

Mahinga kai - He tāngata.
Mahinga kaitiaki - He mauri.

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Abstract

Mahinga kai (food gathering sites and practices) emerged at the beginning of the creation narratives when the Māori world was first formed and atua (deity, Gods) roamed upon the face of the land. Mahinga kai sites are imbued with practices, embedded with whakapapa (genealogy), and clothed with knowledge that have implications for how we view and understand Māori Physical Education (PE) and health. Māori PE and health is rooted in a Māori worldview, guided by the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi, inherent to an holistic approach to health, and connected to the natural environment.

The aim of this research was to critically evaluate the emergent discourses of mahinga kai (and its subsequent discourses) against the recontextualised thinking about Māori PE and health based on the synergies of Kaupapa Māori theory, whakapapa and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). These theoretical and methodological frameworks are utilised to further the goals and aspirations of the Māori community of Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki hapū (sub-tribe) in Karitāne that I worked alongside of, privileging mātauranga (Māori knowledge) and legitimising a Māori worldview. The methods of the research were: semi-structured interviews (4), wānanga kōrero (3 group interviews), reflective pieces (9), and a case study with Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki hapū.

There were multiple discourses of mahinga kai that emerged from key creation narratives, the Treaty of Waitangi translation texts and Waitangi Tribunal texts. The emergent discourses of mahinga kai were mahinga kai as: whakapapa; whanaungatanga (relationships); tikanga (custom) and the subsequent discourse of tapu (sacred, set apart); mātauranga; identity; taonga (treasure) and the ensuing discourses of forestry and fisheries; kaitiakitanga (protection, guardianship) and the succeeding discourses of mauri (life force) and kaitiaki (guardian) and; rangatiratanga (chieftainship) and the consequent discourse of mana (authority, power). The operationalisation of the discourses of mahinga kai were evident in

the Ki Uta Ki Tai case study and illustrated the importance of connecting to one another, the communities we serve, and the environment we are a part of.

This thesis argues that the emergent discourses of mahinga kai, embedded in a framework of cosmogonic whakapapa, are key to understanding and exploring notions of Māori PE and health and has benefits for Māori and non-Māori alike engaging with this notion as they learn the importance of connecting to people and place. Knowledge gained from this research will: assist communities who are wanting to implement similar strategies to their resource management plans; provide evidence that supports a mutually beneficial relationship (partnership) between University staff and students, and their local communities and; recontextualise how we think and view Māori PE and health.

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He tawhiti kē to koutou haerenga, ki te kore e haere tonu.

He tino nui rawa o koutou mahi, kia kore e mahi nui tonu.

You have come too far not to go further.

You have done too much not to do more.

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Preface

In Ngāi Tahu creation stories, Takaroa, the preeminent deity of the ocean and guardian of all things residing in the sea, was the first husband of Papa-tū-ā-nuku, the Earth Mother. Takaroa left his wife to bury the placenta of their offspring, during which time Papa-tū-ā-nuku fell in love with Raki (Sky Father) and together they produced many children. When Takaroa returned to find his wife with another deity, with children of their own, he grew angry and challenged Raki to a battle. They fought on the beach, where Takaroa defeated Raki by piercing him with his spear. Takaroa, hurt by the betrayal of his wife, retreated to the ocean in despair.

Raki survived but was hurt badly in the battle and collapsed on Papa-tū-ā-nuku enclosing their offspring in complete darkness between them. Over time their offspring grew curious of the outside world and decided to separate their parents. It was Tāne who pushed Raki to the heavens while Papa-tū-ā-nuku lay remaining on the earth, bringing into existence Te Ao Mārama, the world of light and emergence. Some of the offspring were angered at the separation of their parents who would forever remain apart, with Raki's tears always mourning for his wife. Some brothers such as Tāwhiri-mātea sought to destroy Tāne's creation with violent winds and erratic weather while Takaroa remains in the background sending violent storms upon Papa-tū-ā-nuku (Tiramōrehu, 1987; Reilly, 2004; Jackson, 2011).

Takaroa is appropriately prominent in Ngāi Tahu beliefs and narratives; an iwi (tribe) with extensive coastal and sea resources. Their narrative illustrates the importance of protecting the mauri (life essence) and mana (authority) of Takaroa, the progenitor of the ocean.

Thesis Conventions

Usage of Macrons

Te Reo Māori (the Māori language) employ macrons (a small horizontal bar above vowels) to signify the elongated sound of that particular letter in a word. For example, Māori has the letter ā, which elongates the ‘a’ sound to Maaori. I have used macrons for the appropriate words unless the macron is absent within the original text of a direct quote (for example the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report*).

Italicising Te Reo Māori

I do not italicise Māori words unless it is a Māori word that could be confused with an English word. For example, *me* (meaning ‘and’ in te reo Maori) or *me* (meaning ‘myself’ in English). Furthermore, this research privileges all things Māori and thus Māori words are not italicised. This is a similar approach utilised by Jackson (2011) and Williams (2004).

Providing English Definitions for Te Reo Māori

I provide English definitions in bracket format for Māori words when they first appear. For example, whakapapa (genealogy) and kaupapa (purpose). A glossary of main terms used throughout the thesis is also provided in Appendix 1.

Centring Karakia, Pēpeha and Whakataukī

All karakia (prayer, incantation), pēpeha (tribal saying) and whakataukī (proverb) are centred to make them stand out and show their importance. For example:

Ehara te kūmara e kōrero mō tōna ake reka

The kūmara does not boast of its own sweetness.

Te Reo Dialectical Differences ‘Ng’ and ‘K’

I use the Ng dialect for Māori words, as this is the dialect used within Ngāpuhi, which is my iwi. Where I use the K dialect specific to Ngāi Tahu iwi is when I am discussing content drawn from interviews with Ngāi Tahu people. For example mahika kai is sometimes used when a Ngāi Tahu person is talking about mahinga kai.

Ki Uta Ki Tai v ki uta ki tai

When referring to the case I use Ki Uta Ki Tai, the name of the volunteer week. When referring to the Māori philosophy of kaitiakitanga and protection I use the whakataukī ki uta ki tai, meaning from the mountains to the sea.

Acronyms

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
EOTMC	East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee
KHR	Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki Rūnaka
MAOR 310	Māori Indigenous Development, Māori Studies paper at Otago University
PE	Physical Education
PHSE 427	Working with Māori Communities, PE paper at Otago University
RMA	Resource Management Act

Chapter I

Introduction

Ko Motatau te maunga

Ko Taikerau te awa

Ko Ngātokimatawhaorua te waka

Ko Ngāpuhi te iwi

Ko Ngāti Hine te hapū

Ko Motatau, ko Matawaia, ko Otiria ōku marae

Ko Rangi Tana rāua ko Roy Phillips ōku koroua

Ko Mere Te Wake rāua ko Norma Brown ōku kuia

Ko Tana Phillips rāua ko Maria Tana ōku mātua

Ko Chanel Phillips ahau

Ko Miu rāua ko Heta ōku tungāne

Ko Teata rātou ko Waimarama ko Cheryl-Kay ōku teina

Ko Amaia rāua ko Tiaki-James āku irāmutu

Nō Te Tai Tokerau ahau

Nō reira, tēnā koutou.

The pēpeha I begin with locates where I have come from and therefore who I am. It is a mihi (greeting) to those people and places to which I belong and embraces my Māori identity. This pēpeha is a reflection of my whakapapa to my whānau (family), but also to mahinga kai. For me, mahinga kai represents whanaungatanga, the sense of whānau that was cemented through this practice with my Dad and siblings. Amongst my whānau, mahinga kai meant that my Dad, a solo Father of six, could take his children out to the beach and teach them all about the best way to dive, to swim, to hold your breath, to stand up and balance on the boogie board, and to look after the younger ones on the shore. Mahinga kai was a cultural practice that knitted our family together. We would take turns swimming, diving with Dad and looking after the two younger siblings on the shore. We would always collect two buckets of seafood, one for our family and the other for a couple of my Aunties and Uncles who couldn't collect it themselves, due to age, illness or lack of transport. That was the best part of mahinga kai for us; it was both work and play. It was about helping to feed not only us but also our relatives who couldn't go out themselves. It was about family and values of sharing, caring, protecting, and having fun.

In 2009 I moved to the South Island to study at the University of Otago where I made a connection with Kāti Huirapa hapū in Karitāne during a class noho marae (overnight stay) at Puketeraki. Throughout my Undergraduate studies I was introduced to Puketeraki and their mahinga kai practices, specifically the work they and the local Karitāne community did, around enhancing the natural environment. Through the relationships I had formed with key members of the community, the need arose for me to undertake this research. These experiences of mahinga kai contribute to how I personally come to understand the practice and the overall kaupapa of this research, which is mahinga kai.

Mahinga Kai

Mahinga kai can be interpreted a number of ways. Broadly, mahinga kai is described as a traditional Māori food gathering practice with significance also attached to the food gathering sites; ‘mahinga’ meaning a place where work is done and ‘kai’ referring to food (Moorfield, 2003). Mahinga kai also denotes ‘mahi’ meaning to work; ‘nga’ is a suffix to make a verb into a noun, thus the work, and again ‘kai’ relating to food (Moorfield, 2003). Another way it can be read is ‘mā’ meaning white or light; ‘hī’ meaning to draw up; ‘ngā kai’ the plural form of food (the foods). This interpretation given to me by my Aunty Rangi means that mahinga kai is seen as unearthing the light and pulling up the light and consuming it. This is a poetic reference concerned with what we feed our bodies physically, but also what we are feeding spiritually with reference to the light.

From a Ngāi Tahu perspective, mahinga kai was entrenched in the lives of their ancestors. O’Regan (1988) claims, “WE define our Mahinga kai as those resources of land, coast, sea and forest from which our ancestors were accustomed to take food. Our coastal and sea fisheries were and are an integral part of our Mahinga kai” (para 8.7, emphasis in original). Further to this commentary, mahinga kai is rooted in tikanga and rich in mātauranga, and passed on from the ancestors. The benefit of accessing this knowledge for the hinengaro (mind) was just as important as the benefit of accessing the food for the tinana (body). However, the importance of this cultural practice to iwi (tribe), hapū and whānau goes beyond any cursory definition; it was a livelihood, an identity, a part of the people. This was especially the case for Ngāi Tahu, which is evident in the Ngāi Tahu Treaty of Waitangi Claim (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 1992).

The Ngāi Tahu Treaty of Waitangi Claim is an example of the importance of mahinga kai to iwi; where mahinga kai was one of the most emotionally charged elements of the Ngāi Tahu Treaty settlement (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). Countless evidence was collected, which reflected the reliance Ngāi Tahu ancestors had for accessing mahinga kai. They were moving

people, following the different seasons, life cycles and growth cycles of plants and animals (Williams, 2004). This cultural practice granted one's right to the land through the concept of ahikā (rights to a place or resource through continuous occupancy or use). Mahinga kai was a practice that allowed Māori to work and source from the land in a reciprocal relationship between tāngata whenua (people of the land) and Papa-tū-ā-nuku (Earth Mother) who holds mana whenua (authority over the land). This is expressed in the whakataukī:

Toitū te whenua, whatungarongaro te tangata

People pass on but the land remains.

Background of Māori Physical Education and Health

Māori PE and health is a complex discipline(s) and is often not easily defined. Existing literature around this subject suggests that Māori PE and health is: hauora, a Māori philosophy of health and well being (Fitzpatrick, 2005; Kohere, 2003; Durie, 1994); as an extension from health it is also reflective of Māori cultural identity (Durie, 1994; Durie, 2001; Kora, 1965; Moeke-Pickering, 1996); is ngā mahi rēhia (Māori recreational activities such as te reo kori and te ao kori) a representation of Māori movement in schools (Salter, 2003; Salter 2000a; Salter, 2002); is understood as taonga tākaro (Māori traditional games) (Brown, 2008; Kokiri Hauora, 2013) and; is also linked to tikanga based physical activity (Waiti, 2007). These conceptions of Māori PE and health barely scratch the surface of a Māori worldview and are a rudimentary representation of Māori PE and health; they often focus more heavily on the 'physical' aspect. Hokowhitu (2003) argued that current notions of Māori PE and health decontextualised Māori knowledge and culture because activities were only acknowledged for their physical qualities and not embracing a holistic philosophy that Māori PE and health is built upon. For example, Hokowhitu (2003) claims, "the least important aspect of *poi*, *mau taiaha* or stick games was physical" (p. 208, italics in original) and yet this is the portrayal of Māori PE (Hokowhitu, 2003; Fitzpatrick, 2005). Looking beyond the

‘physical’, more significant to Māori PE and health is the “regeneration of *whakapapa* ... and *tikanga*” (Hokowhitu, 2003, p. 208, italics in original).

Conventional notions of health have similarly focused largely, if not solely, on either the physical; treating disease or infirmity as separate to any other external force or the mental; treating mental disorders as separate to any other external force (Durie, 2001). So you were either physically sick or mentally ill. However “to say that a person is a psychosomatic unity, a personality formed jointly by physical and mental processes, only partly embraces the Māori concept” (Durie, 2001, p. 69). Māori health focuses on a holistic approach to health; taking into account spirituality, family, socio-economic pressures, identity and culture. In like manner, physical education needs to move beyond the definition of the ‘physical’ to encompass an analogous approach to Māori PE.

These rudimentary conceptions provide a space to challenge Western dominant ways of thinking. The controversy and debate over the inclusion of hauora in the New Zealand Health and Physical Education Curriculum for example, was critiqued by many scholars and criticised for its detrimental outcomes suffered by Māori communities (Salter, 2000b; Fitzpatrick, 2005; Hokowhitu, 2004). Various scholars began to contest more deeply the stereotypes and racialised body of Māori physicality; opening the flood gates for further debate and discussion around the role of sport, state education and physical education in the suppression of Māori (Hokowhitu, 2003a; Hokowhitu, 2003b; Palmer & Masters, 2010).

The adoption of *te reo kori* and *te ao kori* in PE classes also received its backlash when studies found these programs were watered down versions of Māori culture that predominantly suited Pākehā students; and not Māori, the intended audience (Hokowhitu, 2004; Palmer, 2000). A majority of the explanations of Māori PE and health were defined within the constructs of Western thinking and epistemology with the desired intention of benefiting Māori students (Hokowhitu, 2004). Unfortunately it resulted in the sanitised

exploitation of Māori perspectives and further suppression and marginalisation of Māori worldview and mātauranga.

There has been little research centred on Māori PE and health that is constructed within a Māori framework. The most recent work by Dr Ihirangi Heke (Heke, 2010; Heke, 2012; Heke, 2013) explores Māori PE through a whakapapa Māori lens, although his work primarily concentrates on physical activity rather than physical education per se. My research attempts to address this gap by developing a theory of Māori PE and health within the constructs of a Māori framework.

Throughout this research, I explore mahinga kai as an example of Māori PE and health. Māori PE and health is rooted in a Māori worldview and guided by: the relevance of the Treaty, an holistic approach to health, and the importance of the natural environment. I discuss throughout this thesis how mahinga kai is a cultural practice directed by these four aspects and thus pivotal to Māori PE and health. The Ki Uta Ki Tai case study provides a functional example for applying the various expressions of mahinga kai to Māori PE and health.

Case Study: Ki Uta Ki Tai

The Ki Uta Ki Tai: From the Mountains to the Sea volunteer week is a four-day program centred on fisheries management, conservation, and habitat restoration and is driven by the Karitāne – Waikouaiti community. Mahinga kai and its discourses are embedded in Ki Uta Ki Tai. I examined Ki Uta Ki Tai as the case study for my research, to highlight the complexities of mahinga kai and the significant role this practice plays in Māori PE and health. I was offered the opportunity of coordinating Ki Uta Ki Tai through my supervisor Dr Anne-Marie Jackson and her relationship with Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki. Anne-Marie approached me in June 2013 and told me about the programme and how they were looking for a new coordinator to take over. She mentioned this would be the community group I could

work with for her paper *PHSE 427: Te Mahi Ki Ngā Hāpori Māori – Working with Māori communities*, which I would be taking the following semester. I was an ideal candidate for the job because of the relationship I had already developed with the community in Karitāne. I have been involved with various kaupapa held at Puketeraki Marae as I came to support my supervisor and all the work she did for this community. I felt this was an opportunity to give back to the community and my supervisor who has constantly supported me throughout my studies, whilst being involved in a kaupapa that I am passionate about; that is mahinga kai.

History of Ki Uta Ki Tai

Ki Uta Ki Tai began in 2012 when Patti Vanderburg of the River Estuary Care group recognised a practical need for eager volunteers to support them and the various community organisations in Karitāne with their assorted projects. Many of the community groups had varying success with funding of plants, or grants for buying plants, but needed the manpower to put them into the ground. Patti and other community groups found that establishing a ‘volunteer week’ was an ideal way to gather helping hands in one place and to get a large amount of work done for the community. Ki Uta Ki Tai is a kaupapa foremost for protecting and sustaining the natural environment. Each of the four groups involved are passionate about their place and work tirelessly to restore the mauri of their lands, seas, rivers and lagoons. In addition to reviving the natural environment surrounding them, Ki Uta Ki Tai is also important for bringing people together and strengthening the bonds within the community.

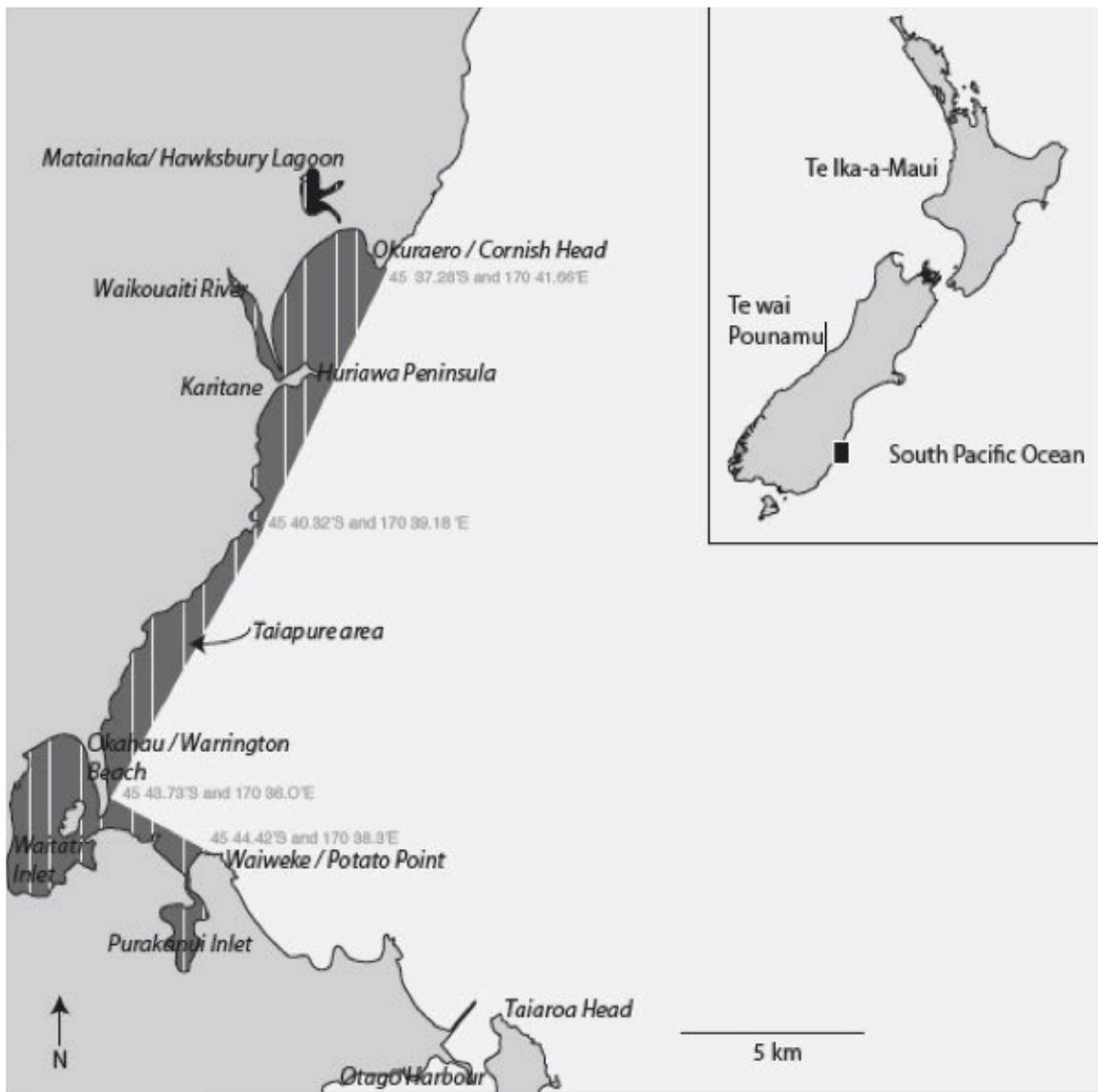


Figure 1. Location and main features of the Ki Uta Ki Tai groups. Sourced from *Ki Uta ki Tai: From the Mountains to the Sea. Holistic Approaches to Customary Fisheries Management* by, C. Hepburn, A. Jackson, P. Vanderburg, A. Kainamu & B. Flack, 2010, p. 143.

The four coastal community organisations driving this kaupapa are: River Estuary Care: Waikouaiti–Karitāne, the East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee, The Hawksbury Lagoon group, and Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki rūnaka (council), all of whom fall within the takiwā (district) of Kāti Huirapa. The primary concern for River Estuary Care is the health of the Waikouaiti River and its estuary, which features in Figure 1. Their objectives are to: restore balance to Papa-tū-ā-nuku, have a well informed community about their estuary and river, have the community participating in sustainable resource practices, have a healthy productive river and estuary ecosystem and, promote an understanding of the interrelatedness

of the river estuary ecosystem with adjacent ecosystems (J. Vanderburg, personal communication, October 12, 2013).

The East Otago Taiāpure focus their efforts on a 25-kilometre length of the coastline that runs from Cornish Head to Potato Point as depicted in Figure 1. The guiding kaupapa of the East Otago Taiāpure Committee is to “establish appropriate sustainable management measures and structures to protect the East Otago Taiāpure area” (KHR, 2013). These measures are based on Māori concepts of resource management such as kaitiakitanga and rāhui (restricted area). The Taiāpure are also guided by the following whakataukī “mō tātou, ā, mō ka uri ā muri ake nei” which translates to: for us and our children after us. Jackson (2011) explores the importance of this whakataukī as: “an imaginary [allowing] us to dream of the possibilities for a world to exist for our children and their children” (p. 251). Looking after our natural environment is not for us, but for our future generations.

The Hawksbury Lagoon Wildlife Refuge whose main focus is on Hawksbury Lagoon (Figure 1) has similar aspirations. Their kaupapa is to “enhance, protect and conserve the habitats of the wildlife and plant life within the environs of the Hawksbury Lagoon and to encourage interest and appreciation of Hawksbury Lagoon by local residents, visitors and special interest groups” (Hawksbury Lagoon Inc, 2013). The goal is not only to revive the Lagoon but to also revive an attitude among the people to care enough to get involved and help make a positive change together. This attitude to engage others resonates with a Māori worldview, where we do things together and for the collective. Whanaungatanga is important for the Hawksbury Lagoon as it is with the other groups; they see the value in making connections and encouraging community involvement.

Ki Uta Ki Tai is also supported and hosted by Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki. As the tāngata whenua of the area, Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki have an unbroken connection to Karitāne and its abundant natural environment. The taiāpure area, Waikouaiti River and

Hawksbury Lagoon (known as Matainaka) were sites of cultural significance for the hapū, encompassing varying habitats for mahinga kai resources. Their guiding principles are: manaakitanga (care), whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, wairuatanga (spirituality), rangatiratanga, and kaikokiritanga (vision, moving forward). Because Tangaroa is central in the Ngāi Tahu narrative he therefore dominates much of the focus of the local community today; a kaupapa around fisheries management, habitat restoration for kaimoana and kai awa and conservation of coastal and wetland areas.

Although each of these four groups have their own objectives and goals, they work in active partnership toward a shared and collective kaupapa of community based conservation and local fisheries management work; all with the hope to conserve and enhance the natural ecosystems within their rohe.

Aims of Study and Research Questions

The aims of this research are threefold: first to investigate the meaning and importance of mahinga kai for a Māori community; second to develop a theory of Māori Physical Education and Health; and third to explore in-depth the connection of these two areas. In relation to these aims, the following research questions investigate the role of mahinga kai in Māori PE and health:

1. What are the emergent discourses of mahinga kai within key creation narratives?
2. What are the emergent discourses of mahinga kai within key te Tiriti o Waitangi translation texts and Waitangi Tribunal texts?
3. What are the implications of the discourses of mahinga kai for Māori health and well-being?
4. How are the discourses of mahinga kai recontextualised by the interviews, personal communication and wānanga kōrero within an environment context?

5. How are the discourses of mahinga kai operationalised, utilising a detailed case study of the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week?

