.

Digging Up Gravel

Having arrived for my visit to the hall that Friday back in October, 2021, and now standing in foyer, Jonathan and I begin a lengthy conversation. The evening before my visit, the hall had hosted a meeting run by the Hawke's Bay Regional Council (HBRC) regarding consent applications to extract substantial amounts of gravel from the nearby Ngaruroro River. The purpose of this is primarily for the construction of the region's roads. The community are upset, particularly due to what it might mean for river access, and Jonathan says the meeting was badly run. The two representatives from the HBRC were junior members of staff who were completely underprepared on the issue, and delivered a poor presentation. Jonathan is frustrated with how HBRC have handled gravel issues with the community in the past, often only informing and involving local residents once the consent process is well advanced. His frustration extends to the general community planning processes of local government entities; the quality (or lack-of) for new-build

houses, no pattern or clear direction on housing layout and connection to the roads which run through the area.

Jonathan informs me that one of the main concerns for the community with the gravel extraction consent applications is the potential impact the associated infrastructure might have on the community. He gives the example of increased heavy vehicle traffic leading to damaged roads, and what this might mean for local residents who live near the access-way to the proposed site. Gravel is currently being extracted from the bed of the Ngaruroro at a location just outside of the township, and the consents being applied for are a considerably larger volume from a new site which is a lot closer. As it happens Jonathan and his wife Judith live directly across from the proposed access-way, and apparently one proposal for extraction would see one truck leave every 8 minutes. I ask Jonathan whether or not he's aware of the local iwi's view on the application and if any iwi representatives were present at the meeting. He's not sure, and he doesn't think there were representatives present. We wrap up our conversation and begin a tour of the hall.

The legitimate reason Jonathan and I are able to stand in the hall foyer and have a conversation about a topic like gravel extraction is due to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. As I have mentioned, Te Tiriti cemented Māori's overriding authority, while granting permission to the Crown to regulate the conduct of British nationals (Mikaere, 2011). It is our terms for being here. A bilateral bind, committing two peoples with differing worldviews to a unique relational state in action and in mind. An object and form of exchange, grounded in intentionality. In this section, I would like to turn my focus to Te Tiriti as a starting point, and the crucial site, for understanding duality and ontological politics in Aotearoa New Zealand. In particular, the issue of sovereignty, which is a central concept within Te Tiriti. For Māori sovereignty is a foreign concept and it is generally interpreted as 'mana (ultimate power and authority derived from the gods) and rangatiratanga (the exercise of mana)' (Mutu, 2020, p. 269). The notion of sovereignty is derived from Western framings, grounded in a belief that it marked a hierarchy of progress from societies of apolitical barbarism to those countries in Europe with a 'civilised' constitutional order (Salmond, 2022; Mutu, 2020).

Te Tiriti, or in this case the Treaty, is considered to be Aotearoa New Zealand's constitutional document that establishes and guides the relationship between the Crown

(embodied by the government) and Māori, though it is not law. As I have also explained, on account of Pākehā hegemony, the English text is favoured where, according to this document, Māori sovereignty was ceded to the Crown in return the Crown guaranteed their property rights (Mikaere, 2011). Though Pākehā hegemony and favouring the English language text cannot make Te Tiriti o Waitangi disappear. Recognised or not, so long as it exists, a site of ontological contestation exists. As a result of this, 'Treaty principles' have been derived through the legal system to attempt to reconcile contested interpretations. Te Tiriti activism, driven primarily by Māori, is the reason these principles exist, and they represent a positive step forward in terms of Tiriti recognition. However it is important to acknowledge and critically address that as much as they are a positive, they remain a dilution of Te Tiriti, a shoehorning of concepts and worldviews into another, and in this case, Western framings of the world.

Since 1975 many laws in Aotearoa New Zealand have referred to the Treaty principles in an attempt to account for the different understandings of its meaning. The first law to do so was the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, which established the Waitangi Tribunal which is a permanent commission of inquiry that makes recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to Crown actions which breach the promises made in Te Tiriti. It is not a court of law, and therefore its findings and recommendations are not binding. There is no set or final completed list of principles, and they are an evolving concept, and informed by various sources. In order to apply Te Tiriti in a present day context relevant to the Crown and Māori, 'the Waitangi Tribunal and the courts have considered the broad sentiments, intentions and goals of Te Tiriti and identified its principles on a case-by-case basis. Some of these principles have become very well established. Others have developed over time' (Te Ara, 2022).

Of the principles, the most 'set in stone' is the principle of partnership which 'can be usefully regarded as an overarching tenet, from which other key principles have been derived' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2001, p.77). There are different understandings of the meaning of 'partnership'. For instance, although no exhaustive definition has been attempted, the courts see partnership as 'the duty to act reasonably, honourably, and in good faith' (ibid, p. 78). The Waitangi Tribunal takes this further, emphasising the attachment of this obligation to the principles of reciprocity and mutual benefit. Intrinsic to the Tribunal's understanding of partnership are 'the status and accountability of the

Treaty partners, the need for compromise and a balancing of interests, the Crown's fiduciary duty, and the duty to make informed decisions' (ibid, p. 80). The latter concerns consultation where again there is difference. The Crown are obliged only to consult in some circumstances depending on the importance of the issue, with the Tribunal holding the view that the Crown has a duty to consult Māori on all issues (ibid; Te Ara, 2022).

But what does this actually mean on the ground? In a context where Te Tiriti is not acknowledged, how then do these principles extend from definitions and text in legal documents to actions and moments in our communities – like the gravel extraction issue in Maraekakaho? Let's start with the HBRC, the local government entity managing the consent application process and the meeting at the hall. The wording and information available on their website certainly gives the impression of partnership on multiple levels. Prominent text is delivered in both English language and te reo Māori; the website header displays 'Hawke's Bay Regional Council' alongside the closest literal te reo Māori translation 'Te Kaunihera ā-Rohe o Te Matau-A-Māui' and greets the visitor with 'Welcome to Hawke's Bay Regional Council ~ Haere mai'. There is an extensive section of the website devoted to outlining how HBRC is working with tangata whenua. This includes information on the HBRC Māori Partnerships Group, and the use of Iwi/Hapū Management Plans as tools for managing concerns of tangata whenua that may relate to resource management and council planning (Hawke's Bay Regional Council, 2022a).

Looking specifically at gravel management in the region, a gravel management study conducted by HBRC makes clear that iwi have 'longstanding interests in freshwater'. In one of the final sections of the study it is stated that 'to date, Hawke's Bay Iwi has been involved in managing Hawkes Bay's freshwater resources via an agreed process on individual resource consents, during regional plan changes and more recently through the joint planning committee.' (Hawke's Bay Regional Council, 2016, p. 46). The study is light on dates though a Gravel Management Hui (meeting) held in 2010 appears to mark the point of increased iwi engagement on the issue, despite there being evidence of gravel being extracted from particular rivers in the region from 1994, over 15 years prior to this (ibid, p. 5). The study includes recommendations for greater iwi involvement, including consideration of wāhi tapu (sacred sites) and key mahinga kai (food gathering sites), both of which were also identified as recommendations from the 2010 hui.

Moving forward to 2021 and there appears to be little action from HBRC as far as partnership is concerned beyond the formal, statutory obligations. Recommendations from 2010 appear still yet to be actioned. Minutes from the June 2021 meeting of the Hawke's Bay Regional Council Māori Committee reveal that current gravel extraction practice is 'of huge concern for the local hapū'. Extraction at a another site a few kilometres down river from Maraekakaho has diverted the main flow of the river directly toward the ancient Ohiti Pā site, for which the contractor has been issued a formal warning (Hawke's Bay Regional Council Māori Committee, 2021). This begs the question then, just how deep does the notion of partnership run? And how far does the duty to act reasonably, honourably, and in good faith extend? That's not to say anything of reciprocity, mutual benefit, and informed consent, the latter of which appears to be somewhat present via relatively recent, formal, high-level consultation mechanisms. The former though, not so much, and concerns from the meeting also reference the prioritisation of river access afforded to contractors and whitebait fishermen ahead of marae hapū for mahinga kai practices (ibid, 2021).

The reality here is that the principle of partnership contains a power imbalance which favours the Crown, in this case embodied by the local government entity, the HBRC. The words and PDF documents on the HBRC website imply a harmony between the organisation and iwi, which does appear to exist where formal and obligatory mechanisms of consultation are concerned. However, the parameters for these mechanisms fundamentally favour the Crown by default as they are derived from an imported Westminster system of parliamentary government, developed in England, which allows for the reproduction of Pākehā social, cultural and political dominance (Waitoa, 2018). As covered in the previous chapter – this is the house that Pākehā built, where the prevailing ways of being and knowing, and the economic, ideological, and power structures are by Pākehā, for Pākehā. This dominance shapes the norms and values of what is and what is not socially, politically and economically possible in mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand.

Locating the Source

> ‘There is a broad understanding within the Pākehā polity, reflected in dominant discourse, common sense and public opinion, that, while the detail may change through social movements, political evolution and bureaucratic reform, this fundamental structuring is a public good that produces just, healthy and sustainable social orders. Such arrangements are mundanely policed by popular adherence and institutional praxis, and are maintained by their own momentum: Ultimately, they are backed by force to maintain a unitary national sovereignty.’
> (Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2014, p. 7)

I know this sentiment that this quote refers to very well. I grew up around it, went to school with it, and it continues to prevail in mainstream society in Aotearoa New Zealand. If structural change is to occur, if Te Tiriti is to be properly recognised, and if Pākehā are to become manuhiri, then critique must situate itself at an ontological level. Only at this point is it possible to unearth the extent of Pākehā hegemony, properly evaluate the present day tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship, and overcome this sentiment. Without this, the words in te reo Māori on the HBRC website are able to masquerade as cultural consonance, a structurally and socially accepted gesture to the unique relational promise of Te Tiriti. Searching for Te Tiriti and a deeper, fundamental recognition of te ao Māori reveals these words to be what Turner (2011, p. 122) aptly describes as ‘cultural plagiarism’ – ‘the “uniqueness” of Māori that Pākehā appropriate to disguise their otherwise unexceptional settlement’. This appropriation is essential to coloniality and ensuring the structural and social status quo are maintained. It is widespread, and it means government departments and corporations can adopt names in te reo Māori, can claim to ‘uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi’, and to ‘take a Te Ao Māori approach’ in their descriptions of their actions.

Cultural plagiarism helps Pākehā feel in place and at home. In this one-sided, superficial context, Māori are rendered eternally peripheral to the dominant culture. As Jodi Byrd (2011) explains, ‘when the assertions of, and struggles for, sovereignty, self-determination, and land rights by colonised Indigenous nations come to be understood as the claims of internal ethnic minorities, the remediation, reparation, and redress for colonisation paradoxically starts to look like greater inclusion, and assimilation into the

pluralistic, settler colonial nation-state' (as cited in Singh, 2018, p. 343). Coupled with this minoritizing, surface level gestures help to 'cultivate identification with and allegiance toward the settler state' (Singh, 2018, p. 343). This creates an illusion that Māori, and the general population, are willingly accepting of the way things are. The 'jargon of globalised inevitability', which is 'the argument that there is no alternative or no other 'reality', is free to prevail, and exist as a 'seductive story' that shapes and confines 'our thinking about who we are and what we might become' (Jackson, 2011, p. 172). Stepping outside of this is essential for the realisation of possibility.

Taking this step is thinking about a state of 'being', about principles and ethics, about dualities, and in turn opening up critical framing. For this to occur then gravel must become as important to human life as the roads that it lines. As it stands, in the gravel management 'partnership' Western values dictate possibility, and these are at odds with the views of tangata whenua. In te ao Māori, water is sacred and intrinsically linked to human life. All iwi in Aotearoa New Zealand have geographical links with water (Ruru, 2017), and as Tina Ngata states 'when I speak to wai (water) I speak to myself' (Ngata, 2018). A river 'is a living taonga (treasure), seen as a living entity with its own personality and life force, and is an indivisible whole not to be analysed in terms of constituent parts of water, bed and banks, or tidal and non-tidal, navigable or non-navigable sections' (Ruru, 2010, p. 6). In fact, there is a local whakataukī (proverb) in Te Matau-A-Māui (Hawke's Bay) that says 'E kore a Parawhenua I haere ki te kore a Rakahore. To go something like If it weren't for the rocks (deity is Rakahore) then water (deity is Parawhenua) would not flow'[25] (Hawke's Bay Regional Council Māori Committee, 2021). Documented hapū concerns submitted to the Māori Committee actually begin with this whakataukī.

In Western and HBRC worldview, gravel is a stand-alone commercial resource 'subject to significant variability in both its natural supply and commercial demand' (Hawke's Bay Regional Council, 2016, p. 1). This too appears to have been the prevailing worldview underpinning the presentation and discussion at the HBRC's community meeting at the Maraekakaho Hall the night before my visit. There was certainly nothing to be heard of the concerns raised at Māori Committee meeting a couple of months prior where HBRC's

[25] This quotation, including the whakataukī and it's translation, is lifted verbatim directly from the HBRC Māori Committee meeting minutes.

actions were seen to ‘strike at the very heart of local mana whenua values, that the awa, its biodiversity and ecological habitat comes first ahead of economic benefit’ (Hawke’s Bay Regional Council, 2021), let alone Te Tiriti o Waitangi being acknowledged. So long as this power imbalance exists, ‘principles’ such as ‘partnership’ exist in word and performance only, devoid of genuine connection and understanding of one-another within the bicultural context. Treaty principles, and notions of partnership, will never be effective so long as one worldview dominates. This is the ontological issue at heart, and discussion must centre here if fundamental change is to occur. This coming section attempts to explore this idea with greater depth, and to do this, I’d like to take us back to where I grew up, a place I love and know so well – the Paritua Stream.

A Changing Land

The Paritua Stream flows down through the paddocks of the Raukawa Valley, past the building where Raukawa School used to be, and out toward the Ngaruroro River. It winds its way slowly and steadily, watched by the remnants of the ancient pā sites on the rolling hills above. At the base of the valley it makes a righthand turn in a easterly seaward direction, essentially running parallel to the Ngaruroro for a few kilometres before heading to the south once it reaches the township of Bridge Pā. The road to the Maraekakaho Hall runs directly between the two bodies of water at this point. It is within this stretch that both the Paritua Stream and Ngaruroro River have been subjected to significant manmade modification. In the late 1960’s and early 1970’s the land they flow over was contoured to allow for the creation of a border dyke system for irrigation of the Te Tua and Washpool Stations to improve agricultural productivity. This modification allowed for water to be taken by gravity feed from the Ngaruroro River, channelled over the adjacent land for pasture irrigation, with the surplus water at the end of the paddocks directed into the Paritua Stream (Hawke’s Bay Regional Council, 2007).

Further downstream, upon reaching Bridge Pā, the name of the stream changes below the Raukawa Road bridge, from the Paritua Stream to the Karewarewa Stream. At this point the stream is often dry for the months through summer and early autumn, at times resulting in the death of significant numbers of tuna and kōura (Radio New Zealand, 2021). Hapū and residents in the township of Bridge Pā attribute this period where the

stream flow ceases to irrigation practices, and the increased presence of vineyards in the upper reaches (Newshub, 2021). Bridge Pā has a predominantly Māori population who hold a close relationship with the stream, with personal connections to, and historically harvesting tuna and kōura from its waters. A HBRC report (2007) on the Paritua Stream contrasts this view, and instead indicates this drought occurrence is a historical pattern with the stream, going back to before the modifications. As supporting evidence, the report cites comments from the farmers, whose land the stream flows over, who recall the stream going dry in the 1950's. The views of hapū and those who live closest to the stream, in Bridge Pā, are absent from this report.

When I was younger, the farm I grew up on used to border the Washpool Station, before a large piece was sold to cover debt payments. During this time we would use the woolshed[26] on the Washpool to shear our sheep as it was closer than our own woolshed, which is over the hills to the east and toward the eastern side of the Raukawa Valley. I remember long days spent moving sheep with Dad and my brother in the baking summer heat, taking the huge mobs of hundreds and hundreds of sheep past the clear flowing water in the straight, narrow channels of the border dyke system. The sight of crystal clear water flowing over fresh green grass used to fascinate me, and I'd stand on top of the metal barriers, which controlled the flow, and watch the current, always hoping I'd see tuna. There never were any tuna though because this piece of flow was unnatural and so there were no shaded pool ledges for them to live or linger as they like to do, suspended in the water, cruising and twisting in and out of the current. Here the water was the property of the farmer, extracted and controlled ultimately for economic purposes, much like the gravel from the bed of the Ngaruroro a few kilometres away.

When I miss home I like to go onto Google Maps and follow the journey of the Paritua Stream from its source up in the Raukawa hills to the point that it reaches Bridge Pā. If you follow this journey you might notice a few large blue splodges to the right hand side of the stream as it flows alongside State Highway 50. The two largest of these are manmade water storage dams on Te Tua and Washpools Stations. Constructed in the early 2000's, these dams are designed to combat periods of drought, brought about by the intensification of farming practices on the Heretaunga Plains, ensuring the farmers

[26] A woolshed is a common structure on farms in Aotearoa New Zealand and is the building where sheep are shorn, and their wool baled up for commerical trade.

have access to water for irrigation for long periods of time when it doesn't rain. The increase in wine production in the region is mostly responsible for this agricultural intensification, with over 4,786ha (hectares) of land now under vineyard producing area, and most of this on the Heretaunga Plains (Hawke's Bay Wine Growers, 2022). This is actually down from 5,030ha in 2012, but this is where the publicly accessible production area figures start for Hawke's Bay Winegrowers.

I don't need to rely on vineyard production area statistics to understand this. I can recall coming home during the summer months from 2006 to 2010, when I was away at university in Te Whanganui-a-Tara Wellington, and going up on to the hills on the farm which sit above the Heretaunga Plains. Year by year the sea of wooden vineyard posts seem to grow on the flat land at an exponential rate until eventually it stretched as far as the eye could see. The region became formally recognised as 'Hawke's Bay Wine Country' and many, including my own family, got on board with this, entering into partnerships with big wine companies who further transformed the land from the late 1990's onwards. As was the case with the advent of the border dyke system, the Paritua Stream had no choice but to go along with this change. Where it flowed over our farm at the time, it's beautiful bends and pools which harboured tuna had the corners ironed out and vegetation stripped away to make way for long, straight rows of vineyard for a winery development in the early 2000's.

In the years that followed grape skins were left to compost on the stream's banks and wastewater from the winery was distributed by a sprinkler system, irrigating the paddocks adjacent to the banks. I can still smell the dank, musty aroma of piles of grape skins baking in the January heat. In the summer of 2009 I was employed by the winery as a vineyard hand. One day I was tightening wires on a row of grapes which finished beside the Paritua Stream. Taking a break I remember walking over and looking into the stream, looking at the places I'd swum and observed tuna during my childhood. As I recall – the Paritua Stream did not look well. The water had a light red hue, there was no sign of any life under the water at all, and the banks which had once been abundant with pūhā (watercress) still bore the scars of digger bucket claws from stream alteration in the years before. It did not have its natural, sweet, earthy smell, and its captivating beauty was no longer immediately there to be enveloped by. I recall a feeling of despair, a violation of

memories of this special place. Until that moment I hadn't been aware of just how much I'd clung on to these memories.

The period of agricultural intensification on the Heretaunga Plains during my lifetime, although more intense than the prior sheep farming era, is nothing new. Since colonisation and the arrival of Pākehā this land has been exploited and drastically altered in form and function. Transformed from something which people lived in harmony 'with' to something totally separate and 'for' people. When you try to extract as much water as possible from a damp sponge you are forced to squeeze harder and harder as the water gets less and less. Pākehā-led farming intensification practices on the Heretaunga Plains have adopted the same principle. The construction of the dams on Te Tua and Washpool Stations are an intensification of the border dyke system from the 1970's – squeezes of the epic sponge that is the Heretaunga Plains aquifer. In more recent years horticultural cropping has increased on the plains, in part driven by improvements in irrigation technology, which has seen the introduction of gargantuan pivot irrigation systems which are capable of spreading larger volumes of water over larger areas of land. Again, many including my own family have jumped on board.

Before I knew differently, as a young person growing up in Te Matau-a-Māui, in a society that is defined by Pākehā hegemony, these periods of change with respect to farming practices were not seen exclusively as periods of intensification. They were heralded 'innovations' and 'diversifications' intended to benefit the region economically, and in turn communities and people. For most Pākehā, the natural environment has always been viewed through a narrow lens centred on prioritising extraction for individual gains. Even relatively recent developments with respect to organic and regenerative practices remain heavily influenced by this lens. Land is political on these terms at the expense of its ecological role. An attitude of reckless abandon and plunder where anecdotes from generations of farmers have fuelled assumptions that periods of drought have 'always been', and the Heretaunga Plains aquifer seemingly limitless in its capacity. When these assumptions from Pākehā farmers are then cited in HBRC reports, written by scientists educated in the Western-Eurocentric system, they are transformed into powerful facts. Little to no attention has been given to effect and impact of these actions on the land itself.

Only in recent years has national and local government awakened to the issue of climate change and water security in Aotearoa New Zealand. Reforms to the Resource Management Act are currently underway and look set to bring in greater regulation around water consent applications as I write this. The HBRC too has recognised water security as a key issue – studies are currently underway to assess freshwater, aquifer recharge, and plans are set to be implemented in terms of water storage management (Hawke's Bay Regional Council, 2022b). In fact, ironically the first stage of the water storage project 'will focus on expansion of an existing water storage scheme on private land at Te Tua Station' (ibid). For local Māori, an in particular hapū and whānau in Bridge Pā, the effect and impact have been occurring for a far longer period of time – three decades where the Paritua/Karewarewa stream is concerned – and is considered to be an 'environmental disaster' (Newshub, 2021). The key difference is that it is Pākehā voices which are heard, listened to, and turned into fact. Māori voices have gone, and continue to go, unheard, and excluded from what is considered to be credible.

Changing A Land

As with the gravel extraction further up the road, this situation is made possible by the structural context of Aotearoa New Zealand – the house the Pākehā built. The gulf between the te reo Māori text on the HBRC website, the management of the Paritua Stream, and the expansion of an already problematic water storage scheme, as a means to securing water security for the region, too, demonstrates the gulf between Te Tiriti in mind and action, underpinned by the familiar logic of inevitability. Surface level solutions – 'Band-Aids on the skin', 'ambulances at the bottom of cliffs' which remain blind to the deeper issue. The duality at the core of this is 'land' – and this duality is the main source for how people misunderstand each other in Aotearoa New Zealand. This duality is an ontological schism, a fundamental difference of interpretation and relation which in this case concerns the concept of land. Colonialism is a land-centred project (Wolfe, 2006), and with the arrival of Pākehā on to the whenua, a different idea of land was brought to these shores. Land went from being exclusively considered as part 'of being', something of deep, complex, spiritual and social significance, to being considered separate to being, and something only 'for being' – a spiritually impotent commodity.