Significance and Outcomes of Study

This research is relevant as it aligns with numerous themes found across strategic frameworks, mission statements and contractual agreements within New Zealand such as: Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Orange, 2004); The New Zealand Health and Physical Education Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007); The Ngāi Tahu Strategic Vision (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, n.d); the University of Otago Māori Strategic Framework (University of Otago, 2007-2012); and, the School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences, Māori Strategic Framework (working progress). These all reflect the vision, or the kaupapa of improving and increasing health, well-being and equitable rights of Māori in society; and are increasingly important to this subject area of Māori physical education and health.

The intended outcomes of this research are to: provide an understanding of the current role of mahinga kai, examine the current notion of Māori PE and health, explore the place and purpose of mahinga kai in Māori PE and health, and discuss the benefits of this research for Māori communities.

Lenses of Research

Whakapapa is the theoretical framework of this research. Whakapapa derives from the root word papa meaning foundation or base and refers to whakapapa as the foundation of meaning through genealogy (Marsden, 2003a). I use whakapapa in this thesis as a means of framing the birth of new ideas and knowledge that derives from a Māori worldview; and ultimately connect myself as: the researcher to the research, to the research community and to the research framework (Graham, 2009). I employ this methodology because whakapapa “represents the genealogical descent of living things; legitimates Māori epistemology; is at the heart of Māori ways of knowing and mātauranga Māori; and provides the basis for the

organisation of Māori knowledge” (Graham, 2009, p. 2); all of which are fundamental aspects of my research.

In conjunction with whakapapa, I utilise Fairclough’s (2003, 2010) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a theoretical and methodological tool. The three objects of research - emergence, recontextualisation and operationalisation - are the key ways I employed this method. Fairclough’s (2003) notion of ‘emergence’ shares similarity with Graham’s (2009) method of whakapapa. Emergence is concerned with taking a genealogical approach to discovering emergent discourses in much the same way whakapapa seeks truth through determining the origins of something. Whakapapa is also linked to the theme of recontextualisation. Recontextualisation is concerned with discourses traversing across different structural and scalar boundaries similar to how whakapapa traverses different structures (such as horizontal and vertical whakapapa) and different scalar boundaries (to include other people, the land, the sea and so on). Finally operationalisation can be likened to the action of kaupapa, where operationalising discourses is how social change is effected (Fairclough, 2010).

How This Thesis Can be Read

The thesis is made up of eight chapters. This chapter is an introduction to the research and the main ideas that will be discussed throughout the thesis. It acts as a brief overview of the research.

Chapter Two is the Methodology Chapter. In this chapter I discuss in detail the theoretical and methodological frameworks of the research. Kaupapa Māori Theory, whakapapa and CDA are utilised. The methodology chapter provides the specifics of the research, participants and the qualitative methods I employed. I also discuss the case study at length in this chapter.

Following the methodology chapter, I proceed with five analytical chapters, where literature and analysis is threaded throughout. There is no specific literature review chapter; rather the literature is woven into the analytical chapters. This supports the holistic and interwoven nature of Te Ao Māori and therefore an appropriate structure to adopt (Jackson, 2011; Stevenson, 2014). The first four analytical chapters reflect the four core tenets that signify my conceptualisation of Māori PE and health: Te Ao Māori, the Māori worldview; te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Treaty of Waitangi; hauora Māori, Māori health and; te taiao, the natural environment. The analytical chapters discuss the emergence, recontextualisation and operationalisation of the discourses of mahinga kai within these four core tenets of Māori PE and health. In brief, Chapter Three, the Māori worldview, analyses three creation narratives that underpin a Māori worldview and discusses the emergent discourses of mahinga kai within these texts. Chapter Four, the Treaty of Waitangi, analyses key Treaty of Waitangi translation texts and Waitangi Tribunal texts to analyse the Treaty within a mahinga kai context and similarly highlight the emergent discourses from these texts. Chapter Five, Māori health, explores the implication of the emergent discourses of mahinga kai for Māori health and well-being. Chapter Six, the natural environment, analyses data from the interviews and examines the recontextualised discourses of mahinga kai from the participants. The final analytical chapter, Chapter Seven, is an application of the previous four analytical chapters utilising the Ki Uta Ki Tai case study. It looks at the operationalisation of the discourses of mahinga kai within the case study.

The final chapter is the Conclusion Chapter and summarises the five analytical chapters. Consequently the first four analytical chapters are the four main threads of this research: the Māori worldview, the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori health and the natural environment.

Chapter II

Methodology

This chapter outlines the theoretical and methodological frameworks of the research. The research draws on Kaupapa Māori theory, whakapapa, and Critical Discourse Analysis. I begin with an introduction to Kaupapa Māori theory and the importance of having a Māori ‘kaupapa’ within the research. Stemming from Kaupapa Māori theory I draw on whakapapa as the methodological framework of the thesis. I employ whakapapa as a tool for interpreting and making sense of Māori knowledge privileged within the research. Connections between Kaupapa Māori Theory and Critical Theory are discussed from which CDA stems (Jackson, 2011, 2013, 2014). I explore how CDA is utilised in the research as a method for analysing data through Fairclough’s (2003, 2010) notion of ‘objects of research’. Three of the four objects of research are evident in the research: emergence, recontextualisation and operationalisation of discourse. These are reflected in the research questions, data collection and data analysis. Qualitative methods and procedures of this study are also described. These include: semi-structured interviews, wānanga kōrero, reflective piece, and a case study.

Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa Māori Theory was first used in an education context as a means of exploring a space for indigenous ways of learning and teaching for Māori in schools (Smith, 2003). Since its inception in the late 1980’s, kaupapa Māori theory has developed and evolved to reflect a theory of transformation against struggle, permeating across multiple disciplines that required significant change. Kaupapa Māori research is seen as “taking a distinctive approach which stems from a Māori worldview” (Moewaka-Barnes, 2000, p. 9) and reflecting underlying principles or aspects based on this worldview (Smith, 2003). Smith (2003) identifies six principles of kaupapa Māori theory that promotes the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge. According to Smith (2003, pp. 8-10) these principles are:

1. Tino Rangatiratanga (the principle of self determination)
2. Taonga Tuku Iho (the cultural aspiration principle)
3. Ako Māori (the culturally preferred pedagogy principle)
4. Kia Piki Ake i Ngā Raruraru o te Kāinga (the socio-economic mediation principle)
5. Whānau (the extended family structure principle)
6. Kaupapa (the collective philosophy principle)

Positioned as Māori-centred these principles are concerned with creating change and supporting Māori advancement (Smith, 2003; Moewaka-Barnes, 2000). Kaupapa Māori is grounded in advancing Māori beliefs and knowledge systems and ultimately created a safe space to explore things Māori within the Academy (Smith, 2003; Smith 2012). It is within this space that I was able to first explore my way of thinking and my way of researching safely as Māori. From this space I move beyond kaupapa Māori theory in my research, extending on this corpus of knowledge and looking specifically at whakapapa and how this frames the research.

Whakapapa as a methodology

Whakapapa as a methodology is not new, but perhaps a rediscovered one sought out by Māori to guide them toward a discovery of indigenous knowledge in the hope of making sense of their contemporary world (Paenga & Paenga, 2010). As a methodology whakapapa has a “strong foundation on which robust research can be formulated” (Paenga & Paenga, 2010, p. 237) and is employed by various researchers in a number of ways (Carter, 2003; Graham, 2009; Roberts, 2013). Whakapapa as a methodology has been described as: an analytical tool utilised by Māori to make sense of the nature, origin, connection, relationship and locating of phenomena (Royal, 1998); a “metaphysical kaupapa (schema) of historical descent, pattern and linkage ... descending from an ancestral origin” (Paenga & Paenga, 2010, p. 238); a tribal sense of a comprehensible paradigm of reality which is stored and

transmitted down the generational lines (Walker, 1993); as “a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things” (Barlow, 1991, p. 173); a way of ordering, thinking, storing, debating and acquiring new knowledge which links the past, present and future (Graham, 2009; Graham, 2005) and; being the foundation of all things Māori, occurs within the three worlds of whakapapa, these being the three baskets of knowledge (Carter, 2003). George (2010) summarise whakapapa:

Whakapapa is the life-blood of all people; both literally and metaphorically. Knowledge of who you are because of those we come from gives us history, identity, and connections to people, lands and Gods. Through whakapapa, the unbroken chain of past, present and future becomes visible and real. While the tapestry of self is unique to each new expression of whakapapa, it nonetheless owes part of its shades and hues to those who wove its beginnings (p. 244).

This definition subtly frames whakapapa within the research process to the idea of raranga kōrero, the weaving together of knowledge to create this “tapestry of self ... unique to each new expression of whakapapa” (George, 2010, p. 244). Raranga kōrero is a metaphor for weaving knowledge and is similar to the physical act of weaving harakeke. Bishop & Glynn (1999) make explicit the connection between weaver and researcher stating that:

To the weaver, the methodological framework underlying the weaving is called whakapapa ... to the researcher, the whakapapa, as the methodological framework behind the research project, provides the orientation (p. 175).

This quote highlights the perspectives of both the weaver and the researcher, mutually reflecting and adopting whakapapa as their lens to articulate their kaupapa; their end purpose or goal. For the weaver this may be the creation of a mat that reflects the whakapapa embedded within it; and for the researcher this may be the production of a thesis or article that reflects the whakapapa underpinning it. Both the weaver and the researcher employ

whakapapa as a methodology to orient them in the direction of their kaupapa. In conjunction with Kaupapa Māori Theory and whakapapa, the research also employs Critical Discourse Analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA is both a theory and a method. It emerged in the 1980's from Critical Linguistics and these two terms are used interchangeably, CDA being the preferred term today (Fairclough, 2003; Fairclough, 2010; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). CDA draws much of its standing from social theory (with theorists like Marx, Gramsci, Foucault and Bourdieu) which interrogated ideologies and power relations involved in discourse (Fairclough, 2010). Critical theory, which emerged from Frankfurt School in 1937, was the first indication that “social theory should be oriented towards critiquing and changing society” as opposed to the traditional view of social theory that sought to solely understand or explain a social phenomena (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 6). More broadly, critical theory, in addition to CDA, is concerned with ‘emancipatory action’ (Wodak & Meyer, 2009; Macey, 2000).

CDA is linked to Kaupapa Māori theory through critical theory, which has shared aims of transformation and social change (Jackson, 2011, 2014). I employ CDA because it aligns with Kaupapa Māori theory (Jackson, 2011, 2014), which validates and legitimises Māori knowledge within the research, and has the capacity to bring about social change for communities (Fairclough, 2003). The use of CDA in conjunction with Kaupapa Māori theory builds on from Jackson's (2011, 2013, 2014) research that confirmed the validity of employing these methods of research in order to “further the aspirations of the Māori community” she worked with (Jackson, 2014, p. 2).

Fairclough's interpretation of CDA

The research utilises Norman Fairclough's interpretation of CDA (Fairclough, 1989, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2009, 2010; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Wodak &

Meyer, 2009). Fairclough's approach to CDA has changed since his first publication in 1989 with *Language and Power*, which focused heavily on analysis of texts through linguistics. His more recent work *A Dialectical-relational Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis in Social Research* (2009) and the second edition of his book *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (2010) particularly focuses on the processes of 'global' and 'neoliberal' forms of capitalism and consequently who are the winners and losers in these social transformations.

Discourses are “ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the ‘mental world’ of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 124). In addition to Fairclough's interpretation of discourses being a representation of the social world, he contends that discourses are also “projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 124). This is explained in more detail below (see discourses as imaginaries). CDA addresses social ‘wrongs’ (such as inequality) and analyses the reasons (such as power, ideology and knowledge) behind them. Furthermore CDA researchers tackle resistance and imagine ways and possibilities for emancipation (Fairclough, 2009).

Terminology of CDA

The following section outlines some of the key terminology surrounding Fairclough's (2001, 2009, 2010) interpretation of CDA, and how these are examined within the research.

Social practices

According to Fairclough (2003) “social practices can be seen as articulations of different types of social element which are associated with particular areas of social life” (p. 25). Typically these practices may include: action and interaction, social relations, persons (their beliefs, attitudes, histories), the material world and discourse (Fairclough, 2003).

Fairclough (2001) explains, “the motivation for focusing on social practices is that it allows one to combine the perspective of structure and the perspective of action” with an impetus to transform society (p. 122). Examples of social practices specific to this research revolve around mahinga kai. Mahinga kai follows a particular set of rules, known by Māori lore as tikanga and kawa. These terms are discussed later in the thesis.

Semiosis: Genre, style and discourse

Semiosis underpins every social practice (whether economic, political, cultural etc) and “includes all forms of meaning making – visual images, body language, as well as language” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 122). Fairclough (2001, 2009, 2010) writes that there are three ways how semiosis is broadly understood in social practices. Semiosis figures as genres (ways of acting), as styles (ways of being) and as discourses (ways of representing) (Fairclough, 2001, 2003, 2009, 2010).

Genres are “diverse ways of acting, of producing social life, in the semiotic mode” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 123). Examples of genres include daily conversation, meetings, interviews and book reviews (Fairclough, 2001). Examples of genres within the research include interviews, wānanga kōrero and a newsletter.

Semiosis also figures as style by the way in which performance of positions are played out in social life. According to Fairclough (2001) “styles are ways of being, identities, in their semiotic aspect” (p. 124). Examples of styles or identities within the research include the four Ki Uta Ki Tai community groups whom each have their own identity as single groups that differentiate them from one another (Rūnaka, Taiāpure, Hawksbury and River Care).

Finally, semiosis also figures as discourse or ways of representing part of the social world (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (2003) proposes two ways of identifying discourses within a text: “representing some particular part of the world, and ... representing it from a particular perspective” (p. 129). Discourse, consequently is concerned with power relations

and explains these social relations of difference with particular emphasis on the effects these difference have within the social structure (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). CDA is a critical approach to analysing discourses; “it is rooted in a radical critique of social relations” (Bilig, 2003, p. 38). For example, this thesis is concerned with the multiple discourses of mahinga kai, which are represented from a Māori perspective, thus privileging mātauranga Māori within the Academy.

Discourses as imaginaries

Fairclough (2010) writes, “discourses include imaginaries – representations of how things might or could or should be ... ‘possible worlds’” (p. 445). It is in these ‘imaginaries’ or ‘discourse of imaginaries’ that social change and transformation occurs. I utilise mahinga kai as a discourse of imaginaries for imagining a possible future for mahinga kai in the Ki Uta Ki Tai community, and the implications of mahinga kai for Māori PE and health. Jackson (2011) explains, “one way for changing imaginaries into actuality is through utilising strategic discourses, or nodal discourses” (p. 25).

Nodal discourses

Nodal discourses are “discourses which subsume and articulate in a particular way a great many other discourses” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 847). The discourse of mahinga kai is a nodal discourse. For example, it subsumes a multitude of different smaller discourses such as: identity, rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga, taonga, and fisheries and forestry. These nodal discourses are transdisciplinary, entering across different fields and spectrums of social life. An example of this is rangatiratanga, which is examined by Jackson (2011) in relation to a fisheries context. She contends that rangatiratanga has implications in health, education and political sectors. Mahinga kai as a nodal discourse imagines a future for mahinga kai to bring about positive change for those (people, land and sea) intrinsically bound to it.

Objects of research

Fairclough (2010) identifies four ‘objects of research’ that aid in changing societies in certain directions (referred to as strategic critique). These four research objects are: emergence, hegemony, recontextualisation and operationalisation. This research utilises the themes of emergence, recontextualisation and operationalisation and are evident in the research questions posed on page 11.

Emergence of the discourses of mahinga kai

Emergence is “the processes of emergence of new discourses, their constitution as new articulations of elements of existing discourses” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 618). Fairclough (2010) explains that emergence “is approached on the principle that nothing comes out of nothing – new discourses emerge through ‘reweaving’ relations between existing discourses” (p. 619). This is comparable with whakapapa, which is rooted in the intricate connections of all things in space and time. In the same way everything has a whakapapa or familial origin, emergence of discourses too stem from pre-existing discourses that blend to create a ‘new’ discourse (Fairclough, 2010; Jackson, 2011, 2014). Emergence, in addition to whakapapa, therefore takes a genealogical approach. Fairclough (2010) explains “researching the emergence and constitution of these discourses requires a genealogical approach which locates these discourses within the field of prior discourses” (p. 849). Jackson (2011, 2014) similarly employs the notion of emergence in her research, examining the emergent discourses of rangatiratanga within a fisheries context.

The concept of emergence, in conjunction with whakapapa, is utilised in Chapter Three and Four to answer the first and second research questions: what are the emergent discourses of mahinga kai within key creation narratives and; what are the emergent discourses of mahinga kai within te Tiriti o Waitangi translation texts and Waitangi Tribunal

texts? I drew on two key creation narratives, three te Tiriti o Waitangi translation texts (sourced from Jackson, 2013) and three Waitangi Tribunal texts relevant to mahinga kai.

Description of Creation Narratives

The nature of creation narratives being oral, iwi, hapū and whānau specific, and more about storytelling, meant that analysing these narratives by a single text was problematic. For this reason the research focuses on three key creation narratives that are explored through a multitude of texts (such as interviews, academic literature and personal communication).

The Separation of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku (Grey, 1965; Reilly, 2004; Patterson, 1994; Ihi Heke).

This narrative is a depiction of the creation of Te Ao Mārama, the emergence of the world of light and day through the separation of the primordial parents, Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku. Whakapapa is the prevalent discourse of this narrative and explains how Māori view the world and the practices (such as mahinga kai) that connect one to this worldview.

The Retribution of Tū-mata-uenga. (Grey, 1965; Reilly, 2004; Patterson, 1994).

This narrative takes place in the aftermath of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku's separation and involves, for the most part, their children. This narrative is of particular importance to mahinga kai, as the story explains the origins of food and nutrition and thus the practice of food gathering that stems from this.

The Creation of Humanity. (Grey, 1965; Reilly, 2004; Patterson, 1994; H. Hakopa, personal communication, 03 November, 2014).

This narrative describes Tāne's role in creating the first woman Hine-ahuone. From their union Hine-tītama is born, whom Tāne later marries and together they populate the Earth with their children (mankind). This narrative is particularly relevant to the concept of mauri, which is a discourse of mahinga kai.

Description of te Tiriti o Waitangi translation texts

The three te Tiriti o Waitangi translation texts I analysed were sourced from Jackson's (2013) article *A Discursive Analysis of Rangatiratanga in a Māori Fisheries Context* and her PhD thesis *Ki Uta Ki Tai: He Taoka Tuku Iho* (Jackson, 2011).

Ngata, A. (1963). The Treaty of Waitangi: An Explanation. Te Tiriti o Waitangi: He Whakamarama.

This text first appeared in te reo Māori in 1922, and was later translated into English in 1963 by M.R Jones (Jackson, 2011).

Kawharu, I. H. (1989). Appendix. Translation of Māori text by I.H. Kawharu. In I. H. Kawharu (Ed.), Waitangi: Māori and Pākehā Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi (pp. 319 - 321). Auckland: Oxford University Press.

According to Jackson (2011) Kawharu's translation has been used on numerous occasions including the *Lands Case*, Waitangi Tribunal reports and government policies.

Mutu, M. (2010). Constitutional intentions: The Treaty of Waitangi texts. In M. Mulholland & V. Tawhai (Eds.), Weeping Waters. The Treaty of Waitangi and Constitutional Change (pp. 13-40). Wellington: Huia Publishers.

According to Jackson (2011, p. 29) "this text translates te Tiriti o Waitangi into English and also translates the Treaty of Waitangi into plain English".

Description of Waitangi Tribunal texts

The three Waitangi Tribunal texts I analysed were the *Muriwhenua Fishing Claim*, the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report* and the *Ngai Tahu Land report*. The two Ngāi Tahu reports were selected for two reasons: first, because of the relevance to mahinga kai and;

second, this research supports Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki hapū of Ngāi Tahu iwi. The *Muriwhenua Fishing Claim* was analysed because of its relevance to fisheries and mahinga kai, and its contribution to the Ngāi Tahu reports. All reports are post 1987, once the Treaty of Waitangi principles were clarified with the famous '*Lands Case*'.¹

Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Muriwhenua Fishing Claim. WAI 22 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1988)

Matiu Rata of Ngāti Kuri brought the *Muriwhenua Fishing Claim* to the Waitangi Tribunal in June 1987 to define their fishing rights after successive government policy had restricted their access and ability to fish (Jackson, 2011). This text was extensively drawn upon in the Ngai Tahu Claim, particularly relevant for the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report*.

The Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report WAI 27 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992)

The Waitangi Tribunal concluded that Ngāi Tahu had:

- (a) an exclusive Treaty right to the sea fisheries surrounding the whole of their rohe to a distance of 12 miles or so their being no waiver or agreement by them to surrender such right.
- (b) a Treaty development right to a reasonable share of the sea fisheries off their rohe extending beyond the 12 miles out to and beyond the continental shelf into the deepwater fisheries within the limit of the 200 mile exclusive economic zone such right being exclusive to Ngai Tahu (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 303).

The Ngai Tahu Land Report WAI 27 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991)

¹ The Lands Case in 1987 was a pivotal case where the Treaty principles emerged and further overruled the State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986 (Jackson, 2011).

The Waitangi Tribunal concluded that:

- (a) The Crown failed to make specific reserves to protect and preserve Ngai Tahu's mahinga kai; and
- (b) the Crown failed to provide sufficient reserves to allow Ngai Tahu to participate in the developing economy.

As a result Ngai Tahu were deprived of their rangatiratanga as guaranteed to them by Article 2 of the Treaty (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 926).

Methods

The qualitative methods of study I employed for data collection were: semi-structured interviews, wānanga kōrero, reflective piece, and a case study. I chose these methods, as I believe they represent how I engage in research; that is, through the journey of understanding the people of the community and my own journey in doing this. It is qualitative methods that “exemplify a common belief that they can provide a ‘deeper’ understanding of social phenomena” (Silverman, 2001, p. 32). Similarly, these methods reflect a Māori code of conduct operating within kaupapa Māori research (Pipi et al., 2004). It is important to adopt particular approaches (or methods) underpinned by your personal attributes as a researcher (or your value system) in order to reach this deeper level of understanding (Pipi et al., 2004).

Data collection

This research was approved by the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee and met the requirements of the University of Otago Ethics Committee. The research was considered for Ethics B category which required the following documents for participants: a Participant Consent form (provided in Appendix 2) and a Participant Information form (provided in Appendix 3). Although these were the formal procedures for gaining approval and ethics, I had verbal discussions with Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki, requesting permission to

undertake research within their rohe, as well as speaking to the four coastal communities involved in the case study over all stages of the research.

Data collection took place in 3 forms: first, semi-structured interviews with pakeke (adults) experienced in mahinga kai and Te Ao Māori; second, wānanga kōrero on 3 separate occasions (see Table 1) and; third, a reflective piece from volunteers of the Ki Uta Ki Tai case study. Member checking for all data collected was also employed. All participants were sent copies of their transcripts and quotes to be checked over. I also sent the draft of the thesis to all my participants and the four community groups to ensure they were happy with it.

My approach to working with communities

My approach to working with communities (including the participants) is guided by the following whakataukī:

Ehara te kūmara e kōrero mō tōna ake reka

The kūmara does not boast of its own sweetness (Hakopa, 2011, p. 2).

I use this saying when working with communities as a guiding principle for modesty and humility that Hakopa (2011) similarly utilises. Being humble and respectful in your approach is how you will reflect the aspirations of your community and develop stronger connections with them. It is developing these stronger connections, or whanaungatanga, that lies at the heart of my approach to working with communities. I established a relationship with all of my participants and community groups involved in the research. For example, I had established a relationship with the Karitāne community prior to researching with them, by offering my help and supporting the community through: the Tamariki Ora Programme, numerous noho marae at Puketeraki with University students, hosting the Haunui crew and various hui over the years. Relationships are key to producing research that reflects the

aspirations of the community and ensures your work is meaningful; having a kaupapa that is not self-directed allows for more meaningful research.

Similar to these two approaches Smith (1999) provides seven kaupapa Māori practices that guide Māori researchers; these reflect some of the values underpinning my own practice during the data collection. These seven practices listed by Smith (1999, p. 120) are:

1. Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)
2. Kanohi kitea (the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face)
3. Titiro, whakarongo...kōrero (look, listen...speak)
4. Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)
5. Kia tūpatō (be cautious)
6. Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of the people)
7. Kaua e māhaki (do not flaunt your knowledge)

These practices share similar values with my own approach. ‘Do not trample over the mana of the people’ ties in closely with being humble, modest and therefore respectful. Kanohi kitea refers to building strong relationships with your community by being present; this strengthens whanaungatanga. These approaches are evident throughout the methods.

Semi-structured Interviews

Interviews are employed by researchers to collect rich information and data that provides us with “a better understanding of reality” (Wengraf, 2001, p. 3-4). Interviews allow us to gain insight into those who are living the research and coming to understand their different (or similar) perceptions of reality and how that shapes and moulds the undergoing research. For me personally, interviewing participants is about establishing and re-establishing relationships, what Smith (1999) refers to as kanohi ki te kanohi, being seen face-to-face. The interviewing process is a reciprocal relationship that allows ‘truth’ and ‘reality’

to be told, understood and then shared with the world in the hope that the voices of their communities will be heard (Smith, 1999).

According to Wengraf (2001) “semi-structured interviews are designed to have a number of interviewer questions prepared in advance but such prepared questions are designed to be sufficiently open that the subsequent questions of the interviewer cannot be planned in advanced but must be improvised in a careful and theorized way” (p. 5). I chose to adopt semi-structured interviews because it promotes improvisation from the interviewer incorporating “open-ended questions” and “more theoretically driven questions” (Galletta, 2013, p. 45). The idea that these interviews would take place ‘kanohi kitea’ also reflected a Māori approach to the interview process (Pipi et al., 2004). This elicits data collection that is from both the interviewee’s experiences as well as the existing research surrounding the topic, requiring a deeper thought process for both interviewer and interviewee (Wengraf, 2001; Galletta, 2013). In essence this semi-structured method is really about promoting a narrative around a particular topic and sharing personal experiences and biographies around these, an appropriate method when working with Māori communities and kaupapa Māori research.

Interview Schedule

I interviewed four Māori males who were experienced in the subject areas of mahinga kai, Te Ao Māori and Māori health; my participants are men I personally know. The interviews took place either face-to-face or by videoconference if the first option was not possible. The field of questions were drawn from five key themes: Te Ao Māori; The Treaty of Waitangi; health; the environment and; mahinga kai. Not all themes were addressed in every interview. For example, the Treaty of Waitangi was only discussed in one interview because of the participant’s role in government legislation surrounding taiāpure. Interview times ranged from 30 minutes to 80 minutes.

Participants

At the beginning of the interviews the participants provided the following personal details for use: full name, iwi and/or hapū, and occupation or relevant expertise. All participants were male and pākeke (adults) knowledgeable in mahinga kai and Te Ao Māori.

Brendan Flack is of Kāi Tahu descent and works for Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki Rūnaka in Karitāne. He also is chairperson for the East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee and is experienced in mahinga kai practices since he was young. His involvement with 2 of the 4 community groups involved in the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week (taiāpure and rūnaka) is one way he advocates for a healthy environment and the exercise of kaitiakitanga and rangatiratanga. I met Brendan in 2011 through Anne-Marie Jackson when I volunteered for a children's program held at Puketeraki marae. I now work closely with Brendan on the Ki Uta Ki Tai kaupapa.

Zack Makoare is of Ngāti Kahungunu descent and is founder and chairperson of Te Taitimu Trust in Hastings. Zack is a keen diver and has grown up around food gathering with whānau. His work with Te Taitimu Trust is about motivating rangatahi (young people) to be rangatira (leaders) for the future. One of the things Te Taitimu Trust run is a 5-day wānanga each year focused on water safety and the role of Tangaroa. His work with this kaupapa made him a suitable interviewee. I met Zack in 2013 through Anne-Marie Jackson when I volunteered to mentor for the Te Taitimu Trust wānanga held in Waipukurau. I return to the wānanga each year and continue to support Zack and the Te Taitimu Trust kaupapa.

Dr Ihirangi (Ihi) Heke is of Tainui descent and currently works as a specialist in Māori health, nutrition and physical activity for Toi Tangata in Auckland. He is also a former lecturer at the School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences at the University of Otago. His expertise is largely in Māori health and physical education. In particular his research on whakapapa has informed much of the thesis (Heke, 2010; Heke, 2012; Heke,

2013). I met Ihi in 2013 through Anne-Marie Jackson when he was a guest lecturer in one of my classes and again in 2014 at the Toi Tangata Hui-ā-Tau (annual conference) where I got to spend some time talking with him. He continues to mentor and support the current research I am undertaking.

Hoturoa (Hotu) Kerr is also of Tainui descent and is captain of the Haunui double hulled waka. He is also a former lecturer at the University of Waikato. Hotu was brought up around mahinga kai with his whānau and is very knowledgeable in Māori astronomy, navigation and sailing. Through his work with Haunui waka, Hotu advocates positive approaches to health by connecting people to waka; waka are inherently linked to a Māori identity and often the only connection some have to a Māori identity. I met Hotu early in 2013 through Brendan, when Haunui waka sailed down to Karitāne. I stayed with Hotu and the Haunui crew for the week and have been fortunate to be given the opportunity to sail on the waka.

Throughout the following analytical chapters, first names of each participant (Brendan, Zack, Ihi, Hotu) are used when referring to their specific quotes or dialogue with their full name bracketed at the end of their quotes.

Wānanga Kōrero

Informal interviews during various wānanga, which I will refer to as wānanga kōrero, have also informed this research. Wānanga kōrero were undertaken on three occasions: at a mahinga kai wānanga in Temuka with Karl Russell, an expert in Ngāi Tahu mahinga kai; at a mahinga kai wānanga in Dunedin with Ron Bull and Simon Kaan, also Ngāi Tahu mahinga kai practitioners and; during the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week in Karitāne on the final night with some of the student volunteers and lecturer.

Wānanga is a term explained by Royal (2005) as the “process and energy leading to understanding” (p. 11). Wānanga refers to the active process of learning, knowing, exploring

and analysing for the general purpose of “the creation of new knowledge and understanding” (Royal, 2005, p.11). I have included this method because the practice of wānanga is very much a part of Te Ao Māori as it is to reflect through kōrero, a process of emerging into the world of light (the world of knowing) and doing so as a collective or whānau (Royal, 2005; Marsden, 2003).

Wānanga kōrero offers minimal formality and structure with a key difference of being led by the interviewees; they can choose what to talk about and to whom. This provides them with a sense of control and autonomy over the interview process, allowing them to converse in a way most comfortable to them and actively being a part of the research process. It was also about being humble in my approach. Rather than going to ‘interview’ someone to answer my questions, I simply went to listen first. This is all part of relationship building and whanaungatanga. Another element central to this approach is the collective collaboration and participation from interviewees during the wānanga. Each participant was able to share his or her insight and reflections whilst collectively adding to the shared pool of knowledge that is my research topic. Table 1 outlines the specifics of those involved in the various wānanga kōrero that were carried out.

Table 1

Location, Date and Participants of Three Wānanga Kōrero.

Wānanga	Location	Dates	Male Participants	Female Participants
Mahinga kai wānanga with Karl	Temuka	4-6 April, 2014	Karl Russell (mahinga kai expert)	
Mahinga kai wānanga with Ron and Simon	Dunedin	2-4 July, 2014	Ron Bull (Mahinga kai expert) Simon Kaan (artist)	
Ki Uta Ki Tai Volunteer Week (case study)	Karitāne	26-29 September, 2014	Charles Walters (student volunteer)	Huia Pocklington (student volunteer) Ngāhuia Mita (student volunteer) Sophie Brown (student volunteer) Dr Anne-Marie Jackson (lecturer)

Participants

Karl Russell is Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe, Kāi Tahu and Rapuwai descent from Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki and Kāti Huirapa. Karl lives and breathes mahinga kai and was brought up as the member in his whānau who was taught all things related to kai from his elders. I met Karl in 2014 at the Toi Tangata conference held at Ōrākei Marae in Auckland. Karl gave a seminar on tuna (eel) and the different ways of cooking this kai. The wānanga kōrero with Karl took place during a mahinga kai wānanga he ran in Temuka over a weekend in April.

Ron Bull is Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu descent from Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki and Kāti Te Akau. Ron is cofounder of the Kaihaukai Art project (2012) with Simon Kaan. Simon is also from Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu iwi. His hapū are Kāti Mako and Kāti Irakehu. Their Kaihaukai Art Project (2012) “was based around a cultural food exchange between people of Kāi Tahu and the Native American Pueblo people in New Mexico” as part of an International Symposium of Electronic Arts (Kaan & Bull, 2013, p. 72). Their work with mahinga kai today is based on their “traditional foods in their place of origin which includes the preparation, gathering, eating and sharing” (Kaan & Bull, 2013, p. 72). I met Ron and Simon in July 2014 at a mahinga kai workshop during the International Food Design Conference in Dunedin. The wānanga kōrero took place over the course of the conference.

Four students and lecturer from a PE class, *PHSE 427 – Te Mahi ki ngā Hāpori Māori, working with Māori Communities* took part in a wānanga kōrero during Ki Uta Ki Tai in September 2014. *PHSE 427* is a 400-level PE paper that is centred on students working with Māori communities within the field of Māori PE and health. Anne-Marie Jackson, the lecturer of *PHSE 427* is of Ngāti Whātua, Ngā Wai, Ngāpuhi, and Ngāti Kahu o Whangaroa descent. Anne-Marie is a lecturer at the School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences at the University of Otago in Māori PE and health. The students selected for the

wānanga kōrero were experienced with notions of Māori PE and health from her classes, particularly, the Māori worldview, the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori health and the natural environment. The students were: Ngāhuia Mita from Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki; Charles Walters from Te Atiawa and Ngāpuhi; Sophie Brown from Te Atiawa and Ngāti Mutunga and; Huia Pocklington from Ngāti Whātua.

Case Study

The Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week was the case study used to explore the complex nature of mahinga kai and by extension its relationship to Māori PE and health. More importantly this case study is a means of expressing not only the voices of those volunteers (participants) and coastal communities involved, but also the voices of the land and the sea in which we worked.

Case studies provide a breadth of data for analysis and are a key means of explaining a real-life context, an application or exploration of theory into practice (Yin, 1984). Mahinga kai as active protection and preservation of the natural environment (kaitiakitanga) is a complex and changing concept and often ill defined (Russell, 2004). Mahinga kai can only really be understood through doing it, through physically experiencing mahinga kai and coming to understand the many elements underpinning this practice (Russell, 2004; Dacker, 1990).

Justification for case study

I chose Ki Uta Ki Tai as a case study for my research for a few reasons. Firstly I wanted to produce research that reflected the aspirations of our Māori communities, namely Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki, which I have established a connection to. Secondly the very meaning and definition of 'ki uta ki tai' is about sustaining and maintaining our natural

environment from the mountains to the sea – the philosophy of kaitiakitanga which is central to mahinga kai (Russell, 2004; Dacker, 1990; Williams, 2004). Thirdly the overall relevance of the case study to my project was validated when I carried out a pilot study in 2013 concluding the appropriateness of this case study for my research topic. Ki Uta Ki Tai is a perfect example of understanding mahinga kai and kaitiakitanga and how the application of these practices can be beneficial for Māori PE and health.

My Ki Uta Ki Tai beginnings

Ki Uta Ki Tai was founded by co-ordinator Patti Vanderburg. Patti has a special connection to Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki hapū as a local member of the Karitāne community, as well as her connection as a member of River Estuary Care who sits on the East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee, of which 50% of members² are from the hapū. Patti is an advocate for merging both Māori and non-Māori values in order to enhance and restore the natural environment. I successfully coordinated my first volunteer week on 11-14 October 2013 and used this as a pilot study for my Masters research after first gaining permission from the community groups involved. This pilot study in 2013 validated the appropriateness of using Ki Uta Ki Tai as part of my Masters research for 2014.

Volunteer week methods

The Ki Uta Ki Tai: From the Mountains to the Sea volunteer week took place from 26-29 September, 2014³ with the four environmental groups in the Waikouaiti-Karitāne area including Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka, River Estuary Care: Waikouaiti-Karitāne, East Otago

² The East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee was established under the Fisheries Act 1996.

³ For detailed specifics of the activities undertaken see Appendix 6

Taiāpure Management Committee and Hawksbury Lagoon. The groups welcomed student volunteers from two University of Otago classes including: *PHSE 427 – Te Mahi ki ngā Hāpori Māori, working with Māori Communities*, supervised by Dr. Anne-Marie Jackson, lecturer at the School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences and; *MAOR310: Indigenous Development*, supervised by Dr. Lyn Carter lecturer at Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies. During the volunteer week, student volunteers and members of the community took part in habitat restoration, conservation and fisheries management activities.

Reflective Piece

The reflective piece (provided in Appendix 4) was a one-page reflection that specifically asked the 13 volunteers of the September 2014 volunteer week to answer the following question: why is the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week important and what does it mean to you? The question posed to the volunteers was a good prompt for participants and directed critical reflection.

Reflection is an important practice for Māori because it allows us to think critically about our past and where our knowledge that informs us, comes from. We emerge into the world of light, the world of understanding because of the knowledge from our forefathers. Boyd & Fales (1983) explore the meaning of reflection as “the process of internally examining and exploring an issue of concern, triggered by an experience, which creates and clarifies meaning in terms of self” (p. 100). Participants are consciously made aware of their experiences, and are able to reflect on how these experiences fit into their frameworks and understandings. The method of reflection has been widely accepted as a useful approach to research, where we are now encouraged to weave together our backgrounds, personal presuppositions and beliefs into our research (Ortlipp, 2008). This method “is a useful means to express inner thoughts and record experiences of past events...[providing] a resource for

reflection” (Lindström, Ståhl, Höök, Sundström, Laaksolahti, Combetto, Taylor, Bresin, 2006, p. 1037).

Participants

Each participant of the September 2014 volunteer week was invited to be a participant in the research by answering one reflective piece. Those volunteers who returned a reflective piece are listed below.

Name	Class
Bethany Struthers	MAOR 310: Indigenous Development
Huia Pocklington	PHSE 427: Working with Māori Communities
Maddie Bowles	MAOR 310: Indigenous Development
Miaana Walden	MAOR 310: Indigenous Development
Parehuia Renes	MAOR 310: Indigenous Development
Sam Feeney	PHSE 427: Working with Māori Communities
Stevie Fergusson	MAOR 310: Indigenous Development
Talia Ellison	MAOR 310: Indigenous Development
Tania Bell	MAOR 310: Indigenous Development

Data Analysis

I interpreted the data using Fairclough’s (2003) interpretation of CDA, specifically three themes that form his ‘objects of research’ framework. The data was interpreted using the

themes of emergence, recontextualisation and operationalisation of discourse. The theme of emergence was utilised when analysing key creation narratives, Tiriti translation texts and Waitangi Tribunal texts. Fairclough (2003) describes how discourses within texts are identified through themes. I read and re-read these texts identifying the main themes and categorised these into discourses; the emergent discourses of mahinga kai. The literature, which is threaded throughout the analytical chapters, supported these multiple representations. Once all the interviews were transcribed and read over, the raw data was analysed first using emergence (to identify emergent discourses of mahinga kai) and second with recontextualisation (to identify how the participants recontextualised the discourses of mahinga kai).

Recontextualisation analyses “how particular discourses become dominant or hegemonic” as they are recontextualised across different boundaries (Fairclough, 2010, p. 49). I interpreted the raw data by looking at how the participants represented mahinga kai from their perspective and lived experiences and how this was somewhat different to the aforementioned texts. The aim of analysing the recontextualised discourses was to represent the participants’ knowledge of mahinga kai and make these the dominant and hegemonic discourses. The discourses of mahinga kai were recontextualised in the raw data by the participants as their experiences were unique to them.

The case study and the raw data collected from it was analysed utilising Fairclough’s (2003) notion of operationalising discourse. The theme of operationalisation is essentially how discourses “effect real change” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 623) and is implemented into real life through the following three ways: enactment, inculcation and materialisation. Following Fairclough’s (2003) theme of operationalisation, I analysed the data based on the: enactment of new genres, which included the mihi whakatau (informal greeting), pōwhiri (welcoming ceremony) and poroporoaki (closing ceremony); inculcation of new identities (which were

Māori, community, environmental and health and well-being) and; materialisation of physical, material things (such as the community newsletter).

Conclusion

The various methods of data collection have been an exciting path of discovery as I listened to the various whakaaro (thoughts, opinions) of those considered experts by their peers in the field of mahinga kai and/or Māori PE and health. Speaking with my participants has impacted my own thinking around mahinga kai and what this practice truly means ‘in practise’. It is no understatement when I say the interviews and wānanga kōrero have changed my thinking about mahinga kai. The ability to speak face to face with my participants enabled me to see their passion for mahinga kai and its immense value for our lands, seas and people.

This chapter described Kaupapa Māori Theory, whakapapa and CDA as the theoretical and methodological frameworks of the research. More distinctively, Fairclough’s (2003) ‘objects of research’ framework of CDA was utilised for framing the research questions, the methods of data collection and the data analysis. Semi-structured interviews, wānanga kōrero, a reflective piece, and a case study were the methods of the research and will inform the preceding analytical chapters.

The next four (of five) analytical chapters each reflect a core tenet of Māori PE and health: the Māori worldview (Chapter Three), the Treaty of Waitangi (Chapter Four), Māori health (Chapter Five) and the natural environment (Chapter Six). The next chapter, Chapter Three, analyses the emergent discourses of mahinga kai within three key creation narratives that inform a Māori worldview. Comprehension of a Māori worldview is essential to understand the key terms used throughout the thesis and to contextualise mahinga kai within the broad field of Māori PE and health.

Chapter III

Te Ao Māori, The Māori Worldview

Te Ao Māori, the Māori worldview, is the source from which the Māori belief and value system stems (Royal, 1998; Marsden, 2003a). The Māori worldview lies at the heart of Māori PE and health. This chapter addresses the first research question, what are the emergent discourses of mahinga kai found within key creation narratives that underpin a Māori worldview? The aim of this chapter is to provide a strong platform for comprehending a Māori worldview to fully appreciate mahinga kai and the role this cultural practice plays in Māori PE and health. This chapter is presented in three sections: first, an introduction to Te Ao Māori and creation narratives; second, a depiction of three creation narratives relevant to a Māori worldview and; three, a discussion on the emergent discourses of mahinga kai found within these texts. The implications of these discourses for Māori PE and health are discussed in the later chapters.

Te Ao Māori

The Māori worldview is a paradigm of Māori culture from which stems a Māori belief and value system (Royal, 1998); it is how Māori perceive the “ultimate reality and meaning” (Marsden, 2003a, p. 3). Marsden (2003a) explains further:

The worldview is the central systemisation of conceptions of reality to which members of its culture assent and from which stems their value system. The worldview lies at the heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of the culture (p. 56).

Marsden’s description of Te Ao Māori represents the holistic and connective view of the world where god, man and environment are inextricably linked (Marsden, 2003a). An

interpretation of Marsden's words considers the importance of creation narratives from which our value system stems from. Embedded in these, are discourses of mahinga kai that allude to the complex and dynamic nature of this cultural practice.

Creation Narratives

Essential to a Māori worldview are creation narratives (Jackson, 2011; Marsden, 2003a, 2003b). As Marsden (2003b) outlines:

they were deliberate constructs ... to encapsulate and condense into easily assimilable forms their view of the World, of ultimate reality and the relationship between the Creator, the universe and man (p. 56).

Creation narratives convey myth messages that form the belief and value system of people, governing their everyday practices and norms (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004; Marsden, 2003b). Jackson (2011) warns that multiple versions of creation narratives exist among iwi and hapū (such as my own Ngāti Hine and Ngāpuhi traditions to Ngāi Tahu) however "the stories that revolve around them have a common thread or theme running through them" (Marsden, 2003b, p. 55). Three narratives are linked to the general consensus of creation: the separation of the primordial parents Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku; the fight that took place in the aftermath of the separation and; the creation of humanity (Royal, 1998; Jackson, 2011; Marsden, 2003a). These stories perpetuate the origins of all things including the origin of mahinga kai. Using CDA to analyse these narratives, the multiple nuances of mahinga kai embedded within the creation narratives are revealed. The following section explores these narratives and highlights the discourses of mahinga kai emerging from them.

The separation of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku

The creation of the world is told through the story of the separation of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku. Ranginui contained within himself the essence of things male, Papa-tū-ā-nuku the essence of things female. Their close embrace prevented light entering between their bodies and their offspring lived in total darkness for eons of time. Dissatisfied, the children of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku decided to separate their parents. Tū-mata-uenga (God of war), the fiercest of the children, proposed that the best solution to their predicament was to kill their parents (Grey 1956). But his brother Tāne (God of the forests) disagreed, suggesting that it was better to push them apart; “one would be beneath them as a parent and the other above them as a stranger” (Reilly, 2004, p. 3). Tāne successfully pushed Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku apart bringing into existence the world of light, Te Ao Mārama (Grey 1956; Reilly, 2004). Reilly (2004) explains, “the separation initiates a process of differentiation whereby the parents, their various sons, and their descendants, become associated with aspects of the natural world of the Māori” (p. 5). This whakapapa is depicted in Figure 2.

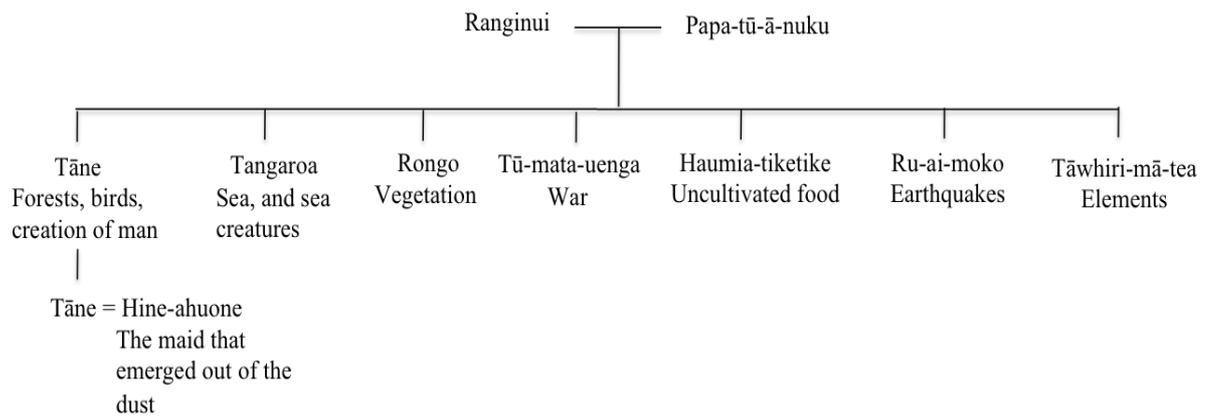


Figure 2. Whakapapa of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku. Adapted from *Ki Uta Ki Tai: He Taoka Tuku Iho* by, A. Jackson, 2011, p. 139.

The retribution of Tū-mata-uenga

The aftermath of the separation of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku becomes another critical narrative underpinning a Māori worldview. Tāwhiri-mātea was outraged with his brothers for separating their parents. According to Reilly (2004) “out of great love for his parents” Tāwhiri-mātea raged war on his brothers and their offspring by sending down great and devastating winds. All but Tū-mata-uenga fled (Tangaroa to the sea, Tāne into the dense forest, Rongo and Haumia-tiketike into the Earth) leaving Tū-mata-uenga to face the wild winds of Tāwhiri-mātea alone. This act of betrayal is what sends Tū-mata-uenga into rage and seeks revenge on those brothers who abandoned him. He does this by consuming the offspring of those brothers; fish and sea creatures from Tangaroa, birds from Tāne, kūmara (sweet potato) from Rongo and aruhe (fern root) from Haumia-tiketike (Reilly, 2004). According to Reilly (2004) the retribution Tū-mata-uenga sought against his brothers effectively subjugated them under his authority as teina; only Tāwhiri-mātea remains his adversary today whose “anger [is] equal to that of Tū” (Reilly, 2004, p. 4).

The creation of humanity

Several atua including Tāne played a part in creating the first woman from the red ochre at Kurawaka, a sacred place in Hawaiki. Tāne fashioned the first woman, Hine-ahuone, (also known as Hine-hauone) and imbued mauri and wairua into her. Her names represent her entry into this world; Hine-ahuone meaning to be shaped from the ochre, and Hine-hauone representing the breath of life that was breathed into her by Tāne. Tāne created the perfect being; her tinana was born from the sacred ochre of Papa-tū-ā-nuku, mauri and wairua were imbued in her and the hinengaro was imbued with knowledge when Tāne brought back the kete wānanga (the three baskets of knowledge) from the upper-most realm in the heavens and brought light into her mind (H. Hakopa, personal communication, November 3, 2014). Tāne and Hine-ahuone produced the first daughter Hine-tītama (dawn maiden). Tāne went on to marry Hine-tītama and produced further children. When Hine-tītama learned that her husband was also her father she fled in shame to Rarohenga and became Hine-nui-te-pō (Goddess of death). This narrative explains the holistic and cyclic nature of Te Ao Māori. Humans are born of the earth, and the body returns back to Hine-nui-te-pō and Papa-tū-ā-nuku in death.

Identification of Discourses within Creation Narratives

Fairclough's (2003) interpretation of CDA adopts discourse as an analytical tool designed to identify the multiple ways a social phenomena is represented. Mahinga kai has multiple meanings and interpretations (Dacker, 1990; Russell, 2004; Williams, 2004). CDA is a fundamental way to reflect the multiple meanings of mahinga kai through the discourses emerging from particular texts. Fairclough (2003) describes two ways different discourses are identified within texts: "identify the main parts of the world ... the main themes [and] identify the particular perspective or angle or point of view from which they are represented" (p. 129). Taking this approach, this section examines the emergent discourses of mahinga kai within the three key creation narratives I have described from a Māori point of view. The

creation narratives analysed, are underpinned by a Māori worldview thus reflecting the discourses of mahinga kai represented from this perspective. From these texts, the emergent discourses of mahinga kai were mahinga kai as: whakapapa; whanaungatanga; tikanga and the subsequent discourse of tapu; kaitiakitanga and the subsequent discourse of mauri and; mātauranga. These discussions form the basis of knowledge from a Māori worldview that is essential for contextualising mahinga kai within the research.