Early European settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand came in search of fortune in lands that were not theirs, and were driven by a desire to possess property and land (Mutu, 2019). Subsequently, Māori were dispossessed of their lands, and it is this notion of 'dispossession' which is key to understanding how people misunderstand each other. Settler colonial land dispossession was not simply transactional through theft or legitimate means, it was a complex, multi-layered process which also amounts to an ontological dispossession of sorts. On one level, the taking of land was 'accompanied by the imposition of distinctively commodified, proprietary, and exploitative ways of understanding and relating to the land' (Singh, 2018, p. 342), broken-down into alienable, individual freeholds (Wolfe, 2006). In doing so, the transmission of knowledge about the forms of governance, ethics and philosophies that arise from relationships on the land were impeded (Wildcat et al., 2014, as cited in Singh, 2018). It could be said that a way of being, knowing, and relating was dispossessed alongside soil and earth. The source of people misunderstanding each other resides in this dimension of dispossession not being understood, and relegated in the mainstream discourse.

The dualism is encapsulated in the interpretation of the notion of the Māori custom 'tuku whenua' with respect to land management practices historically. Issued by mana whenua, tuku whenua are temporary allocations of land to specific persons for specific purposes, where once the land was no longer needed by the person for the purpose it was returned to mana whenua (Mutu 2012, as cited in Mutu, 2019). Where land was not invaded or confiscated, settlers 'misrepresented tuku whenua as land sales to claim ownership falsely and fraudulently' which eventually pushed Māori off their lands (ibid, p. 7). To focus on whether or not this was a conscious or unconscious process, as the discussion is presently situated, is beside the point. To do so is to continue to avoid the deeper, misunderstanding of the person-land relationship dynamics which are in motion here, and fundamentally, the extent of the dispossession. The dispossession of land in Aotearoa New Zealand alienated that which is connected, and was a theft which occurred on both a literal and relational level.

Māori are tangata whenua, people of the land, and the Māori word for land is whenua. Māori are inherently tied to the land, and accordingly the word whenua has a larger, more complex meaning – it refers to 'placenta', 'ground', 'country' and 'state' (Moko Mead, 2016). Land is a relational focal point for existence, a place to stand, it secures a Māori

identity, binds human relationships, and in turn people learn to bond with it (Moko Mead, 2016; Durie, 1998). As Hirini Moko Mead (2016) explains, cultural practices create binding relationships with the land. When a child is born the placenta is buried in the ground – whenua returns to whenua – and bones are usually buried in caves or in the ground. Connections are evident through language, and 'pregnancy, birth, the placenta, the umbilical cord and bones (hapū, whenua, pito, iwi) become enmeshed in the concept of whenua, as land' (ibid, p. 209). A loss of land, therefore, is a loss of life, 'or at least loss of that part of life which depends on the connections between the past and the present and the present with the future' (Durie, 1998, p. 115). Thinking about the meaning of whenua is a helpful means to understanding te ao Māori more generally, and the ways in which conventional, Western categories for understanding are folded in on themselves to become whole.

I want to make it clear at this point that to conceive of land as a dualism in this way is not to see it as a binary. Land is socially significant for human existence in a universal sense – 'land is life – or at least, land is necessary for life' (Wolfe, 2006, p. 387). In advancing the notion of dispossession of land at a relational level, I'm not saying that settler colonisers do not relate to land. Just as land is fundamental to Māori identity, so too is it for Pākehā, although crucially, where this essence is intrinsic for Māori, it is extractive for Pākehā – and herein lies the key dualistic territory. This individual-relational schism with respect to a fundamental relationship with land is made apparent when the political is grounded in the ontological. Land and its connection to the nature of being becomes a core site for the politics of place. As Wolfe (2006, p. 392) explains, 'in addition to its objective economic centrality to the project (colonial), agriculture, with its life-sustaining connectedness to land, is a potent symbol of settler-colonial identity' – it is a signification of permanence. In Aotearoa New Zealand, agriculture is important to Pākehā identity and by way of dominant association, ideas about national identity. The trope of the 'classic Kiwi bloke' is typically based around Pākehā farming men, and nation's revered 'number 8 wire'[27] culture with its associated 'can-do' attitude literally references a common agricultural fencing device.

[27] Number 8 wire is a thin, plyable wire which is commonly used for maintenance in Aotearoa New Zealand. There is a novel, cultural trope which frames number 8 wire as the 'fix all' solution to maintenance issues.

While they might make people feel at home, these cliches and novel imaginaries assist in normalising a landscape which favours a Western-Eurocentric worldview. Despite the ontological dualities and the relational commitment of Te Tiriti, a state of structural and cultural homogeneity shapes Aotearoa New Zealand. Applicable here, especially when considering the Paritua Stream, are de Sousa Santos' (2004) 'monocultures' which actively work to produce non-existence. In particular, the monocultures of 'knowledge' and 'linear time' transform modern science into 'the sole criteria of truth', and 'the idea that time is linear and that ahead of time precedes the core countries of the world system' (ibid, pp. 238-239). What is not recognised is non-existent, and whatever is asymmetrical to what is considered to be 'forward' is described as 'backward' – pre-modern, under-developed (ibid). These logics produce Māori interconnectedness and history with the Paritua Stream as non-existent in mainstream discourse and with respect to how the stream is managed, where technical reports from the HBRC are considered to be the guiding truth. In the house that Pākehā built, the Paritua Stream is forever a resource, free to be diverted, carved out, and extracted from for commercial benefit, all-the-while contributing to a greater sense of belonging for the house itself and its primary residents.

> 'In Māori terms all living things, including natural and physical resources, possess a mauri, a life principle or life essence. Distinctions between inanimate objects are therefore blurred, because each is afforded a spiritual existence which complements the physical state. Nothing is lifeless. Damage to a resource not only creates physical impairment but also causes spiritual damage and in the process impinges on the mauri of other objects, including people.'
> (Durie, 1998, p. 23)

The complex ontological dispossession which has occurred in Aotearoa New Zealand means that in this context the issue and dualism can only ever be framed in Western-Eurocentric, Pākehā terms, externalised and separate from self. The mainstream media coverage I've cited in this text, which at least allows me to critically frame the Paritua Stream situation, refers to it as a 'community's fight against an environmental disaster' (Newshub, 2021). This notion of the environment is at odds with the views of te ao Māori which 'are based on the proposition that the environment is an interacting network of related elements, each having a relationship to the others and to earlier common origins' (Durie, 1998, p. 21). However, when these are the terms then the discussion will always

be limited because in the prevailing, totalising ontological conditions the ‘environment’ will always be inferior and external to ‘man’. Something to ‘fight’ against. Something necessarily sacrificed for the human purpose of permanence and leaving ‘a traceable legacy that attests to the worth and virtue of the individuals involved’ in the name of progress (Jimmy and Andreotti, 2019, p. 15). The production of non-existence is seemingly relatively straightforward here: to conceive of the Paritua Stream on relational, connected terms requires the application of te ao Māori which, under these terms, is a thing of the past. Through this lens, Māori concerns will always look like a desire to ‘return’ to a previous time, and Māori ways of being and knowing seen as regressively inferior or extinct, remnants of a beautiful innocent culture.

This is the full extent of the changing of a land. The situation with the Paritua Stream is as much a story about the community fighting an ontological, social and structural disaster as it is environmental. If change is to occur and Aotearoa New Zealand is to move toward a society which is fundamentally Tiriti-centred then under the prevailing terms the discussion must shift to this broader framing. As long as the politics of being and knowing remain largely unengaged with then being and knowing will remain the main source for how people misunderstand each other in Aotearoa New Zealand. Comprehending this politics of place is a step toward overcoming this misunderstanding. So what happens when there is an active awareness and acknowledgement of this ontological politics? And what happens when people try to grapple directly with dualities and attempt to bring about change to the status quo? At this point it is fitting to mention examples of recent legal innovations which have received global attention. Specifically, the Te Urewera Act 2014, Te Awa Tupua Act 2017, and Te Kāhui Tupua Act 2023 have seen Aotearoa New Zealand become the first country in the world to grant a mountain and a river personhood or legal identity, including Māori worldviews in statute and foregrounding the importance of the environment (Bargh, 2020). However, I would like to focus attention away from the formal, legal realm and that which is already in the limelight, and in keeping with text instead focus on more nuanced examples which might generally be deemed ‘small’ and of somewhat ‘lesser’ importance.

Separation Anxiety[28]

It's the morning of Wednesday 28th July, 2021, and I'm in Ahuriri Napier, in the coastal suburb of Ahuriri. I'm here to meet with a manager from a local community development organisation. I'd met this person for the first time several months prior at an event run by another Te Matau-a-Māui-based community organisation. We'd been teamed up for the event, discovered we both worked in similar areas and had spent a considerable amount of time talking about our experiences working in research and community engagement projects. Keen to keep the conversation going, they had kindly invited me to visit their workplace and after a bit of back-and-forth we'd finally landed on a day and time that worked. As per usual I'm far earlier than I should be so I head to a nearby café to grab a coffee. It's next to the main road near the Ahuriri Napier port and it's not even gone 8:00am and the constant roar and clatter of logging trucks going in and out of the port seems relentless.

Time seemingly sufficiently soaked up, I make my way to the organisation's building. It's about a 10-15 minute walk from the coffee shop, across the main road and down to the picturesque waterfront area where the building is located. It's a beautiful crisp and calm winter morning. The sky is clear blue and the water is thick and still. A few seagulls swoop and squawk near fishing boats which sit idle, bumping softly against the wooden wharf pillars. I'm still early, and I'm warmly greeted by another one of the organisation's managers who works alongside the person I'm meeting. They kindly offer me a coffee and inform me that they'll be joining the meeting too. I sign in on an iPad to register I'm a visitor to the office. The place is buzzing, it feels very dynamic and corporate. The fit out of the building is modern and I can see groups of people in glass-walled meeting rooms.

The person I'm meeting arrives and we greet each other warmly – they refer to me as 'captain' and just about shake my arm out of its socket as they do. Alongside their co-worker we make our way to a large meeting room, introduce ourselves to each other properly and begin our discussion. The meeting feels tense and formal for some reason. They begin by outlining the present focus of their work which is the development of a 'culturally relevant framework' for measuring the impact of investment in the local

[28] The names of people and places have been anonymised to protect confidentially.

community. Discussion centres on what seems to be a prevailing issue in the region, and in Aotearoa New Zealand more broadly – the lack of clarity around understanding the 'impact' of community investment initiatives. People – like the two I'm meeting – feel as though they are making a difference in their work 'developing communities' but they have no way of completely knowing and 'seeing' this difference. For them, this is primarily problematic because they are unable to justify 'ROI' or 'return on investment' to their board.

In their view, key to the problem is the ways in which the impact of community investment are measured. Impact is primarily understood through quantitative metrics which are intended to measure changes to community 'wellbeing'. They feel this is out of touch with the complex on-the-ground reality, especially with respect to culture in a region like Te Matau-a-Māui which has a significant proportion of Māori in the population. Their solution has been to make the systems of measurement and means of understanding wellbeing more culturally relevant. A framework has been developed to guide all of the organisation's investment decisions and internal operations. A large colourful circular representation of the framework is beamed up on to the projector screen as it is introduced. The circle features a core section with six segments all of which are hard to immediately visually digest as the diagram spins like a roulette wheel on the meeting room wall. The framework was developed through extensive engagement with the local community and the structure of the framework is influenced by concepts from te ao Māori, with the names of its key components in te reo Māori.

After introducing the framework, they talk through their latest project which is the development of the soon-to-be-released regional wellbeing survey, which will feed into the framework. Like the framework the survey has been 'co-designed' to make it as relevant as possible to the community. When the organisation has tried to measure impact and wellbeing through surveying in the past they have had low uptake. It is hoped that the focus on relevance and collaborative development will alleviate this issue. They have done great work, and I'm grateful to be hearing about it all. At this point they ask me about my work and my PhD project – what do I make of all of this? What am I learning through my work and PhD, and how might it assist them with their work? I'm grateful to

be asked though I suddenly feel like I'm in a job interview and that my words are carrying the weight of an expectation of insight.

This makes me feel uncomfortable and at this point I realise that a number of aspects of the discussion are contributing to a general feeling of unease. Something just doesn't feel quite right about all of this, and perhaps this is in part because on a number of levels the experience and subjects we're discussing are not isolated to our meeting, to the organisation, or the region for that matter. To start with, the sensation of being uncomfortably 'grilled' for information in this topic area is nothing new to me, though it has been occurring with increasing frequency in recent years as my work with FOLKL and the PhD project has developed. Literally the week before the meeting with the organisation, a local winemaker had called me out of the blue. They'd heard about my PhD from someone else locally, were interested in decolonisation, and were keen to hear my thoughts as to how they might go about 'decolonising the wine industry'. As with the people in the community development organisation, my response to their questioning was to say that I was not totally comfortable offering a conclusive response to what is an extremely complex issue. And overwhelmingly so where te ao Māori is concerned – as a Pākehā who has grown up in a Pākehā-centred world, who I am to even comment on te ao Māori, let alone its use and relationship to a regional wellbeing framework?

Sitting there in the organisation's meeting room, one of the main contributors to my general feeling of unease is the attempt to find a fundamental harmony between te ao Māori, a 'development' strategy or a 'framework'. This idea is not something new in Aotearoa New Zealand – particularly in recent years, government organisations and corporations have rushed to adopt similar approaches driven by increased awareness of the obligation to recognise Te Tiriti. What does this all really mean though? As a Pākehā – and as a Tiriti partner – I feel I can offer comment here. The reason I feel uneasy is because I don't think it is possible to achieve a harmony, let alone something resembling a fundamental connection, between these concepts so long as the prevailing ontological flow and its economic, ideological, and power structures remain as they are. The reason for this is because they come from completely and fundamentally different ontologies and places. Yes – I don't have a comprehensive understanding of te ao Māori, though I know enough to know that its notion of 'being' is relational, multidimensional, interconnected,

and intrinsic to the whenua. The concept of being is ground-up, and applications of te ao Māori would thus need to be too.

Where these concepts come from there can never fundamentally be a different place because there is only one place of objective truth which is deemed as legitimate to rely upon exclusively. A place where the Paritua Stream is cast adrift and left to die. This place is Western knowledge from the mind of Western man – non-situated, universal, God-eyed view knowledge made possible by the production of a dualism between mind and body and between mind and nature (Grosfoguel, 2007). It is intrinsic to these concepts. These concepts are intrinsic to the idea that a community can and should be 'developed'; that it is possible to come to thoroughly understand the 'wellbeing' of people and community through a 'framework' or numbers in isolation. Therefore, concept and practice are fundamentally at odds with te ao Māori. This is because the ontological departure point is exclusively one of externalisation and individualisation, not one of relationality and collective responsibility. And so essentially the text you have just read in this and the preceding two paragraphs is the answer I would have loved to have given when they kindly asked me for my perspective in our meeting. Unfortunately I don't have the desired 'silver bullet', and no one individual alone ever will no matter their level of expertise. I still think about this conversation and on an evening in spring later that I year I distinctly recall it popping into my head.

Getting Your Hands Dirty

It's 8:30pm on Sunday 14 November, 2021. The evening is warm and I'm standing in the middle of a paddock with a large white bucket of '500' in one hand and a wooden stick in the other. 500 is a biodynamic soil preparation which is obtained by the transformation of high-quality cow manure that has been stuffed into cow horns and buried under the ground for six months. I'm at my friend Gretta's place, and the reason I'm standing here in her paddock at this hour is because I'm applying this 500 to the soil in preparation for planting. There's a group of about eight of us here. We've spent the past hour stirring the 500 into water and now I'm taking my time walking all over the paddock spreading the liquid from the bucket as I go with a gentle flick of the stick every few steps. It's a still evening and the sky is a vast, uninterrupted lilac-blue canvas stretching to the west where

it develops a golden hue as the sun sets behind the Ruahine Range. In the silence on evenings like this in Te Matau-a-Māui I feel like you can hear your memories and smell the earthiness of the past as the land begins to slowly yield to the darkness.

Gretta has recently moved to this small piece of land and is developing it as maara kai to supply her café Hapī which is based a couple of kilometres away in Ahuriri Napier. In my experience like most te reo Māori words, it's difficult to offer a direct and concise translation for 'maara kai' in the English language. A maara kai is a food garden but it is more than this – it's a collective practice of gardening for food and a long-standing tradition of growing your own food in a way that is positive for the health of people and the environment (Tuia Mātauranga, 2023). When we'd arrived a couple of hours earlier Gretta had taken us on a walk through long rows of vibrant and abundant basil, silver beet, and kale. As we walked we plucked leaves off and tasted them. You haven't tasted basil, silver beet, and kale until you have tasted it from Gretta's maara kai. It's like the version you might find at a supermarket but amplified and on hyperbolic steroids – an unforgettable level of flavour, zingy and literally energising. The plants look alive and jump up to my waist as I walk past them. The word 'steroid' implies artificial intervention, but there's nothing like that here. The maara kai is completely organic and biodynamic. I reached down and grab a fistful of the soil from beneath a basil plant next to me. It's like doughy, dark chocolate cake, rich and full of life.

Later in the evening once we've spread the 500 we sit down together on the grass next to Gretta's house and share kai (food) together in the fading light. Everyone's brought something to share. Amongst the spread Gretta's slow roasted a piece of pork from the nearby butcher to have between slices of fresh baked bread with greens from the maara. Billie and I have brought some corn tortilla chips we'd made the day before, with a fresh tomato salsa. There's a cordial made from fermented kawakawa[29] leaves, and fry bread to have with butter and golden syrup[30] afterwards. There are about 40 jet black feathered chickens on the property and every now and then one pops over to see what's going on. We scatter handfuls of molasses-coated maize to keep them happy. To me, this evening is Hapī.

[29] Kawakawa is a small, versatile native plant with antiseptic properities.
[30] Fry bread is a well-known dish made by shallow frying bread dough in oil, and is typically eaten with butter and golden syrup as a snack.

‘Hapī’ is derived from the word ‘hapori’ which can be described in English as meaning ‘community’. To say Hapī is a café does not completely do it justice. While the café is a prominent part, Hapī is a Kaupapa Māori business and organisation centred around the concept of ‘hua parakore’. Again, it’s difficult to offer a concise explanation in English though Gretta’s academic colleagues Jessica Hutchings and Jo Smith (2020, p. 18) provide a useful description. ‘Hua parakore is based on the wisdom of our tupuna, whānau and hapū; it is about working in harmony with te ao tūroa (the natural environment) and te ao marama (the natural world), and is about restoring vibrant Indigenous Māori food systems that build food-secure and sovereign futures for whānau’. Hua parakore shapes Hapī and Gretta sees Hapī is being fundamentally about community, with the café as the face of this. When you visit the wāhine (women)-run café it’s impossible not to feel this. The homegrown and homemade food jumps out at you. The space is vibrant and open, with long tables and bench seats surrounding a central food preparation area.

I work next to Hapī and have spent countless hours there and the place feels constantly in motion – people meeting, familiar and new, conversations buzzing and flowing. Always there after the lengthy pandemic lockdowns, and the first place to open in Ahuriri Napier after the devastating Cyclone Gabrielle – Hapī is a place of physical and emotional nourishment. A place I love and have learned so much from and through. This is Hapī – a way of being and doing – Hapī is Kaupapa Māori because it *is* Kaupapa Māori. It resonates Graham Hingangaroa Smith’s (2012) interpretation of Kaupapa Māori in that it is fundamentally transformative – about making a difference and change in all peoples’ lives, imbued with radical potential brought about by cultural and political elements, which both have praxis. I know from my many conversations with Gretta that in being about community, Hapī is political in its intention and conceived in opposition to mainstream ways of knowing and doing with respect to food and community practices. In her words, it is an expression of self-determination.

When describing decolonial politics, Singh (2018) refers to ethico-political resurgences where ethics and politics are tied together closely. Micro-political practices of the self and community are the starting point of a working toward macro-political transformations – a ‘politics of the act’ (Day, 2005, as cited in Singh, 2018). That is, ‘a politics that enacts or

actualises a different way of life here and now through concrete, embodied practices' (Singh, 2018, p. 346). These words are helpful in situating Hapī, where self-determination is practice rather than institutional goal (ibid). Hapī does not grapple with 'community' and 'wellbeing' as detached objects – it just *is*. In just 'being' in this independent way Hapī is actively counter-hegemonic. A free running stream separate from the prevailing ontological flow.

Clearing Pathways

> 'new knowledge was always being added to the accumulated basket of knowledge. Each generation adds, subtracts, or amends the basket of knowledge, and that process continues to this day. … The thinkers of today have a difficult task because of the social, economic, and political situation we live in. Not only do they have to revive the lost portions of mātauranga Māori and adapt them to the needs of modern society, but they also need to clear a pathway through competing ideologies, cultures, and technologies.' (Moko Mead, 2022)

With these words about mātauranga Māori, Hirini Moko Mead makes two important points which are applicable generally to the location of Māori ways of being and knowing in the present day. First, he emphasises the fluidity and evolutionary characteristics which imply an adaptive potential, and second, he clearly situates mātauranga Māori as being something independent to the status quo structurally, and fundamentally at odds with competing ideologies, cultures, and technologies which exist in the present social, economic, and political context. These points can be reflected on with respect of the community development organisation and Hapī examples, with particular attention paid to the notion of needing to 'clear a pathway through'. For me, on one hand it is the house that Pākehā built, the prevailing ontological context and structures which must be cleared for this pathway. On the other, it is Pākehā comprehending their place, and becoming manuhiri on the whenua. For now I'd like to continue to focus on the former, the following chapter will offer balanced consideration of the latter.

With the community development organisation, there is an attempt to find a solution to understanding and better developing communities by making current systems more

culturally relevant. What occurs here is an ontological clash of sorts as ways of being and knowing which are fundamentally ground-up and relational are 'clipped on' to assumptions and processes which are fundamentally based on individualism and universalism. That is, the structural status quo which ultimately dictates cultural relevance, therefore 'other' cultures remain just that, and primarily present through words only. This is what it looks like when the pathway is not cleared and change is akin to purchasing a new artwork and putting it on the walls of the house that Pākehā built. With Hapī, there is Kaupapa Māori, a political and structural critique which is 'lived', an expression of self-determination, and an attempt about change through action. Here 'possibilities outside a neoliberal age' are visible, and Hapī exists as a demonstrated 'critique of neoliberal policies and practices', a living 'elaboration of the multiple roles that enterprises and peoples also play in a diverse economy' (Bargh, 2018, p. 304). This is what it looks like when the pathway is being cleared and change facilitated in a way that seeks a fundamental structural alteration.

So, Who Owns the Flow?

> 'While New Zealand has yet to recognise Māori ownership of freshwater, preferring instead to assert that either no one owns water or we all own water, many … Māori laws remain alive and practiced by tribes throughout the country. While this tikanga legal system is not as well known to all of us in New Zealand, one of our greatest opportunities to find local sustainable solutions for the wellbeing of our lands and peoples lies inherently within tikanga Māori.'
> (Ruru, 2018, p. 217)

Focussing on ontological politics as the essence of misunderstanding can enable the deconstruction of the house that Pākehā built, and the prevailing economic, ideological, and power structures. This is vital in the process of affecting positive, Tiriti-centred change. It makes visible the full extent to which Aotearoa New Zealand exists as separate lands in the present day. In the case of my PhD project, it allows for an important critique which extends to the methods of critique. He Awa Whiria, the metaphor which underpins my conceptual and methodological approach, is not only a device for independently positioning worldviews as river flows. It is effective in that the worldviews flow over land –

over whenua Māori – and this too is central as a device for critique. In the house that Pākehā built which sits on separate lands, so long as the flow remains unowned or collectively owned, it is Pākehā owned. To not see this and to assume that it is possible for anything other than a Western-Eurocentric worldview to exist in genuinely independent state is to be contextually and structurally blind.