Discourse of mahinga kai as whakapapa

The discourse of mahinga kai as whakapapa is prominent within the creation narratives. Whakapapa derives from the word papa to mean foundation or base of meaning through genealogy (Marsden, 2003a). Barlow (1991) explains “whakapapa is the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time” (p. 173). Whakapapa as a discourse of mahinga kai thus is concerned with the genealogical descent from which stemmed mahinga kai sites and practices. The sites of mahinga kai stem from *The Separation of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku* narrative through the emergence of the natural environment, while the practice of mahinga kai stems from *The Retribution of Tū-mata-uenga* narrative through the first account of eating food.

Mahinga kai as a discourse of whakapapa is materialised in *The Separation of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku* where the emergence of Te Ao Mārama “brought into existence the natural world” and thus, mahinga kai sites. Russell (2004) explains, “whakapapa is the backbone that permits humankind to interact with their land and landscapes” (p. 218) from where mahinga kai resources are harvested. For example, in the first narrative, the “process of differentiation whereby the parents, their various sons, and their descendants, become associated with aspects of the natural world” explain why mahinga kai sites, within the landscape and seascape, fall under the mana of the respective atua within that domain (Reilly,

2004, p. 5). Russell (2004) summarises this belief when she stated that mahinga kai “stems from whakapapa ... which is rooted in the land and in the place names of that land” (p. 218). Mahinga kai as whakapapa can be reflected in the sites where food is gathered, the sites that have whakapapa back to the atua.

Mahinga kai practices are also evident within creation narratives, specifically, *The Retribution of Tū-mata-uenga*. The origin of nutrition and mahinga kai comes from Tū-mata-uenga when he consumed “the offspring of [his] brothers; fish and sea creatures from Tangaroa, birds from Tāne, kūmara (sweet potato) from Rongo and aruhe (fern root) from Haumia-tiketike”. By consuming the offspring of his brothers, Tū-mata-uenga “subjugated them under his authority as teina” and effectively removed the tapu from these resources. Patterson (1995) agrees stating that “without this precedent, all of the children of the great gods, all of the animals and plants, would be highly tapu and therefore too dangerous to use” (p. 410). According to Reilly (2004) Tū-mata-uenga’s consumption of his brothers’ offspring meant that “the senior *tuākana* [became] junior ranking *tēina*” (p. 5, italics in original). Tū-mata-uenga gained control over his brothers (all but Tāwhiri-mātea) and as humans, who are under the mana of Tū-mata-uenga, have the right as tuākana to continue to consume the offspring of Tū-mata-uenga’s brothers (Reilly, 2004). Walker (1996) explains “the subordination and commodification of the descendants of Tāne, Tangaroa, Rongo and Haumia-tiketike transformed them from the sacred estate of gods to the profane level of artifacts and food” (p. 17). When we eat the foods from the sea and land we are expressing this whakapapa. Whakapapa is closely associated with whanaungatanga as Barlow (1991) claims, “it is through genealogy that kinship and economic ties are cemented” (p. 173).

Discourse of mahinga kai as whanaungatanga

Although whanaungatanga is not explicitly mentioned in the selected creation narratives, it remains significant as Reilly (2004a) explains, “Māori creation narratives ... stressed the important place of genealogies and kinship relations in Māori society” (p. 61). This suggests that the creation narratives are crucial for whakapapa and whanaungatanga (Reilly, 2004a). Whanaungatanga in relation to mahinga kai refers to the relationships and kinships that are uplifted and enhanced through this practice; these being kinships between people as well as the connections between people and place (Patterson, 1994; Marsden, 2003b; Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi & Kirkwood, 1995). Ron describes a similar experience with his mahinga kai practice of Tītī (Mutton bird) harvesting and whanaungatanga. He explains that:

I was immersed in this idea of whānau understanding the importance of family and people ... Now everyday was like Christmas day with thirty or forty of the family around; thirty, forty aunties, uncles, cousins, [and] grandparents ... it just cemented and reinforced those relationships that we had (Ron Bull).

The concept of whanaungatanga is evident in Ron’s dialogue where mahinga kai “just cemented and reinforced those relationships we had”. Hotu provides a similar interpretation of mahinga kai and whanaungatanga, saying “it’s a collective thing ... my kind of view on [mahinga kai] is influenced by my eldest brother. He taught all his sons to hunt and catch kai for the marae” (Hotu Kerr). For Ron and Hotu, whanaungatanga and the importance of family and marae are inherent in mahinga kai practices. Patterson (1994) explores the wider connection to the natural environment from where Māori share a common ancestry and thus the idea of ‘environmental kin’ whom deserve care and protection also. Ron provides his insights of the kinship he shares with his environment on the Tītī Islands.

To harvest those birds we have to look after that place, that environment. If we pollute the seas down there, there's nowhere for those birds to get their food; they can't feed the chicks. If we cut the trees down there's nowhere for the birds to land [because] they can't land properly they have to crash into a canopy of trees (Ron Bull).

Ron and his whānau who have harvested tītī for many generations done so because they understood the delicate balance between “what we do there and how everything we do impacts upon the food source” (Ron Bull). They understood the importance of uplifting their connection (whanaungatanga) to the land and interacted in a way that was not harmful or detrimental to this bond. Ron alludes to another element of whanaungatanga, which is evident in his mahinga kai practices when he said “only people from my family have ever done that in that place ... we understand how everything works in together” (Ron Bull). For Ron, mahinga kai connected him to his family who were the only people to “have ever done that in that place”. Dacker (1990) explains, “the tītī season is still a time to renew contact with the past, and also to bring the family together as a working unit, as it regularly used to be” (p. 32). Whanaungatanga plays a large part in mahinga kai as it makes those connections back to one's past. Whanaungatanga is about uplifting and enhancing your kinship ties between people and environment so that both may flourish (Marsden, 2003b; Dacker, 1990; Roberts et al., 1995).

Discourse of mahinga kai as tikanga

Tikanga is crucial for applying a Māori worldview because it represents the correct and appropriate social behaviours based on the ideas, beliefs and values inherent to Māori (Mead, 2003; Jackson, 2011). For example, Karl connects the importance of tikanga to mahinga kai practices when he said “we already have the regulations in place and it's based

on our tikanga of how we behave as human beings” (Karl Russell). Karl highlights the role of tikanga within mahinga kai as a means of behaving correctly. Mead (2003) explains further:

tikanga is the set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or individual. These procedures are established by precedents through time, are held to be ritually correct, are validated by usually more than one generation and are always subject to what a group or individual are able to do” (p. 12).

The key terms in Mead’s (2003) definition are precedents, practices and a set of beliefs that inform adherence to correct conduct. Precedents refers to the actions of our ancestors, the knowledge accumulated over several generations and transmitted intergenerationally through oral traditions and how these may inform our actions today (Mead, 2003). The creation narratives are an example of the precedents the atua established; creation narratives are “insights from the past [that] are utilised to solve problems of the present ... and developing further for the next generations” (Mead, 2003, p. 21). In this sense, the three creation narratives provided earlier, are imbued with tikanga through the various precedents that were established from them.

Practices are the vehicles to operate and perform tikanga (Mead, 2003). An example of this is the practice of mahinga kai, where tikanga is exercised through the precedents established in the creation narratives and customary concepts related to food harvesting. Customary concepts are inherent to the Māori belief system, which marks Mead’s (2003) final aspect of tikanga.

A set of beliefs refers to the customary concepts that are carried in the minds of individuals and learnt through research and experience (Mead, 2003). Tapu is an example of a customary concept I learnt through experience growing up on marae. Restrictions such as

eating inside the whareniui (meeting house), or always having to wash our hands when we left the whareniui were all rules based on the customary concept of tapu; what restricted our behaviour within certain places in order to keep ourselves physically and spiritually safe (Mead, 2003). Because the whareniui is where the tūpāpāku (deceased person's body) would lay, from a physical perspective there were concerns around getting sick, for instance if you ate food without washing your hands after you paid your respects. From a spiritual perspective it was more about not bringing things noa (unrestricted) into those places or things deemed tapu. To do this was to trample on the tapu and mana of that thing, place or person (Mead, 2003; Reilly, 2004). The discourse of tapu emerged from *The Retribution of Tū-mata-uenga* narrative and is discussed in further detail next.

Tikanga as tapu

Tapu emerged from *The Retribution of Tū-mata-uenga* narrative when Tū-mata-uenga consumed his brothers' offspring ultimately removing the tapu and making food from these atua safe to eat (Reilly, 2004; Patterson, 1995; Walker, 1996; Shirres, 1997). This analysis is similar to Mead (2003) who stated, "the source of tapu is traceable to the primeval parents, Rangi and Papa and their divine children, the departmental Gods" (p. 46). Tapu, an important element in all tikanga, is defined by Marsden (2003a) as sacred or set apart and refers to the restrictions placed upon objects, people or places. The importance of tapu is reflected in Mead's (2003) words:

Tapu is everywhere in our world. It is present in people, in places, in buildings, in things, words and all tikanga. Tapu is inseparable from our identity as Māori and from our cultural practices (p. 30).

Tapu is inherent to the cultural practice of mahinga kai. Dacker (1990) explains:

both the places and the working of mahika kai were controlled by tapu ... people did not start working the resource until the tapu was removed, and when they finished, the preservation and the use of the food was controlled by tapu, too (p. 16).

Tapu is evident throughout mahinga kai and “controlled each phase of the work” from the preparation, gathering, eating and sharing (Dacker, 1990, p.16). This was important because it “meant that resources were used wisely, and it also prevented those without a right from working them” (Dacker, 1990, p. 16). Only selected people were allowed to work certain resources of mahinga kai. Dacker (1990) explains in Ngāi Tahu “there were many different kinds of places reserved from general use – especially from any use to do with food” (p. 21). For example, tūāhu (alter) where rituals and ceremonies surrounding food were carried out only by tohunga (Dacker, 1990). These were tapu areas, wāhi tapu (restricted places) because of the association with the rituals surrounding food. Another aspect of tikanga, which is associated also with tapu, is the concept of kaitiakitanga. As Dacker (1990) alluded to earlier, tapu controlled all aspects of mahinga kai so “that resources were used wisely” (p. 16). The next section discusses kaitiakitanga in relation to this notion of tapu and explores a ‘modern’ way of being wise with our resources.

Discourse of mahinga kai as kaitiakitanga

Kaitiakitanga is another discourse of mahinga kai that is not explicitly mentioned in the creation narrative texts, however is a fundamental aspect to mahinga kai and other relatable discourses that emerge from the texts. For example, kaitiakitanga is a practice that upholds tikanga such as tapu. Dacker’s (1990) description of tapu as being “wise” with resources resonates with Zack’s view on kaitiakitanga as a practice concerned with returning resources back to Tangaroa. Zack introduces the idea of ‘reseeded pāua’ explaining:

this is the mahinga kai that we've never experienced. All we've ever experienced in 300 years is taking from Tangaroa, not giving back ... that [pāua reseeded] to me is at the highest level of mahinga kai (Zack Makoare).

Zack was referring to a story about him and his whānau upholding the tikanga of utu, reciprocating what we take from Tangaroa to feed our families. He shared his story about taking his mokopuna (grandchild) out with him to reseed the pāua in their rohe, actually putting back the kai that they take. When we think about mahinga kai today we need to think about the idea of reseeded, returning what we take from our environment to ensure the sustainability of the kai within these places for future generations. This is one modern way our resources may be used wisely.

Kaitiakitanga derives from three words: the prefix 'kai'; the root word 'tiaki'; and the suffix 'tanga', which all help to shape the meaning of this term (Marsden, 2003b). Tiaki in its basic sense means 'to guard' but also can mean, "to keep, to preserve, to conserve, to foster, to protect, to shelter, to keep watch over" (Marsden, 2003b, p. 67). Kai signifies the agent of the act, so a kaitiaki is understood to mean, "a guardian, keeper, preserver, conservator ... protector" (Marsden, 2003b, p. 67). The suffix tanga "transforms the term to mean guardianship, preservation, conservation, fostering, protecting [and] sheltering" (Marsden, 2003b, p. 67). Kaitiakitanga as a discourse of mahinga kai is concerned with the preservation and protection of mahinga kai sites and practices, which was done through various tikanga. Marsden (2003b) explains "tikanga or customs [were] instituted to protect and conserve the resources of Mother Earth" (p. 69). On a deeper level, kaitiakitanga was not only about looking after the resources of the natural environment, but more importantly, the mauri that resided within them.

Kaitiakitanga as mauri

The discourse of mauri stems from *The Creation of Humanity* narrative when mauri is imbued in the first woman, Hine-ahuone by Tāne (Reilly, 2004). The concept of mauri, or life force, is essential to kaitiakitanga. Marsden (2003b) explains “mauri created benevolent conditions within the environment both to harmonise the processes within the Earth’s ecosystem and to aid the regeneration process” (p. 70). Mauri is a fundamental principle in a Māori worldview. As Ron alluded to earlier, his mahinga kai practices of tītī harvesting was about understanding that ecosystem, knowing human impacts upon the environment and her resources and responding to this knowledge. He explains further:

When we go down there also we’re immersed in an environment that’s pretty much untouched. When we go down there we go down for 2 months of the year, and just leave the island alone for the rest of the 10 months to do what it has to do. And understanding that island and understanding that place and understanding that local, that undisturbed local, we’re actually understanding the environment that it all sits around (Ron Bull).

The mauri of Ron’s Tītī Islands is left intact because they understand the delicate and fragile ecosystem through their unbroken connection to this place. The significance of the discourse of kaitiakitanga as mauri is described in Marsden’s (2003b) words:

Mauri-ora is life-force. All animate and other forms of life such as plants and trees owe their continued existence and health to mauri. When the mauri is strong, fauna and flora flourish. When it is depleted and weak those forms of life become sickly and weak (p. 70, italics in original).

This quote highlights the role of kaitiakitanga for protecting the mauri within the natural environment. Our function as part of the intricate web of familial whakapapa is to

actively protect the mauri as guardians or kaitiaki of these taonga, which is to uphold tikanga (Roberts et al., 1995). Tikanga Māori is “firmly embedded in mātauranga Māori, which might be seen as Māori philosophy as well as Māori knowledge” (Mead, 2003, p. 7) because “tikanga comes out of the accumulated knowledge of generations of Māori” (Mead, 2003, p. 13). The following section examines the discourse of mahinga kai as mātauranga and the importance of passing this knowledge onto future generations.

Discourse of mahinga kai as mātauranga

Mātauranga emerged from all three creation narratives as these narratives share the fundamental elements of a Māori worldview, reflecting Māori knowledge. According to Mead (2003) “mātauranga Māori encompasses all branches of Māori knowledge, past, present and still developing” (p. 305). Royal (1998) describes mātauranga as knowledge that is “created by Māori humans according to a set of key ideas and by the employment of certain methodologies to explain the Māori experience of the world” (p. 2). Together these definitions describe how mātauranga is accumulated over generations stretching back to the time of creation and how this knowledge explains the world from a Māori perspective. Further to this Mead (2003) suggests that “while mātauranga might be carried in the minds, tikanga Māori puts that knowledge into practice” (Mead, 2003, p. 7). The creation narratives are embedded in mātauranga that are put into practice through tikanga and cultural practices such as mahinga kai.

The discourse of mahinga kai as mātauranga is concerned with Māori knowledge essential for carrying out this practice. For example, one had to be knowledgeable about the types of food available during different times of the year, the location of those resources and knowledge about the landscape (Dacker, 1990; Russell, 2004). Russell (2004) argues “one needed knowledge of what to look for as much as where it was located, in order to access

mahika kai” (p. 234). She further elaborated that “an intimate knowledge as well as wise guardianship of them was essential to their ongoing use and ensured iwi survival” (Russell, 2004, p. 234). Russell’s quote highlights that mātauranga is needed for “wise guardianship” of mahinga kai resources, linking the importance of mātauranga to kaitiakitanga. One form of protection and guardianship of mahinga kai and its underlying mātauranga is to ensure this knowledge is passed down the future generations. Kaan & Bull (2013) explain how stories about mahinga kai (similar to the narratives that depict creation) preserve the practice and culture. They describe this intimate connection:

in gathering the food, we gather the stories that gave us nourishment. Just as the conservation and preservation of our mahika kai practices are important, so too is the preservation of our stories (p. 72).

Kaitiakitanga is more than protecting the sites and practice of mahinga kai, it is about protecting the mātauranga that is imbued within the practice. Mahinga kai as a discourse of mātauranga “assists in the transfer of knowledge and continuation of [Māori] cultural practices ... a way for us to learn about and connect with our whenua, awa, roto and moana” (Kaan & Bull, 2013, p. 72).

Conclusion

Mahinga kai emerged at the beginning of the creation narratives when the Māori world was first formed. Employing Fairclough’s (2003) CDA, this chapter examined the emergent discourses of mahinga kai drawn from three key creation narratives: the separation of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku, the retribution of Tū-mata-uenga and the creation of humanity. The emergent discourses from these texts were mahinga kai as: whakapapa; whanaungatanga; tikanga and the subsequent discourse of tapu; kaitiakitanga and the subsequent discourse of mauri and; matauranga. The emergence of these discourses provide a

platform for comprehending a Māori worldview, which is essential to exploring mahinga kai and the role it plays in Māori PE and health. Further discourses of mahinga kai emerge in key te Tiriti o Waitangi translations texts and Waitangi Tribunal texts which is discussed in the following chapter. Chapter Four investigates the role of the Treaty of Waitangi (through the translation and Tribunal texts) for Ngāi Tahu specifically and how the Treaty promised mahinga kai through its various discourses within the analysed texts.

Chapter IV

Te Tiriti o Waitangi, The Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi plays an important role in Māori PE and health as it represents the colonisation of Aotearoa, and the impacts this had for Māori society. Furthermore, the Treaty today, is a primary way that Māori have sought to have their rights guaranteed; rights including Māori PE and health (Kingi, 2007; Jackson, 2011, 2014; Durie, 1998). This chapter addresses the second research question: what are the emergent discourses of mahinga kai within key te Tiriti o Waitangi translation texts and Waitangi Tribunal texts? This chapter examines the emergent discourses of mahinga kai in three sections: first, an examination of te Tiriti o Waitangi translation texts (Kawharu, 1989; Mutu, 2010); second, an examination of Waitangi Tribunal texts (mainly *The Ngai Tahu Land Report 1991* and *The Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report 1992*) and; third, an examination of Treaty principles relevant to the aforementioned Tribunal texts.

I identify the emergence of five discourses of mahinga kai: mahinga kai as identity; mahinga kai as rangatiratanga; mahinga kai as mana; mahinga kai as kaitiakitanga and; mahinga kai as taonga (with subsequent discourses of forestry and fisheries). These analyses form the basis of discussion for understanding mahinga kai within a Treaty context that is directly relevant to Ngāi Tahu iwi and the communities that stem from them (such as the Ki Uta Ki Tai community).

This chapter is informed by earlier research by Dr Anne-Marie Jackson (2010, 2011, 2013) who investigated the role of the Treaty of Waitangi for exercising rangatiratanga within a fisheries context. Namely: Jackson, & Hepburn (2010) conference proceedings, *Rangatiratanga and Customary Fisheries Management*; Jackson's (2011) Phd, *Ki Uta Ki Tai: He Taoka Tuku Iho* and; Jackson's (2013) research article, *A Discursive Analysis of*

Rangatiratanga in a Māori Fisheries Context. My work follows a similar approach to her research, however, within a mahinga kai specific context.

Treaty of Waitangi/ Te Tiriti o Waitangi

The Treaty and te Tiriti are made up of five parts: the preamble; three articles; and a postscript (Orange, 2004; Jackson, 2011). The Treaty of Waitangi was an agreement between Māori tribes of Aotearoa and the Queen of England first signed February 6 1840 by Northern Māori and the Crown representative Captain William Hobson at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands to ultimately secure British rule over Aotearoa, New Zealand (Jackson, 2011; Kingi, 2007; Boulton, Simonsen, Walker, Cumming & Cunningham, 2004; Orange 2004). The document traveled the length of the country to gather further Māori chiefs' signatures totaling over 500 by the end of 1840 (Orange, 2004). As it was, of the 500+ signatures received only thirty-nine signed the Treaty (English text), indicating that te Tiriti should be acknowledged as the founding document of this nation and not the Treaty (Jackson, 2011). The existence of two separate treaties: the Treaty of Waitangi (English version); and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Māori version), which offer distinctly different outcomes and expectations for Māori as neither are direct translations of one another, has been the cause of fierce debate and controversy (Jackson, 2011; Orange, 2004; Kingi, 2007; Durie, 1998; Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 1992).

The Treaty of Waitangi was a tool utilised by the Crown to colonise New Zealand by terminating Māori control, chiefly authority and rangatiratanga over their lands and people. It was deceptive in its writing, misleading in its explanation, and untruthful in its false reflection of “a model of harmonious race relations” (May, 2004, p. 22). By assuming control, the then

Crown Government secured the capacity to enact legislation⁴ in favour of furthering their goals to colonise New Zealand. Implications of the Treaty were felt by Māori immediately following its signing when they saw the abrupt dispossession of their lands, the cessation and transfer of Māori sovereignty, the replacement of Māori values and principles and the assimilation of their cultural stories and narratives (Orange, 2004; Kingi, 2007; Durie, 1998).

Māori responses to these Treaty breaches were numerous⁵ however their attempts were thwarted with the continued sale and confiscation of Māori land, over exploitation of resources and the unrelenting poverty of Māori during the period 1840 to the 1970s (Durie, 1998). A result of the ‘steady alienation of Māori land’ saw the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal set up to investigate Māori grievances against breaches under the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Durie, 1998).

Identification of Discourses of Treaty, Tiriti and Tiriti Translation Texts

Discourses as Fairclough (2003) suggests, are ways of representing aspects of the world including how these are represented from a particular perspective. The ability for discourse to be imaginary and projective is the fundamental way Fairclough (2003) claims social change occurs. The discourses that emerge from the translation and Tribunal texts indicate the multiple ways mahinga kai is represented within a Treaty context, and more

⁴ The New Zealand Settlements Act 1862 authorised the confiscation of land by Māori who rebelled against the Crown; The Native Land Act 1862, 1865 and 1867 again saw further dispossession of Māori land when this Act made it easier for settlers to obtain ownership and land title; The Education Ordinance 1847 and the Native Schools Act 1858 marginalised learning and speaking of te reo Māori in schools and focused Māori education on manual and industrial training as opposed to academic learning; and The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 denied matauranga Māori by ostracising Māori healers and knowledge keepers (Durie, 1998; Orange, 2004; May, 2004).

⁵ Early petitions to the Crown, Native Land court, passive protesting including The Māori Land March 1975, Bastion Point, Parihaka protest. Māori governance including the Kingitanga Movement and the Kotahitanga Parliament, Kura Kaupapa initiative. For more information see Orange, C. (2004). *An illustrated history of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Limited.

importantly how we can then envision these discourses in the future. The following section discusses specifically the emergent discourses of mahinga kai from the translation texts and proceeded by discourses emerging from the Tribunal texts. There are overlaps with some of the discourses being evident in both. I conclude with a discussion around the relevant principles of the Treaty and how these implicate the emergent discourses of mahinga kai for Ngāi Tahu.

Table 2 illustrates the provisions of Article 1 set out in the Treaty and provides two translations (Mutu, 2010; Kawharu, 1989) of te Tiriti into English.

Table 2

Article 1 of the Treaty of Waitangi, te Tiriti o Waitangi and Two Translations of te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Treaty of Waitangi	Tiriti o Waitangi	Translation (Kawharu, 1989)	Translation (Mutu, 2010)
cede...absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole sovereigns thereof.	te Kāwanatanga katoa o rātou wenua	“the complete government over their land” (p. 321)	“kāwanatanga/(control of her subjects?) of their lands” (p. 24)

Sourced from personal communication, A. M. Jackson, October 2011.

Discourse of Sovereignty

The main difference between Article One of the Treaty of Waitangi and te Tiriti o Waitangi translation texts is the use of the word “sovereignty”. There was no Māori word for the English meaning of sovereignty; contemporary writers suggest the closest meanings would have been rangatiratanga and mana (Durie, 1998; Jackson, 2011, 2013; Mutu, 2010; Kawharu, 1989). The English notion of sovereignty, meaning supreme power and authority derived from human sources, was a foreign concept to Māori (Mutu, 2010). Māori chiefs had authority over particular areas but no concept of a central rule over the nation existed for Māori, nor did Māori believe authority derived solely from a human source (Orange, 2004;

Durie, 1998; Mutu, 2010). As a result, in te Tiriti, the phrase “Kāwanatanga katoa” was used to refer to sovereignty. Kāwana was a transliteration of the word governor. Thus, as Mutu (2010) points out, “Kāwanatanga katoa” meant only a cession of governorship, or “the complete government over their land” (Mutu, 2010, p. 321). Mutu (2010) contends that from a Māori perspective, Article One of te Tiriti meant that Māori were “agreeing for the Queen of England to take control of her subjects, Pākehā settlers, within the new Colony” (cited in Jackson, 2011, p. 82). Ross (2001) states that the use of kāwanatanga rather than mana or rangatiratanga was no mistake; because Māori otherwise would have not signed.

To continue Mutu’s (2010) logic, Māori did not cede sovereignty but instead ceded kāwanatanga or governorship, because Article One of the Tiriti translation texts only gave permission for the Crown to govern; a restricted level of Crown management where Māori chiefs would continue to have mana over their lands and people (Mutu, 2010; Kawharu, 1989). This idea is further supported by the use of “rangatiratanga” in Article Two of te Tiriti; whereby Māori were guaranteed rangatiratanga – or the closest Māori word to the English equivalent of sovereignty. Table 3 highlights the provisions of Article Two and depicts the emergence of the discourses of mahinga kai as: rangatiratanga; mana; and taonga (with subsequent discourses of forestry and fisheries).

Discourse of mahinga kai as rangatiratanga

Table 3

Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi, te Tiriti o Waitangi and Two Translations of te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Treaty of Waitangi	Tiriti o Waitangi	Translation (Kawharu, 1989)	Translation (Mutu, 2010)
confirms and guarantees...the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties	te tino rangatiratanga o ō rātou wenua ō rātou kāinga me ō rātou taonga katoa.	“the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures” (p. 321)	“their paramount and ultimate power and authority over their lands, their villages and all their treasured possessions.” (p. 25).

Note. This table is adapted from *A Discursive Analysis of Rangatiratanga in a Māori Fisheries Context* by A. M. Jackson 2013, p. 3.

The second article of te Tiriti promised Māori “te tino rangatiratanga o ō rātou wenua ō rātou kāinga me ō rātou taonga katoa”, which aligned with the second article of the Treaty as “the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and ... other properties”. Kawharu (1989) and Mutu (2010) offer differing explanations as to the meaning of rangatiratanga. Kawharu’s (1989) translation suggests rangatiratanga is “the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship” (p. 321) while Mutu (2010) contends it meant “their paramount and ultimate power and authority” (p. 25). Rangatiratanga, is not Māori sovereignty in this sense, but something much greater. The major difference is sovereignty means the “ultimate power and authority, but only that which derives from human sources and manifests itself in man-made rules and laws” (Mutu, 2010, p. 26) whilst rangatiratanga derives its authority from a higher source. For example, Mutu (2010) explains rangatiratanga

as “the exercise of paramount and spiritually sanctioned power and authority” (p. 26). This highlights the differences between Māori and non-Māori worldviews of authority, control and power, and what was actually ceded in Article One and promised in Article Two. The concept of mana supports this interpretation of rangatiratanga.

Discourse of mahinga kai as mana

According to Kawharu (2000) mana “convey[s] the same repertoire of beliefs” as rangatiratanga; the two concepts are inextricably linked (p. 350). Mana, like rangatiratanga, has numerous interpretations. Mana has been described as “authority, power, control, influence and prestige in relation to *atua*, people, land and the environment” (Ka’ai & Higgins, 2004, p. 17, italics in original text). Marsden (2003a) describes mana in relation to the *atua* stating, “spiritual authority and power ... that which manifests the power of the gods” (p. 4), while Durie (2003) likens mana to the importance of the *tūpuna* saying, “the standing of a tribe, its mana ... relates more to the visible presence and authority of its elders ... it is the older generation who carry the status, tradition and integrity of their people” (p. 76). From these interpretations, mana is representative of power and authority that derives from a higher source; that being the *atua* and in some cases our *tūpuna*. Mahinga kai is a cultural practice that was created by the *atua* and carried out by our *tūpuna*. To engage with this practice is to engage with the mana of *atua* and *tūpuna*, and to continue passing this knowledge down through the generations. Although mana does not feature specifically within the translation texts, its intimate connection to rangatiratanga demonstrates its importance. The relevance of mana and rangatiratanga specific to a mahinga kai context is further validated in the Waitangi Tribunal texts (1991, 1992) explored later in this chapter.

Discourse of mahinga kai as taonga

Taonga appears in the second article of te Tiriti and has significant cultural value to Māori, however the significance of the meaning was diminished by translating it as “other properties” in the Treaty (Orange, 2004; Durie, 1998). The significance of “taonga katoa” meaning “all their treasured possessions” (Mutu, 2010, p. 25) and “all their treasures” (Kawharu, 1989, p. 321) goes beyond the simple English comprehension of physical and tangible objects. Taonga includes cultural, social and environmental properties determined by Māori based on tribal tikanga and kawa surrounding these properties (Durie, 1998). According to Durie (1998) in its broadest sense taonga means “an object or resource which is highly valued” (p. 23). Marsden (2003c) adds that taonga can be “tangible or intangible; material or spiritual” (p. 38). The addition of ‘spiritual’ is where misunderstanding occurs (Durie, 1998; Marsden, 2003c; Walker, 1990). The spiritual value for Māori denotes that taonga “refer[s] to the cultural tradition, lore, history; corpus of knowledge etc, with which descendants can identify and which provide them with their identity, self-esteem and dignity” (p. 38). The implications of taonga from this viewpoint are substantial. Marsden (2003c, p. 38) claims that taonga ultimately “touch the heart or soul” and as depicted in a Māori worldview, what Māori hold close to their hearts are: land, sea, language and culture, from which stem their Māori (or tribal) identity.

Marsden’s (2003c) depiction of taonga confirms that mahinga kai from a Ngāi Tahu perspective is considered taonga, and therefore guaranteed by Article 2 of the Treaty. This is further supported in the *Ngai Tahu Land Report 1991* and the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report 1992* that validate the discourse of mahinga kai as taonga (discussed later in the chapter).

Taonga and forestry

The forest has cultural and spiritual sustenance for Māori (Marsden, 2003b, 2003c; Panelli & Tipa, 2007; Durie, 2001). The forests and all that dwells within it (birds, trees) are under the mana of Tāne, while the earth and land are under the guardianship of Papa-tū-ā-nuku. The emergence of the discourse of mahinga kai as forestry comes explicitly from Article Two where it guarantees to Māori their “Lands and ... Forests” in the Treaty, and as “ō rātou wenua ... ō rātou taonga katoa” in te Tiriti. Although the Treaty states “Forests” there is no specific Māori translation, rather “Forests” is encompassed in the concept of “taonga katoa” within te Tiriti. This is supported by the fact that taonga refers to “all their treasured possessions” (Mutu, 2010, p. 25), of which ‘forestry’ is considered a treasure.

In relation to Ngāi Tahu and their mahinga kai, forestry plays a large part in the exercise of their mahinga kai. The terms “ngā hua o te whenua” meaning the fruits of the land, and “ngā hua o Tāne” meaning the fruits of Tāne, were the resources Ngāi Tahu regularly harvested (Dacker, 1990). Dacker (1990) explains some of the mahinga kai practices undertaken in the forests included the harvesting of forest birds such as tūī, weka and tītī, berries and roots, as well as tī kouka (cabbage tree) which produced kāuru, a “food rich in sugars ... [and] greatly valued” (Dacker, 1990, p. 8). Intimately linked to the forests and the land, “Kai Tahu moved throughout Te Waipounamu, their knowledge of the land was intimate and detailed ... preserved in the naming of places” (Dacker 1990, p. 17, no macrons in original). Ngāi Tahu mahinga kai is embedded in forest and land.

Taonga and fisheries

Similar to forestry, the discourse of taonga as fisheries emerged from Article Two of the Treaty. The second article of the Treaty “confirms and guarantees ... the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their ... Fisheries”. In te Tiriti, “Fisheries”, like “Forests” fall

under “taonga katoa” denoting a spiritual and cultural significance for Māori. The discourse of taonga encompassing Māori fisheries highlights the physical, cultural and spiritual values associated with the fish that is caught, the places in which fish are caught and the right as Māori to catch them. For example, Māori creation narratives discussed earlier, explain the different species of fish Māori frequently caught and the stories relating to specific species in terms of tribal and hapū identity. The places had significant cultural and spiritual value often fishing in ancestral lands and waters, places of historical significance (Dacker, 1990; Russell, 2004; Williams, 2004). What enabled the act of fishing to be unrestricted or noa, is explained through the creation narrative of Tū-mata-uenga eating the progeny of Tāne and Tangaroa giving Māori the rite to fish according to Māori lore (Reilly, 2004). The right to fish in a legal fisheries context (or Western law) stands opposite to traditional Māori fishing lore sparking much of the current debate (Jackson & Hepburn, 2010; Jackson, 2011).

Mahinga kai as a taonga, which encompasses forestry and fisheries, is relevant to the Ngāi Tahu claim, where the loss of mahinga kai was devastating. This view is supported by Marsden (2003c) when he stated, “processes of assimilation and cultural genocide imposed on *tangata whenua* have robbed them of much of their taonga resulting in the loss of dignity, self-esteem, and identity” (pp. 38-39, italics in original). This was especially the case for Ngāi Tahu who lost their identity, mana and rangatiratanga as a result of the loss to mahinga kai (Dacker, 1990; Russell, 2004; Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 1992). This loss is reflected in the Ngāi Tahu Claim, which began in 1986.

The Ngāi Tahu Claim (WAI27)

The Ngāi Tahu claim, or Te Kerēme, was centred on the ‘Nine Tall Trees of Ngāi Tahu’ and reflected their main grievances. Mahinga kai was critical to the livelihood of Ngāi Tahu people and as such was the centre of debate in Te Kerēme. Eight major land transactions

between the Crown and iwi from 1844 to 1864 (these included the Otakou Block, Kemps Purchase, Banks Peninsula, Murihiku, North Canterbury, Kaikoura, Arahura and Rakiura) and the loss of mahinga kai made up each of the nine trees (Durie, 1998; Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 1992). The Tribunal reports (*The Ngai Tahu Land Report 1991* and *the Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report 1992*) stemming from their claim consisted of three volumes about the “dispossession, deceit, broken promises, and inflicted poverty” of Ngāi Tahu (Durie, 1998, p. 200).

The argument Ngāi Tahu brought against the Crown was because of a breach of Article Two in relation to the dispossession of rangatiratanga over their lands, fisheries and mahinga kai, and the failure of the Crown, based on the principles of the Treaty, to proactively protect Ngāi Tahu by ensuring they had the means to survive and flourish (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 1992; Durie, 1998). The actions of the Crown and her subjects toward Ngāi Tahu land sales and mahinga kai during the period from 1844-1864 conflicted with the Treaty principles of protection, partnership, mutual benefit, options and the duty to consult, and subsequently breach Article Two of the Treaty.

Identification of Discourses within Tribunal Texts

Mutliple discourses of mahinga kai emerge from the *Ngai Tahu Land Report 1991* and the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report 1992*. On one account mahinga kai has been translated as “plantations” and “cultivations” as seen in the Kemp’s Deed Purchase limiting the capacity of mahinga kai to land cultivation and gardening (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 79). A wider definition is offered by Tipene O’Regan of Ngāi Tahu who described mahinga kai as “those places where food was produced or procured” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 154). Although this broadens the application of mahinga kai, it ignores the essence and significance

of such a practice for Ngāi Tahu. In the *Ngai Tahu Land Report*, the Tribunal extends this definition to mean:

tribal resources in and on the land, in the forests and in the rivers, lakes and sea and in the sky. It includes kai ika, kai moana, kai awa, kai manu, kai roto, and kai rakau. Ngai Tahu see their mahinga kai in a holistic way (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 154, no macrons in original).

Examining the discourses of mahinga kai will reveal the complexities of mahinga kai and demonstrate the vast significance of this practice for Ngāi Tahu iwi, hapū and whānau. The emergent discourses of mahinga kai found within the Tribunal texts are: mahinga kai as identity; mahinga kai as rangatiratanga; mahinga kai as kaitiakitanga; mahinga kai as taonga; mahinga kai as forestry and; mahinga kai as fisheries.

Discourse of mahinga kai as identity

Mahinga kai is considered “one of the most emotionally charged” aspects of the Ngāi Tahu claim because mahinga kai represents a Ngāi Tahu cultural and economic identity and worldview (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 154). Russell (2004) identifies whakapapa as a prerequisite for identity arguing that it is “the backbone that permits humankind to interact with their land and landscapes” (p. 218). She contends that the role of landscapes (and that of seascapes) signifies a Ngāi Tahu identity through whakapapa that inextricably ties them to the land and sea as well as the mahinga kai derived from those environs. Durie (1998) explains further, “a Māori identity is secured by land; land binds human relationships, and in turn people learn to bond with the land” (p. 115). From a Māori worldview the land and the sea is intimately connected. The whakataukī “ki uta ki tai” meaning “from the mountain to the sea” illustrates this innate link between landscapes and oceans because it reflects an environmental

ethic that encompasses all from the mountains down to the sea. This is explored in detail later in the thesis.

The discourse of mahinga kai as identity emerges in the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report 1992* where the importance of Ngāi Tahu's mahinga kai is described as a reflection of "personal or tribal identity, blood and genealogy, and ... spirit (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 98). When the environment in which the practice of mahinga kai, or the resources of mahinga kai (in this case fisheries) suffer a 'hurt' this "may be felt personally by a Maori person or tribe, and may hurt not only the physical being, but also the prestige, the emotions and the mana" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 98, no macrons in original). Mahinga kai as a tribal identity to Ngāi Tahu is further evident through the harvesting of tīfī, a highly sought after bird that was only harvested by Ngāi Tahu people (Dacker, 1990). In the *Ngai Tahu Land Report* it stated, "Ngai Tahu's relationship with the Titi Islands is undoubtedly a most important cultural, social, and political facet of Ngai Tahu tribal identity" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 867, no macrons in original). Part of what reinforced Ngāi Tahu's mahinga kai identity was through the practice of kaihaukai, the exchanging of food.

Kaihaukai

In a Ngāi Tahu view the practice of kaihaukai plays a crucial role for the retention and continuation of Ngāi Tahu identity throughout the generations (Russell, 2004). The exchanging of specialty food and trade was vital to the economic nature of Ngāi Tahu's mahinga kai (Russell, 2004; Dacker, 1990). Bull & Kaan (2013) describe this important customary practice as "the sharing and exchanging of traditional foods between iwi, hapū and whānau ... centred on Kai Tahu mahika kai which means working with our traditional foods in their place of origin which includes the preparation, gathering, eating and sharing" (p. 72). This practice of food exchange played a major part in shaping Ngāi Tahu identity. Mr Dacker,

a witness for the Ngāi Tahu claim, explained kaihaokai (kaihaukai) as “the cultural bonds that were expressed through the exchange of foods, at hui, tangi ... that bound the people to each other and to the land” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 897). Intrinsic to mahinga kai was the exchanging of food and resources as both an economic base but also the hosts ability to manaaki their guests through the koha of their specialty foods such as tītī, kaimoana and other kaimanu (Russell, 2004).

Discourse of mahinga kai as rangatiratanga

The stance of the *Ngai Tahu Land Report* and the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report* is that Māori sovereignty was ceded in the first article but was “subject to important limitations upon its exercise. In short the right to govern which it acquired was a qualified right” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 269). The cession of sovereignty in Article One was in exchange for Crown protection of Māori rangatiratanga promised in Article Two (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 1992). As mentioned earlier this confirms that sovereignty and rangatiratanga are two different ideas from two different worldviews. The Western idea of sovereignty is considered “exclusive and exhaustive ... the Crown's title to its territory is indivisible it shares its sovereignty with no one” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 226). Māori sovereignty cannot exist at the same time therefore tino rangatiratanga guaranteed in the second article, refers to something different (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991).

In the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report* rangatiratanga is described as “the tribal right of self-regulation or self management” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 270) similar to the function of a local government (Waitangi Tribunal, 1988). Ngāi Tahu tribal right was the regulation and management of their taonga, mahinga kai. According to the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report*:

Ngai Tahu tribal life in the widest and deepest sense encompassed both land and sea, they drew sustenance from both, each was the source of profound spiritual experience. Ngai Tahu tino rangatiratanga extended alike over land and sea and the creatures on, above and below the earth and water. All were part of the bounty of their gods, held in trust for present and future generations (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 275, no macrons in original).

A prominent way Ngāi Tahu tino rangatiratanga is exercised over mahinga kai is through the application and management of kaitiakitanga values. Rikihia Tau explains “our relationship management and administration as Ngāi Tahu whānui of the mutton bird or Titi Islands is perhaps the nearest living example we have to the meaning of rangatiratanga to our natural resources or mahinga kai” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, pp. 867-868, no macrons in original). He explains how decisions are made “by those who possess whakapapa or genealogy rights to our Titi Islands ... [thus] are collective decisions” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 868, no macrons in original). It is these whānau who determine policies of kaitiakitanga for their mahinga kai and are ensured with the collective health of all people on the Island during the birding season and establish the rules for catching tītī so that their methods are sustainable for retention of manu kai and their environments in the future (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991; Dacker, 1990; Russell, 2004). Robert Whitiri agrees that the “Titi Island Regulations ... work and they were drawn up by Maori people. The fact that they were drawn up by Maori people makes them unique” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 823). Ngāi Tahu possessed the rangatiratanga over their mahinga kai and thus played an active role as kaitiaki of this taonga. The disconnection Ngāi Tahu people had to their mahinga kai was a direct result of denying Ngāi Tahu rights to exercise rangatiratanga, the denial of kaitiakitanga principles that sustained it, and the disregard for Māori taonga; all of which is in violation of the Treaty texts and principles.

Discourse of mahinga kai as mana

In the *Ngai Tahu Land Report 1991*, the Tribunal concludes “rangatiratanga signifies the mana of Maori not only to possess what they own but to manage and control it in accordance with their preferences. That is, in accordance with Maori customs and cultural preferences” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 833, no macrons in original). This purports the idea that Ngāi Tahu would retain the rangatiratanga over their mahinga kai and possess the mana to continue this practice. This reality however failed to eventuate, hence the Ngāi Tahu Claim. Contrary to the promises of the Treaty, the loss of rangatiratanga subsequently saw the loss of mana also, which is reflected in the words of Hana Morgan in the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report* who claimed “we have no mana over our mahinga kai. We have had no input into policy and we have no say in the decision making process” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 21). This highlights the importance of mana for mahinga kai in respect to the policies, decision-making and other authoritative rights of Ngāi Tahu rangatiratanga.

Discourse of mahinga kai as kaitiakitanga

The discourse of kaitiakitanga emerges from mahinga kai in relation to taonga, something of value that must be protected and passed on to future generations. As discussed earlier, mahinga kai is a taonga; kaitiakitanga ensures the protection of Māori taonga (mahinga kai). In the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report* the Tribunal states, “to meet their responsibilities for these taonga, an effective form of control operated. It ensured that both supply and demand were kept in proper balance, and conserved resources for future needs” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 97). The discourse of mahinga kai as kaitiakitanga is concerned with protecting this taonga. Kaitiakitanga is considered “a conservation ethic” (Roberts et al., 1995, p. 16) based on “the ethic of reciprocity” (Kawharu, 2000, p. 353) that “continues to find centrality in Māori kin-based communities because it weaves together ancestral,

environmental and social threads of identity, purpose and practice” (Kawharu, 2000, p. 349-350).

Kaitiakitanga is a crucial aspect of mahinga kai, because without it mahinga kai will diminish; a reality that Ngāi Tahu have faced since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 1992). These interpretations of kaitiakitanga are found within the Tribunal texts and demonstrate the significant relationship between kaitiakitanga and mahinga kai. In the *Ngai Tahu Land Report* James Russell, a claimant for Ngāi Tahu, asserted:

In a historically hand to mouth society it is difficult to consider anything other than a conservation ethic. Willful pollution or destruction of a waterway or a food resource would probably have an immediate and significantly detrimental effect on the community as a whole (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 892).

Kaitiakitanga over mahinga kai was second nature to Ngāi Tahu, who relied on these resources for their sustenance and life. An example of this ethos of kaitiakitanga is evident in the following extract from the *Ngai Tahu Report 1991*:

He [Te Maire] also remembered being sent down to the beachfront, the nesting area, and collecting driftwood and raupo to strengthen the nests, thus stopping eggs and young swans from falling into the water and destroying the young. Whilst this was being done eggs were taken for food, but the young people were told firmly that when the first bird sat, they were not to return (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 860).

Te Maire’s account demonstrates both an active and passive role of being a kaitiaki. Active in that he and others would help rebuild the nests, and passive when they would stop collecting eggs at a certain time based on the guidance of his elders. In order to maintain and sustain mahinga kai places and practices, they were protected with “an elaborate set of rules,

restrictions and guidelines ... to ensure that such resources were indeed maintained as appropriate for ... kaitiakitaka” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 892). These rules and regulations from a Māori perspective refer to cultural concepts such as tapu and rāhui.

Tapu and rāhui

Tapu and rāhui are critical aspects of kaitiakitanga, crucial for managing and sustaining mahinga kai. Kawharu (2000) describes rāhui as “a restriction or prohibition where something becomes *tapu*, or set apart from normal use” (p. 357 italics in original text). The rāhui that are referred to in the Tribunal texts are implemented for two reasons: for periodic harvesting and rejuvenating depleted resources (or to stop the exploitation of a resource). According to the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report* (1992):

There was a system of tapu rules which combined with the Maori belief in departmental gods as having an overall responsibility for nature’s resources served effectively to protect those resources from improper exploitation and the avarice of man. To disregard or disobey any of the rules of tapu was to court calamity and disaster (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 97, no macrons in original).

Russell (2004) supports the importance of rāhui and tapu for “retain[ing] many of our mahika kai resources” (p. 232). Rāhui were placed on seasonal resources to prevent exploitation of mahinga kai. Edward Ellison explains “how strict tapu was placed on all kai at certain times of the year ... Atua or protective gods were incorporated in the maintenance of the tapu” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 892). The harvesting of tītī for example only happens two months of the year. This periodic harvesting allows the resource time to regenerate and rejuvenate (Russell, 2004; Dacker, 1990). The fishing industry was mistaken when they claimed the use of rāhui was only implemented once degradation and environmental damage

had already occurred (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). Rāhui was a preventative practice which is shown through the periodic harvesting of tītī where a rāhui was only lifted for two months of the year. The ethos of kaitiakitanga ensured Māori would maintain and manage their mahinga kai so they could be enjoyed for future generations. The practical application of this was through practices such as rāhui and tapu.

One major issue that arose in the Tribunal texts is the right for Ngāi Tahu to have control over the protection of their mahinga kai in the way they see fit (as promised in Article Two of the Treaty). Mahinga kai cannot be protected by tikanga and the ethos of kaitiakitanga without the rangatiratanga to exercise these rights. Consequently Kawharu (2000) states “kaitiakitanga is both an expression and affirmation of rangatiratanga” (p. 353).

Discourse of taonga as fisheries

In the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report*, the Tribunal states, “to understand the significance of such key Treaty words as ‘taonga’ ... [each] must be seen within the context of Maori cultural values” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 98, no macrons in original). The cultural values referred to here, is how taonga is contextualised within a Māori worldview and perspective. The term ‘fisheries’ are covered extensively in the *Muriwhenua Report 1988*, defining fisheries as “the activity and business of fishing” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1988, p. 194). The *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report* extends this definition by highlighting the “absence of any restriction as to species, depth, or seaward boundary, and the potential for development” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 105). Further to this, the *Muriwhenua Report* explains the Treaty’s words “their fisheries” as including “the fish they caught, the places where they caught them, and the right to fish” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1988, p. 203). This practice of ‘fishing’ known as hī ika or mahinga ika is a fundamental aspect of mahinga kai (Dacker, 1990).

In the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report 1992* taonga is specifically coupled to Ngāi Tahu's fisheries where "the claimants say their fishery is a taonga and that there are cultural and spiritual values associated with it" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 2). It is against this cultural backdrop that I argue mahinga kai (as a fishery) is also considered a taonga. According to the Waitangi Tribunal (1992):

All resources were taonga, or something of value, derived from gods ...
Taonga in relation to fisheries equates to a resource, to a source of food, an occupation, a source of goods for gift-exchange, and is part of the complex relationship between Maori and their ancestral lands and waters (p. 97-98, no macrons in original).

These expressions of taonga are synonymous of mahinga kai. Mahinga kai as a taonga embodies the physical, social, cultural and spiritual elements of the practice of mahinga kai in close harmony with the places in which we practice mahinga kai. The 'practice' refers to the fisheries; the act of fishing, hunting and gathering different species. As mentioned earlier different species have particular cultural and spiritual values attached to them based on the creation narratives and stories passed down. For example the tītī (mutton bird) is considered a taonga, a resource of high value for Ngāi Tahu people. Their relationship with the Tītī Islands, the place where this food is gathered, "is undoubtedly a most important cultural, social and political facet of Ngai Tahu tribal identity" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 867, no macrons in original).

Mahinga kai as a taonga is acknowledged as a gift from the atua to retain for future generations. A significant aspect of mahinga kai thus involves protecting and guarding this taonga for future generations to access. According to the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries report* "the fisheries taonga contains a vision stretching back into the past, and encompasses 1,000

years of history and legend, incorporates the mythological significance of the gods and taniwha, and of the tipua and kaitiaki” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 98). This quote is indicative of how taonga as fisheries is viewed from a Māori perspective. For Ngāi Tahu their fisheries encompassed “1000 years of history and legend” evident through the creation narratives (and preface) analysed earlier. Furthermore, fisheries had “mythological significance” referring to the “atua, tipua and kaitiaki” residing within their waters. Fisheries is a taonga because it is imbued with whakapapa stretching back to their ancestors, as well as mātauranga Māori for those animal forms that are associated within a fisheries environment.