In the present day, mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand exists in this state of blindness. At a basic level the ontological politics and politics of place is an issue of 'I' and 'We', where the latter extends to the physical, natural environment. And as a Pākehā, who am I to comment? That's pretty much as far as I can take it in terms of description as I write this project in English in a Western academic institution. In the house that Pākehā built logics and genealogy of classification shape and limit the situation (Salmond, 2022). Ways of being and knowing are hierarchical beginning with Western man as inherently positioned as rationally superior with respect to mankind, and mankind as separate from the natural and material world. The local is rendered unrelatable and trivial within an external, acquisition-based knowledge context which prioritises generalisability.

Vocabulary only includes terms which themselves are colonial constructions and names intended to homogenise and marginalise Indigenous peoples – 'Indigenous' being one of these (Adcock and Cram, 2021). In this context, culturally relevant metaphors, frameworks, and legal innovations will always be culturally and structurally bound, and impeded. Take the concept of kaitiakitanga (guardianship), for example, which often appears in these mechanisms as it does in the recent legal innovations. At present it is stifled – the present day Pākehā hegemonic conditions 'equates growing the asset base with the idea of kaitiakitanga, without recognising the difference between the skills to improve the economic indicators, and the power to protect the base and determine what that means' (Jackson, 2011, p. 172). Prevailing logic and language simply cannot fathom the notion.

There is no common language to discuss gravel extraction from the Ngaruroro River, or reconcile the different relationships people have with the Paritua Stream because in the prevailing ontological context these relationships can never just be located in the stream itself or properly and independently put into relation with one another. That which exists actively reproduces its own superiority. It is about control – not only over the natural

world – but by way of linear explanation and methodology (Adams et al., 2021). Finding common language is not about shoehorning te ao Māori concepts into universalising frameworks that do not consider the local context, or placing extra onus on Māori to do more. It is about relating, Pākehā putting in work, and finding common language without appropriating (Thomas, 2015). The latter point is important however it does not have to mean that for Pākehā solutions exist exclusively in the safety of Western concepts. For example – interpreting Māori relationships with the Paritua Stream through the 'more-than-human' theories (ibid). The solutions can be, and are, unequivocally Māori. For Pākehā then it is about making space and finding ways to relate. It is about getting your hands dirty – it is about finding home. It is being manuhiri.

Chapter 6: Shared Stories

At this point I would like to reflect on what it means to be manuhiri as I interpret it, the structural and political implications of moving toward a restoration of a tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship, and realising a Tiriti-based society in Aotearoa New Zealand. In advancing the ideas in this chapter I am not attempting to offer a tidy, totalising form of 'solution' to clear-cut 'problems'. Instead what I'm putting forward is essentially an ethic for relating, and an ethic which is based on my experiences. So too am I advancing ideas which have relevance for those in Aotearoa New Zealand and beyond. I hope that it will stimulate thinking and offer something useful for at least myself to continue working to bring about positive, Tiriti-centred change in this land.

Streams Merging

Far downstream from Raukawa School, beyond the community of Maraekakaho, through the township of Bridge Pā where the Paritua Stream becomes the Karewarewa Stream, there is an above-ground merge point. A place where two streams meet. Here, the Paritua/Karewarewa Stream reaches its nominal end-point, merging with the Awanui Stream which continues to flow eastward across the Heretaunga Plains. Eventually it meets the larger Karamū Stream which becomes the larger Te Awa o Mokotūāraro, which then meets Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa. As with the Paritua Stream, I know the Awanui Stream well. Just before the point that it merges, it flows directly behind the farm where I grew up, bending its way through the last remaining piece of what once was the giant Turamoe wetland ('the swamp' as we knew it) where it straightens, altered many years ago to accommodate the neighbouring farmland.

It's Saturday 11th December, 2021, and I'm lying down on the floor of a building which is about the size of a large classroom or seminar room. Right now I'm alone in this space and outside it's hot – a quintessential early summer day in Te Matau-a-Māui. A distinctive clear blue sky and the gentle beginnings of an easterly breeze are rolling around, ever-present but not overwhelming, brushing up against you every now and then like a friendly cat. It's just gone 11am and already the temperature is climbing into the high-20s. The

room is a special place, and a cool, calm sanctuary at this moment in time. It's the wharenui (meeting house) of Taraia Marae located in the small township of Pakipaki which sits to the south of Ahuriri Napier and Heretaunga Hastings, only a few hundred meters from our farm and immediately adjacent to the Paritua/Karewarewa Stream and Awanui Stream merge-point. Over the past year I have been lucky enough to come to know and connect with this place, with Taraia Marae, with some of the many people who whakapapa (connect genealogically) here, and with this room whose soft carpet I am now gratefully folding into.

Lying here and looking up I can see the white and maroon painted wooden beams which support the roof of the wharenui, crisscrossing horizontally and vertically. Behind the beams is a thick layer of raupō (reeds) which makes up the underside of the roof structure. Against the squares of timber framing the raupō resembles individual panels, situated at alternating diagonals to the direction of the beams. This pattern speaks to the design on the front of the wharenui which I saw for the first time on a visit earlier in the year. On that still autumnal Sunday in March under a thick, whipped blanket of grey cloud on my way onto the marae, standing on the lawn opposite the wharenui, I'd paused to take it in. A distinctive black and white kaokao (chevron pattern) covering the entire front façade like hundreds of linked arms bent at 90 degree angles. This is Taraia Marae – the ancestral meeting house of the Ngāti Hotoa hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu, and it is rich in historical associations. 'Taraia' is the great-grandson of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine who brought his people south from Māhia to settle on the Heretaunga Hastings plain during the 16th Century.

The main reason I'm lying on the floor of the wharenui right now is because for the past year I have been working on a project with whānau from Taraia Marae. In January I'd met Kane, the chairperson of the marae, and his cousin. Together with the marae's trustees, they were working on a Marae Development Plan (MDP). Taraia is one of three marae in Pakipaki and historically it has been used relatively sparingly and primarily as a 'backup', accommodating people if there is an overflow when events are held at the larger Houngarea and Mihiroa marae. The MDP is seen as an important part of the revitalisation of Taraia Marae. Those who whakapapa to Taraia are spread throughout the region, across Aotearoa New Zealand and the world. Kane and the trustees were keen to involve as many of these people possible in the MDP process. FOLKL had been recommended

to Kane as a potential partner for this work due to our community engagement expertise and local proximity. My colleague Pip had also worked on a project with Kane in the past and so the connection was made and our working relationship came to be.

Slowly rolling over onto my side and shifting my gaze from the roof I see the maroon painted central wooden pole which supports the wharenui. A small kākahu (cloak) sits around its lower section as do four wooden bench seats which make an island for seating in the middle of the room. Benches line the low white inside walls of the wharenui on which green harakeke (flax) plants are painted. Raupō, harakeke – these plants are familiar to me. Both are common throughout the region and grow in abundance in what's left of the wetland at the back of our farm nearby. Both would have once carpeted the Heretaunga Plains in centuries gone, before pasture, fruit trees and grape vines stepped in. I hear the sound of voices and laughter wafting in through the open window and small door of the wharenui. Today is the Taraia Marae 'celebration day' – a get-together for hapū and whānau where the MDP will be presented, and people have started arriving.

Over the past 12 months under Kane's leadership and the guidance of a small working group of whānau we've worked together to make the MDP happen. At a practical level for Pip and I this involved general facilitation, assisting with information gathering, and included tasks such as the coordination of hui-a-hapū (meetings for hapū) on the marae – everything from helping on the infamous portable barbeque station, to making sure pens and paper were at the ready for people to lend their ideas for Taraia's future. Once a month on a Sunday afternoon the core project group would all meet on the marae to plan things as we went. Whānau in the working group held conversations with kaumātua to gather stories of the marae's history. Questions were conceived for an online survey which found its way to whānau as far afield as London in the United Kingdom and Boston in the United States. Eventually history, aspirations, vision, governance, committees, and a 'roadmap' to the future all came together in a vibrant and visual feast that is the Taraia MDP document.

Hearing the voices and laughter drifting in I know it's time for me to get back out the front and finish helping with the set up for the day. Kane had asked if I could blu-tack some large printed pages of the MDP to the walls and get the TV ready for the presentation. As I hang the pages up I can smell a distinctive aroma drifting in from out the back of the

wharenui where a hāngī (earth oven) is underway. This is the kai which we'll have a bit later on once everyone's here and the MDP has been shared. I feel as though kai has been interwoven with the coming together of the MDP project over the year. Pip and I didn't ever arrive empty handed to Taraia, and thanks to Pip's desire to hone her baking skills at the time we'd turn up with fresh muffins and scones on the regular. Much to her shock these were always jaw-droppingly delicious and would be guaranteed to completely vanish after an in-depth critique from an esteemed tasting panel. Others would do the same, and we'd always finish our hui with a cup of tea or coffee in the recently built, indoor-outdoor wharekai (cooking area) behind the wharenui where the hāngī is today, and where the tables and chairs are set up for afterwards.

Pages now hung up, I turn my attention to the TV. It's part of a new portable AV unit which sits in the corner of the wharenui. On a visit earlier in the year we'd watched Team New Zealand win the America's Cup on it. As the project progressed old photographs of the marae were unearthed as well as letters and documents. Scans of some of these would be put up on the TV for everyone to look at and kuia would explain them, their meaning and where they'd come from. The marae's wharenui is one of the oldest in the region, if not one of the oldest buildings per se, and was originally built near the summit of Kōhinerākau (Mt Erin) around 1820. It was then moved to the junction of Mutiny Road and Middle Road[31] and finally came to rest in its current location around 1840. In 1986 under the guidance of kaumātua and kuia the wharenui was renovated and raised up from the ground of the traditional dirt floor to sit on its present day foundation. TV now all set and ready to go I duck out the front door, put my shoes on and head back across the lawn to where people are starting to gather.

Reflections

The Taraia Marae celebration day was an uplifting and emotional day. There was an energy in the air and it was as though you could feel the presence of the marae. Around midday everyone had gathered in the wharenui and Kane presented the MDP. People spoke of their love for the place, past and present, and their excitement for the marae's

[31] This junction is at the base of Kōhinerākau (Mt Erin), approximately 1-2 kilometers from the marae's present day site.

future. People spoke of their deep appreciation for each other, and for the mahi of Kane and the trustee's. Afterwards we all made our way out the rear door of the wharenui to have lunch. I was one of the last to leave the room along with a couple of kuia – one of who held and squeezed my hand. In the moment I felt overwhelmed, emotion suddenly welled up through me and I began to tear up. I felt deeply grateful to have been involved, for the experience, and to be able to be here in this place and on the marae. 'Yes, yes – it'll do this to you, it's ok, you'll feel like you want to cry, just go with it' she said to me.

The kai that afternoon was absolutely unreal. The best hāngī I have been lucky enough to have. Succulent pieces of pork and chicken, stuffing, soft potatoes and slices of pumpkin with an that steamy, earthy, subtle cabbage-leafy flavour that only a hāngī can give. I held back and didn't want to rush to fill my plate – 'hurry up! Get in there Henry, you'll fade away'. I sat down next to Pip and just about cried again when I tasted the food. One of the whānau from the project working group came and sat down opposite us. 'Well, you guys are pretty much like whānau now!' she said. A kuia came and sat next to me, again in amongst our conversation we spoke of our appreciation for the experience, for the kai and for the day. 'This is us Henry, this is our culture – it's not like this for you Pākehā – we'll always have this.'

Later in the afternoon once the majority of people had left I helped pack the chairs and tables into the storage container which sits at the back of the marae. The back of the section of land the marae is on borders the Awanui Stream, only a hundred meters or so down from its merge point with the Paritua/Karewarewa Stream. You can hear the stream flowing although it's not immediately visible due to the thick and thriving native trees and brushes which sit between the marae's fence and the stream. Amongst these are an abundance of tī kōuka and harakeke plants, all planted over recent years in an effort to restore the stream banks and the health of the waterway due to the negative impacts of agriculture. The water quality monitoring sites for both the Awanui and Paritua/Karewarewa streams are near Taraia Marae. At the time of writing, nitrogen and phosphorus levels put them in the worst 25% of all sites across Aotearoa New Zealand (Land, Air, Water Aotearoa, 2023a; 2023b). When I got home that evening I took a look at the stream data online for myself. Yet again I felt tearful.

Being Relational

> ‘But the pain will end. Not because Pākehā will stop their acquisitive search for an understanding of Māori by treating our world as a book which they can strain to read over our shoulders; nor because the alien word will cease in its attempts to colonize the Māori mind and crush it within an ideology that perpetuates Pākehā domination. Rather it will end because as Māori we are now seeking to reclaim the validity of our own institutions, the specifics of our own faith, and the truths of our own history. That process will not only nourish once more the Māori soul, it will also eventually undermine the conceptual framework of the Pākehā word and the oppression which has flowed from it. It will thus be a redemption of the hopes expressed so long ago in the first remembered wisdom of our word.’
> (Jackson, 1992, pp. 9-10)

Moana Jackson gave us these words in 1992 – 32 years ago. They were published in a book titled ‘Justice, Ethics, and New Zealand Society’ in his chapter ‘The Colonization of Māori Philosophy’. No doubt at the time of publication these words would have been striking, particularly for Pākehā readers. I have placed them here in this text in 2024 because they remain as striking and as relevant as they did then, and they will continue to do so well into the future. With these words Jackson primarily addresses Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand – a pain, context and situation which Pākehā can and will never truly comprehend. This does not make these words any less pertinent for Pākehā. In fact they are vital words for Pākehā to consider in their role as tauiwi. Crucially, they demarcate spaces and outline tensions which Pākehā must address and learn to navigate if they are to be in this land, on this whenua. Tensions of place, positionality, and relationality which are of relevance to this PhD project, including the Taraia Marae experience which I have just described.

Fundamentally, Aotearoa New Zealand is a relational place in name and in form. Te Tiriti o Waitangi cemented an elemental relational bind between Māori as tangata whenua (hosts), and tauiwi as manuhiri (guests). In the previous chapters I have interrogated what this relationship looks like both historically and in the present day, with particular attention given to structural and political foreground. Now it’s time to consider where to from here? And for tauiwi and Pākehā specifically, what does it mean to be relational? For a start there are certainly a wide range of terms to prefix this idea. The first one of these I learned

was ‘ally’. ‘You’re working as an ‘ally’ – you’re an ‘ally’’ is what a professor at my previous university had told me a few years ago. I’d just finished describing (or at least trying to describe) a project I’d worked on in the health sector where those of us involved had tried to centre and uphold Kaupapa Māori throughout. The last time I’d given any attention to the word ‘ally’ was back at high school when my class had studied World War Two. A hierarchy of allies working in a militaristic context in response to a largely tangible threat. Allies operating with regimented, calculated, clinical precision, and in some cases in support of imperialism. A term which, when discussing its limitations with respect to social justice, Margaret (2010, p. 8) highlights ‘is based on a Western Christian model of individualism, with ‘a focus on heroes not movements’, and ‘moral intentions over impact’. A universe away from the disjointed, messy, enriching experience I’d just described, where connections had been forged in the face of a largely intangible threat.

In one of my early kōrero with Fiona Cram I’d attempted to outline my PhD project to her over a sausage roll and slice of ginger crunch at Haumoana Coffee. ‘It’s like you’re thinking about how to be the ultimate accomplice’ she’d said. There I’d come to learn another term – ‘accomplice’ which is closely aligned with another adjective I’ve since learned, the idea of being a ‘co-conspirator’. By definition an accomplice is a person who helps someone else to do something morally wrong. In the house that Pākehā built where Western-Eurocentric economic, ideological, and power structures prevail, to advance alternative ways of being and doing, and to go against the house, is essentially morally wrong. Therefore ‘accomplice’ at least feels to me like a better fit than ‘ally’. Another relational term I’m more familiar with is ‘tangata Tiriti’. This is used to describe tauiwi and Pākehā who fundamentally support Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Grounded in a relational commitment to Te Tiriti and an eternal hope for the realisation of Te Tiriti, ‘tangata Tiriti’ is political in its intent.

Recently for a publication alongside Kaupapa Māori researchers I was asked for my affiliation. Not affiliating to an iwi, what is my affiliation? Is it Pākehā? Ngāti Pākehā? Tangata Tiriti? Tauiwi? I chose not to have an affiliation. This choice was political for two intertwining reasons, both stemming from my grappling with my own identity at this time. First, it was a resistance to ‘terms’, the perfection, tidiness and completeness that terminological categorisation signifies. Second, and in turn, it was a resistance to the presumed transitionary nature of what it means to be Pākehā in the present day. I am

Pākehā, though I don't see being Pākehā as being a perfect, tidy, and complete package. When it is seen as such, it is possible for Pākehā to lose sight of who they are, the house they've built, and the whenua they're on. Aspiring to Te Tiriti requires a relational commitment that is not just of face-value or the 'now', it is a structural and political critique that embodies the past, present and future, engagement with which is of vital importance.

For tauiwi and Pākehā like myself who hold eternal hope for Te Tiriti – those 'tangata Tiriti', if you will – I think being relational comes with a deep sense of responsibility. It feels like something more than words and frameworks, something that is always evolving, grounded in a process of constant learning. An active, inherently imperfect process of both passive learning, listening, and active doing which encompasses a coming into with relation with self – the latter of which carries added weight for Pākehā. Moana Jackson's words above speak to this weight – Pākehā 'acquisition', 'domination', 'oppression', and the 'pain' this has inflicted on the Māori soul – again lending further credence to the timeless pertinence of these words for a Pākehā audience. Therefore being relational comes with considerable risk. It is about being respectful and respecting boundaries while at the same time being open to risk and maintaining a permeable sense of self – being capable of being vulnerable, of being blemish-able. Reflecting on particular moments and analysing what I have felt in these moments has shaped my position on this at this moment and time. A position which will no doubt continue to grow and evolve as my experiences do. I will never forget being tasked with presenting the 'whānau voice' project for a primary healthcare provider to the Hawke's Bay District Health Board (DHB) many years ago. The wider project team had encouraged me to present, and nervously I'd taken this on. All of us who had worked on the project had been nervous and excited for the presentation – it was a big deal to get an audience with the DHB. After I'd finished the presentation one of senior DHB staff members spoke and said 'this might be whānau voice – but look who's doing the talking'. Standing in front of the packed room, at the time I wish I could have disappeared.

Prior to them saying that, I'd been caught up in the uplifting energy of the project where in working with the kaiāwhina, many of the healthcare provider's Māori patient base (whānau) had been interviewed to provide feedback to inform changes to healthcare provision. The project team had insisted on upholding Kaupapa Māori researcher

guidelines (Cram, 1997, adapted from Smith, 1999), and this was my first time working as a Pākehā researcher in this context. The healthcare provider was genuinely committed to making changes off the back of this consultation (and since has) and those interviewed valued this and the experience. Bonds had formed amongst those on the project team too, and there was a feeling that something special and positive was happening. Standing in front of the packed room, regardless of how I might have felt, I ultimately resembled the Pākehā from Moana Jackson's earlier quotation. If I could repeat that situation, among many things, I would have at least not been so quick to take on the task of presenting on my own. Just as I will never forget this bruise of learning, I will also never forget the immediate support which was voiced by the project team in the moment. 'We know him, we know what he's about' is what Cece, one of the kaiāwhina team, said while giving me a hug as I took my seat.

When it comes to being relational, the notion of being respectful and respecting boundaries must too extend to self. Feelings of discomfort and of guilt can feel overwhelming and ever-present. This 'torment' cannot become a point of negative fixation however hard it might be to resist. If it does, then it can become a barrier to taking the required responsibility, to being relational, and in turn upholding Te Tiriti obligations. It is the rigour of relational entanglement. I will never forget one of the hui in the wharenui at Taraia Marae being interrupted by a person who came into the wharenui and was visibly upset. At the time I could not tell what exactly the person was upset about though it became clear that in-part it was to do with the MDP project and the presence of Pip and myself. I will never forget just how deep my stomach sank that day. I can only describe it as a feeling of anxiety and discomfort like which I have never experienced. 'It's ok, you're ok, she's ok – it's all healing' I remember the kuia next to me saying.

I have replayed this moment over again in my head many times. With Taraia it always feels more personal, primarily due to the proximity of the marae to where I grew up, the place I call home, the farm, and the streams. Throughout the entirety of the time working on the MDP project I had been conscious of my position, the risks, and the dynamics at play – tormented by this, in fact. Conscious of my role as a Pākehā researcher working with Māori. Conscious of the precious privilege of being on the marae and connecting with people and place. Conscious that the project we were working on was ultimately an

initiative designed by the Crown. Again, throughout the experience I resembled the Pākehā described by Moana Jackson. In the moment, seeing someone visibly upset brought this to the surface. It was confronting, primarily in the sense that seeing someone upset was in itself deeply upsetting to me, just as it would be to anyone. Though so too was it confronting in that it helped me to see myself, as strange as that sounds.

At the point on the project when that moment had occurred, those of us in the wharenui for the hui had got know one another. Things on our conscience had been shared, a level of trust and a relationship had been established, and this ultimately helped to defuse the situation that day. It was this trust and relationship that lent strength, self-respect, and the capability to see that, just like the DHB meeting, that moment was not about me. It was not some personal attack, at least as far as I'm aware, and I am not personally responsible for colonisation and the neglect of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Likewise in the earlier quotation, Moana Jackson is not addressing a specific person when he writes of 'Pākehā' in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Pākehā he describes is an ideological concept, a hegemonic culture, prevailing ontology and structure which has oppressed and inflicted pain. Despite this, I am not detached – I am Pākehā, and I am inherently bound to these things, and therefore must take responsibility, commit to the collective relational obligations afforded to those in this land, and toward the promise of Te Tiriti.

Manuhiri: A State of 'Being'

Realising this responsibility and promise will take a relational re-wiring in Aotearoa New Zealand where 'being relational' will be defined by a tangata whenua (host) and manuhiri (guest) relationship. This relationship dynamic is nothing new here, it precedes Te Tiriti and his been in this land since the arrival of Māori. More recently it has been raised with respect to Te Tiriti and contemporary relationships in Aotearoa New Zealand by Ani Mikaere in a lecture in 2004, which has since been published. In this, Mikaere makes the point that if the second article of Te Tiriti had been adhered to then the relationship with Māori and Pākehā would have been regulated by tikanga Māori, and accordingly a tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship (Mikaere, 2011). As Jo Smith (2007, p. 7) aptly highlights when reflecting on Mikaere's words, the tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship 'offers up a model of belonging that acknowledges the historical relationship between

Māori and Pākehā as an agonistic and eternally open mode of encounter between two parties'. A relationship where 'rather than encouraging Pākehā to be overcome with guilt and shame', the onus is 'to 'think Māori' and to embrace tikanga surrounding the host-guest relationship as an antidote to the paralysis of settler ambivalence' (ibid). This relational context is the essence of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and this notion of manuhiri can of course be extended to tauiwi.