Discourse of taonga as forestry

Although forestry is not directly present in the Ngāi Tahu claim (as it is with regards to fisheries), it is through the practice and importance of place (land and forest) related to mahinga kai that it is located. The eight of the nine main grievances of Ngāi Tahu fall under major land purchases that displaced and impoverished Ngāi Tahu within their own lands and further denied them access to and protection of their land-based mahinga kai resources.

The eight purchases saw over 34.5 million acres of Ngāi Tahu land sold to the Crown for a mere total of 14,750 pounds during the period 1844-1864 where noticeably the Crown failed to actively protect Ngāi Tahu (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991; Durie, 1998). Their main concern however was failure of the Crown to set aside sufficient reserves, access to their mahinga kai and food resources and the promise of “health, educational and land endowments that were needed to give Ngai Tahu a stake in the new economy” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 12, no macrons in original). According to the *Ngai Tahu Land Report* (1991) “the Crown acted in breach of Treaty principles in failing to ensure that Ngai Tahu retained or were allowed sufficient land for their present and future needs [of mahinga kai]” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 59, no macrons in original). Forest and birdlife clothed these lands and

were major sources of mahinga kai for Ngāi Tahu (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). Gordon McLaren describes the vast food resources available:

From the forests came the manu-kiwi, kaka, tui, kereru, kakapo, makomako and a host of others; and the hua rakau from the karaka, kotukutuku, miro, matai, rimu, kahikatea, koromiko, hinau, totara, ti, pikopiko, katoke, kurau, mamaku and others. With manu there was little waste the flesh was eaten, feathers were used for decoration and the bones were fashioned into fish hooks and spear heads (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 156, no macrons in original).

The failure to set sufficient reserves for Ngāi Tahu meant restricted access to and protection of their mahinga kai. Deforestation, pollution, over exploitation of resources, farming and land settlement were some of the key factors in the loss of land-based mahinga kai. One witness spoke about the deforestation:

our forests, practically nonexistent, and our native timbers, that is the chips, piled up in mountains along the quay sides of our ports awaiting export to foreign parts. I wonder at the mentality of all this carnage (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 162).

Forestry is a discourse of mahinga kai, on a cultural (food gathering and other necessary resources for use), economic (trade, sell) and spiritual (wāhi tapu, sites of significance) level. Mahinga kai “grows out of the nature of the landscapes ... [and] the sea” which can be likened to forestry and fisheries in a Treaty context (Russell, 2004, p. 229).

Implications of Treaty Principles

The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 established a means by which Māori grievances against the Crown could be heard in relation to the broken promises and breaches of the

Treaty according to its underlying principles (O'Malley, Stirling & Penetito, 2010). The then Māori affairs Minister Matiu Rata explained that the purpose and role of the tribunal:

is to provide for the observation and confirmation of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and to determine claims about certain matters which are inconsistent with those principles (O'Malley, Stirling & Penetito, 2010, p. 321).

The Treaty principles arose out of the need to establish the *spirit* of the Treaty when a textual approach proved a complicated task due to the collision of two separate treaties and thus conflicting expectations (Jackson, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, 1991). The principles emerged from the pivotal *Lands Case* in 1987 when the Court had to define what the 'principles' of the Treaty were. Provisions of the Treaty texts are still paramount to the implementation of these principles however Jackson (2011) argues a blending of principles and provisions hinder the outcome of Treaty grievances. She particularly criticises the meaning of rangatiratanga as being sanitised through Treaty principles. Aligning with Jackson's view is Hayward (1997) who warns, "the provisions of the Treaty itself should not be supplanted by the principles emerging from it" (cited in Jackson, 2011, p. 93). The relevant principles to the Ngāi Tahu claim are: the principle of exchange; the principle of mutual benefit; the principle of partnership; the principle of options; and the duty to consult. It poses the question of whom these principles were in fact supporting; Māori or the Crown? The following principles I analyse next are only those principles relevant to the Ngāi Tahu claim; the principles emerged from the *Ngai Tahu Lands Report 1991* and the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report 1992* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 1992) and have implications on the discourses of mahinga kai.

Principle of Exchange (and Protection)

The principle of exchange is derived from the provisions of Articles One and Two of the Treaty (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). The conditional “cession by Maori of sovereignty to the Crown [sic] in exchange for the protection by the Crown of Maori rangatiratanga” is the foundation of this principle (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 269, no macrons in original). It embodies the “notion of reciprocity” and includes mutual benefit, partnership, options and duty to consult (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 269). The principle of protection means that the Crown has an obligation to actively protect the rights of Māori by ensuring their social, cultural, and economic advancement. Where the Crown was in breach of this principle was evident in the *Ngai Tahu Lands Report 1991* and the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report 1992* where it clearly summarised the Crown’s failure to protect the social, cultural and economic interests of Ngāi Tahu. This was most significant with the failure of appropriate compensation for land sales, the deficiency of suitable reserves and the severe depletion and loss of mahinga kai.

Mahinga kai was Ngāi Tahu’s livelihood. It was an economic base as much as it was a cultural one. Ngāi Tahu were always exchanging (kaihaukai) food with other iwi, hapū and settlers. When their mahinga kai suffered a great loss because their lands were sold and fishing rights taken away, their entire economic base was shattered. They could no longer contribute to the economy and their cultural practices began to diminish (Dacker, 1990; Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 1992).

Principle of Mutual Benefit

The principle of mutual benefit is enunciated in the *Muriwhenua Fishing Report* (of which the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report* draws from) when the Tribunal claimed:

neither partner in our view can demand their own benefits if there is not also an adherence to reasonable state objectives of common benefit. It ought not to be forgotten that there were pledges on both sides (Waitangi Tribunal, 1988, pp. 194-195).

The principle of mutual benefit is prominent in the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries report 1992* where Ngāi Tahu envisaged the shared access and enjoyment of the resources of the sea (their fisheries). The principle of mutual benefit however “should not occur at the expense of unreasonable restraints on Maori access to their fisheries” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, pp. 273-274, no macrons in original). Ngāi Tahu have always claimed adherence to this principle stating:

long before the Treaty of Waitangi our tribal leaders recognised and encouraged trading educational and religious interrelationships both with other Maori and with Pakeha. The reasonable needs of those manuhiri for sustenance fishing were always allowed and protected under our tribal mana (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 1136, no macrons in original).

While Ngāi Tahu adhered to the principle of mutual benefit they questioned reciprocation of the Crown. Restrictions, such as the Quota Management System⁶, were placed on the access to and practice of their fisheries and mahinga kai with little being left to Ngāi Tahu (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992; Jackson, 2011). This was evident with the minuscule amount of land left as reserves for Ngāi Tahu people to live off.

⁶ The Quota Management System was introduced by the government in 1986 and created a property right that did not previously exist, on fish. Māori laid claim to the Waitangi Tribunal that the government was in breach of the Treaty of Waitangi and this in part led to the Treaty of Waitangi fisheries settlements (Jackson, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal, 1987, 1991, 1992).

Principle of Partnership

The principle of partnership implies an explicit relationship between Māori and the Crown “requiring each to act towards the other reasonably and with the utmost good faith” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 273). In the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report*, which is drawn directly from the *Muriwhenua Report*, it outlines that:

the Treaty extinguished Maori sovereignty and established that of the Crown. In so doing it substituted a charter, or a covenant in Maori eyes, for a continuing relationship between the Crown and Maori people, based upon their pledges to one another. It is this that lays the foundation for the concept of a partnership (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 273, no macrons in original).

Similar to the principle of mutual benefit, the principle of partnership was founded on the reciprocal relationship between Ngāi Tahu and the Crown (including her settlers). In the spirit of partnership, Ngāi Tahu were equipped to share the bounty of Tangaroa on the condition that “their willingness to sell their land and to share their sea fisheries did not constitute a diminution or modification of their tino rangatiratanga over their sea fisheries” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 174). This is a significant plea from the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report* that the provision of tino rangatiratanga guaranteed in the second article is of the utmost importance. Although partnership emerges from these texts we are reminded of the assurance for the retention of Māori rangatiratanga and all this term encompasses over and above any other principle (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992).

Principle of Options

The principle of options expresses the various promises of protection for Māori under Article Two (being that of tribal and hapū protection) and Article Three of the Treaty, which

secured “individual Māori rights, and privileges of British subjects” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 274, no macrons in original). The principle of options allows Māori to pursue either or both options deemed appropriate to their circumstances. Jackson (2011) expounds the implications of this principle for Māori, explaining that the Treaty:

protects the collective Māori aspirations at tribal and hapū levels, in terms of tikanga and authority. At the same time it protects an individual Māori person’s rights ... [and] gave options, to enable Māori to develop from a customary base, to merge into a new world (p. 98).

The principle of options was relevant to the claim brought by Ngāi Tahu who claimed this principle was overlooked in relation to their fishing rights, mahinga kai and major land purchases; actions that left Ngāi Tahu in cultural and economic poverty.

Duty to Consult

The duty to consult is a key principle in the *Ngai Tahu Land Report 1991* and the *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report 1992* where environmental matters and resource management are key to their claim of mahinga kai. This principle however implies that “the Māori role is limited to being only a consulted party” contrary to the provision of rangatiratanga and thus undermining its multiple meanings of mana Māori, authority, power and the right of self regulation and self management (Jackson, 2011, p. 98). The *Ngai Tahu Sea and Fisheries Report* explain the basis of this principle:

the Crown in the exercise of its powers of governance in the national interest clearly has a right, if not a duty, to make laws for the conservation and protection of valuable resources such as the sea fisheries. But such power should be exercised with due regard to the interests of the owners of such

resources. In the case of their sea fisheries guaranteed to Maori by the Treaty, the Crown should first consult with Maori on proposed conservation measures and ensure that Maori interests are not adversely affected (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 272, no macrons in original).

Ngāi Tahu have maintained a strong conservation ethic (kaitiakitanga) in their administration and management of their fisheries (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 1992). This implies that there is no plausible reasoning of the Crown to impose laws of conservation on resources that are already protected from a Māori perspective; clearly the Crown failed in their duty to consult Māori on these measures. Further to this, the Ngāi Tahu view on Crown conservation attempts “to manage the fishery have been disastrously ineffective” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 2).

The translation texts from both Articles One and Two have major implications for Ngāi Tahu iwi and their mahinga kai. Although discourses of mahinga kai emerged from these translation texts, it is only by analysing Tribunal texts relevant to the Ngāi Tahu Claim that these discourses come to fruition.

Conclusion

Utilising Fairclough’s (2003) interpretation of CDA, his notion of ‘emergence’ of discourse was evident in the Treaty of Waitangi and te Tiriti o Waitangi texts, two te Tiriti o Waitangi translation texts and three Waitangi Tribunal texts. The emergent discourses of mahinga kai were: identity; rangatiratanga; mana; kaitiakitanga and; taonga (as forestry and fisheries). These discourses of mahinga kai within the texts, illustrated from a Ngāi Tahu perspective, the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi for mahinga kai exclusively. There are many synergies within and between these discourses, which reflect the holistic nature of Te Ao Māori and the intricacies of mahinga kai. Although the principles of the Treaty appear to

support Māori aspirations in Treaty grievances, they are somewhat contradictory and limit, absolutely, the discourse of mahinga kai as rangatiratanga (Jackson, 2011, 2013). This further impacts iwi rights to exercise kaitiakitanga over taonga: their fisheries and forests. The next chapter investigates and explores the implications of the emergent discourses of mahinga kai to Māori health and well-being.

CHAPTER V

Hauora Māori, Māori Health

Māori PE and health is based on a Māori perspective on health; an approach that is holistic and embraces the importance of whenua. This chapter addresses the third research question: what are the implications of the discourses of mahinga kai for Māori health and well-being? The aim of this chapter is to discuss how mahinga kai supports the health of people and simultaneously healthy ecosystems utilising Panelli & Tipa's (2007) integrated well-being health model. I examine the model in two ways: first, utilising whakapapa to explore the origins and emergence of health and; second, examining the implications of the discourses of mahinga kai for Māori health and well-being.

I briefly introduce the current notions of hauora Māori and draw on popular Māori health models to establish the multiple ways Māori health and well-being is understood. Next, I introduce Panelli & Tipa's (2007) health model and explore specifically the whakapapa embedded within the environment that describes the origins of good health. The final section discusses the implications of the emergent discourses of mahinga kai for Māori health and wellbeing that are evident in Panelli & Tipa's (2007) model. Namely, the discourse of mahinga kai as: rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga and identity. This chapter argues that mahinga kai reconnects people to their environment, ancestral lands and embedded stories, related tikanga and mātauranga and most significantly a reconnection back to the atua, which impacts positively on one's health and the health of the natural environment.

Current Notions of Hauora Māori/Māori Health

Hauora is a Māori philosophy of health (Durie, 1998; Kohere, 2003) based on the holistic nature of a Māori worldview; a complex and multi-layered description of the interactions between Māori and their environment. Hauora can be broken down to 'hau'

meaning wind, breath, and essence and 'ora' meaning life; portraying an analogous picture of one who is animatedly alive and well (Marsden, 2003b; Marsden 2003c). Marsden (2003b) attributes hauora to the final stage of the genealogical creation of the Universe that brings life onto this Earth. He explains hauora as "the breath or wind of the spirit which was infused into the process of birth to animate life" (Marsden, 2003b, p. 60). Hauora is closely tied to mauri where "mauri was a force or energy mediated by hauora – the breath of the spirit of life" (Marsden, 2003c, p. 44). Kohere (2003) describes hauora as "the driving force for the unfolding of the potential of individuals to act in this world for and with others" (p. 23). From this viewpoint hauora is a process of positive social interactions and behaviours between individuals and their communities and environment and not simply a translation of health or well-being (Kohere, 2003; Fitzpatrick, 2005).

A Māori approach to health (or hauora), although commonly understood as traditional lore (Durie, 2001), is perhaps a view on health underpinned with contemporary thinking. It is about gaining balance between the old world and the new; between the value of traditional Māori thinking and Western medical practice (Durie, 1998). Māori traditional knowledge and Western science should not be seen as two ends of the spectrum, but rather as a collective pool of knowledge to guide and inform us. One way that Māori health is conceived is through Māori health models.

Māori Health Models

Māori health models stem from a strengths based approach to health and shift the deficit away from Māori to one that explores health as the realisation of human potential, achievable through Māori political, social, cultural and economic development (Durie 1998; Durie, 2001; Durie, 2003). Māori health models articulate an holistic approach to health; a perspective that acknowledges different elements working and interacting together to achieve

positive health outcomes. Parallel to Māori perspectives is a Western view on health as defined by the World Health Organisation (1947) who claimed “health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (cited in Durie, 2001, p. 68). The major difference for Māori is a perspective on health that is “firmly anchored on a spiritual rather than somatic base” exemplifying the value of a spiritual element to health (Durie, 2001, p. 70). Viewing health from a whakapapa lens (one that traces our origins to the separation of the primordial parents Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku and prior to them as well) is one way that this spiritual base is elucidated within Māori health models. This also explains how we as humans believe, at a spiritual level, that we are related and intimately connected to our natural environment that the atua personify (Heke, 2010). Listed in Table 4 are the main components of existing Māori health models, which illustrate the holistic view on health from a Māori perspective.

Table 4

Analysis of Māori Health Models.

	Te Whare Tapa Whā (A strong house)	Te Pae Māhutonga (Southern Cross)	Te Wheke (Octopus)	Ngā Pou Mana (Supporting structures)	Panelli & Tipa's (Tribal territory)
Components	Wairua Spirituality	Mauriora Cultural identity	Wairuatanga Spirituality	Whanaungatanga Family	Acknowledge the population
	Hinengaro Mental	Waiora Physical environment	Hinengaro Mental health	Taonga tuku iho Cultural heritage	Rohe pōtae
	Tinana Physical	Toiora Healthy lifestyles	Tinana Physical	Te ao tūroa Environment	Principles and values
	Whānau Family	Te Oranga Participation in society	Whanaungatanga Family	Tūrangawaewae Land base	Sites of significance
		Ngā Manukura Community leadership	Mana ake Uniqueness		
		Te Mana Whakahaere Autonomy	Whatumanawa Emotions		

Note. This table is adapted from *Whaiora: Maori health and development*, by M. Durie, 1994 and *Ki Uta Ki Tai: He Taoka Tuku Iho*, by A. Jackson, 2011, p. 205.

A critique of the popular health models (Te Whare Tapa Whā, Te Wheke, Te Pae Mahutonga, Ngā Pou Mana) by Jackson (2011) explained, “although holistic, [Māori health models are] biomedical centric and as such reference to the connections between health and the environment are not made explicit” (p. 203). Te Whare Tapa Whā for example fails to highlight whenua as a key element inherent to Māori health. This was part of a wider political debate that saw the exclusion of whenua as a deliberate political decision, which was “consistent with wider governmental sensitivity over ongoing Māori land grievances, and a further denial of the integral nature of land to Māori” (Fitzpatrick, 2005, p. 39). Whenua is a vital part of a Māori worldview and is upheld through tikanga. To exclude whenua from not only a Māori philosophy, but a strategy for Māori health, demonstrates the limited and token appropriation of Māori knowledge in health contexts. A similar critique exists for Rose Pere’s Te Wheke model developed in 1984, as whenua or the natural environment is not one of the eight core components in her model. The importance of the natural environment is subtly depicted in the symbolism of the octopus where its optimal environment is considered the water. Love (2004) explains:

the octopus is able to move, adapt and change its form ... in its own environment. When removed from this environment, however, the octopus seeks with all its tentacles the water that provides its natural medium of being (p. 5).

The symbolism of the octopus in this sense regards the physical environment being water, as its “natural medium of being”. Te Wheke alludes to the importance of having access to an optimal environment, however this notion could be extended specifically to land, mountain and sea.

Te Pae Māhutonga developed by Durie in 1999 acknowledges the role of the natural environment as one of its core elements for Māori health promotion. For example Te Pae

Māhutonga features waiora, the physical environment that “is linked more specifically to the external world and to a spiritual element that connects human wellness with cosmic, terrestrial and water environments” (Durie, 2004, p. 11). In a similar view is Ngā Pou Mana, developed by the Royal Commission on Social Policy in 1988. Their elements of te ao tūroa, the physical environment and tūrangawaewae, an indisputable land base, were influenced by the political decisions of the Waitangi Tribunal that occurred during this time, where claims were concerned with “the significance of a clean environment for good health and drew attention to the overlap between physical and cultural pollution” (Durie, 1994, p. 74). These two features of the Ngā Pou Mana model outlined “the nature and quality of the interaction between people and the surrounding environment” (Durie, 2004, p. 12). Although the importance of the natural environment is depicted with these last two models, the significance of the environment is not explicit and definite (Jackson, 2011). As Durie (2003) concurs:

Good health will also depend on the nature and quality of the interaction between people and the surrounding environment – a recognition of the fact that the human condition is intimately connected to the wider domains of Rangi (the sky parent) and Papa (the earth parent). The close association of Māori to their rivers, lands, wāhi tapu (sacred places), forests and seas, has a number of implications for health: a clean environment impacts positively on healthy growth and development; the availability of food resources hinges on a bountiful environment; and clean water has always been, and will continue to be, vital to good health (p. 161).

Hauora in conjunction with Māori health models is inextricably tied to a Māori worldview. Underpinning this worldview is whakapapa. Examining these health models, it is evident that numerous parameters of Māori health exist, but each parameter can be traced through whakapapa, back to the emergence of Te Ao Mārama. Health, like all things in the Māori world, has a whakapapa. The whakapapa of good health stems back to the cosmogenic

parents Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku, through to their children, ngā atua, that have mana over the natural environment and finally down to us as people (Heke, 2010, 2013).

Māori health therefore is an expression of whakapapa in action; health is an output of whakapapa (Heke, 2010, 2013). Panelli & Tipa's integrated wellbeing model recognises Durie's plea and maps explicitly the role of the natural environment for Māori health. Further to this, the importance of cultural practices such as mahinga kai is embedded within this health model and supports the idea that a connection between people, environment and atua (all of which fall under the idea of whakapapa) is essential to health. The next section utilises whakapapa to examine Panelli & Tipa's integrated well-being model.

Panelli & Tipa's Integrated Well-Being Model

The importance of whakapapa and whenua is explicit in Panelli & Tipa's (2007) integrated well-being model; environment and culture are key determinants in their conception of health. This place-focused model of health is centred on the importance of land and is at the core of connecting "people to place through culturally meaningful ways that integrates multiple aspects of health" (Jackson, 2011, p. 204). Panelli & Tipa's (2007) expression of the interconnection of culture and environment is symbolised as a rohe pōtae (tribal territory). The rohe pōtae as depicted in Figure 3 traditionally involved the kāinga (settlement) with the surrounding environment of cultural and spiritual significance such as: the ngāhere (forest), maunga (mountain), awa (river), roto (lake), hāpua (lagoon) and te tai (coastline). Various atua such as Tāwhiri-mātea, Ranginui, Tāne, Papa-tū-ā-nuku and Tangaroa are also depicted within the landscape to portray the spiritual connectivity to place through the whakapapa that is embedded within it.

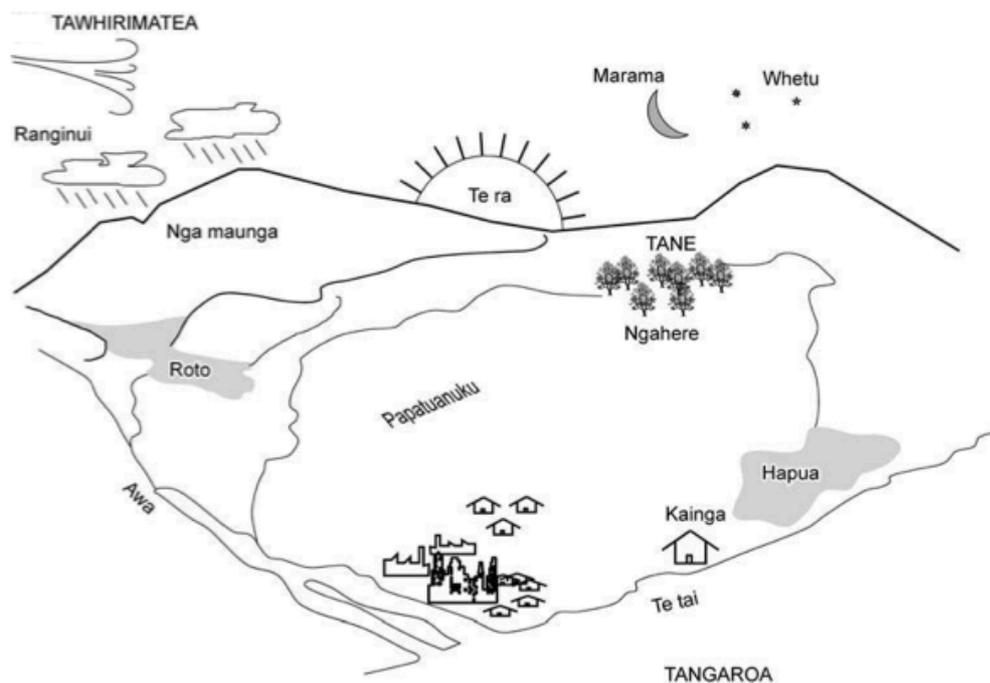


Figure 3. Traditional conception of a rōhe potae. Sourced from “Placing well-being: A Maori case study of cultural and environmental specificity,” by R. Panelli, and G. Tipa, 2007, *EcoHealth*, 4(4), p. 454.

The whakapapa of good health in Panelli & Tipa’s model

The whakapapa of the environment stretches back to the birth of the first family, te whānau atua, who fashioned the perfect world of Te Ao Mārama. The separation of the primordial parents by the various children (discussed in Chapter Three) created Te Ao Mārama, the world of light, where we exist today. The atua created the ideal environment and abundant resources to nurture and sustain man on a physical level with the nutritious food and fresh water, and similarly on a spiritual level with the belief that man shared whakapapa back to the gods. The many battles that were fought among them is what made the Earth noa and allowed unrestricted access with the environment and the resources that were furnished by them. Tū-mata-uenga for example “eating the offspring” of Tangarōa, Tāne, Haumia-tiketike

and Rongo brought into existence the first māra (garden), an abundant food supply. The access we have to kaimoana, kaiawa, kairākau and kaimanu is described through this whakapapa embedded in our environment (Marsden, 2003; Reilly, 2004).

Ngā whetu, or the stars, also foster knowledge of whakapapa in the environment. For example the Matariki constellation stretches back to the atua. Meaning tiny eyes and eyes of the gods, one narrative tells the story of Tāwhiri-mātea who, in a fury of rage, ripped out his eyes, “hurling them into the heavens” (Meredith, 2012, p. 1). He was angered with his brothers for separating their parents. The Matariki constellation comprises of seven visible stars and symbolises many different things amongst whānau, hapū and iwi. A common understanding amongst Māori is the association of Matariki with mahinga kai. Matariki signifies the time to plant crops for the upcoming year, and similarly represents the end of the harvesting period where various kai had been stored and preserved for winter.

Four of the seven visible stars in the Matariki cluster (Waitī, Waitā, Tupu-ā-nuku, Tupu-ā-rangi) are references to the abundance of food found in the waters and lands (H. Hakopa, personal communication, November 3, 2014; Matamua, 2011). Tupu-ā-nuku personifies cultivated foods and if this star is shining brightly it means potatoes and kūmara will proliferate (Matamua, 2011). Tupu-ā-rangi personifies the offspring of the sky, being birds; Waitī personifies the offspring of freshwater and Waitā personifies the offspring of the ocean (Matamua, 2011). The close association mahinga kai shares with the Matariki cluster is reflected in beginnings of karakia “nau mai ngā hua o Tupu-ā-nuku, o Tupu-ā-rangi” meaning a greeting to the offspring of the sky and land supplied by Matariki.

One way that we understand the natural environment is through the skill of tohungatanga, or learning to read the tohu (signs) that presented themselves and our ability to dictate action from these. Matariki was one of those tohu that told our ancestors when to begin planting and when the harvesting occurred. The month for planting was dictated on how

clear the Matariki stars shone (Meredith, 2012). A clear and bright Matariki indicated a favorable season so planting began in September, if it appeared hazy planting was held off until October because this meant a cold winter was in store (Meredith, 2012). The whakapapa embedded in our natural environment expressed themselves in many different ways. Learning to read and recognise these signs was critical to mahinga kai practices that in turn was crucial to one's health.

Ihi's view on health also resonates with Panelli & Tipa's health model when he explicitly links health to the whakapapa of the environment. He contends, "how we represent health comes from our understanding of whenua, wai and ngā whetu. So if we understand our origins, then good health will be an output of that" (Ihi Heke). What Ihi refers to here is having an intimate connection with the environment because "we no longer recognise the signs of atua as a guide for what we should be doing anymore". Ihi elaborates further:

I talked to a mate a little while ago, and he said to me, my grandfather I could never understand the bro. Whenever it was time to go fishing he didn't walk out the front door and look at the sea, he walked out the back door and looked at the trees. And he said he could tell whether he should go fishing or not by which rākau were moving, and by how much they moved. Because different rākau capture more of Tāwhiri. So Tāwhiri influences them more and they have less leaves but they'll still move; we can figure out what level of wind there might be, and so whether it is appropriate to go fishing or not (Ihi Heke).

Here Ihi is explaining what it used to be like, how people were in tune with nature (and thus in tune with characteristics of atua also). Today, if we were to go out fishing we would "go out the front door and look at the sea" because that is what we have commonly been brought up to do. For Ihi's friend it was a different story, "he walked out the back door and looked at the trees". His explanation for this was due to the way atua existed in the

environment. For example “different rākau capture more of Tāwhiri”. This was indicative of the level of wind outside and therefore important information to know for fishing. Ihi’s example illustrates the reality of our disconnection with our environment and the atua residing within them.

Hauti supports Ihi’s notion when he makes a further point of the disconnection to atua by saying “we eat food from boxes which have no whakapapa compared with foods from the atua which are imbued with whakapapa, all because it is more convenient; the best nutritious food comes from the land and sea” (H. Hakopa, personal communication, November 3, 2014). From Ihi and Hauti’s dialogue it is obvious that in the modern world we live in today, we are spiritually removed from our environment that we do not know what it is trying to tell us anymore, such as the signs from the atua or the whakapapa of food that connects us to the atua (Patterson, 2000; Durie, 1994). Hauti and Ihi’s dialogue suggest it is because we no longer practice the rituals (such as mahinga kai) or listen to the voices of the land (which come from having an intimate connection) (Panelli & Tipa, 2007). The core components of Panelli & Tipa’s (2007) integrated health model seeks to elucidate how Māori communities are able to make the intimate connection (or reconnection) back to this whakapapa framework, specifically through the discourses of mahinga kai which inherently link culture and environment.

Integrated culture-environment linked well-being

Positive health as described by Panelli & Tipa (2007) is founded on the notion that good health comes from interactions of the population (depicted as self, whānau, hapū and iwi) with their environment based on principles (such as mahinga kai) that occur upon sites of significance (such as maunga, awa, moana) within the rohe pōtae (Jackson, 2011; Panelli & Tipa, 2007). The four key components to Panelli & Tipa’s (2007) integrated well-being model (depicted in Table 4) “align spiritual, social, and cultural elements in intimate connection with

biophysical bases” (Panelli & Tupa, 2007, p. 456). Figure 4 similarly illustrates this. The following section analyses Panelli & Tupa’s integrated well-being model based on the implications of the emergent discourses of mahinga kai for Māori health and well-being.

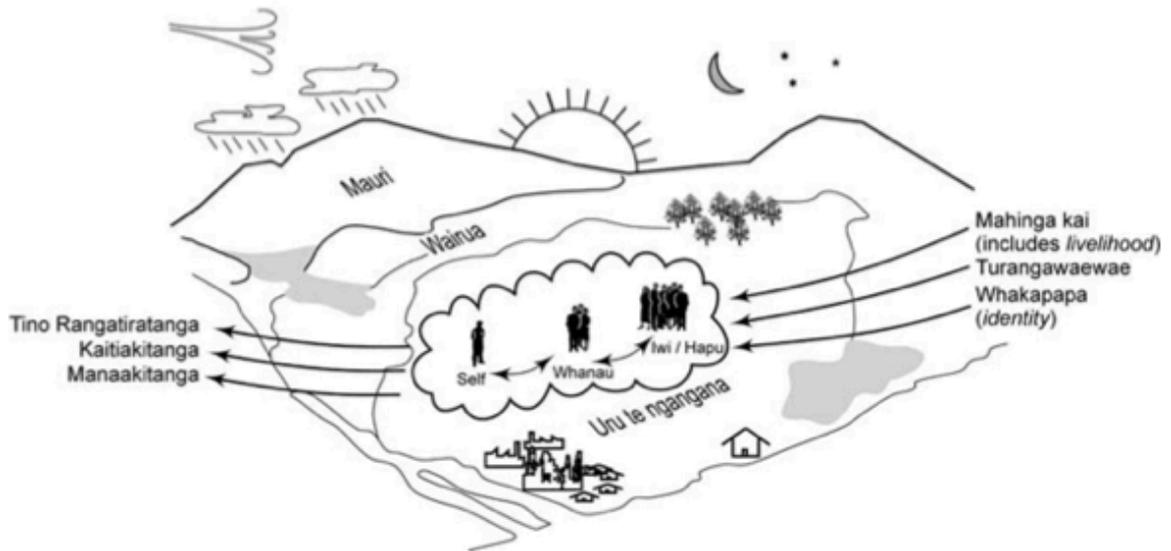


Figure 4. Integrated culture-environment linked well-being. Sourced from “Placing well-being: A Maori case study of cultural and environmental specificity,” by R. Panelli, and G. Tipa, 2007, *EcoHealth*, 4(4), p. 454.

Implications of the Discourses of Mahinga Kai for Māori Health

Vital to Māori health, based on Panelli & Tipa’s (2007) integrated culture-environment linked well-being model (as depicted in Figure 4), are the emergent discourses of mahinga kai as: rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga and identity. Panelli & Tipa (2007) state:

the implications for well-being that may be expected if an indigenous group’s association with their customary environment is supported through the experiences of *whakapapa* and *mahinga kai* ... *tino rangatiratanga* [and] *kaitiakitanga* (p. 456, italics in original).

Discourse of mahinga kai as rangatiratanga

Tino rangatiratanga is explained as “having the decisions for one’s own people concerning the resources within a tribal area” (Panelli & Tipa, 2007, p. 454). The rohe pōtae is a key means of exercising iwi rights because it is over their specific lands and areas. Rangatiratanga is essential for maintaining and sustaining mahinga kai sites and practices, which is of value to the health of Māori. Specific to Ngāi Tahu iwi, Dacker (1990) explained,

“lack of land meant poverty for them in the new Pakeha world, loss of mahika kai meant poverty for them in their traditional world” (p. 37, no macrons in original). Rangatiratanga gave Māori the chiefly authority over their lands and resources. When rangatiratanga was lost, Māori no longer held authority, and their lands and mahinga kai diminished outside of their control. Durie (2003) argues that without rangatiratanga, good health cannot prevail. He explains that Māori “must ultimately be able to demonstrate a level of autonomy and self-determination in promoting their own health” (Durie, 2003, p. 154). Rangatiratanga is about Māori having control over the determinants of their lives and thus their health (Durie, 2003). This is not to take away the responsibility and obligation of the Crown in actively protecting Māori, but Māori do need to have a say in promoting their own health. One way rangatiratanga is exercised is through kaitiakitanga, a corresponding discourse of mahinga kai.

Discourse of mahinga kai as kaitakitanga

Kaitiakitanga in relation to Panelli & Tipa’s (2007) health model is described as “having responsibilities to protect *iwi* interests and *taonga*” (p. 453, italics in original). Kaitiakitanga is inherent to health because it is “related in a series of reciprocal relationships between a people and their environment” (Panelli & Tipa, 2007, p. 454). It allows people to “take their part in an ecosystem” and protect those things that are important to their overall health (Panelli & Tipa, 2007, p. 455). Māori health relies heavily on the health of our environment, from where we derive physical, spiritual, social and economic benefit that “must be balanced by responsibilities and adherence to the ethic of reciprocity toward Papatuanuku and her other children” (Panelli & Tipa, 2007, p. 455, no macrons in original). Russell (2004) elaborates further, stating that Māori:

continue to believe in our cosmological ancestry as an integral and therefore, inseparable part of the whakapapa from whence comes our human ancestry, we

also accepted the responsibilities of guardianship over our primeval parent Papatūanuku (p. 223).

Kaitiakitanga is part of a reciprocal relationship between people and their environment, but also people and the atua (Russell, 2004; Heke, 2010, 2013). This requires a careful balance of using and then resting these sites (such as rāhui), whilst respecting the atua over these domains by reducing our impact to these places (such as pollution and degradation) (Durie, 1998, 2001). Protecting the mauri of the environment, that is the mauri of the atua, is of the utmost importance; not only because we physically need the bounty from them but also we need the spiritual sustenance they provide us with (Durie, 1998, 2001; Panelli & Tipa, 2007). Ihi agrees, stating that “atua encompass those environments, they represent the mauri of an environment” (Ihi Heke). As Marsden (2003d) explains “everything depends for its existence ... upon mauri ... mauri both unifies all things and at the same time bestows them with unique qualities” (p. 95).

Discourse of mahinga kai as identity

The discourse of mahinga kai as identity is also depicted in Panelli & Tipa’s (2007) health model. According to Panelli & Tipa (2007) the attachment to tribal lands informs a strong cultural identity which is crucial to Māori health (Durie, 2003). They explain:

While resources sustained by tribal lands and waters contribute to the physical well-being of those reliant on the resources ... tribal lands also nourish a sense of continuity between generations, reinforcing spiritual well-being in the form of *whakapapa*, sacred *maunga*, and ancestral rivers (p. 456, italics in original).

The symbol of the rohe pōtae emphasises the link between ancestral lands and identity in relation to positive health. Durie (2003) argues the importance of identity for Māori health, stating that “facilitation of Māori entry into the Māori world” is a critical prerequisite for

health (p. 148). Cultural identity is bound to Māori accessing tribal lands, marae, language, customs and other forums of cultural expression; accessing the Māori world (Durie, 2003). Mahinga kai is a vital expression of culture and inherent to a Māori identity (Russell, 2004). Identity as a discourse of mahinga kai occurs on many different levels. For Brendan he knew he was Māori because he and his family were the only one's who would go out and collect kai, and only Māori did that. Mahinga kai for Brendan was the first thing that captured his Māori identity. He explains:

We never had access to those older stories ... but that food gathering was sort of the one thing that we did have that connected us to the past without actually, as a kid growing up, without actually knowing that so that's why, I think that's probably why you know I get real passionate about mahinga kai now because that's that one link that we had ... we just didn't have that cultural connection, all we knew that we were Māori's from the South Island that's all we knew growing up because Dad's family had moved away from the pā and so we just didn't have that connection" (Brendan Flack).

For Brendan the discourse of mahinga kai as identity was obvious. He associated a Māori identity to mahinga kai because "the food gathering was sort of the one thing that [he] did have that connected [him] to the past". Without access "to the pā" and "to those older stories" Brendan and his whānau grew up largely disconnected to their Māori heritage, however the "one link" he did have, was to mahinga kai, a practice he knew only Māori did. This vital link to a "cultural connection" and to his Māori identity resonates with Russell (2004) who explains "we [Ngāi Tahu] went on to develop a markedly different cultural identity, one based around mahika kai" (p. 221). Dacker (1990) extends on this connection stating, "the foods are symbols of their [Ngāi Tahu] continuing relationship with their traditions and history" (p. 16).

Mahinga kai as identity is also reflected in Hotu's words when he stated "the peoples from a particular marae actually have an identity that's based around famous or well loved types of kai that come really in great abundance only from their areas". Hotu is referring specifically to whānau, marae and hapū identity, which can be expressed through "well loved types of kai ... from their areas". He explains some of the foods that form an identity from particular marae within his iwi:

the only place left now ... that still prepares and serves karaka berries when they have a hākari ... Another lot further up on the Manukau Harbour ... you're always gonna get a massive feed of flounders when you go there. And another further down ... there's just going to be bowls and bowls of whitebait and heaps of whitebait fritters ... there's a widespread knowledge that these are the kai that are from this place and that's what identifies the people from there (Hotu Kerr).

For Hotu, mahinga kai is reflective of one's identity based on the food collected from their areas. This is where Brendan and Hotu's views of mahinga kai in relation to identity differ. For Brendan it was the practice of mahinga kai that instilled a Māori identity, because he lived away from a bastion of Māori culture such as the pā (Walker, 1990). Hotu grew up on his marae surrounded by whānau who shared stories that connected him to the land. For Hotu, identity was more about particular foods than the actual practice of mahinga kai, which solidified Hotu's hapū and marae identity. For Ngāi Tahu iwi, mahinga kai is a large part of their identity as seasonal people and equally had specialty foods that were only known to them (such as the Tītī bird) (Dacker, 1990; Russell, 2004; Williams, 2004).

Mahinga kai is an important cultural practice for Māori and has many implications on one's health and well-being through the discourses of rangatiranga, kaitiakitanga and identity (Dacker, 1990; Russell, 2004). Mahinga kai as a cultural practice connects whānau, hapū and

iwi to one another, to their environment, to their culture and more importantly to ngā atua; in this sense mahinga kai conveys the whakapapa of good health (Panelli & Tipa, 2007; Russell, 2004; Jackson, 2011; Williams, 2004).

Conclusion

This chapter discussed various interpretations of Māori health and focused predominantly on Panelli & Tipa's (2007) integrated well-being model because of its explicit link to the environment and its relationship with mahinga kai. The whakapapa of good health is encoded within our natural environment and is expressed through allegory, tohu, creation narratives and whakataukī. The vital connection of whakapapa will always bring us face-to-face with the link back to our tūpuna and the atua. It is this whakapapa framework that lays the foundation for exploring an integrated model of health developed by Panelli & Tipa (2007). Atua are intrinsic to Māori health, and mahinga kai is a cultural practice that seeks to restore an intimate relationship between people, environment and atua.

Kaitiakitanga is a discourse of mahinga kai and was briefly discussed in this chapter. The following chapter explores more deeply the recontextualised interpretations of mahinga kai within an environment context, of which kaitiakitanga is the main focus. Chapter Six examines the various ways in which kaitiakitanga, a discourse of mahinga kai, is observed and implemented by practitioners and why their recontextualised thinking of mahinga kai, and thus kaitiakitanga, is fundamental knowledge to have.

Chapter VI

Te Taiao, The Natural Environment

A fundamental aspect of Māori PE and health is the natural environment. This chapter addresses the fourth research question: how is mahinga kai recontextualised by the interviews, personal communication and wānanga kōrero within an environment context? The aim of this chapter is to explore the diverse interpretations and perceptions of kaitiakitanga (a discourse of mahinga kai) within the context of the natural environment. I draw on seven key discourses recontextualised from the interviews. These included discourses of: tikanga, kaitiaki, karakia, tapu, rāhui, transmission of mātauranga and mauri. I explore these discourses in turn, examining the multiple expressions of kaitiakitanga.

Recontextualisation of Discourses

Fairclough's (2010) notion of recontextualisation is concerned with the transformation of meanings, representations, or discourses across different fields and contexts. Fairclough (2010) defines recontextualisation as the "dissemination of emergently hegemonic discourses across ... boundaries" (p. 618). I utilise Fairclough's (2010) notion of recontextualisation to illustrate the hegemonic discourses of mahinga kai that are dominant to those who regularly engage with mahinga kai. According to Jackson (2014) recontextualisation "requires a comparison of texts ... and analysing how these discourses are recontextualised" (p. 11). Kaitiakitanga is the prevalent discourse for recontextualising mahinga kai within this context. The following section examines the discourses of kaitiakitanga and how they are recontextualised by the participants. This is a similar approach to Jackson's (2014) paper, which analysed the recontextualisation of the discourses of rangatiratanga within a fisheries context. This method is critical for analysing how discourses are recontextualised by others (Jackson, 2014; Fairclough, 2010).

Discourses of Kaitiakitanga

Kaitiakitanga within legislation is rooted in Western perspectives of conservation, resource management and environmental considerations (Kawharu, 2000; Roberts et al., 1995; Patterson, 1994). This is “a result of confusing similar (but analogous) outcomes of indigenous ecological and western conservation practices by assuming, incorrectly, that they derive from similar homologous conceptual underpinnings and motivations” (Roberts et al., 1995, p. 16). For example, kaitiakitanga is defined in the RMA as “the means to exercise guardianship by the tāngata whenua of an area in accordance with tikanga Māori in relation to natural and physical resources; and includes the ethic of stewardship” (Resource Management Act, 1991). Kawharu (2000) argues that kaitiakitanga extends beyond the simple definition of guardianship and stewardship, claiming, “*kaitiakitanga* cannot be understood without regard to ... *mauri*” (p. 349, italics in original). *Mauri* is a discourse of kaitiakitanga, and should be included in the legislation alongside kaitiakitanga in order for this practice to be exercised to its full extent. This is discussed later in the chapter.

Utilising Fairclough’s (2010) notion of recontextualisation, kaitiakitanga is recontextualised as tikanga, kaitiaki, karakia, tapu, rāhui, transmission of mātauranga and mauri by the participants of the research. This demonstrates how kaitiakitanga is represented from different perspectives, particularly, the perspectives of those practicing kaitiakitanga. One primary way the discourse of kaitiakitanga is recontextualised is through the discourse of tikanga. The Māori belief system is grounded in tikanga, which aims to maintain balance in the world (Mead, 2003; Marsden, 2003b).

Discourse of kaitiakitanga as tikanga

The discourse of kaitiakitanga as tikanga is reflected in Karl’s interview. Karl explained that mahinga kai is always based on tikanga and kawa, that the “kai part is just the end product of following tikanga” (Karl Russell). Kaitiakitanga was about following tikanga

and the lore that governed a Māori worldview, as opposed to something being specifically and predominantly about the environment. He said, “following the tikanga will always allow you to go back to that same place and gather the kai every time” (Karl Russell). Marsden (2003b) denotes tikanga as “those customs and traditions that have been handed down through many generations and accepted as reliable and appropriate ways of achieving and fulfilling certain objectives and goals” (p. 66). Tikanga is expressed through various concepts and values that are upheld by Māori; the fundamental aspect being how these concepts and values underpin a Māori understanding of the world. According to Kawharu (2000) “kaitiakitanga is a body of lore maintained by sanctions and by careful observation of appropriate rituals” (p. 352). Tikanga is therefore inherent in kaitiakitanga. From the interviews, spiritual kaitiaki, rāhui and karakia are the key ways that tikanga is upheld and traditional expressions of kaitiakitanga are employed.

Discourse of kaitiakitanga as kaitiaki

One key means of how kaitiakitanga is recontextualised in the interviews are around the belief of who the kaitiaki actually are; people or non-human forms. When I asked my dad if he thought kaitiakitanga could be adopted by non-Māori to underpin their values for protecting the environment he replied:

well if I put it this way, that its actually even to the point of not human as well.

In the sense that back home we have a massive Pūriri tree that’s on top of that hill up the back there, and that has a deep huge hole inside. It is just full of bees. And those bees there are the kaitiaki for the cemetery or for the whole wāhi tapu that’s down in the gully just below it (T. Phillips, personal communication, June 12, 2012).

Here Dad is explaining how kaitiaki to him wasn’t so much a Māori or non-Māori role, but one for those animal forms that looked after certain areas, “even to the point of not

human as well”. His comment “and those bees there are the kaitiaki for the cemetery” is evidence of the role non-human forms played as guardians. Traditionally Māori had different animals, insects or mythical beings acting as kaitiaki over their lands and seas (Marsden, 2003b). Kaitiaki protected sacred areas, specific places or resources. Kawharu (2000) describes these types of kaitiaki as those within a spiritual realm, who “appear in the form of mythical beings, such as tribal *taniwha*, or ancestral keepers, such as family or tribal gods” (p. 359, italics in original). On another scale, in the social world “the principle kaitiaki of the kin group ... are the kaumātua and rangatira” (Kawharu, 2000, p 359). Ihi disagrees with this belief, suggesting that it silences the role and function of those animal forms and becomes human-focused and ego-centric. Ihi explains how this approach is disagreeable:

In some ways it's humanistic arrogance to think that humans should be the centre, the land will still be here when we're gone, so will the ocean ... I find that quite interesting to think that often when we talk about kaitiakitanga we think we've got to be the guardian of that ocean or the guardian of that place, well I don't know, that place has been looking after us for centuries and will continue to look after others beyond us (Ihi Heke).

Ihi is commenting on the general consensus that kaitiakitanga is being “guardian of that ocean or guardian of that place” but he believes it shouldn't be. Rather, “that place has been looking after us for centuries and will continue to look after others beyond us”. Marsden (2003b) holds a similar view stating, “the spiritual sons and daughters of Rangi and Papa were the *Kaitiaki* or guardians ... Tāne was the *Kaitiaki* of the forest, Tangaroa of the sea” (p. 67, italics in original). I agree with Ihi on this point, however I did question him about the current state of our environment, which have been over-developed, degraded or polluted to the point where resources no longer exist (Dacker, 1990). When I asked him what then is the role of humans as kaitiaki for the suffering environment, he replied:

We do have a role to work with others to ensure that there are things left for those that come after us, umm I don't know that that's a kaitiakitanga role though, I think that's a role that's in a different sphere (Ihi Heke).

This “different sphere” Ihi refers to is one similar to the function of tāngata whenua who maintain their connections to their places through ahi kā, keeping the fires burning. It is the responsibility as ahi kā to protect and maintain the places special and significant to them (Dacker, 1990). They are “perpetuators of keeping a place alive and sustained” (Ihi Heke). Although Ihi is the single interviewee to hold this opinion, I would agree with the dangers of our current understandings of kaitiakitanga as being human-focused and what this means for the knowledge surrounding our spiritual guardians. The knowledge my dad held about the bees gave him a deeper appreciation for this particular kaitiaki. Bees play a critical role in maintaining plant and flower reproduction through pollination (Kevan, 1975). Kevan (1975) explains the critical role of bees as ‘pollinators’ in relation to environmental productivity:

The lack of pollination would result in a lack of seeds and fruit, which in turn would result in food scarcity for, and possible starvation or altered habits of, seed- and fruit- eating animals – and of course, failure of plant reproduction (p. 297).

When you think deeply about how important bees are for our natural ecosystems in relation to the reproduction of plant life (Kevan, 1975), it paints a clear picture of how our ancestors disseminated important knowledge that was perpetuated through time. We stand to lose this critical mātauranga if our focus deters from that of our spiritual guardians. Ihi explores his perceptions of kaitiakitanga as “us [humans] being able to emulate, learn from and copy those animal forms that we see out in our environments” (Ihi Heke). He contends that the kaitiaki within certain places represent the environment through their movements. As a physical educator, Ihi then focuses on how these movements can be replicated in the human

form to reflect those kaitiaki in their natural environment, such as learning to swim like the kiore (river rat) so that our movements are perpetuating this kaitiaki of the awa (Heke, 2010, 2013). For Ihi “kaitiakitanga has meant emulating and ensuring that our human form or our genetic make up might carry on through the knowledge of what those kaitiaki represent” (Ihi Heke). In a similar way, this links to interpretations of mahinga kai. Mahinga kai is more than the food we eat; it is the knowledge and whakapapa that is perpetuated in the gathering, harvesting and cooking of this food (Russell, 2004; Kaan & Bull, 2013; Dacker, 1990). Marsden (2003b) explains further, “whilst man could harvest those resources, they were duty bound to thank and propitiate the guardians of those resources” (p. 67). There was a spiritual knowledge that you were taking the food of the atua from the environment that kaitiaki protected. This is where the tikanga surrounding karakia became important when engaging with mahinga kai and kaitiakitanga.