First and foremost, 'manuhiri' is a te reo Māori word and a concept which stems from tikanga and te ao Māori. As I have bracketed above, the word is used to describe a 'guest' or 'visitor', and foundationally 'when manuhiri go into the area of another people, it is understood that the tikanga of the tangata whenua apply' (Mikaere, 2011, p. 111). Variations exist between iwi and hapū in terms of the ways in which tikanga is practiced though unquestionably 'within the domain of the tangata whenua, it is their interpretation and application of the principles underpinning tikanga that prevail' (ibid). Take Taraia Marae for example, there's no way someone visiting from the Ngāti Porou iwi in Tariāwhiti would instruct on conduct on the marae, or any Ngāti Kahungunu marae – 'manuhiri never assume tangata whenua status in another person's domain' (ibid). A relational re-wiring is necessary because in the house that Pākehā built with its 'conceptual framework of the Pākehā word' (Jackson, 1992, p. 10) the tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship model is broken – 'it is the manuhiri who are dictating the way that things should be done in tangata whenua's domain' (Mikaere, 2011, p. 117).

If Te Tiriti o Waitangi is to be realised then the tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship must be restored, and Pākehā and tauiwi must become manuhiri in respect of this. Before offering a perspective as to what this might mean I would like to make it clear that in advancing the notion of 'becoming' manuhiri I am not attempting to co-opt or redefine the word or concept. 'Manuhiri' is intrinsic to te ao Māori and as a Pākehā and a guest on whenua Māori I am intrinsically bound to it. My perspective is my interpretation of the concept from where I stand. It is an effective response to manuhiri stemming from my commitment to Te Tiriti, it is not a taking over. It does not mean I stop being Pākehā and it does not resolve any aspects of Pākehā identity. I would like to advance a notion of manuhiri as a state of being, a standpoint that is an extension of the reflection on 'being relational'. That is where 'being relational' is an inherently imperfect process of both passive learning and active doing which encompasses a coming into with relation with

self – the latter of which carries added weight for Pākehā within the wider domain of tauiwi.

Being manuhiri in this context is deeper than terminology and it is not something which can be externally acquired. It is the work that Pākehā need to do, however it is not something which is exclusively reserved for Pākehā. In this vein it is applicable to all tauiwi in Aotearoa New Zealand, and even though my perspective on the idea of being manuhiri is a Pākehā one I'm sure there is still relevance for tauiwi. Moana Jackson (2020, p. 58) describes tikanga as 'a relational law' lived 'with' rather than 'under' and 'based on an ethic of restoration that seeks balance in all relationships, including the primal relationship of love for and with Papatūānuku'. I'd like to focus on the 'ethic of restoration' part of this which from here is grounded in te ao Māori. In this setting, time and relationships have fluidity, and whakapapa connects the natural world – whakapapa being 'a series of never-ending beginnings where the nature and effects of relationships' crosses 'from the past into the future, through 'now-time''[32] (ibid, p. 57). Jackson's description continues;

> Because whakapapa traverses time between the past, present and future, the building of new relationships and the telling of new stories begins with the identification and 'un-telling' of colonisation's past and present lies. Stories for and about transformation rely on honesty about the misremembered stories and the foresight to see where different stories might lead.
>
> That is the ethic of restoration. It offers the chance, or challenge, to clutch truth and justice for 'future flowerings'.
>
> It is concerned with the balance of relationships rather than a will to limit what they might be. And in giving back to Māori the right of self-determination, it offers everyone a place to stand…'
>
> (Jackson, 2020, p. 64)

For Pākehā, being manuhiri is an ethic of restoration. A relational stepping stone for a structural and political 'undoing' which is only made possible through 'seeing' and coming into relation with self – past, present, and future. It is tikanga-based and underpinned by Te Tiriti. It is an emotional and enriching experience which is 'felt'. Being

[32] In this passage of text Jackson (2020) references Patricia Grace's notion of 'now-time' from her book Potiki, Penguin Books, 1986, p. 39.

manuhiri is finding home and a place to stand in this land. It is finding the ‘shared sense of home’ offered by Te Tiriti where ‘home is a concept of place, a concept of belonging, a concept of being’ (Jackson, 2022). Fiona Cram (2020) introduces ontological security as a way of understanding the meaning of home for Māori whānau in Aotearoa New Zealand. Ontological security too is felt, it ‘comes from an emotional, rather than cognitive, sense’ (Dupuis, 2012, as cited in Cram, 2020, p. 1). An ontologically secure person would have a sense of their ‘presence in the world as a real, alive, whole, and, in a temporal sense, a continuous person’ (Laing, 1964, p. 42, as cited in Cram, 2020, p. 1). Cram links the importance of place to identity, and calls for recognition of this ‘as part of what makes a house a home for whānau, and what provides Māori with a sense of ontological security’ (ibid, p. 21).

For Māori, ontological security ‘comes from being connected to whānau, whakapapa and whenua’ (Cram, Te Huia, Te Huia, Williams and Williams, 2019, as cited in Cram, 2020, p. 6). Not a premodern notion, ‘but rather a contemporary form of Māori cultural resilience’ and resistance of colonialism ‘that has tried to assimilate and integrate Māori’ (Cram, 2020, p. 6). An ontologically insecure person would be seen as someone who would have trouble fitting in and negotiating their structural and social world (Hewitt, 2010, as cited in Cram, 2020). I would like to link the notion of being manuhiri with finding ontological security. As it stands, the incompleteness of Pākehā identity is ontological insecurity. A lack of relationship with self and with the past that is borne from colonialism. Unsettled in a place which is partial, made possible by colonisation, historical privilege, and Pākehā hegemony in society. Being manuhiri is comprehending place through listening well, discovering and feeling what it means to be in place, being ontologically secure and a person who is relatively more real, alive, and whole on the whenua.

Māori resistance to colonialism and ontological security has meant that the general concept of manuhiri has always been in this land. For Pākehā and tauiwi, the intersections and doors to being manuhiri are tangible and all around. Stepping through them only causes them to become wider and wider, the horizon being an all-encompassing state. First and foremost – they are there in the text of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Perhaps they are most immediately observable when stepping onto the marae and experiencing the bind and flow of kawa and tikanga. They are there in the gifts of Kaupapa Māori. They are there in the deep feelings of anger with coloniality and racism in

Aotearoa New Zealand. They sit respectfully beyond the understanding of the correct pronunciation of te reo Māori. They are a step further from this, located in the deep feelings of frustration with the prevailing ontological flow and its hypocrisy, such as the accepted use of te reo Māori terminology and the accepted ignorance toward Te Tiriti, in mainstream society. So too are they constantly there in the whenua and awa. In the contortions of ancient pā sites visible on the hills in the Raukawa Valley. On the banks of the Paritua Stream as it flows into Bridge Pā, recently barren farmland and trodden in from grazing cattle, now fenced off, regenerating and thriving with native plants.

Being manuhiri in a tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship is accepting that Aotearoa New Zealand is whenua Māori – it is Aotearoa. It is a state of being which in recognising Te Tiriti also recognises that the whenua is conceptually bound to te ao Māori. This goes deeper than words, or the act of choosing to refer to 'land' as 'whenua'. It is an understanding that something like 'land back' does not solely concern individual property rights or 'your land'. It is far bigger than you and far broader than this. Land back is a metaphor for self-determination, an ontological reconciliation which returns the land to the web of interconnectedness which encompasses all things in the natural world. Breaking down the house that Pākehā built at least requires Pākehā and tauiwi to look to tangata whenua as hosts and to be guests in kind.

This is not an invitation to sit back as per the status quo, where Māori currently take on the extra burden of cultural education performing a 'cultural double shift' in some employment sectors (Harr and Martin, 2022), often inhabiting multiple roles and identities on account of cultural differences (Bargh, 2020). In this sense it is a commitment to supporting indigenisation and a context where 'Māori are not simply experts available to fill gaps or reduce the ignorance of others; Māori expertise is normalised, recognised, and rewarded for its own sake at all levels' (Hoskins and Jones, 2022, p. 314). Being manuhiri comes with an active sense of responsibility which means it is both a state of being – an acceptance of conditions and a deep relational commitment – and a state of doing – a capacity for an active realisation of these conditions and deep relational commitment.

Manuhiri: A State of 'Doing'

Part of understanding what it means to be manuhiri in the way in which I am advancing this interpretation, is a passive process. It is the necessary learning which foregrounds being relational and relating well. Acquiring knowledge to come to terms with context, to understand boundaries, to be safe and ultimately strengthen a position from which to be respectful. Acting on and with this knowledge is the hard part, the stepping into the unknown, the 'doing' part of 'being' manuhiri. This is the active work, responsibly and resiliently feeling the process. Recently a colleague suggested that Pip and I should not have worked with Taraia Marae on the MDP project. I can understand why for a myriad of reasons the most obvious of these being Pākehā researchers operating with Māori in distinctly Māori spaces. 'What was your Treaty framework for the project?', I was asked. In the moment I felt the familiar feeling of my stomach beginning to sink – had I been unsafe? Could I have done more? Should I have not met up with Kane at all in the first place? … 'The Treaty', was my response.

Te Tiriti had been the 'framework' – to dress it up in that way. In the early meetings with Kane we had discussed and collectively agreed to work together in partnership with respect to Te Tiriti. In doing so we did not outline or sign off on a conceptual structure to support or guide this process. Te Tiriti was our ethic and as the project progressed we worked together and planned as we went according to this. Yet to respond with 'the Treaty' in the moment somehow felt inadequate. Could we have done more? Could I have done more? Of course – you can always do more. Engaging with Te Tiriti is a never-ending experience. It is an imperfect process of constant learning, flux and connection as is the ethic of being relational. Granted in this situation there was at least some shared understanding of Te Tiriti in principle, and likewise there will always be people who know 'more' about Te Tiriti than others. At no point though is there a set-in-stone benchmark where Te Tiriti o Waitangi can be completely known. There is no perfect framework – every context and relationship is different. The constant is Te Tiriti and its relational essence. Acquiring knowledge passively is an essential and lifelong process however at some point when attempting to realise Te Tiriti and be manuhiri, something has to be done.

Perhaps my response to the framework question felt inadequate because I defaulted to positioning my relationship with and knowledge of Te Tiriti against some perceived obtainable standard, that which is external to me. A product of Western-Eurocentric conditioning to knowing – the accepted prevailing norm and flow of life in Aotearoa New Zealand. Perhaps it was the discomfort of grappling with my identity and place here surfacing once again, as it will probably always do. Likely all of the above. Where I found a sense of certainty is from within me, shaped by the Te Tiriti ethic, the connections with people and place, and the trust built from the relationships that were and are the 'project'. This is the knowing that can only come from the doing, and it is extremely specific in its location. Therefore, guidance for manuhiri as a state of doing can only ever go so far because it ultimately resides in the hyper-local situatedness that is relational entanglement.

As I am a researcher and this PhD is a social science project, I feel I am best equipped to offer a perspective on the doing which is drawn from my experiences, and is hopefully most useful for these areas. This could be considered some guidance to get to the point of entanglement with respect to being manuhiri. A starting point is a conceptual de-centring which confronts Western-Eurocentricity, and the conceptual framework of the Pākehā word, and affords non-Western ways of knowing equal legitimacy. In my case, researching in Aotearoa New Zealand requires a fundamental recognition of te ao Māori and a centring of Kaupapa Māori. He Awa Whiria is my metaphorical device through which this is made possible. As I outlined in my conceptual framework, this approach could be described as 'critical place inquiry' (Tuck and McKenzie, 2015). A perspective which privileges 'Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies of land, recognising that Indigenous land-based programming is informed by Indigenous worldviews and relationship to land' (DeLancy, 2023, p. 177). Specifically, critical place inquiry embeds place within the process of knowing, as something interactive and dynamic, furthering 'generative and critical politics of places through such conceptualisations/practices and via relational ethics of accountability to people and place' (Tuck and McKenzie, 2015, p. 635).

For research and the social sciences, critical place inquiry is a vital means of privileging place and local context – something which must become fundamental in my eyes. Though it must not begin and end with the language of the 'local', the 'place', or the

‘Indigenous worldviews’. The local cannot be bundled up into discussion of Indigenous ‘worldviews’ or ‘research paradigms’ or ‘frameworks’. Engagement beyond this is necessary because otherwise the specificities and nuances of place remain invisible, eternally captured by generalisable categorisations. Again, this engagement must be more than just words. The current fashion for settler-colonial researchers is to begin research publications with a positionality statement, giving written acknowledgement of and thanks to the rightful owners and knowledge holders of the land. This is positive and positional recognition is of vital importance, but what does this mean beyond the local namecheck? What are the details of this local knowledge? What is this place about? Who are these people? How do these dynamics effect the research beyond their names? Being manuhiri demands more and accordingly it means a deepening of relationship with what is local, with what is in place.

In taking the approach that I have done with this project I have not stopped at ‘Māori’ or ‘te ao Māori’. I have attempted to privilege locality as much as I possibly can, focusing on the details and tikanga which are specific to places. This is the local, and it cannot be easily generalised beyond Te Matau-a-Māui and Aotearoa New Zealand, that is the point – it is being manuhiri here. While it might not be easily generalisable, the local is relational, simultaneously located and dis-located. Throughout this project the local is put into relation with concepts which exist beyond their empirical context and geographical origins. This approach can be seen as producing what Roy (2009, p. 822) terms as ‘strategic essentialisms: authoritative knowledge that is fine-grained and nuanced but exceeds its empiricism through theoretical generalisation’. The specificity and integrity the local geographically and culturally located place is maintained while being afforded the capacity to be made sense of at a scale beyond this. This is how the insights from this project and the idea of being manuhiri can resonate and contribute to knowledge beyond Aotearoa New Zealand.

I was warned of the ‘messiness’ that can come from research which is close to home, in this instance what I consider to quite literally be home. Facing this is necessary as it is part of the essence of the project. In this instance, being from the place is beneficial as it comes with a greater sense of familiarity and knowledge, and appropriately this familiarity and knowledge of place is fundamental within Kaupapa Māori. An approach such as this might also be described as ‘Indigenist’ – ‘a philosophical approach that centres

Indigenous ontology, epistemology, and axiology, particularly relational accountability' (Wilson, 2008, as cited in Hughes et al., 2023, p. 510). Regardless of name, this 'centring' is not about appropriation, it is about being vigilantly affected, true to my place, to Aotearoa New Zealand and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

To make it clear – all of these conceptual and methodological actions mentioned can only take someone so far. The active work of being manuhiri is fundamentally relational, something 'felt' and unique to a specific context. To attempt to offer a description here, for Pākehā this resides in what Moana Jackson (2020, p. 64) describes as 'the building of new relationships and the telling of new stories' which 'rely on honesty about the misremembered stories and the foresight to see where different stories might lead'. This is 'the ethic of restoration' (ibid), and as I have outlined for Pākehā this is the state of being manuhiri. Manuhiri as a state of doing exists in the moments that come with relating to and connecting with people and place. The moments of discovering what it means to be in and love this land in a way that is not objectifying, instead it feels thick and binding. These moments were there for me in the waiting, the listening, the connecting, the warmth of clutched hands and the prickly dampness of tears at Taraia Marae. There in the hold of karakia and the intentional exclamation of 'tāiki ē!'. There in the shared energy, support and embrace in the DHB boardroom. There in the torment – in the stomach sinking moments – and the strength drawn from the trust placed in relationships to assist in overcoming discomfort. There in the love for the streams and rolling hills made stronger through the shared stories of place.

Manuhiri: A State of 'Politics'

> 'The shadow of the land goes to the Queen, but the substance remains with us.'
> (Nōpera Panakareao, 1840, as cited in Smith, 2007)

In the house that Pākehā built, with its prevailing Pākehā-shaped economic, ideological and power structures it is possible for the notion of manuhiri I am advancing to exist as a state of being and doing – to a point. In this context the tangata whenua-manuhiri remains broken. No matter how well intentioned it might be, this existence is ultimately ungenuine as it is the manuhiri who continue to dictate the ways things should be done

when it is not their place to do so. This considered, a third essential component is required for manuhiri to be genuine, and in turn for the restoration of balance to this relationship. This component is what I describe as manuhiri as a state of politics – as determined by tangata whenua, and a necessary Pākehā and tauiwi commitment to this. The 'politics' specifically attends to the house that Pākehā built, and concerns the fundamental structures which shape society. It extends Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the notion of a relational re-wiring beyond the interpersonal and into these structural domains, embedding the tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship at their heart. It is the deconstruction of the prevailing Western-Eurocentric ontological conditions, the continued process of decolonisation and deimperialisation, and the redefining of the political fabric and political system in Aotearoa New Zealand. Before this is discussed in detail, a thorough structural assessment is required.

The words quoted at the beginning of this section are from Nōpera Panakareao, a rangatira of Te Pātū hapū of Te Rarawa. They were his interpretation of Te Tiriti which he voiced on the day he signed it on 28 April, 1840, – an interpretation which is commonly associated with the Māori perception of Te Tiriti (Smith, 2007). The subsequent and present day reality could not be further from this where shadow and substance has come to be obscured by imported systems, and ideas from somewhere else, which do not suit this place. Jo Smith (2007, p. 4) reflects on Panakareao's words outlining how in the New Zealand Wars which followed, the conflict was not only over land but 'also over final authority as to the meaning' of Te Tiriti – 'a contestation over the sovereign right to decide what rule of law would prevail'. They were wars to determine prevailing politics and political philosophy, which laid the foundations for the house. Eurocentricity and European law prevailed supressing customary title in exchange for individual freehold title, embedding 'systems of ownership that upheld individual rights and installed universal rights of citizenship on subjects at the expense of collective iwi (tribal) identity' (ibid). The New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 ushered in a form of government based on the Westminster system, confining the function of the politics of Aotearoa New Zealand within a framework of an independent unitary parliamentary representative democracy.

This is the ceiling of political possibility and potential for change in Aotearoa New Zealand where possibility and potential are inherently bound to, and can only ever be derived from, a Western-Eurocentric normative context. This is what makes the house that

Pākehā built so indestructible – it structurally self-fulfilling and fundamentally hegemonic in and of itself, incapable of effectively and securely tolerating difference. When the realm of political possibility and potential for change does not effectively tolerate ontological difference then there can only ever be one prevailing flow. The metaphorical river bed does not allow for a myriad of channels or for braided flows. The notion of ontological difference can only ever be framed as internalised disturbance. As Smith (2007, p. 1) describes it, a 'settler state' such as Aotearoa New Zealand 'is thus the limit case of western social theory as the urgencies of indigenous claims to social power (and justice) unsettle orthodox intellectual, methodological and theoretical practices, thus consistently urging the production of mobile theoretical concepts with which the movements of social power might be traced'.

These essential inner workings, the plumbing and electrics of the house that Pākehā built if you will, lay bare the out-of-placeness of the central principles of imported systems and ideas in this land. To assume that it is politically possible to bring about a structural change which might accommodate difference as something beyond an internalised disturbance is an illusion brought about by the prevailing context and house itself. The representative democratic framework which bounds the function of politics is an arena of possibility which is ontologically confined, shaped by fundamental assumptions drawn from Western-Eurocentricity. These are considered to be the democratic norms within the accepted political context, as derived from this. They include individualist-orientated rationality in society, the promise of an inclusive, equal, accountable public where people operate with reasonableness and the potential to change their position on issues (Young, 2000).

In this respect, the stifling nature of the ceiling of political possibility and potential for change is evident in the form and function of the political and judicial initiatives, which have been implemented to increase recognition and enhance the embeddedness of Māori and Te Tiriti in Aotearoa New Zealand. In advancing this critique I am absolutely not seeking to question the intention of these initiatives and the positive change which has been brought about by them. Nor am I seeking to disrespect the enormity of the emotion and effort which has gone into their bringing about, overwhelmingly the work of Māori. The Treaty settlement process to address the Crown's historical breaches of Te Tiriti. Legal innovations I have mentioned, such as the Te Urewera, Te Awa Tupua, and Te

Kāhui Tupua Acts which respectively give a forest, a river, and a mountain legal personhood. Co-governance initiatives which ensure iwi representation, and equal representation for Māori and tauiwi in decision making. These are all incredible, if not radical initiatives and positive steps forward. However innovative though, in the end they remain under house arrest, bound to one channel and derived from Western-Eurocentric norms, essentially ontologically disconnected from te ao Māori and the promise of Te Tiriti.

Sometimes when I speak with people about my experience with Taraia Marae and working on the MDP project they express their admiration. There is a respect for our acknowledgement of Te Tiriti and the level of consciousness, respect and reflexivity which was applied, particularly where Pip and myself are concerned, to our positionality, conduct and presence. This is appreciated, and as always we had tried to be as attentive as possible to the circumstances. Despite this, there is a powerful factor, a constant source of discomfort and torment, which remains circumstantially out of reach and considerably less talked about. That is the house itself, which in this instance was most notably manifested in the composition of the project itself. It was of course a 'Marae Development Plan', administered by Oranga Marae which is a programme of support from Te Puni Kōkiri – formerly known as the Ministry of Māori Development – a Crown entity. Just like the political and judicial initiatives listed above, it is positive and is bringing about long overdue government investment in marae across the country. So too like the initiatives above has it come off the back of the longstanding and monumental efforts of Māori for greater recognition in their land.

The powerful factor here is that the MDP is both something wonderful and something deceptive at the same time. It is an initiative which is culturally supportive, contributing to the betterment of Māori communities. However it too is an initiative which comes from the Crown, from within the boundaries of political possibility and potential for change. Behind the te reo Māori terminology is the reality that marae and Māori must undertake development within the house that Pākehā built. The terms on which this happens might be Māori but the prevailing structure is Pākehā. Perhaps this was the largest of the lead balls which caused my stomach to sink that day in the Taraia wharenui when the visibly upset person entered the room. The essence of the discomfort in the sinking feeling is the sense of detached complicity – the feeling of desperation that no amount of tangible,

projected respectful behaviour and self-awareness can undo this. Within the structural and systemic status quo I will always embody this and the power imbalance that comes with it.

The House That Te Tiriti o Waitangi Built

> 'Until we get brave enough to acknowledge what the Treaty says in constitutional terms, then in this country we're living a lie.'
> (Potter and Jackson, 2018, p. 9)

Being manuhiri as a state of politics involves a commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi as structural foundation, that which supports and effects the roof of political possibility and potential for change. Only from here can a tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship be restored, and as Jackson (2018) indicates – this is a constitutional discussion. As Charters (2020) highlights, the fact that Māori did not cede sovereignty makes the legitimacy of the New Zealand state questionable. Importantly, 'the elephant in the court room is that while the legitimacy of the New Zealand state is uncertain, the courts create and function under the fiction that it is' (ibid, p. 2). What is required to overcome this 'is deliberate, fundamental and transformative constitutional change' (ibid, p. 8). This must be the starting point.

Discussion of constitutional change is nothing new in Aotearoa New Zealand and in recent years there have been four significant dialogues; the Constitutional Advisory Panel (2013), Matike Mai Aotearoa (2016), and Constitution Aotearoa (2017) (McMenamin, 2017), and most recently He Puapua (2019). Of most relevance to this project is Matike Mai Aotearoa – in full – 'Matike Mai Aotearoa, the Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation'. This independent, Māori-led initiative first stemmed from the Iwi Chairs' Forum in 2010 and involved extensive consultation throughout the country between 2012 and 2015, with a report delivered on Waitangi Day in 2016. Maitike Mai advances a model of constitution in Aotearoa New Zealand which is fundamentally transformative, 'based on tikanga and kawa, He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Niu Tireni of 1835, and Te Tiriti o Waitangi of 1840' (2016, p. 7). Matike Mai has intrinsic local relevance for this project too. The convenor of the Working Group, Moana Jackson, was

of Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou, and Rongomaiwahine descent – Ngāti Kahungunu being the iwi of my home community – and the first hui for the project was held at Waipatu Marae, a marae which sits in the heart of the Heretaunga Plains in Te Matau-a-Māui.

Matike Mai advances indicative constitutional models which contain three distinct spheres. The 'rangatiratanga sphere' where Māori make decisions for Māori themselves and on their own terms, and the 'kāwanatanga sphere' where the Crown will make decisions for its people in the same way. Finally – and most crucially – linking these is the 'relational sphere' where the two work together as equals and where the Tiriti relationship operates (Matike Mai Aotearoa Report, 2016). The relational sphere is what makes a tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship genuinely possible. It is a constitutional accommodation of a mode of encounter which is historically eternally open, to build on Smith's (2007) words. The relational sphere would encompass joint issues and disagreements, governing the '"rituals of encounter" between Māori and the Crown while recognising and respecting the integrity of rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga' (Matike Mai Aotearoa Report, 2016, p. 90). An arrangement of constitutional spheres and distinct sites of power makes difference something structural, rather than something internally disturbing and unsettling.

Fundamental to this is the way in which this Tiriti-centred constitutional transformation is counter-hegemonic. Te Tiriti would be embedded and provide the foundation on which the three spheres sit. As Jackson (2017, p. 40) describes it, 'underpinning and binding the spheres together is a unique values-base sourced in the tikanga of this land'. This foundation will not diminish or detract 'from the authority of the Crown in its own sphere of influence', it is 'a return to tikanga as the first law and values-base of this land in regard to the implementation of the Tiriti relationship' (Matike Mai Aotearoa Report, 2016, p. 90). This is Te Tiriti as it was intended to be, and the point at which the house that Pākehā built becomes the house that Te Tiriti o Waitangi built. Te Tiriti would be 'the underpinning ideology giving effect to the constitutional operations of the spheres' (Jackson, 2017, p. 40). Constitutional transformation based on relationality still presents the same challenges for Te Tiriti relationship – that is, how do 'two (parties) decide to work together, and what areas will be of common decision making' (ibid). The core difference is the terms of the relationship are that of tangata whenua-manuhiri and no longer that of Pākehā hegemony.

Embedding a tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship as constitutional where Te Tiriti is ideology offers the potential to reshape the boundaries of political possibility and potential for change to be uniquely 'of this place'. The imported liberal normative context would give way to values based on tikanga as the first law. These values are outlined below and were discussed as prerequisites for constitutional transformation in Matike Mai (2016), though as Jackson (2020, p. 63) elaborates 'they may be seen as interrelated parts of wider ethic of restoration'. Accordingly, I advance them as values encompassed within the ethic of restoration with respect to my effective response and interpretation of 'being manuhiri' for Pākehā and tauiwi. Just as they are aspirations associated with constitutional transformation so too might they become interrelated threads in the work of manuhiri, linked to the state of being, doing, and in particular where numbers 6 and 7 are concerned, the politics and necessary political commitment. They are as follows;

1. *The value of place* – the need to promote good relationships with and ensure the protection of Papatūānuku.
2. *The value of tikanga* – the core ideals that describe the 'ought to be' of living in Aotearoa and the particular place of Māori within that tikanga.
3. *The value of community* – the need to facilitate good relationships between all peoples.
4. *The value of belonging* – the need for everyone to have a sense of belonging.
5. *The value of balance* – the need to maintain harmony in all relationships, including in the exercise of constitutional authority.
6. *The value of conciliation* – the need to guarantee a conciliatory and consensual democracy.
7. *The value of structure* – that is the need for a constitution to have structural conventions that promote basic democratic ideals of fair representation, openness and transparency.

(Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016, p. 69; Jackson, 2020, p. 63)[33]

As tempting as it is to imagine, the deconstruction of the house that Pākehā built does not require a brazen arson and a complete 'burning to the ground' of what currently

[33] These values are drawn from both sources and the exhaustive list of seven points was first presented in Matike Mai (2016). In Jackson (2020) the seventh point is omitted as the values are associated with the discussion of the ethic of restoration in this text. I have chosen to add the seventh, drawn from Matike Mai (2016), to bolster the relevance to structural and constitutional discussion.

exists. In fact there are scholars who object to constitutional transformation, and in particular the Māori-Crown distinctions proposed in Matike Mai (O'Sullivan, 2020). O'Sullivan argues instead for 'a more inclusive commonwealth to allow Māori to exercise liberal citizenship of the state as an essential complement to the political authority that iwi may exercise' (ibid, p. 197). Here, a commonwealth is the state, not the Crown, and Te Tiriti can be interpreted as constituting this commonwealth. It is 'a political entity that belongs to everybody because it is everybody – hapū and other Māori entities exercising rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga exercising the powers and responsibilities of government with and through, the authority of Māori and non-Māori citizens alike' (O'Sullivan, 2024a, p. 2). Liberal democracy, as 'a political system intended to manage fair and reasonable differences in an orderly way' that 'doesn't concentrate power in one place', and with its check and balances on power is seen as key to realise this commonwealth (O'Sullivan, 2024b). So too is participatory parity where 'material resources are distributed to ensure that each citizen may participate in public life with independence and voice' (O'Sullivan, 2024a). While I appreciate this perspective, it's interpretation of power is narrow and structural critique is limited. In particular, it does not consider coloniality and the ongoing patterns of power brought about by colonialism. Only through constitutional transformation is it possible to productively address this.

What is required is the replacement of a foundation which allows for major structural alteration and a basis of support which is completely suited to the land on which the structure sits. It is no longer a prefabricated home transplanted here, yet constructed somewhere else. In Aotearoa New Zealand the functional framework of politics can shift from an independent unitary parliamentary representative democracy to a relational sphere and a Tiriti-based democracy defined by a tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship. A form of 'kaupapa democracy' as Jackson (2017) describes it, that is a democracy that comes 'from this place' and 'truly belongs to this country', reflecting 'the relationships with Papatūānuku and those who are party to the Treaty' (ibid, p. 39). In this place the substance and shadow of the land is once again free to emerge from obscurity. I see a kaupapa democracy in Aotearoa New Zealand as a political ecology, centred on interconnectedness between different ways of being and knowing, and accordingly the human and natural worlds. I like to imagine He Awa Whiria as a metaphor for the grounding of a kaupapa democracy. A terrain for the braiding of flows, not the domain of a single monolithic channel. The ceiling of political possibility and potential for change sits

on a foundation of relational entanglement, it is accommodating of difference and ontological mingling. It is of this whenua.

Toward Shared Stories in the Land

As mentioned, constitutional transformation in this manner is a starting point. Matike Mai and the models presented within are indicative workings which offer a vision for a Tiriti-based society and a means to facilitating a tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship at a structural level. They are not a tidy solution and are not conclusive in their functional terms – they offer inspiration for the process of decolonisation and deimperialisation, and a way forward which is unique to Aotearoa New Zealand. A constitutional and relational transformation such as this can be likened to what Singh (2018) describes as an ethico-political resurgence. A movement which ties 'ethics and politics closely together' through 'using the micro-political practices of the self and of the community as a clear starting point, while…working toward macro-political transformations' (ibid, p. 346). This action-based approach to facilitating change has always been a Māori way. Kaupapa Māori as praxis and structural critique exemplifies this. In the previous chapter I related this notion to the work of Hapī, a community-led Kaupapa Māori initiative in Te Matau-a-Māui to bring about change to food systems. When Māori-led and independent of the Crown, constitutional transformation can be imagined as a scaled-up ethico-political resurgence relative to this example. It would ultimately offer a structural transformation which would be more accommodating to the ethico-resurgence presented by Hapī and other, similar examples.

Constitutional and relational transformation is counter-hegemonic in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, and can reshape structure though it does not 'scale-up' to confront the global systemic and hegemonic forces of capitalism – something which Singh (2018) sees as lacking with respect to dialogue around the process of decolonisation and politics. However, to focus on this is to bring a fundamentally hegemonic and totalising outlook to a situation of transformation, which is relational and based on the structural accommodation of difference and entangled, constructive connection rather than linear singularity. Therefore, the starting point offered by constitutional and relational transformation in Aotearoa New Zealand can be framed as a

structural end point – the point where monocultures are confronted and replaced by ecologies. I'm borrowing and building on de Sousa Santos (2004) here who proposes five ecologies; knowledges, temporalities, recognition, trans-scale, and productivity, toward a counter-hegemonic globalisation. Constitutional and relational transformation is then the starting point for ecological potential, a step into the unknown which is worth taking.

The concept of ecology is grounded in the relationships between living things. Ecologies do not require political constitutions to function. In a tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship the mode of encounter is eternally open, as water moves and rivers flow. What is it then that might create some bind to this? If it were to be imagined as water, what might the equivalent be to the kinetic forces which at least ground and hold this mode of encounter? Reflecting on this notion and my experiences, I would like to consider the notion of 'shared stories' as being a fundamental part of this relationship. Shared stories are the bonds and threads of connection that afford relational strength and cohesion. They are the particles of earth, rock and silt which shape alluvial islands and river channels. They are already in motion in Aotearoa New Zealand and do not require formal structural reform or validation to function. Shared stories have existed in this land as long as encounter between different peoples has occurred.

> 'It may take a while, but with stories anything is possible. They can even shift time – it simply takes belief.'
> (Jackson, 2020, p. 64)

Stories hold infinite potential and are intrinsic to Māori life, as made clear in the words of Moana Jackson above, and that I have cited earlier in this chapter. As Hunt (2014, p. 27) outlines 'stories and storytelling are widely acknowledged as culturally nuanced ways of knowing, produced within networks or relational meaning-making'. Finding shared stories strengthens the bind of connection between people and place. As Jackson (2020, p. 64) outlines, they offer transformative potential which is reliant 'on honesty about the misremembered stories and the foresight to see where different stories might lead'. For Pākehā, being manuhiri as an ethic of restoration where the past is seen and remembered can facilitate this potential. Strength might be garnered from healthy, honest relationship with Pākehā identity, enabling a secure place to stand in this land and in turn widening

the scope for Tiriti compliant connection, and foresight as to where shared stories and connection might lead.

A tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship is therefore an eternally open mode of encounter, the fabric of which is made stronger through finding shared stories in the land. These stories are a product of an action-based approach – an ethic of restoration where being and knowing is lived and inherent. This is, and always has been, a Māori way. For Pākehā and tauiwi, as manuhiri it is about coming into relation with this way, engaging, finding and forging stories in this place. These stories are not always the grand moments. As I have hopefully shown on some level through this project, they can be subtle; found in the warmth of connection between one another; in the laughter and tears, and the comfort and discomfort of shared situations; and in a mutual appreciation and affection for specific places and spaces. Then again, perhaps these are the grand moments. Most of all they are built on an ever-strengthening love for this land. A love not of awe and appreciation, a love which sits on a deeper plane, a bind that underpins the enveloping sense of replenishment and responsibility that comes with this place feeling like home.

Chapter 7: Coming Home

I've reached the point with this text where it's necessary to summarise and gather together some concluding thoughts which respond to my research questions. While I hope this is useful in solidifying my argument, I would like to do so as a means to 'continue on from here'. I have loved every second of working on this PhD, an experience which I am extremely fortunate to have had. Contrary to what many people assume, it's not been some burden or weight I can't wait to get off my shoulders. I don't want to tidy it away and forget about it, or for it to have a tidy conclusion. It is me and it concerns everything around me. Therefore, this chapter might be considered both as a 'conclusion' for the thesis version of this project and more so as a 'continuation' for where to from here. A concluding summary of a contribution which is intended to continue on as an ethic and a means to being relational in this land, particularly for Pākehā and tauiwi. If this project is to be made useful then in thesis form it has to finish with a reiteration of the unique relational-political terms afforded to Aotearoa New Zealand thanks to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and a focus on what comes next. To me this at least goes some way in terms of making this project embody these relational-political terms. To begin this process I need to return home.

Hauiti
215 Raukawa Road
R.D.4
Heretaunga Hastings 4174
Aotearoa New Zealand

The Paritua Stream begins high up in the Raukawa hills. It starts as a small, narrow flow about as wide as a shoebox, and winds its way down through the Raukawa Valley getting progressively bigger as it goes. It passes behind the old Raukawa School site and then runs alongside Valley Road, eventually making a righthand turn and heading out onto the Heretaunga Plains. After flowing parallel to the Ngaruroro River for some kilometres, it reaches the township of Bridge Pā, flowing underneath the Raukawa Road bridge, after which it becomes the Karewarewa Stream. From here it continues to meander eastward across the flat farmland until it reaches the township of Pakipaki where it merges with the

Awanui Stream behind Taraia Marae. Several kilometres to the east of this merge point beside the intersection of Te Aute and St Georges Roads, the Awanui Stream meets the Irongate Stream to form the Karamū Stream. The Karamū then continues even further eastward, behind the town of Karanema Havelock North, close by Heretaunga Hastings and through the township of Clive where it joins the Raupare Stream to become Te Awa o Mokotūāraro. Deep and wide now, it meets with the Ngaruroro, Tukituki and Tutaekuri rivers at Waipureku (the meeting of waters), then flows out into Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa.

Today is Monday 22nd January, 2024, and I'm standing roughly 20 kilometres inland from this location. I'm beside the Awanui Stream at the point at which it flows directly behind our family farm. I'm here with my brother Zander and two kayaks. Our plan is to see whether or not it's possible to kayak from the farm all the way to the mouth of Te Awa o Mokotūāraro, to Waipureku and the star compass Ātea-a-Rangi at Waitangi Park which sits adjacent to this. It's a warm January day though uncharacteristically for this time of year it's overcast. There's a classic thick, soupy easterly weather system in action – we feel the first tell-tale spits of its drizzle on our skin as we prepare to launch the kayaks into the Awanui. At this point the stream runs in a dead straight line to the east for several kilometres, and has steep grassed banks. It was reigned in and altered in this way many years earlier to accommodate paddocks for the neighbouring farms. On this Monday these paddocks are cropped with maize, small bright green stalks still early in their growing season. From the bank above I look into the Awanui. There's a decent sized tuna cruising below, probably wondering what on earth we're up to.

The steep banks make the Awanui stream more manageable, confining it up against the first set of hills to rise up from the Heretaunga Plains, and ensuring it won't overflow during periods of flood. They also make it difficult to seamlessly launch a kayak. We get there eventually, half sliding our way in and both managing to avoid a capsize. The first few paddles mark the beginning of our journey toward the coast. It's a journey we've been planning on making for years through bodies of water we love, have known and been mesmerised by our whole lives. Paddling along in the kayak, almost literally at stream level, you can really sense and feel the Awanui. It's quite narrow at this point, probably only a couple of meters wide and it's shallow, only just allowing our kayaks to float. To the right and left the stream edges are flanked by pūhā and there are huge

carpets of duckweed on the surface. It's peak summer so the flow is expectedly low. The water almost seems stagnant and is a cloudy greenish-brownish colour.

As we paddle east toward Pakipaki there are tuna everywhere, they don't seem to be phased by the stream's lack of flow or clarity. Every now and then they poke their heads out of the duckweed on the surface, resting and looking at us as we kayak along. I love tuna – I find them fascinating and totally unnerving in equal measure. In the Awanui they're like crocodiles lying in wait. I nudge one with my paddle and it thrashes into life, twisting and coiling back under the surface. As we push further down the stream there are sporadic splashes of water and loud rustles in the pūhā as the tuna get wind of our presence. I accidently scoop one up as I paddle and it lands on the end of my kayak, bouncing back into the water like a thick piece of out-of-control rope. I let out a bizarre muffled scream of fright which then sends Zander and I into hysterics. As we approach the Turamoe bridge the mat of duckweed on the surface begins to move as though there's a hand with wiggling fingers sitting in the water underneath it. We realise we've disturbed what is now a huge, seething mass of tuna who were probably enjoying relaxing in the shadow of the bridge until we turned up. Our voices suddenly reach octave levels we never knew we were capable of as we hurriedly paddle through the hot lava, under the bridge and onwards.

We're on the section of stream that passes through Awanui Station now. There are still tuna here and there, every now and then mallard ducks burst out from the banks edges and fly off. The air is thick with the smell of fennel plants which are growing on the banks, and coupled with the limestone soil which is visible in exposed sections of the bank, it almost feels like we're at the coast already. A reminder that this land was once under seawater many hundreds of thousands of years ago, where the hill line to our right would have literally once formed the prominent coastline. In amongst the light-coloured limestone soil there are chunks of pumice. A reminder that this land was once an extensive wetland, the original course of the Ngaruroro River where debris flowed from the Oruanui Eruption of the Taupō volcano, the world's most recent super-eruption which occurred approximately 25,600 years ago. Ahead of me two dark coloured small fish suddenly spring out of the pūhā, surprised by my presence. I recognise these as kōkopu, a small fish which is native to Aotearoa New Zealand. A reminder, alongside the many tuna in the Awanui, that this land was once an abundant food source, primarily for the

substantial ancient pā sites which were based on the hill tops of what is now Awanui Station.

As we continue on the smell in the air changes. I detect a distinctive chemically aroma, and whenever it isn't covered by duckweed, the water has an oily film on its surface. A reminder that this land is now intensively farmed and cropped. So too are the bits of broken fenceposts which appear at random points in the stream, beaching our kayaks. Zander's kayak comes to stop in a slimy, muddy mass which is causing the stream to dam. He dislodges it, freeing the flow of water and unleashing a intense, putrid aroma which has us both retching. This thing, this lump of fertiliser-laced-mud-decaying-plant-matter-dead-sheep-carcasses – whatever it was, had clearly been there for years. Up the steep bank to our right farm vehicles – large trucks and utes – rumble passed periodically on the gravel surface of Turamoe Road. Our kayaks beach again, this time stuck on one of the hard ridges of limestone rock on the stream bed. These ridges are the start of the hills which rise up beyond Turamoe Road, upon which once sat the large pā sites. The bones of the fingertips which hold the Heretaunga Plains. Maybe the grooves which once moored waka.

The Politics of Place in Aotearoa New Zealand

This random kayaking adventure we're undertaking on this Monday in January is a novel trip, rich with nostalgia and a love for place for Zander and myself. It's an interesting way to explore the region's streams, a reminder of how geographically integral they are to Te Matau-a-Māui, and how essential bodies of water are generally to the fabric of the region. Importantly though, this kayaking adventure is a trip through the politics of place which exist in Aotearoa New Zealand. A politics where what is political is not positioned within an arena separate from 'self' and functioning as an externalised distraction from everyday life. It is a politics where the political is embodied, all-encompassing and concerns the very nature of being. The politics of place in this land is an ontological politics centred on the 'philosophy of essence' (Meyer, 2001) and accordingly can be described as a politics of the essence of being.

Sitting here, beached in our kayaks, it is the very limestone ridges that we're beached on which speak to this politics of place. That is the whenua, the land, and ultimately the separate lands which exist on this whenua in the present day. Generally speaking, whenua that for Māori is intrinsic to life, connected through whakapapa and integral to the web of interconnectedness within te ao Māori. Land that for Pākehā is inferior to life, a disconnected commodity and object of individual property, ripe for extraction and integral to economic gain. The politics of place see that in the context of separate lands, the latter interpretation prevails within mainstream society. This is on account of Pākehā hegemony and the Western-Eurocentric ways of being and knowing, which dominate. This is the prevailing ontological flow of Aotearoa New Zealand. It is the foundation on which the house that Pākehā built sits. That is, the Western-Eurocentric, individualistic, progress-oriented 'brick sense and sensibilities' (Jimmy and Andreotti, 2019) which define the economic, ideological, and power structures which shape society.

This politics is present in all aspects of the experience of kayaking down the Awanui Stream. From our adherence to its artificial, straight channel, indicating the stream's place within the hierarchy of prevailing human-centred importance where it is ranked inferior to the prioritisation of arable, productive farmland. In turn, the effect of this on the stream's health, the leached nitrogen, phosphorous, and E.coli bacteria from this farmland, currently recorded at toxically high levels (Hawke's Bay Regional Council, 2024). So too is this politics present in Zander and myself. Pākehā on this whenua whose lives have been influenced by, and made better for, colonisation and coloniality by way of the historical privileges we have been afforded. We are beneficiaries of the intergenerational transfer of wealth, power, social position and status (Borell, et al., 2018) that at the very least make it possible for us to easily plan and undertake this kayaking trip.

Making place political in this way helps to make visible the extent to which Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand generally have benefited from colonisation, and specifically where land is concerned, the dispossession of land from Māori. Locating the political at the ontological level affords clarity as to the extent of this dispossession, where ways of being and knowing grounded in interconnectedness and relationality were disposed alongside soil and earth. In the process of this dispossession land became property, underpinned by the Western-Eurocentric Pākehā hegemony. In the present day, on account of the prevailing ontological conditions knowing no 'other' way of being or

knowing, this is fundamentally misunderstood and ignored in mainstream society. Again – this is the politics of place in this land, where the notion of place being framed as political in this way is also misunderstood and ignored. What ultimately makes this politics possible, and subsequently is the location of potential solutions to restoring place and addressing this politics, is Te Tiriti o Waitangi. To properly comprehend this, Te Tiriti must be positioned accordingly.

Placing Te Tiriti o Waitangi

The reason I am able to be beached here in a kayak, to be able to come to know and to walk around these hills and streams – to have found a place to stand as a guest in this land that is whenua Māori, and to consider this place my home – is thanks to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Of course Te Tiriti is not responsible for this context holistically. The land has always been the whenua as documented in He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni. Signed five years prior to Te Tiriti in 1835, He Whakaputanga is the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand and was a necessary statement by rangatira to retain the tino rangatiratanga of hapū at a time of increasing arrival of traders from Europe and America, and rising settler lawlessness. Te Tiriti is an 'addendum' to He Whakaputanga which clauses stipulate that ultimate power and authority over the land lies with hapū, and that the hapū and their rangatira are sovereign and will never cede law-making power over their lands (Mutu and Jacobs, 2023). Te Tiriti o Waitangi reaffirmed what was made clear in He Whakaputanga, and granted permission for the Crown to govern and manage the behaviour of British nationals. As a Pākehā, Te Tiriti is my terms for being here.

To fully comprehend the meaning of Te Tiriti and to properly honour it in turn, a fundamental reinterpretation and repositioning is required, particularly for Pākehā and tauiwi. First, as briefly mentioned above, Te Tiriti must be fundamentally viewed as an extension and add-on of He Whakaputanga. As He Whakaputanga founded Aotearoa New Zealand as whenua Māori, the notion of kāwanatanga in Te Tiriti is generously extended to the Crown – it is an invitation to be here, not a right. Second, and accordingly, Te Tiriti must be fundamentally interpretated as something which is relational, something which is completely wrapped up in the concept of 'invitation'. Just as it is an invitation to be here, 'to make a home in this land' (Jackson, 2022) so too is it

an invitation for Pākehā and tauiwi to enter into a relationship with Māori – whenua and people in kind. This relationship is a host-guest relationship where Māori as tangata whenua are hosts, and Pākehā and tauiwi are manuhiri or the guests on the whenua. As the first law in Aotearoa New Zealand, tikanga regulates this relationship. This is the complete package that is Te Tiriti o Waitangi where there must be a fundamental commitment to a relationship where people are responsible to upholding the relationship, to each other and the whenua.

At present and on account of Pākehā hegemony, Te Tiriti is taken at face-value and literally interpreted as the two documents of either te reo Māori or English text which were signed in 1840. The latter is favoured, from which 'principles' have been extracted from the text in order to make the agreement fit into the prevailing, imported Western-Eurocentric Pākehā legislature and political system. The latter is not required to fully comprehend the meaning of Te Tiriti and properly honour it. Fundamental reinterpretation and repositioning extends to the way in the way in which Te Tiriti is perceived, that which must be something closer to its depth of exchange. Te Tiriti is a form of reciprocity grounded in intentionality. As an object it is not passive, it exists as an operative bind, a commitment to a unique relational state in both action and in mind. Not resistless ink on paper, Te Tiriti must be interpreted as a living object. Resisting fixed and inert representation, reaching beyond the paper fibres 'encouraging a close yet ephemeral entanglement' between people and document, 'subject and object, idea and thing, and present and past' – to draw from Mackintosh's description of a pūtōrino in her essay on the lives of colonial objects (2015, p. 25). Te Tiriti's meaning must constantly reverberate like sound waves as a relational commitment across the whenua.

Finally, and not attainable without the factors outlined above, Te Tiriti must be made constitutional – interpreted and positioned as intended, in accordance with Matike Mai (2016), and as fundamental to the shape of life in Aotearoa New Zealand. To imagine Te Tiriti as a living object and something like a musical instrument is unfamiliar, certainly for Pākehā and many tauiwi, I'm assuming. It seems otherworldly, unreal and at odds with the laws and norms of a Western-Eurocentric worldview where ink on paper is just that – material and incapable of encompassing something much larger and much more significant than an individual human being. Unfamiliarity with imagining Te Tiriti in this way cuts to the heart of the politics of place in Aotearoa New Zealand. The prevailing ways of

being and knowing produced through Pākehā hegemony position Te Tiriti as a relic from the past which is looked back on from the since-progressed-to modern day. In fact, Te Tiriti affords Aotearoa New Zealand the foundation for a place which is fundamentally accommodating of different ways of being and knowing. It is the terms for a unique host-guest relationship and a relationship between past, present and future. Making Te Tiriti constitutional makes this tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship constitutional, baking the philosophy and politics of the essence of being into Aotearoa New Zealand.

Finding Home

Seeing place as political in this way and moving toward the realisation of the promise of Te Tiriti o Waitangi is not something which can happen overnight. It requires work, particularly on the part of Pākehā and tauiwi. A dismantling of the idea and practice which has created the prevailing Pākehā hegemony and ways of being and knowing is required – that is deimperialisation and decolonisation. For Pākehā and tauiwi, this is complex, dangerous territory and there are many who will argue that there is no place for either, particularly Pākehā, in these processes. For Pākehā there is a constant, inescapable connection to imperialisation and colonisation inherently bound to Pākehā identity. Deimperialisation and decolonisation are not about Pākehā, they are the substantial undoing of the effects of Pākehā. As Te Tiriti foregrounds, on whenua Māori they are processes which must be Māori-led, Pākehā must stand aside.

To stand aside and passively watch on however is to avoid the relational work which is required of Pākehā as Te Tiriti partners. Pākehā can still be involved though this involvement is not about Pākehā becoming the main characters or taking over the process, it is an involvement which is relatively introspective, indirect and influenced based – 'being vigilantly affected' and 'coming into relation with' is how I have described it within this project. Pākehā engagement with decolonisation is about coming to terms with identity, its present day incompleteness and disconnectedness. 'Seeing' and 'remembering' the past, the connection to colonisation, and comprehending the historical privileges which are afforded from this. At present, and without this, Pākehā presence in place is paradoxical as it is shaped by the misremembering of history and a blindness to Pākehā privilege. On account of Pākehā hegemony it is possible to be in this land, and

expecting to belong here, without properly recognising Te Tiriti and the tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship.

Being vigilantly affected by decolonisation, opening up the process of seeing and remembering can open a pathway to deimperialisation, an ethic of restoration, and being manuhiri in Aotearoa New Zealand. Grounding identity in the whenua and centring Kaupapa Māori can facilitate Pākehā in coming to terms with what it means to be manuhiri. Again, this notion of grounding and centring is not about essentialising, co-opting or appropriating, it is engaging with these ideas as central to existence in this place. It is about Pākehā being responsible and accountable to Te Tiriti, finding a relative completeness with respect to their place here as manuhiri by coming into relation with Māori as tangata whenua. From here the prevailing ontological conditions can be undone and a context set for the relational coexistence and braiding of different ways of being and knowing on whenua Māori. He Whakaputanga and subsequently Te Tiriti o Waitangi already set these terms, and accordingly the terms for deimperialisation in this land.

He Awa Whiria – He Whenua Māori

A device which can assist in the process of interpreting Te Tiriti o Waitangi as relational and constitutional, in further articulation of the politics of place, and in turn lending additional context to the overall framing of this PhD, is He Awa Whiria (MacFarlane, 2009). An approach conceived by Kaupapa Māori researchers in Aotearoa New Zealand, He Awa Whiria 'seeks to bring different knowledge systems into conversation with one-another to spark new knowing and innovation, as well as to build relationships across Indigenous-non-Indigenous lines' (Cram, 2023, p. 14). He Awa Whiria has been developed primarily within the field of policy research and evaluation (Superu, 2008). As an approach which affords Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledges equal foundation He Awa Whiria is not unique. Similar approaches exist in Canada such as the Etuaptmumk 'Two-Eyed Seeing' approach (Reid et al., 2020), and in Aotearoa New Zealand too, with 'Waka-Taurua' and its bound-together waka (Maxwell et al., 2018). In both cases these approaches have been implemented within the fields of fisheries and marine environmental management, respectively.

He Awa Whiria uses the metaphor of braided rivers as a means to depicting the levelling and intermingling of different flows of knowledge, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. In working with He Awa Whiria I position these flows a step back and as 'ontological flows', that is, flows of the philosophy of essence, encompassing different knowledges and ways of knowing. He Awa Whiria is not a complex or jargonistic framework and it is not made accessible only through higher education or a qualification – it is a river, something relatable and fundamental to life. In being a river, knowledges and in this instance ontologies are able to flow freely, to intermingle, define their own path. They do not exist as rigid paradigms reliant on generalisability. Local flows can exist in their own right, and flows can come together to form alluvial islands and new ways of knowing and being. Most crucially, as Cram (2021, p. 1) states 'wherever a braided river flows in this country, it flows over Māori land'. He Awa Whiria is therefore 'He Awa Whiria – He Whenua Māori', fundamentally acknowledging and embedding He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Deploying He Awa Whiria in this way is a necessary action with respect to the work of decolonising the social sciences. If the politics of Aotearoa New Zealand are to be properly understood then the method of understanding cannot come exclusively from somewhere else or a singular, Western-Eurocentric departure point. It must be from and of this place in order to properly position and reflect this place. He Awa Whiria is appropriate and necessary device for two central reasons. First, it is from this place – specifically it is from Māori and the work of Kaupapa Māori researchers, by Māori for Māori. Second, it effectively situates the notion of politics at the ontological level. Politics becomes about place, about what is unique and intrinsic to Aotearoa New Zealand, relocated from a Western-Eurocentric vacuum where it is capable of existing as something trivial, detached and peripheral to everyday life.

At present, in terms of research inquiry, He Awa Whiria – He Whenua Māori provides 'a way for us to talk to one another in Te Tiriti o Waitangi compliant ways' (Cram, 2021, p. 1). In working with the approach in the way that I am here it can be a productive device on multiple levels. First, as a response to the status quo it enables the contextualisation of Western-Eurocentric Pākehā hegemony as the prevailing flow. Second, it offers potential for the imagining of Te Tiriti as constitutional. In particular, how the rangatiratanga, kāwanatanga, and relational spheres proposed in Matike Mai might function and come into relationship with one another. The potential for realising the

promise of Te Tiriti can extend further within this constitutional framing, and through He Awa Whiria it is possible to begin to comprehend how society, institutions, and everyday life might operate in Aotearoa New Zealand. At least in my own community it offers a completely appropriate, equitable framing for resolving and effectively managing gravel extraction from the Ngaruroro River at Maraekakaho. So too for the management of the Paritua Stream at Bridge Pā, and the restoration of the Awanui Stream at Pakipaki.

Discussing He Awa Whiria in this way – this is giving abstract concepts a place to reside. This is a 'pluriverse' and these are 'ecologies' which account for the 'local' and multitude of ways of being and knowing which exist alongside Western monoculture, and are capable of dismantling Pākehā hegemony. Within the context of the social sciences, this project is about taking ecologies further, to a place where the ecological is intrinsic to a way of being and knowing. It is about lending texture and colour to what is so often described as the place-less and face-less 'local'. Crucially, thanks to He Awa Whiria, it is fundamentally relational. It is capable of creating a Te Tiriti o Waitangi complaint dialogue for the comprehension and analysis of social and political issues in Te Matau-a-Māui and Aotearoa New Zealand. Above all, the documentation of this experience hopefully demonstrates the weight that comes with giving concepts a home. The necessary required accountability and responsibility, the personal and social grappling, the general entanglement which comes with a centring of place.

Being Manuhiri

This project is an autoethnographic study and an interpretation of what it means to be manuhiri and a guest in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, simultaneously and unavoidably it is a study of politics and identity within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. On a personal level, it is a piece of the ongoing journey to finding home in this land. Embracing and grappling with what it means to be Pākehā. Not to essentialise, or for honour or blame, instead it is about obligations with respect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and relationship building. Centring Kaupapa Māori accordingly so as to be vigilantly affected and to come into relation with, not appropriate. Within the Pākehā hegemonic context it is not possible for me to see who I am here. Centring Kaupapa Māori assists in the determination of what concepts such as whakapapa might mean for me, unlocking my

own past and my own stories. Being affected by whakaktaukī such as ‘kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua’ so that I might walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my own past. He Awa Whiria is the wider framing of this, the platform for the sharing of these stories, thickening relational fabric, and the forging of new ground as alluvial islands through cultural entanglement. Necessary respectful and responsible engagement, I believe, for Pākehā and tauiwi in the work of decolonisation, deimperialisation and being tangata Tiriti in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The notion of being manuhiri, and comprehending this within the host-guest relationship context, extends beyond the personal and to the social and political institutions, systems and structures which exist in this country. Grounding inquiry in this place, centring Kaupapa Māori and Te Tiriti is an effective method for locating and critiquing Western-Eurocentric Pākehā hegemony. From this position, it is possible to see the extent to which the guests have overextended their welcome, and subsequently the fundamental imbalance and shortcomings of this. As an approach, He Awa Whiria enables a platform for comprehending ontological and epistemological co-existence and the intermingling of different cultures on whenua Māori. Through this lens it is possible to imagine relational functioning of Te Tiriti, and Te Tiriti as constitutional, the functional potential of the models proposed in Matike Mai, and how these interactions might extend to society and everyday life where a host-guest relationship is ubiquitous.

I hope too that there are lessons in this project for those beyond the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand, especially for those non-Indigenous peoples living in settler-colonial contexts. I think at least within the context of research it’s about localising your ecologies and centring the Indigenous land you’re on. This does not mean theorising and practicing place only to co-opt it into the Western-Eurocentric hegemonic context. Neither is it only surface level generalising of what is ‘Indigenous’ or namechecks to yourself as settler, or to rightful land owners of the land you’re on at the top of academic journal articles. It is more than this. It is about coming to know what these things mean, respectfully and responsibly rolling your sleeves up and building relationships. It is about centring the ontologies and epistemologies of place and giving them space to breathe and stand on their own. Relationship-based research of this nature is a praxis, a combination and analysis and action. It is not about you or you becoming an expert, it is about working for

the place or locality and its communities and people. Everything you do must revolve around this and be accountable to it.

I don't intend to, and haven't sought to, offer concrete solutions to what I consider to be problems in Aotearoa New Zealand and beyond. As I have said, I hope there might be something useful in these ideas, and in this reflection and documented experience. One of the many features I appreciate with the He Awa Whiria metaphor is its constant flow and sense of potential. As Kyle Whyte (2021, p. 62) outlines, at a time of 'crisis', 'epistemologies of crisis' organise 'knowledge in ways that emphasise some narrative of the imminence of a threat to the present'. 'Crisis' is a strong word, and the choice to highlight it here is intentional as the problems which I have surfaced throughout the course of this thesis are often organised around epistemologies of crisis. Crises of discrimination with regard to the impact of colonisation on Māori and the neglect of Te Tiriti, and ecology as a result of the subsequent mismanagement and exploitation of the natural environment, for example.

Dissecting this framing is important. Organising knowledge in such a way involves 'knowing the world such that a certain present is experienced as new' (ibid, p. 53). Therefore, epistemologies of crisis 'perpetrate colonialism' and often people 'imagine that their wrongful actions are defensible because they are responding to some crisis' and in doing so 'it is possible to suspend certain concerns about justice and morality' (ibid). So too are instances of this perpetration surfaced throughout the course of the thesis. Addressing the issue of water security in Te Matau-a-Māui through the expansion of an already problematic water storage scheme can be seen as such. As can a failed attempt to embed Kaupapa Māori within the provision of rural healthcare services within a fundamentally Western-Eurocentric healthcare system. In both of these cases the response to the problem perpetuates harm.

Breaking this cycle of response to problems and in turn the pattern of coloniality requires that importance be placed on relationships as 'without any emphasis on kinship relationships and the time it takes to develop them, epistemologies of crisis can validate the violation of moral bonds' (ibid, p. 62). It is necessary to organise knowledge around relationships and connection over a narrative of immanent threat to the present. Relationship-centred 'epistemologies of coordination' are required that 'assess the

impacts of actions by their contributions to the quality of kinship relations' (ibid). To make this place-based, in Aotearoa New Zealand this is the ethic of a tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship. This is what Te Tiriti o Waitangi promised, and herein lies its potential for it as a political solution. In being grounded in relationality and guiding a tangata whenua-manuhiri relationship it can work as an epistemology for coordination. It can guide responses to problems in a way that puts relationships and the health of these relationships at the centre.

In Aotearoa New Zealand and beyond these shores I like to think that the gift of Te Tiriti is a blueprint for coordination at a relational level. A response to a relational object rather than a crisis to the present day climate in which it survives. To return to Moana Jackson's (2011, p. 182) reflection on power and specifically 'knowing something of its whakapapa and finding power our own stories and the alternatives they might offer to change constitutions, economics and the ethics of life still offer hope for a better and more substantive enlightenment'. Just as the course of this thesis has surfaced problems and their associated perpetrations, so too has it surfaced glimpses of the potential of this blueprint for relational coordination, and of what it means to find power in our own stories and the alternatives they might offer.

I like to think that Matike Mai, and the radical generosity extended by Māori through it, is an augmentation of this blueprint. If like me you feel inspired by constitutional transformation and a Tiriti-centred Aotearoa New Zealand then I suggest considering the words of Veronica Tawhai when she was asked, 'what are three things that we can do to progress the realisation of things contained within Matike Mai?' (Mutu, Tawhai, Cook and Hynes, 2021, p. 47). First off, 'find out as much as you possibly can about the lands where you are living. This is specifically about learning the ideas, the concepts, that have emerged from that land', which is sometimes missed (ibid, p. 49). For Pākehā and tauiwi, this 'will not only include going through your genealogy but also really connecting to that space where you are' (ibid). Second, acknowledge the 'enduring, ongoing, oppressive, violent structure' of colonialism, something which must be contended with, 'but which can be dismantled' (ibid, p. 50). Deepening the analysis of colonialism 'so that we can hone in on its different elements – those things that you might have a particular commitment to' (ibid). Finally, 'find your people, because anyone who is part of a movement will know this is where the magic happens and you can take action',

something which ‘is really important in tangata whenua spaces’ (ibid). Words from an educator and member of Matike Mai Aotearoa to reflect on and continue by.

To Continue

My brother and I never made it to the mouth of Te Awa o Mokotūāraro and Waipureku where the waters meet, or across to the star compass Ātea-a-Rangi that Monday in January. We kept beaching on the limestone ridges on the Awanui Stream bed. In hindsight we had probably left the trip too late into summer, with the water level simply too low in late January. Eventually we decided to haul our kayaks out and up the steep banks onto to Turamoe Road. Treading carefully as to avoid hidden tuna and reeking of the polluted stream water, we picked up the car and loaded the kayaks on the trailer in search of a new launching spot. We opted to head to the start of the Karamū Stream, launching by the intersection of St Georges and Te Aute Roads. Here the flow is substantial and the stream channel is a good few metres wide and deep. By this time the easterly rain had well and truly set in and we were completely saturated.

The water in the initial kilometre stretch of the Karamū Stream from where we launched was crystal clear with an abundance of native plants lining the banks, hanging out over and into the water. This planting is the work of the Karamū Restoration Project, a volunteer initiative in conjunction with the HBRC to restore the Karamū Stream. As we got closer to the town of Karanema Havelock North the planting disappeared and the banks became pasture and the edges of paddocks. Once paddling directly behind Karanema Havelock North and with the rain heavy, storm water drains poured into the stream, the aroma of laundry soap revealing that some of this must be greywater. At this point the water became cloudy, with the vibrancy and life we’d experienced in the earlier section sapped out it. The stream felt more like a drain, disposable to, and servicing the needs of, local residents and the town. Eventually we reached the Crosses Road bridge on the eastern side of Karanema Havelock North. We’d made it 5 kilometres from where we launched, and with the rain still thick and heavy we made the call to end the trip. Our plan is to attempt it again late Spring in 2024.

This plan to continue with this trip from farm to moana is not only about the novel experience of making the literal journey. It is a small part of an all-encompassing

continuation of a deepening of relationship with place, understanding this place and what it means to be here. It is inherently connected to this PhD project. In fact, it is difficult to know where this project starts and stops. Everything seems to collapse into it. Perhaps in a sense this idea of continuation with respects to relating is a core contribution of this project. A 'finding' which is not definitive; rather constant and demonstrative. A long, unfurled flowing channel of water which reflects the process of relating, grapples with ideas of what it means to 'relate well', and the dynamics which emerge from this. A situating and braiding of different ways of knowing and being, and the reflection of the dualities and their tensions. A rambling statement of the rich potential of a relational ethic.

What though is the continuation of this piece of work specifically? I do not want to tidily conclude this project, dust off my hands and walk away. To be honest, the nature of this project does not make this possible. Aotearoa New Zealand is still a long way off a tangata whenua-manuhiri host-guest relationship, and far away from properly honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Fundamentally, this project is relational and is therefore accountable to its relationships. I know everyone mentioned in this text on a personal level, and my business and work within the community carries on, and in most cases with these people. On one hand 'to continue' is to keep working out ways to make this project as useful as possible. I have an obligation to reciprocate what I have learned through the reflection and documentation of this experience. This means I will involve, present and continue to develop the information with those involved, and to the spaces and places involved from within the community too. This process remains in motion even as the thesis writing concludes.

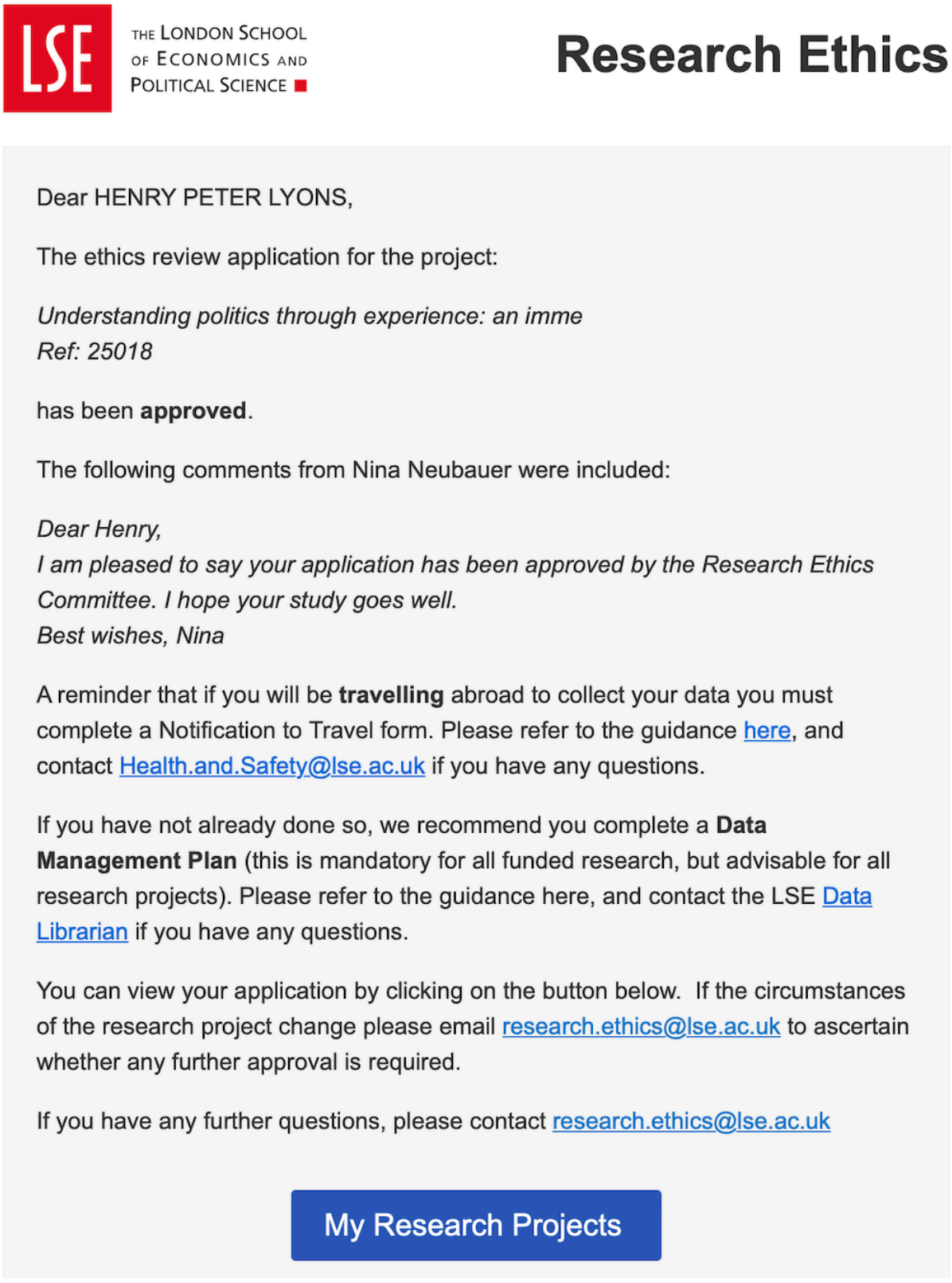
I am aware of interest in the community and so it is my intention to try and disseminate the project further, to continue to discuss Te Tiriti o Waitangi and what it means, especially for, and with Pākehā and tauiwi, and to keep working toward a tangata whenua-manuhiri and Tiriti-based society in Aotearoa New Zealand. My own family is interested in the project and it is my intention to share it with them as well. There is also the question of the farm – the land that we're on, the hills that I love. We have some traces thanks to my brother's research – though what is the whakapapa of our place here? What will happen with this place moving forward? How can my family's relationship with the land be made more Tiriti compliant? Is there potential to apply the framework from this PhD to the future of the farm, and other Pākehā-owned land like ours? I believe

there are threads from this project to assist in shaping these discussions and move us in a positive direction.

Thank you for bearing with me. Thank you for staying with me.

Appendices

1. Ethics Approval



THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Research Ethics

Dear HENRY PETER LYONS,

The ethics review application for the project:

Understanding politics through experience: an imme
Ref: 25018

has been **approved**.

The following comments from Nina Neubauer were included:

Dear Henry,
I am pleased to say your application has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee. I hope your study goes well.
Best wishes, Nina

A reminder that if you will be **travelling** abroad to collect your data you must complete a Notification to Travel form. Please refer to the guidance here, and contact Health.and.Safety@lse.ac.uk if you have any questions.

If you have not already done so, we recommend you complete a **Data Management Plan** (this is mandatory for all funded research, but advisable for all research projects). Please refer to the guidance here, and contact the LSE Data Librarian if you have any questions.

You can view your application by clicking on the button below. If the circumstances of the research project change please email research.ethics@lse.ac.uk to ascertain whether any further approval is required.

If you have any further questions, please contact research.ethics@lse.ac.uk

My Research Projects

1.1 Verbal Consent Script

Verbal Consent Script

My name is Henry Lyons, I'm from Hawke's Bay and am a PhD researcher with the London School of Economics and Political Science. I'm researching politics and political life in Aotearoa New Zealand, and in particular, trying to understand the disconnect between the formal institutions of politics and everyday life in this country. I hope that my research will add to knowledge about how we might improve the political system in Aotearoa New Zealand to better serve our people and communities.

I am taking a partnership approach to my research and intend to work with and serve the community as much as possible, upholding kaupapa Māori, as guided by those in the community, and my research whānau. Rather than conducting my research from afar or through prescribed means, such as structured interviews, I am immersing myself in the community, getting to know people, getting involved, helping where I can, and focusing on what politics actually feels like.

As it is likely we will be having regular interactions and conversation while I spend time in the community, these may form part of the eventual analysis. If this is the case, I will explain this process in full and get your verification of our discussions before any information is shared. If you are interested, I will keep you regularly updated with how the project is developing and seek your input on the project, especially as to how the research might work 'for' the community, and eventually be disseminated in time.

All of our discussions will be held in confidence and should you wish you may remain anonymous. Your participation in this research is completely voluntary and you are free to decline to participate at any point for any reason. If you have any questions at any point going forward then you can always call me on 027 636 1331 or email me at h.p.lyons@lse.ac.uk.

Ngā mihi nui,
Henry

Bibliography

1 News (2020). *Residents in Gisborne region told to stay home, others evacuated due to record flooding*. Accessed November 2, 2022, from https://www.1news.co.nz/2020/07/18/residents-in-gisborne-region-told-to-stay-home-others-evacuated-due-to-record-flooding/

Abbott, A. (2007). *Against Narrative: A Preface to Lyrical Sociology*. Sociological Theory. 25:1, pp. 67-99

Adams, D., Barlo, S., & J. L. Belasco. (2021). *Of time, patience, and ceremony*. Evaluation Matters – He Take Tō Te Aromatawai. 7, pp. 127-136

Adcock, A. & Cram, F. (2021). *Indigenous Ways of Knowing and Participatory Research*. The SAGE Handbook of Participatory Research and Inquiry. Thousand Oaks: Sage

Adcock, A. & Cram, F. (2023). *Indigenous peoples and health research*. In K. Dew & S. Donovan (Eds.), Encyclopedia of Health Research in the Social Sciences. Elgaronline

Ahmed, S. (2012). *On being included: Racism and diversity in institutional life*. Durham: Duke University Press

Ambo, T., & Rocha Beardall, T. (2022). *Performance or Progress? The Physical and Rhetorical Removal of Indigenous Peoples in Settler Land Acknowledgements at Land-Grab Universities*. American Educational Research Journal. 60:1, pp. 103-140

Amin, A. (2004). *Regions Unbound: Towards a New Politics of Place*. Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography. 86:1, pp. 33-44

Amundsen, D. (2018). *Decolonisation Through Reconciliation: The role of Pākehā identity*. MAI Journal. 7:2, pp. 139-154

Archives New Zealand (2023). *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. Accessed February 20, 2023, from https://www.archives.govt.nz/discover-our-stories/the-treaty-of-waitangi

Armstrong, D. (2009). *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Heretaunga Hastings Land and Politics, 1840-1865. An Overview Report Prepared for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust

Awatere, D. (1984). *Maori Sovereignty*. Auckland: Broadsheet

Ballard, R., & Ballard, S. (2011). *From narrative inheritance to narrative momentum: Past, present, and future stories in an international adoptive family*. Journal of Family Communication. 11, pp. 69-84

Bargh, M. (2007). *Māori development*. In M. Bargh (Ed.), Resistance: An indigenous response to neoliberalism. Wellington: Huia

Bargh, M. (2018). *Māori political and economic recognition in a diverse economy*. In D. Howard-Wagner, M. Bargh & I. Altamirano-Jimenez (Eds.), The Neoliberal State, Recognition and Indigenous Rights: New Paternalism to New Imaginings. Canberra: Australian National University Press

Bargh, M. (2020). *Diverse Indigenous environmental identities: Māori resource management innovations*. In B. Hokowhitu, A. Moreton-Robinson, L. T. Smith, C. Andersen & S. Larkin (Eds.), Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies. New York: Routledge

Beausoleil, E. (2016). *Responsibility as Responsiveness: Enacting a Dispositional Ethics of Encounter*. Political Theory. 45:3, pp. 291-318

Beausoleil, E. (2021). *Listening obliquely: Listening as norm and strategy for structural justice*. Contemporary Political Theory. 20, pp. 23-47

Belich, J. (1996). *Making peoples: A history of the New Zealanders*. Penguin Press

Bell, A. (2006). *Bifurcation or Entanglement? Settler Identity and Biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Continuum: Journal of Media & Culture Studies. 20:2, pp. 253-268

Bell, A. (2020). *Reverberating Historical Privilege of a "Middling" Sort of Settler Family*. Genealogy. 4:46, pp. 1-17

Belshaw, J. K. (2005). *Decolonising the Land – Naming and Reclaiming Places*. Naming Places

Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). *Researching in Māori contexts: An interpretation of participatory consciousness*. Journal of Intercultural Studies. 20:2, pp. 167-182

Black, R. (2000). *Political implications of the name "Pakeha"*. Living Justly in Aotearoa Newsletter

Black, R., & Huygens, I. (2007). *Pākehā Culture and Psychology*. Professional Practice of Psychology in Aotearoa New Zealand

Black, L., & Stone, D. (2005). *Expanding the definition of privilege: The concept of social privilege*. Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development. 33, pp. 243-55

Borell, B., Gregory, A., McCreanor, T., Jensen, V., and Moewaka Barnes, H. (2009). *"It's Hard at the Top but it's a Whole Lot Easier than Being at the Bottom:" The Role of Privilege in Understanding Disparities in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts. 3:1, pp. 29-50

Borell, B., Moewaka Barnes, H., and McCreanor, T. (2018). *Conceptualising historical privilege: the flip side of historical trauma, a brief examination*. AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples. 14:1, pp. 25-34

Bray, Z. (2008). *Ethnographic Approaches*. In D. della Porta & M. Keating (Eds.),

Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press

Brown, M. (2011). *Decolonizing Pākehā ways of being: revealing third space Pākehā experiences* (Doctoral Thesis). University of Waikato

Butz, D., & Besio, K. (2009). *Autoethnography*. Geography Compass. 3:5, pp. 1660-1674

Byrd, J. (2011). *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Campbell, H. (2009) *The Glass Phallus: Pub(lic) Masculinity and Drinking in Rural New Zealand*. Rural Sociology. 65:4, pp. 562-581

Ceglowski, D. (2000). *Research as Relationship*. Qualitative Inquiry. 6:1, pp. 88-103

Coombes, B. (2016). *Indigenism, Public Intellectuals, and the Forever Opposed-Or, the Makings of a "Hori Academic"*. In Mertens, D., Cram, F., & B. Chilisa (Eds.), Indigenous Pathways into Social Research: Voices of a New Generation. Routledge: New York, pp. 71-88

Campbell, J. (2022). *My journey to a history of us*. Radio New Zealand. Accessed March 20, 2023, from https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/sunday/audio/2018863845/john-campbell-my-journey-to-the-history-of-us

Came, H. (2013). *Doing research in Aotearoa: a Pākehā exemplar of applying Te Ara Tika ethical framework*. Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences. 8:1-2, pp. 64-73

Charters, C. (2019). *Recognition of Tikanga Māori and the Constitutional Myth of Monolegalism: Reinterpreting Case Law*. Accessed 11 November, 2024, from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3316400

Charters, C. (2020). *The Elephant in the Court Room: An Essay on the Judiciary's Silence on the Legitimacy of the New Zealand State*. In M. Harris & S. Mount (Eds.), The Promise of Law: Essays marking the retirement of Dame Sian Elias as Chief Justice of New Zealand. Auckland: Lexis Nexis

Chawla, D., & Atay, A. (2018). *Introduction: Decolonizing Autoethnography*. Cultural Studies, Critical Methodologies. 18:1, pp. 3-8

Chen, K-H. (2010). *Asia as method: Towards deimperialization*. Durham & Lonson: Duke University Press

Cram, F. (1997). *Developing Partnerships in Research: Pākehā Researchers and Māori Research*. Sites 35, pp. 44-63

Cram, F. (2013). *Maintaining Indigenous Voices*. In D. Mertens and P. Ginsberg (Eds.), The Handbook of Social Research Ethics. Thousand Oaks: Sage

Cram, F. (2020). *He mātou whare, he mātou Kāinga hoki – a house that is a home for whānau Māori*. Building Better Home, Towns and Cities National Science Challenge. Accessed 7 September, 2023, from https://www.buildingbetter.nz/news/2020/hs_house_that_is_home_for_whanau/

Cram, F. (2021). *He Awa Whiria – He Whenua Māori*. Presentation to the He Awa Whiria Colloquium, 9 December, 2021, Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha, Canterbury University

Cram, F. (2022). *Kaupapa Māori Research*. Accessed January 11, 2023, from https://www.katoa.net.nz/kaupapa-maori

Cram, F. (2023). *Qualitative Research Quality in Indigenous Research and Evaluation*. In Flick, U. (Ed.), The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research Quality. Forthcoming, pp. 1-20

Cram, F. & Lyons, H. (2024). *He Rangahau Whiria: A research methodology for both parties to Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. In Derby, M., & Macfarlane, S. (Eds.), He Awa Whiria – A Braided River approach: A bicultural framework for research, policy, and practice. University of Canterbury Press

Cram, F., Te Huia, B., Te Huia, T., Williams, M. M., & Williams, N. (2019). *Oranga and Māori health inequities*. Wellington: Ministry of Health, pp. 1769-1992

Boer Cueva, A. R., Giri, K., Hamilton, C., & Shepherd, L. J. (2024). *A Decolonial Feminist Politics of Fieldwork: Centring Commmunity, Reflexivity, and Loving Accountability*. International Studies Review

Curtis, E. (2022). *A day in the life of a Māori academic*. Accessed March 20, 2023, from https://e-tangata.co.nz/reflections/a-day-in-the-life-of-a-maori-academic/

de Sousa Santos, B. (2004). *The World Social Forum: Toward A Counter-Hegemonic Globalisation*. The WSF: Challenging Empires

DeLancy, D. (2023). *Decolonizing Evaluation of Indigenous Land-Based Programs: A Settler Perspective on What We Can Learn from the LANDBACK Movement*. Journal of MultiDisciplinary Evaluation. 19:44, pp. 173-182

Denzin, N, K. (2003). *Performance Ethnography*. Sage Publications

Department of Conservation (2022). *Freshwater fish: Eels.* Accessed October 14, 2022, from https://www.doc.govt.nz/nature/native-animals/freshwater-fish/eels/

Dirlik, A. (2001). *Place-Based Imagination: Globalism and the Politics of Place*. In Prazniak, R., & Dirlik, A. (Eds.), Places and Politics in an Age of Globalisation. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield

Dupuis, A. (2012). *Ontological security*. In Smith, S. J. (Ed.), International encyclopaedia of housing and home. Oxford: Elsevier Science

Durie, A. (1992). *Whaia te Ara Tika: Research methodologies and Māori*. Seminar on Māori research at Massey University. Palmerston North, New Zealand

Durie, E. T. (1986). *Ancestral Law Civil Law and the Law of Gifts*. Unpublished paper presented during Te Māori Exhibition, Dominion Museum, Wellington

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

Durie, M. (2002). *Keynote Address: Is there a distinctive Māori psychology?* School of Māori Studies: Massey University

Durie, M. (2004). *Understanding health and illness: research at the interface between science and indigenous knowledge*. International Journal of Epidemiology. 33, pp. 1138-1143

Eggleton, K. (2020). *Measuring the quality of Māori health providers. A critique of Tauiwi paradigms*. PhD Thesis, University of Auckland. Retrieved November 18, 2024, from https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/52477

Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. P. (2000). *Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity: Researcher as subject*. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), The SAGE handbook of qualitative research, Thousand Oaks: Sage

Escobar, A. (2004). *Beyond the Third World: Imperial Globality, Global Coloniality and Anti-Globalisation Social Movements*. Third World Quarterly. 25:1, pp. 207-230

Fabish, R. (2014). *Black Rainbow: stories of Māori and Pākehā working across difference*. PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington Te Herenga Waka. Retrieved January 12, 2023, from https://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/xmlui/handle/10063/4166

Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Study of Language*. Taylor & Francis Group

Fanon, F. (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth*. London: Penguin

Fitzpatrick, E. (2018). *A Story of Becoming: Entanglement, Settler Ghosts, and Postcolonial Counterstories*. Cultural Studies, Critical Methdologies. 18:1, pp. 43-51

Fletcher, N. (2022). *The English Text of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books

Forsyth, H. (2018). *An identity as Pākehā*. AlterNative. 14:1, pp. 73-80

Frye, M. (2003). *Oppression*. In M. S. Kimmel & A. L. Ferber (Eds.), Privilege: A Reader. Boulder: Westview Press

Gibson-Graham, J. K., & Roelvink, G. (2009). *An Economic Ethics for the Anthropocene*.

Antipode. 41:1, pp. 320-346

Goldberg, D. T. (2009). *The threat of race: Reflections on racial neoliberalism*. Malden, MA: John Wiley

Graziano, V., & Trogal, K. (2019). *Repair Matters*. Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization. 19:2, pp. 203-227

Grosfoguel, R. (2007). *The Epistemic Decolonial Turn: Beyond political-economy paradigms*. Cultural Studies. 21:2-3, pp. 211-223

Grosfoguel, R. (2011). *Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality*. TRANSMODERNITY: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World. 1:1, pp. 1-38

Haebich, A. (2011). *Forgetting Indigenous Histories: Cases from the History of Australia's Stolen Generations*. Journal of Social History. 44:1, pp. 1033-1046

Harcourt, W., & Escobar, A. (2002). *Women and the Politics of Place*. Development. 45:1, pp. 7-14

Harr, J., & Martin, W. (2022). *He aronga takirua: Cultural double-shift of Māori scientists*. human relations. 75:6, pp. 1001-1027

Hawke's Bay Regional Council (2007). *Paritua/Karewarewa Stream – Hydrology*. Accessed November 18, 2022, from https://www.hbrc.govt.nz/assets/Document-Library/Projects/TANK/TANK-Key-Reports/Paritua-Karewarewa-Stream-Hydrology-2007.pdf

Hawke's Bay Regional Council (2021). *Meeting of the Hawke's Bay Regional Council Māori Committee*. Accessed October 24, 2022, from http://hawkesbay.infocouncil.biz/Open/2021/06/MC_09062021_AGN_AT.htm

Hawke's Bay Regional Council (2022a). *Tangata Whenua*. Accessed October 24, 2022, from https://www.hbrc.govt.nz/our-council/tangata-whenua/

Hawke's Bay Regional Council (2022b). *Regional water security programme*. Accessed 23 November, 2022, from https://www.hbrc.govt.nz/hawkes-bay/projects/regional-water-security-programme/

Hawke's Bay Regional Council (2024). *Awanui Sub-Catchment Dashboard*. Accessed January 30, 2024, from https://www.hbrc.govt.nz/hawkes-bay/projects/the-tank-plan/tank-water-quality/awanui/#showmoredin255

Hawke's Bay Winegrowers (2022). *Regional Presentation*. Accessed November 22, 2022, from https://hawkesbaywine.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/HBW-Regional-Presentation-2022-1.pdf

Hay, C. (2002). *Political Analysis: A Critical Introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave

Heard, N. (2020). *For the love of it: Encountering te ao Māori*. Master's Thesis, Massey University. Retrieved November 18, 2024, from https://mro.massey.ac.nz/items/cd52894c-bd72-4593-b13a-f1e242f8faa1

Held, M. (2019). *Decolonizing Research Paradigms in the Context of Settler Colonialism: An Unsettling, Mutual, and Collaborative Effort*. International Journal of Qualitative Methods. 18, pp. 1-16

Hoskins, T. K., & Jones, A. (2022). *Indigenous Inclusion and Indigenising the University*. New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies. 57, pp. 305-320

Hotere-Barnes, A. (2013). *What can Pākehā learn from engaging in kaupapa Māori educational research?* Te Wāhanga He Whānau Mātau He Whānau Ora/New Zealand Council for Educational Research Working Paper

Hotere-Barnes, A. (2015). *Generating 'non-stupid optimism': Addressing Pākehā paralysis in Māori educational research*. New Zealand Journal of Education Studies. 50, 39-53

Hughes, M., Wilson, S., & Barlo, S. (2023). *Preparing for the Research Ceremony: Indigenist Researcher Training*. Qualitative Inquiry. 29:3-4, pp. 509-517

Hunt, S. (2014). *Ontologies of Indigeneity: the politics of embodying a concept*. Cultural geographies. 21:1, pp. 27-32

Hutchings, J., & J. Smith. (2020). *Te Mahi Oneone Hua Parakore: a Māori soil sovereignty and wellbeing handbook*. Christchurch: Harvest

Huygens, I. (2011). *Developing a Decolonisation Practice for Settler Colonisers: A Case Study from Aotearoa New Zealand*. Settler Colonial Studies. 1:2, pp. 53-81

Jackson, M. (1992). *The Treaty and the word: the colonization of Māori philosophy*. In G. Oddie & R. W. Perrett (Eds.), Justice, Ethics, and New Zealand Society. Auckland: Oxford University Press

Jackson, M. (2011). *Globalisation and the colonising state of mind*. In M. Bargh (Ed.), Resistance: an Indigenous response to neoliberalism. Wellington: Huia

Jackson, M. (2017). *We have come too far not to go further*. COUNTERFUTURES. 4, pp. 1-27

Jackson, M. (2018). *Constitutional Transformation And The Matike Mai Project: A Kōrero With Moana Jackson*. Economic and Social Research Aotearoa. 8, pp. 1-10

Jackson, M. (2019). *The connection between white supremacy and colonisation*. E-Tangata. Accessed March 1, 2024, from https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/the-connection-between-white-supremacy/

Jackson, M. (2020). *Where to next? Decolonisation and stories of the land*. In R. Kiddle, B.

Elkington, M. Jackson, O. R. Mercier, M. Ross, J. Smeaton, & A. Thomas (Eds.), Imagining Decolonisation. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books

Jackson, M. (2022). *Moana Jackson: What it means to be at home in this land*. Accessed 5 December, 2022, from https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/moana-jackson-what-it-means-to-be-at-home-in-this-land/

Jimmy, E. & Andreotti, V. (2018). *Towards braiding #1: bricks and threads (draft)*. Accessed January 17, 2024, from https://decolonialfutures.net/portfolio/towards-braiding-1-bricks-and-threads/

Jimmy, E. & Andreotti, V. (2019). *Towards Braiding*. Canada: Musgates

Johnston, S. (2003). *Research in a bicultural context: The case in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. In J. Swann & J. Pratt (Eds.), Educational research practice: Making sense of methodology. London: Continuum

Jones, A. (2020). *This Pākehā life: an unsettled memoir*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books

Jones, A. (2012). *Dangerous liasons: Pakeha, kaupapa Maori, and educational research*. New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies. 47:2, pp. 100-112

Jones, A. (2021). *When Pākehā acquire te re*o. E-Tangata. Accessed January 11, 2023, from https://e-tangata.co.nz/reo/alison-jones-when-pakeha-acquire-te-reo/

Jones, C. (2016). *New Treaty, New Tradition: Reconciling New Zealand and Māori Law*. Wellington: Te Herenga Waka University Press

Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua. (2022). Whitiwhiti Kōrero: Cultures, Communities and Design. Accessed January 16, 2023, from https://www.poipoia.net/blog/cultures-communitiesand-design

Kauanui, K. J. (2016). *"A structure, not an event": Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity*. Lateral. 5:1 pp. 1-8

King, M. (1985). *Being Pakeha: An encounter with New Zealand and the Maori renaissance*. Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton

King, M. (1999). *Being Pakeha Now: Reflections and Recollections of a White Native*. Aotearoa New Zealand: Penguin Books

Knowledge Bank: Hawke's Bay Digital Archives Trust. The Naming of Napier. Accessed May 1, 2023, from https://knowledgebank.org.nz/text/naming-of-napier-the/

Kogl, A. 2008. *Strange places: the political potentials and perils of everyday spaces*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books

Land, Air, Water Aotearoa. (2023a). *Awanui Stream at Flume*. Accessed August 28, 2023,

from https://www.lawa.org.nz/explore-data/hawkes-bay-region/river-quality/karamu-stream/awanui-stream-at-flume/

Land, Air, Water Aotearoa. (2023b). *Karewarewa Stream at Pakipaki*. Accessed August 28, 2023, from https://www.lawa.org.nz/explore-data/hawkes-bay-region/river-quality/karamu-stream/karewarewa-strm-at-paki-paki-old-main-rd-br/

Lee-Morgan, J., & Te Nana, R. (2022). *Stories from the Haukāinga: Embracing Homeless Whānau at Te Puea Memorial Marae*. In Cram, F., Hutchings, J., & Smith, J. (Eds), Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books

Leftwich, A. (2004). *Thinking Politically: On the politics of Politics*. In What Is Politics?: The Activity and Its Study, Leftwich, A. (Ed), Cambridge: Polity

Luker, K. (2008). *Salsa Dancing into the Social Sciences: Research in an Age of Info-Glut*. Harvard University Press

MacFarlane, A. (2009). *Collaborative Action Research Network: Keynote address*. CARN Symposium. University of Canterbury

MacFarlane, A. (2024). *Prologue*. In Derby, M., & Macfarlane, S. (Eds.), He Awa Whiria – A Braided River approach: A bicultural framework for research, policy, and practice. University of Canterbury Press

Mackintosh, L. (2015). *Intimate Immensity: A Pūtōrino in the Peabody Essex Museum*. The Lives of Colonial Objects. Otago University Press

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2007). *On the coloniality of being: Contributions to the development of a concept*. Cultural Studies. 21:2-3, pp. 240-270

Margaret, J. (2010). *Working As Allies*. Winston Churchill Fellowship Report. Wellington

Matike Mai Aotearoa (2016). *He Whakaaro Here Whakaumu Mō Aotearoa, The Report of Matike Mai Aotearoa – The Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation*. Accessed September 14, 2023, from http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/MatikeMaiAotearoaReport.pdf

Maxwell, K. H., Ratana, K., Davies, K., Taiapa, K. K., & S. Awatere. (2019). *Navigating towards marine co-management with Indigenous communities on-board the Waka-Taurua*. Marine Policy. 111, pp. 1-4

McConville, A., Wetherell, M., McCreanor, T., Borell, B., & H. Moewaka Barnes. (2020). *'Pissed Off and Confused'/'Grateful and (Re)Moved': Affect, Privilege and National Commemoration in Aotearoa New Zealand*. International Society of Political Psychology. 41:1, pp. 129-144

McCreanor, T. (2009). *Challenging and countering anti-Māori discourse: Practices for decolonisation*. Keynote speech to the New Zealand Psychological Society Conference

McGowan, R. (2009). *Rongoa Māori: A Practical Guide to Traditional Māori Medicine*. Ora New Zealand

McIntosh, P. (1990). *White privilege: unpacking the invisible knapsack*. The Legislative Library of the Northwest Territories

McMenamin, R. (2017). *Inclusive Constitution Making: Lessons from Iceland and Ireland for Aotearoa New Zealand*. LLB (Hons) Degree. Victoria University of Wellington. Accessed September 15, 2023, from https://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10063/7922/paper_access.pdf?sequence=1

Meyer, M. (2001). *Acultural Assumptions of Empiricism: A Native Hawaiian Critique*. Canadian Journal of Native Education. 25:2, pp. 188-198

Meyer, M. (2014). *Indigenous and Authentic: Hawaiian Epistemology and the Triangulation of Meaning*. In Denzin, N., Lincoln, Y. S., & Smith, L. T. (Eds.), Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies. Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 217-232

Mignolo, W. (2000). *Local Histories/Global Designs: Essays on the Coloniality of Power, Subaltern Knowledges and Border Thinking*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Mikaere, Ani. (2011). *Colonising Myths: Māori Realities*. Wellington: Huia

Mikahere-Hall, A. (2017). *Constructing research from an indigenous Kaupapa Māori perspective: An example of decolonising research*. Psychotherapy Politics International. 15, pp. 1-14

Mills, A. D. (1935). *A dictionary of British place-names*. Oxford University Press

Ministry of Education (2023). *Treaty of Waitangi principle*. Accessed February 21, 2023, from https://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/Principles/Treaty-of-Waitangi-principle

Moewaka Barnes, H. Borell, B., & T. McCreanor. (2014). *Theorising the structural dynamics of ethic privilege in Aotearoa: Unpacking "this breeze at my back"*. International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies. 7:1, pp. 1-14

Moewaka Barnes, H. & McCreanor, T. (2019). *Colonisation, hauora and whenua in Aotearoa.* Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand. 49:1, pp. 19-33

Moko Mead, H. (2016). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*. Huia: Wellington

Moko Mead, H. (2022). *Understanding Mātauranga Māori*. E-Tangata. Accessed March 21, 2023, from https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/understanding-matauranga-maori/

Muller, M. (2021). *Worlding geography: From linguistic privilege to decolonial anywhere*. Progress in Human Geography. 45:6, pp. 1440-1466

Mutu, M. (2002). *Māori Issues*. Political Reviews: The Contemporary Pacific. Spring 2002, pp. 220-226

Mutu, M. (2010). *Constitutional Intentions: the Treaty of Waitangi Texts*. In M. Mulholland & V. Tahwai (Eds.), Weeping Waters: the Treaty of Waitangi and Constitutional Change. Wellington: Huia

Mutu, M. (2017). *Māori of New Zealand*. In S. Neely (Ed.), Native Nations: The Survival of Fourth World Peoples. Vernon, CA: Charlton Publishing

Mutu, M. (2019). '*To honour the treaty, we must first settle colonisation' (Moana Jackson 2015): the long road from colonial devastation to balance, peace and harmony*. Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand. 49, pp. 4-18

Mutu, M. (2020). *Mana Māori Motuhake: Māori concepts and practices of sovereignty*. In B. Hokowhitu, A. Moreton-Robinson, L. Tuhiwai-Smith, C. Andersen, & S. Larkin (Eds.), Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies. London: Routledge

Mutu, M., Tawhai, V., Cook, T., & Hynes, S. (2021). *Dreaming Together for Constitutional Transformation*. Counterfutures. 12, pp. 34-50

Mutu, M. & Jacobs, M. (2023). *Interview with Margaret Mutu: He Whakaputanga: The history behind the founding document we rarely talk about*. Accessed October 30, 2023, from https://www.stuff.co.nz/pou-tiaki/300996069/he-whakaputanga-the-history-behind-the-founding-document-we-rarely-talk-about

Nairn, M. (2009). *Accepting the Name Pakeha*. Mitzi Nairn: Thoughts on social justice. Transcript of recording. Accessed March 16, 2023, from https://awea.org.nz/sites/awea.org.nz/files/reflections/Accepting%20the%20name%20Pakeha.pdf

Nairn, R., & McCreanor, T. (1991). *Race Talk and Common Sense: Patterns in Pākehā Discourse on Māori/Pākehā Relations in New Zealand*. Journal of Language and Social Psychology. 10:4, pp. 245-262

National Liberal Club (2023). *Welcome to the NLC*. Accessed May 30, 2023, from https://nlc.org.uk/about-us/

Newshub (2021). *Hawke's Bay community's ongoing fight against environmental disaster | The Hui*. Accessed November 22, 2022, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PO_gY3mS3SI

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2013). *The Entrapment of Africa within the Global Colonial Matrices of Power: Eurocentrism, Coloniality, and Deimperialisation in the Twenty-first Century*. Journal of Developing Societies. 29:4, p. 331-353

Ngata, T. (2018). *Wai Māori: a Māori perspective on the freshwater debate*. Accessed October 24, 2022, from https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/06-11-2018/wai-maori-a-maori-perspective-on-the-freshwater-debate

Ngata, T. (2023). *Glossary of a Tired Native*. Accessed January 12, 2023, from https://tinangata.com/2022/09/12/glossary-of-a-tired-native/

O'Malley, V. (2016a). *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books

O'Malley, V. (2016b). *What a nation chooses to remember and forget: the war for New Zealand's history*. Accessed December 2, 2024, from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/18/what-a-nation-chooses-to-remember-and-forget-the-war-for-new-zealands-history

O'Malley, V. (2019). *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books

O'Malley, V. (2021). *New Zealand's children will all soon study the country's brutal history – it's not before time*. Accessed February 21, 2023, from https://www.theguardian.com/world/commentisfree/2021/nov/02/new-zealands-children-will-all-soon-study-the-countrys-brutal-history-its-not-before-time

O'Malley, V., & Kidman, F. (2017). *Settler colonial history, commemoration and white backlash: remembering the New Zealand Wars*. Settler Colonial Studies, pp. 1-17

O'Sullivan, D. (2020). *We Are All Here to Stay: Citizenship, Sovereignty and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. ANU Press

O'Sullivan, D. (2024). *Te Tiriti o Waitangi – neither "one people" nor partners: rangatiratanga and inclusive democratic kāwanatanga*. AlterNative, pp. 1-9

O'Sullivan, D. (2024b). *Waitangi 2024: how the Treaty strengthens democracy and provides a check on unbridled power*. Accessed December 6, 2024, from https://theconversation.com/waitangi-2024-how-the-treaty-strengthens-democracy-and-provides-a-check-on-unbridled-power-221723

Orange, C. (1987). *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Allen and Unwin

Orange, C. (1990). *An illustrated history of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books

Orange, C. (2007). *An Exercise in Māori Autonomy: The Rise and Demise of the Māori War Effort Organisation*. In Whitney Lackenbauer, P., Scott Sheffield, R., & Leslie Mantle, C. (Eds.), Aboriginal Peoples and Military Participation: Canadian and International Perspectives. Canadian Defence Academy Press

Orange, C. (2023). *The Story of a Treaty/He Kōrero Tiriti*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books

Pachirat, T. (2009). *The Political in Political Ethnography: Dispatches from the Kill Floor*. In E. Schatz (Ed.), Political Ethnography: What Immersion Contributes to the Study of Power. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Paradies, Y. (2006). *A systematic review of empirical research on self-reported racism and health*. International Journal of Epidemiology. 35:4, pp, 888-901

Park, G. (2018). *Ngā Uruora: The Groves of Life Ecology and History in a New Zealand Landscape*. Wellington: Victoria University Press

Parker, A. (2013). *Generative Tensions: Meaning making in a social movement*. Master's Thesis, University of Otago. Retrieved November 18, 2024, from https://hdl.handle.net/10523/4437

Pickering, D. (2022). *Harm Received, Harm Caused: A Scottish Gael's Journey to Becoming Pākehā*. Genealogy. 6:82, pp. 1-15

Pihama, L. (1993). *Tungia te ururua kia tupu whakarirorito te tupu o te harakeke*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Auckland

Pihama, L. (2022). *Papakāinga: Māori Wellbeing in the Context of Collective Living*. In Cram, F., Hutchings, J., & Smith, J. (Eds). Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books

Pihama, L., Cram, F., Walker, S. (2002). *Creating Methodological Space: A Literature Review of Kaupapa Māori Research.* Canadian Journal of Native Education. 26:1, pp. 30-43

Potter, H., & Jackson, M. (2018). *Constitutional Transformation And The Matike Mai Project: A Kōrero With Moana Jackson*. Economic and Social Research Aotearoa. 8, pp. 1-10

Quijano, A. (2000). *Coloniality of Power, Ethnocentrism, and Latin America*. NEPANTLA. 1:3, pp. 533-580

Radio New Zealand (2021). *'Tragic event': Iwi blames irrigation for hundreds of eel deaths*. Accessed November 18, 2022, from https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/437050/tragic-event-iwi-blames-irrigation-for-hundreds-of-eel-deaths

Reed-Danahay, D. (1997). *Introduction*. In D. Reed-Danahay (Ed.), Auto/ethnography: rewriting the self and the social. Oxford: Berg, pp. 1-20

Reid, A., Eckert, L., Lane, J-F., Young, N., Hinch, S., Darimont, C., Cooke, S., Ban, N., & A. Marshall. (2020). *"Two-Eyed Seeing": An Indigenous framework to transform fisheries research and management*. Fish and Fisheries. 22, pp. 243-261

Reid, P., & Cram, F. (2004). *Connecting health, people and country in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. In K. Dew & P. Davis (Eds.), Health and society in Aotearoa New Zealand. Auckland: Oxford University Press

Reeves, A. (2018). *Auto-ethnography and the Study of Affect and Emotion in World*

Politics: Investigating Security Discourses at London's Imperial War Museum. In M. Clement & Eric Sangar (Eds.), Researching Emotions in International Relations: Methodological Perspectives on the Emotional Turn. Palgrave Macmillan

Rhodes, R. (2021). *Autoethnography as Narrative in Political Studies*. In R. Rhodes & S. Hodgett (Eds.), What Political Science Can Learn from the Humanities. Palgrave Macmillan

Ross, M. (2020). *The throat of Parata*. In R. Kiddle, B. Elkington, M. Jackson, O. R. Mercier, M. Ross, J. Smeaton, & A. Thomas (Eds.), Imagining Decolonisation. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books

Roy, A. (2009). *The 21st-Century Metropolis: New Geographies of Theory*. Regional Studies. 43:6, pp. 819-830

Ruru, J. (2010). *Maori Legal Rights to Water: Ownership, Management or just Consultation?* RMLA Paper. Accessed October 24, 2022, from https://www.rmla.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/rmla_paper_2010_(2).pdf

Ruru, J. (2017). *Listening to Papatūānuku: a call to reform water law*. Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand. 48:2-3, pp. 215-224

Salmond, A. (2022). *Where Will the Bellbird Sing? Te Tiriti o Waitangi and 'Race'*. Policy Quarterly. 18:4, pp. 3-25

Scarfe, A. (2013). *A Changing Land: Sir Douglas McLean's Maraekakaho, 1857 to Today*. Fraser Books

Schulz, A. F., N., & J. L. Daniels. (2006). *Intersections of race, class, and gender in public health interventions*. In A. Schulz & L. Mullings (Eds.), Gender, Race, Class and Health, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Schwanecke, G. (2023). *Why Napier's streets bear the names of famous poets and playwrights*. Accessed May 1, 2023, from https://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/hawkes-bay/130946808/why-napiers-streets-bear-the-names-of-famous-poets-and-playwrights

Sharpe, M. (2021). *The Hawke's Bay Club finally, after more than 150 years, allows women to become members*. Accessed May 30, 2023, from https://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/hawkes-bay/125050489/the-hawkes-bay-club-finally-after-more-than-150-years-allows-women-to-become-members

Shaw, R. (2021). *A Tale of Two Stories: Unsettling a Settler Family's History in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Genealogy. 5:26, pp. 1-12

Singh, J. (2018). *Decolonising radical democracy*. Contemporary Political Theory, 18, pp. 331-356

Slater, D. (2004). *Conclusions: Beyond the Imperiality of Knowledge*. Geopolitics and the Post-Colonial: Rethinking North-South Relations. Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 223-233

Smith, G. H. (1990). *'Research issues related to Māori education'*. Paper presented at the NZARE Specials Interests Conference, Education Department, University of Auckland

Smith, G. H. (2000). *Māori education: Revolution and transformative action*. Canadian Journal of Native Education, 24(1), p. 62

Smith, G. H. (2003). *Kaupapa Maori Theory: Theorising Indigenous Transformation of Education & Schooling*. Kaupapa Maori Symposium Paper. Auckland, New Zealand

Smith, G. H. (2012). *Interview. Kaupapa Māori: The dangers of domestication*. New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies. 47:2, pp. 10-20

Smith, J. (2007). *Post-Cultural Hospitality: Settler-Native-Migrant Encounters*. Arena Journal, 28, pp. 65-86

Smith, L. T. (1991). *Te rapunga i te ao marama (the search for the world of light): Māori perspectives on research in education*. In T. Linzey & J. Morss (Eds.), Growing up: The politics of human learning. Auckland: Longman Paul

Smith, L. T. (1996). *Ngā aho o te kakahu matauranga: the multiple layers of struggle in Maori education*. PhD Thesis, University of Auckland

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books

Smith, L. T. (2005). *On Tricky Ground: Researching the Native in the Age of Uncertainty*. In Denzin (Ed.). Handbook of Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks: Sage

Smith, L. T. (2021). *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Bloomsbury Publishing

Smith, L. T. (2022). *A conversation with Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith*. Te Tiriti-based Futures & Anti-racism 2022 online conference, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vnAhKeZXmZk

Stewart, G. T. (2020a). *A typology of Pākehā "Whiteness" in education*. Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies. 42:4, pp. 296-310

Stewart, G. T. (2020b). *Māori Philosophy: Indigenous Thinking from Aotearoa*. Bloomsbury Publishing

Stokes, E. (1985). *Māori Research and Development*. Discussion Paper. University of Waikato

Superu. (2018). *Bridging cultural perspectives*. Wellington: Author

Tang, E. (2022). *Threats against Māori women not taken seriously, says city councillor*.

Accessed March 17, 2023, from https://www.stuff.co.nz/pou-tiaki/129303363/threats-against-mori-women-not-taken-seriously-says-city-councillor

Te Aka (2023). *Pākehā*. Accessed February 22, 2023, from https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?keywords=pakeha

Te Ara: The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand. (1990). *Story: McLean, Donald*. Accessed May 1, 2023, from https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m38/mclean-donald

Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand. (2022). *Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi – ngā mātāpono o te tiriti*. Accessed October 21, 2022, from https://teara.govt.nz/en/principles-of-the-treaty-of-waitangi-nga-matapono-o-te-tiriti/page-1

Te Punga Somerville, A. (2017). *Where Oceans Come From*. Comparative Literature. 69:1, pp. 25-31

Te Puni Kōkiri. (2023). *Oranga Marae*. Accessed January 23, 2024, from https://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/nga-putea-me-nga-ratonga/marae/oranga-marae

Thomas, A. (2015). *Indigenous more-than-humanisms: relational ethics with the Hurunui River in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Social & Cultural Geography. 16:8, pp. 974-990

Thomas, A. (2020). *Pākehā and doing the work of decolonisation*. In R. Kiddle, B. Elkington, M. Jackson, O. R. Mercier, M. Ross, J. Smeaton, & A. Thomas (Eds.), Imagining Decolonisation. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books

Tolaga Bay Inn (2022). *Timeline of TBI Journey*. Tolaga Bay Inn Archive

Tolaga Bay Inn (2022). *Welcome to the Tolaga Bay Inn*. Accessed November 9, 2022, from https://www.tolagabayinn.co.nz/Home

Tolaga Bay Inn (2022). *History*. Accessed November 7, 2022, from https://www.tolagabayinn.co.nz/About/History

Tolich, M. (2002). *Pākehā "Paralysis": Cultural safety for those researching the general population of Aotearoa*. Social Policy Journal of New Zealand. 19, pp. 164-178

Tomaselli, K. G., Dyll, L., Francis, M. (2008). *"Self" and "Other": Auto-Relfexive and Indigenous Ethnography*. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, L. T. Smith (Eds.), Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies. Thousand Oaks: Sage

Tomlins-Jahnke, H. (1997). *Towards a theory of mana wahine*. He Pukenga Kōrero: A Journal of Māori Studies. 3:1, pp. 27-36

Trinick, T., Meany, T., & Fairhall, U. (2015). *Reintroducing Māori ethnomathmatical activities into the classroom: traditional Māori spatial orientation concepts*. Revista Lationamericana de Etnomatematica. 8:2, pp. 415-431

Trust Tairāwhiti (2024). *He Tohu Ora – Tairāwhiti Wellbeing*. Accessed January 30, 2024, from https://trusttairawhiti.nz/who-we-are/our-strategic-framework/he-tohu-ora-tairawhiti-wellbeing/

Tuia Mātauranga, Ministry of Education. (2023). *Māra Kai*. Accessed August 4, 2023, from https://tuiaeducation.org.nz/mra-kai

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

Tuck, E., & McKenzie, M. (2015). *Relational Validity and the "Where" of Inquiry: Place and Land in Qualitative Research*. Qualitative Inquiry. 21:7, pp. 633-638

Tully, J. (2008). *Modern Constitutional Democracy and Imperialism*. Osgoode Hall Law Journal. 46:3, pp. 461-494

Turnbull, D. (2000). *Masons, Tricksters and Cartographers: Comparative Studies in the Sociology of Scientific and Indigenous Knowledge*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis

Turner, S. (2011). *Settler Dreaming. Memory Connection*. 1:1, pp. 114-126

United Nations. (2008). United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Accessed February 7, 2023, from https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

Waipara-Panapa, A. (1995). *Body and Soul: A socio-cultural analysis of body image in Aotearoa*. Masters Thesis, University of Auckland.

Waitangi Tribunal (2001). *A Guide to the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi as expressed by the Courts and the Waitangi Tribunal*. Accessed October 20, 2022, from https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/treaty-of-waitangi/principles-of-the-treaty/

Waitangi Tribunal (2011). *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei (Wai 262)*. Wellington: Legisalation Direct

Waitangi Tribunal (2014). *He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti: The Declaration and the Treaty: The Report on Stage 1 of the Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry (Wai 1040)*. Wellington: Legislation Direct

Waitangi Tribunal (2016). *Section 3: The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Treaty of Waitangi past and present: Aotearoa the way it was. Accessed February 13, 2023, from https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/publications-and-resources/school-resources/treaty-past-and-present/section-3/

Waitoa, J. (2018). *Beyond Te Whare Pāremata: The diversity of Māori Politics*. In N. Jaques, L. Johns, J. Roberts, J. Somaiya, S. Walsh (Eds.), Everything's fucked but the point is to go beyond that. Auckland: Gloria Books

Walker, H. (1990). *'Māori attitudes on research'*. Māori Development Unit, Department of Social Welfare

Walker, R. (1984). *The Genesis of Māori Activism*. The Journal of Polynesian Society. 93:3, pp. 267-281

Walker, R. (2004). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou/Struggle Without End*. Penguin

Webster, S. (1998). *Patrons of Māori Culture: Power, Theory and Ideology in the Māori Renaissance*. University of Otago Press: Dunedin

Wells, P. (2018). *Dear Oliver: Uncovering a Pakeha history*. Wellington: Massey University Press

Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1992). *Mapping the language of racism: Discourse and the legitimation of exploitation*. Columbia University Press

Whyte, K. (2021). *Against crisis epistemology*. In B. Hokowhitu, A. Moreton-Robinson, L. T. Smith, C. Andersen & S. Larkin (Eds.), Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies. New York: Routledge

Wildcat, M., McDonald, M., Irlbacher-Fox, S. and Coulthard, G. (2014). *Learning from the land: Indigenous land based pedagogy and decolonization*. Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society 3(3): I–XV

Williams, D. (2023). *The Treaty, in English or Māori, is still our best way forward*. Accessed February 14, 2023, from https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/david-williams-the-treaty-in-english-or-maori-is-still-our-best-way-forward/

Williams, J. (2022). *IPANZ Conference speech: Justice Joe Williams on Crown/Māori relations and a 200 year partnership*. Australia New Zealand School of Government. Accessed March 22, 2023, from https://anzsog.edu.au/news/ipanz-conference-speech-justice-joe-williams-on-crown-maori-relations-and-a-200-year-search-for-partnership/

Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Fernwood

Wolfe, P. *Settler colonialisam and the elimination of the native*. Journal of Genocide Research. 8:4, pp. 387-409

Young, I. M. (2000). *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press