Discourse of kaitiakitanga as karakia

Another way kaitiakitanga is observed is through karakia. Hauiti suggests that karakia “solidifies our connection right back to atua and right back to creation ... that’s probably what you would call kaitiaki in practice” (H. Hakopa, personal communication, November 3, 2014). For Hauiti the role of humans as kaitiaki is a spiritual one; it is acknowledging the connection we have to the atua and back to creation. It is “one of the reasons why we do karakia and why we repeat karakia; to link ourselves back to creation” (H. Hakopa, personal communication, November 3, 2014). He explains further that he recited karakia; his grandmother did before him and “all our forebears right back to the beginning” (H. Hakopa, personal communication, November 3, 2014). The wider purpose of karakia as Shirres (1997) explains “is to enable us to carry out our role in creation. One with the ancestors, one with the spiritual powers ... our part in bringing order into this universe” (p. 87). Mahinga kai also reflects the role of karakia as one that connects people back to creation. Mahinga kai sites are

imbued with whakapapa linking one to their ancestral landscapes and seascapes, connecting people to their ancestors who traditionally engaged in mahinga kai, and connecting people back to creation itself, through knowledge of the atua residing in the natural world (Dacker, 1990; Russell, 2004).

Karakia are ritualistic and performed for various functions. In relation to mahinga kai and kaitiakitanga, karakia were performed for the purpose of food gathering and asking for permission to take food, and also as protection for going into the environment. Marsden (2003c) explains, “Māori made ritual acts of propitiation before embarking upon hunting, fishing, digging crops, cutting down trees and other pursuits” (p. 67). When food was gathered such as kūmara or fern root, the first fruits gathered would be offered back to the atua through the steam that was produced after cooking (Marsden, 2003c). Karakia also acts as a whakanoa process; it removes tapu and restriction from certain places or practices to make them safe. Tapu is inherent to kaitiakitanga.

Discourse of kaitiakitanga as tapu

When I first asked my Dad about his views on kaitiakitanga he rarely talked about the environment or sustainability of our natural resources. What he habitually mentioned revolved around respecting the laws of tapu that derived from knowing the correct tikanga about certain places such as wāhi tapu. He explains:

I was brought up in the Māori whare with all of that going around. And when you've been stung by the bees and all that you don't *wanna* go down into that wāhi tapu, but then knowing that there are people hanging up in trees and all that then yes you won't go down anyway (T. Phillips, personal communication, June 12, 2012).

As mentioned previously, the bees were the spiritual guardians that protected this wāhi tapu by preventing people from going into this area. Where my Dad refers to “the people hanging up in trees” he is talking about the traditional pre-burial procedures of the tūpāpaku. When people died their bodies were hung up in forks in the trees or inside caves to decompose until the tohunga collected the bones for burial. These sites became deeply tapu through its association with death (Mead, 2003; Walker, 1990). My father here is explaining his fear of both the kaitiaki (which can hurt you physically through their stings) and the tapu surrounding the dead (which can hurt you spiritually) when entering this sacred place. The tapu that surrounded this cemetery alone was enough to keep him out. It was this fear that reminded my father to uphold the tikanga.

I asked my Dad if there were other ways he adopted kaitiakitanga or protected the land. He replied:

To go back home and all that or after school and all that, and we do our mahi and that and go out to the garden, well if Aunty Ari and them and Aunty Norma, and Aunty Kuia and all those lot, if they had their periods and all that they weren't allowed out in the garden.

This explains the tapu surrounding harvesting food for menstruating women. In Māori society a menstruating woman is in a higher tapu state than if she wasn't menstruating (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004). Uncultivated or uncooked food (such as those growing in the garden) is also considered tapu. Things that are tapu cannot meet other things that are tapu as this is an imbalance of forces and danger would follow (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004; Shirres, 1997). If she were to enter the garden it could not only spoil the food but diminish the tapu that surrounds her. My father provides further explanation of this relationship between tapu and noa through his personal experience building on the marae:

Like you remember that dining kitchen I designed and built, Eparaima, there was a sign up that said “no women” that was one of my things, that there was no women to go on the floor until it had actually been opened ... Because in the sense of Māoritanga with, if the women went onto there, what it actually is saying now is that well it’s all noa now, it’s all been done, it’s all been cleared anyone can walk on there now. That’s why the women are the first one to go through the doors and that to open the new building (T. Phillips, personal communication, June 12, 2012).

This dialogue emphasises how kaitiakitanga is recontextualised as tapu, which is linked to tikanga. The line “there was no women to go on the floor until it [the building] had actually been opened” was because Dad was following the tikanga in relation to the tapu that surrounded the unfinished building. Mead (2003) explains that a building “is tapu until the moment the builders, carvers and decorators are released from the tapu of creative work and the building is cleared ready for public use” (p. 31). Women hold the ability to clear tapu (Mead, 2003; Shirres, 1997). Shirres (1997) explains how women have “a special *tapu* a special *mana*, to *whakanoa*, to make situations *noa*” (p. 46, italics in original). As Dad explained “if the women went onto there ... [it meant] anyone can walk on there now” (T. Phillips, personal communication, June 12, 2012), which would be particularly dangerous if the building is unfinished and not ready for safe public use. For my father, tapu is inherently a part of kaitiakitanga to the extent where he saw them as almost the same thing. You protected yourself and the land by following the law of tapu.

Discourse of kaitiakitanga as rāhui

Another tikanga concept associated with tapu and relevant to kaitiakitanga is rāhui. Marsden (2003b) distinguishes this connection claiming, “rāhui designated the boundaries within which the tapu as a ban was imposed” (p. 69). According to Marsden (2003c) rāhui

fulfilled two main functions: “for the purpose of conserving or replenishing a resource ... [and] on the occasion of death” (p. 49). To not follow this tikanga, and to ignore rāhui was dangerous physically and spiritually to Māori. Karl explains:

you’ll be too scared to offend your tūpuna by being greedy and taking too much because that’s what controlled our people was rāhui. It was tapu because our people believed in it and feared it. So when they put a rāhui on this area and can’t get kai and if you went in there the kehua’s [ghosts] would get you and they’d dong you on the head (Karl Russell).

Karl refers to breaking rāhui as an offence to your tūpuna; you simply did not do it. Toward the end of this quote, Karl’s words “the kehua’s would dong you on the head” reflects Dacker’s (1990) belief around ‘mate Māori’ when rāhui was ignored. Māori respected the laws of rāhui and tapu not only because of the concern for depleting resources, but more so because of the in-built fear that was instilled in you if you didn’t. Dacker (1990) confirms this Māori belief when he stated, “offending against tapu controls could cause “mate Maori” – sickness or even death” (p. 16, no macrons in original).

Rāhui is considered “one of the most potent categories of customary resource management” because of its connection to the concept of mauri (Kawharu, 2000, p. 358). Marsden (2003c) states, “the concept of Mauri (Life-force), plays a vital role in the institution of rāhui” (p. 49). From this viewpoint, mauri is also inseparable from kaitiakitanga. Kawharu (2000) explains how “rahui today are implemented over a polluted or relatively unproductive resource base in order that spiritual (mauri) and physical dimensions may be revitalised” (p. 357 no macrons in original). The use of rāhui in this context is relatable to mauri where mauri itself “acts as a metaphysical kaitiaki when humans uphold customary management responsibilities” (Kawharu, 2000, p. 357).

Discourse of kaitiakitanga as mauri

When considering what makes an environment healthy, Hauiti provides the fundamental answer that “mauri is everything without which we would not survive” (H. Hakopa, personal communication, November 3, 2014). He considers how mauri is what keeps us alive and intact, when we die our mauri returns to its source, while our wairua travels back to Rangīātea the birthplace of our people and our bodies go to Papa-tū-ā-nuku. According to Hauiti “it is the mauri that keeps it intact” (H. Hakopa, personal communication, November 3, 2014). In the same way mauri is crucial for people, the main idea behind kaitiakitanga is to look after the mauri of the land (Kawharu, 2000; Roberts et al., 1995).

A way to engage with kaitiakitanga is through looking after the mauri of our natural environment to keep the environment healthy. Karl does this; he monitors the mauri of the environment by doing visual checks first. At our wānanga with him he pulled out a rock from the river and turned it over to show us what creatures lived under there. He proceeded to explain how different species indicated the health of the river, indicated the mauri of the river. Similarly other features on the rock such as algae or plant life also provided valuable information for recognising health (Tipa & Teirney, 2003). This is similar to Tipa & Teirney’s (2003) research, who developed a Cultural Health Index for streams and waterways. Tipa & Teirney (2003) explain:

Examining the health of mahinga kai recognises that mauri is tangibly represented by the physical characteristics of a freshwater resource, including the indigenous flora and fauna, the fitness for cultural usage and its productive capacity (p. 1).

Brendan similarly describes how he monitors the mauri of his environment. He explains, “the mauri is there if you’ve got the birds or if you’ve got the fish you know that’s a big one” (Brendan Flack). When these areas no longer provide the resources that were once

there, the mauri of that place diminishes (Tipa & Teirney, 2003). Kawharu (2000) warns that once the mauri of a place or resource is gone, it is “beyond recovery” (p. 357). It is mauri that is “the bonding element that holds the fabric of the universe together” (Marsden, 2003c, p. 44) and therefore must be sustained and protected.

Morgan’s (2008) Mauri-ometer research measures in a similar but expansive way, the mauri of the environment based on four dimensions: environmental wellbeing, (taiao mauri) cultural wellbeing (hapū mauri), social wellbeing (community mauri) and economic wellbeing (whānau mauri). The function of this model (like others) is the ability for qualitative data to be quantifiable (Morgan, 2008; Ragin, 1987). The purpose of this modeling is to provide hapū and iwi with tools to quantify data to support Māori in their aspirations for restoring the mauri of their environment after an environmental disaster. This model quantifies the state of a place before the disaster occurred (based on the four dimensions of mauri) and graphs how long it will take to return back to this pre-disaster state. Enhancing and restoring mauri is at the heart of kaitiakitanga. Hauiti summarises the focal position of mauri when he questions:

I wonder if mauri is a measure of how well we engage with and connect with our environment. Maybe we are in a ‘divorce’ mode and need to reconcile with our environment and the atua within them. Perhaps we need to ‘restore’ our connections to the spiritual guardians of the environment before we can appreciate the magnitude of the responsibility of tiaki – then we may be ready to become co-kaitiaki – perhaps then we will trust that the environment knows best (H. Hakopa, personal communication, November 3, 2014).

This dialogue from Hauiti explores the concept of mauri as a model to “reconcile with our environment and the atua within them”. He suggests that only by “restoring our connections” will the responsibility of guardianship be fully realised.

One way to restore our connections to the environment is to share stories that pass on the knowledge and heritage of the land. Part of the responsibility as kaitiaki, and thus kaitiakitanga, is the transmission of Māori knowledge and traditions so that they will continue to be exercised into the future (Kaan & Bull, 2013; Russell, 2004).

Transmission of mātauranga

Ihi suggests that “maybe our role as kaitiaki is to ensure that the knowledge of that place is perpetuated of how it was formed, which is again the glue or the information that exists between whakapapa” (Ihi Heke). Ihi is discussing how kaitiakitanga is about ensuring the survival of our knowledge of place and how it came to be, it is about ensuring the survival of our stories about the creation of our environment. Karakia as mentioned earlier is one way to perpetuate this creation narrative, and engages us in a conversation with the atua about our inherent whakapapa and link. Kawharu (2000) explains that kaitiakitanga is “more than managing relations between environmental resources and humans; it also involves managing relationships between people in the past, present and future” (p. 352). It all revolves around whakapapa. For example, mahinga kai passes down mātauranga about traditional practices and strengthens the whakapapa to our lands (Russell, 2004; Kaan & Bull, 2013). Kaan & Bull (2013) reiterates that mahinga kai “forms a connection with those who have gone before us and makes us consider future generations” (p. 72). Kaitiakitanga has the same effect of connecting people to their environment, ancestors and atua.

Zack explains how mahinga kai passes on knowledge of their tribal whakapapa using a waiata about the pāua and their two ancestors, Rongomaiwahine and Kahungunu. In this sense, protection is about passing on the knowledge of mahinga kai and whakapapa embedded in their songs. The waiata he refers to is *Kotiro Māori E* and retells the story about the Kahungunu tribe and how important pāua is to their iwi. This whakapapa is passed down orally through the waiata and then perpetuated through the physical act of gathering pāua.

According to Moorfield & Johnston (2004) “*waiata* ... played a large part in intergenerational transmission of knowledge and values” (p. 41, italics in original). Zack explains, “it’s a good way to learn the whakapapa ... you know with those stories around the pāua. That to me is part of mahinga kai” (Zack Makoare). Furthermore Zack describes the cyclic process of mahinga kai stating “from Kahungunu’s perspective the mahinga kai I see is through waiata, you know and there’s stories that have been told for the pāua, we’ve got our people in the generation now collecting that pāua, we’ve got the future of reseeding pāua” (Zack Makoare). Mahinga kai connects to this whakapapa and allows it be passed on to future generations (Russell, 2004; Kaan & Bull, 2013).

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the recontextualised discourses of kaitiakitanga through the voices of my participants. It is by recontextualising the discourses of mahinga kai (such as the discourse of kaitiakitanga) by those who are practitioners that we begin to see the significance of this practice and what it actually entails: tikanga; kaitiaki; tapu; rāhui; mauri and; transmission of mātauranga. This recontextualised thinking of kaitiakitanga encourages one to remember the origins of kaitiakitanga and understand firstly the tikanga imbued in this principle. The Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week is a perfect example of how the recontextualised thinking of mahinga kai is put into practice, which is the focus for the following chapter. Chapter Seven examines how the discourses of mahinga kai are operationalised utilising the Ki Uta Ki Tai case study and explores the benefits this has for both people and environment.

Chapter VII

A Case Study on the Operationalisation of the Discourses of Mahinga Kai

This chapter addresses the final research question: how are the discourses of mahinga kai operationalised, utilising a case study of the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week? The aim of this chapter is to illustrate the discourses of mahinga kai that were materialised, enacted and inculcated throughout the volunteer week. Fairclough (2009) explains how, under certain conditions, discourses are operationalised, or “put into practice” through the following three ways: materialised through physical objects, enacted as new genres and inculcated as new identities (p. 165). Jackson (2014) supports the use of Fairclough’s (2003) fourth object of research, operationalisation, stating that “examining the operationalisation of discourse are ethnographic techniques that tell the story of actual people in their lived physical realities” (p. 12).

This chapter is presented in three sections: the materialisation of the discourses of mahinga kai through the Ki Uta Ki Tai newsletter; the enactment of the discourses of mahinga kai through the mihi whakatau, pōwhiri and poroporoaki and; the inculcation of the discourses of mahinga kai through four new identities: Māori, community, environmental, and health and well-being. I drew on wānanga kōrero and reflective pieces collected from the participants of the volunteer week to address this chapter.

Materialisation of the Discourses of Mahinga Kai

This section analyses the materialisation of the discourses of mahinga kai that emerged throughout the volunteer week. Materialisation, according to Fairclough (2003), explains how discourses may be physically materialised in the social world. The Ki Uta Ki Tai newsletter and the production of work are the two physical objects that materialise the discourses of mahinga kai within Ki Uta Ki Tai.

Newsletter

The Ki Uta Ki Tai newsletter (provided in Appendix 5) is a summary of the week's work and what the volunteers accomplished. The following section explores the discourse of mahinga kai partially presented within the Ki Uta Ki Tai newsletter however the discourse of kaitiakitanga is more prevalent.



Figure 5. Mahinga kai image. Sourced from Ki Uta Ki Tai September 2014 Newsletter. Photo credit: C. Phillips.

Mahinga kai

Figure 5 is an image depicting mahinga kai that appeared in the Ki Uta Ki Tai newsletter. The caption read “image of pipi (shellfish) and kūtai (mussels) that the volunteers gathered for dinner with Brendan Flack from Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki”. The volunteers were able to engage first-hand in the physical practice of mahinga kai by collecting seafood to cook and eat for their dinner. This is further emphasised in the newsletter where it read:

Mahinga kai (traditional food gathering places and practices) lies at the heart of the ki uta ki tai volunteer week, teaching volunteers the importance of looking after the environment from the mountains down to the sea, so that these food resources continue to be available for whānau (families) and communities to access.

The reference to “food resources” specifies how mahinga kai is materialised in the newsletter. Russell (2004) describes mahinga kai as “the food works and refers to the production and gathering of food and other natural resources” (p. 221). This is the common explanation of mahinga kai, but certainly not its entire meaning, as Russell (2004) elaborates, “mahika kai embodied much more than the mere acquisition of food” (p. 221). The practice of gathering food for example is only possible if the places are protected and therefore sustaining the resources within them. Volunteer Sophie Brown reiterates this point when she questioned:

How are you supposed to go and you know, take part in mahinga kai if there’s nothing there for you to even go collect or anything? ... The emphasis has been about making sure that those sources are there for not only us but for the future (Sophie Brown).

Sophie’s comment supports the idea of mahinga kai only being possible because of the concept of kaitiakitanga; protecting and looking after the resources for future use. Volunteer Huia Pocklington explained her view on mahinga kai, and how this practice around food had deeper connection and meaning to the places they harvested the food from. She explained that her relationship to mahinga kai was “a reciprocal relationship where you give to the land, for them to give you the foods and things like that”. For Huia she saw the importance of feeding the land first (expressing kaitiakitanga) in order for the land to feed her in return (such as mahinga kai resources). The next section explores the discourse of kaitiakitanga within the Ki Uta Ki Tai newsletter.

Discourse of mahinga kai as kaitiakitanga

The title of the newsletter, Ki Uta Ki Tai, is one example of how the discourse of kaitiakitanga is materialised. As explained in earlier chapters, kaitiakitanga refers to an environmental ethic that encompasses the idea of protecting the natural environment from the mountains down to the sea (Hepburn et al., 2010). This phrase was physically manifested in

Ki Uta Ki Tai when we visited Mt Watkins farm with landowners David and Sarah Smith and the River Estuary Care group. The farm is situated behind the Hikaroroa maunga, also known as Mt Watkins. The Smith's had recently fenced off a large part of their land that is being set aside as a riparian strip. This is a clear example of kaitiakitanga occurring from the mountains (Hikaroroa) down to the sea. The river that ran through the Mt Watkins farm is a tributary to the Waikouaiti River that then flows out into the sea. Volunteer Ngāhuia Mita explains her experience on Mt Watkins Farm in relation to her understanding of the phrase ki uta ki tai:

It was really cool being able to go up behind Hikaroroa there and see and hear about how things happening up there like come down and affect what happens out here in the sea ... I'm always kind of engaging with the ocean and the river environment but not really engaging with what happens further up that affects it (Ngāhuia Mita).

For Ngāhuia she was always conscious about external factors impacting on the ocean, however she was “not really ... engaging with what happens further up”. Her experience on Mt Watkins farm in particular, allowed her the opportunity to “engage” with an environment she was otherwise not accustomed to. Coming from a “really coastal area” Ngāhuia was able to work on the mountain planting native shrub and trees and “see and hear” first hand how her work would contribute to the health of the mountain, the river and then out to sea. Hepburn et al. (2010) explain that protection and management of fisheries for example, is not possible in isolation. Rather the phrase ki uta ki tai embraces “the links between the land, rivers, estuaries and ocean with the health of fisheries” (p. 147). This supports Ngāhuia's belief that the work she did on the mountain would contribute and “affect what happens out here in the sea”.

Discourse of kaitiakitanga as mauri

Kaitiakitanga is also materialised through the discourse of mauri, which has particular mention in the Ki Uta Ki Tai newsletter. The following excerpt is from page 2 of the

newsletter and reflects the days work with River Estuary Care group and the Smith Family on Mt Watkins Farm:

It was awesome to see the community come together to support these landowners who are clearly making a positive difference to supporting the mauri (life) back in the waterways. The planting (over 1700 plants!) will improve the biodiversity of the area and enhance habitats for long-finned eels and other native fish in the river whilst improving the quality of the water.

The use of mauri in this context is synonymous to Brendan's interpretation of the concept; Brendan measures mauri based on the return of the wildlife (birds and fish) in these areas. This perspective resonates with Fa'au'i & Morgan (2014) who quantitatively measure mauri after the occurrence of an environmental disaster. Fa'au'i & Morgan (2014) explain their view on mauri, stating:

Mauri is the fusion that makes it possible for everything to exist, by holding the physical and meta-physical elements of a being or thing together in unison. When actions impact negatively upon the mauri of something, this essential bond is weakened, and can potentially result in the separation of the physical and meta-physical elements, resulting in death or the loss of capacity to support life (pp. 5-6).

Fa'au'i & Morgan (2014) confirm that the negative impacts to mauri results in the "loss of capacity to support life". The return of birds, native forests and other species, which occurs when the habitat is restored, increases the capacity of a place to support life, and thus restores the mauri within that area (Brendan Flack; Fa'au'i & Morgan, 2014). The planting that took place "over 1700 plants" on Mt Watkins Farm will contribute to this example of mauri because it will "enhance habitats for long-finned eels and other native fish", helping them to return to the river. The idea that this planting is "supporting the mauri (life) back in the

waterway” is how the discourse of mauri is materialised. Furthermore, words from volunteer Bethany Struthers (which appears on the same page of the newsletter) stated, “*it was an awesome feeling to be part of the team who planted behind Hikaroroa, knowing that we were helping to build the mauri of the area*” (italics in original text). Bethany’s dialogue confirms that volunteers consciously knew that their work would “build the mauri of the area”.

Enactment of the Discourses of Mahinga Kai

This section analyses the enactment of the discourses of mahinga kai that emerged throughout the volunteer week. Enactment, according to Fairclough (2003), describes the emergence of new genres or ways of acting in the social world. The discourse of mahinga kai as tikanga and the subsequent discourses of whanaungatanga and manaaki are enacted in three new genres present in the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week: the mihi whakatau, pōwhiri and the poroporoaki.

Mihi whakatau

A mihi whakatau is an informal greeting, also known as mihimihi (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004). On the first day of the volunteer week the volunteers met at the Rūnaka grounds for the mihi whakatau. This is a brief welcome from the community groups to the volunteers before work is started, but is the very first thing to occur. Brendan Flack as hau kainga (local people) leads the mihi whakatau. Everyone then is invited to stand and introduce themselves (mihimihi) to one another. This genre supports the tikanga that surrounds Ki Uta Ki Tai. In particular it is the discourse of whanaungatanga that is enacted throughout the mihi whakatau as it “facilitates connections between the respective groups” (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004 p. 83).

Discourse of tikanga as whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga, as discussed in detail in earlier chapters, refers to relationship building and making connections to people and place. Mead (2003) recognised that “the whanaungatanga principle reached beyond actual whakapapa relationships and included relationships to non-kin persons through shared experiences” (p. 28). Ki Uta Ki Tai is a shared experience that reaches beyond whakapapa, where volunteers are given the opportunity to engage with each other and their local communities. When volunteers are invited to recite their mihi, they are connecting themselves to one another and beginning to build a relationship with the community groups and their fellow peers. The practice of whanaungatanga surrounds the kaupapa of Ki Uta Ki Tai. For example, the four community groups each have their own objectives, philosophies and values and yet are able to work together as one because of the strong relationship that exists between them. This is primarily due to whanaungatanga and their constant relationship building. Huia explains that whanaungatanga is very much engrained in the volunteer week:

You don't even think about it when you're out there but it is whanaungatanga, it just is something that you wouldn't think of usually but like its engrained in our culture in a way, which is quite beautiful really.

Whanaungatanga “is a fundamental principle” (Mead, 2003, p. 28) because nurturing relationships is crucial to a Māori worldview. Ngāhuia suggests that whanaungatanga happens through the small things:

All the kōrero that comes from all the different people, yeah, just you can see our Māori values throughout everything we do ... Even just from the little things just like having a kōrero and getting to know the community like showing whanaungatanga ... whanaungatanga it just is it, and its real.

Both Huia and Ngāhuia allude to the practice of whanaungatanga as something that is out there happening throughout the volunteer week in simple ways such as “having a kōrero” or conversation. Whanaungatanga does not require a grand stage but rather a respectful platform to meet one another on (Mead, 2003).

Pōwhiri

Hosted by Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki hapū, the pōwhiri took place on Puketeraki marae to officially welcome the volunteers on. The pōwhiri is a lengthy process beginning with the karanga (call), followed by the whakaeke (walk on), whaikōrero (speech) from both home side and visiting side, waiata tautoko (supporting song), presentation of the koha (gift) to the home side, hongī (sharing mauri) and harirū (handshake) between the volunteers and members of the community groups, and then closing the pōwhiri with the sharing of kai, known as the hākari (feast) (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004). The practice of the pōwhiri enacts the discourse of tikanga as manaaki.

Discourse of tikanga as manaaki

Manaaki, or manaakitanga is about uplifting (aki) one’s mana through demonstrating hospitality and respect (Mead, 2003; Reilly, 2004a). Manaaki contributes to whanaungatanga because it solidifies the bonds and relationships that are formed (Mead, 2003; Reilly, 2004a). Reilly (2004a) explains, “*manaaki* (derived from the word *mana*) is an important cultural concept expressing kinship solidarity” (p. 68, italics in original). According to Mead (2003) “high value is placed on manaakitanga – nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about how others are treated” (p. 29). This resonates with Shirres (1997) who said:

The real sign of a person's mana and tapu is not that person's power to destroy other people, but that person's power to manaaki, to protect and look after other people (p. 47).

The pōwhiri is one way the community groups demonstrated manaaki to the volunteers. It takes a lot of hard work and organisation from the hau kainga to prepare a pōwhiri for guests. Ngāhuia describes the manaaki she received from Hawksbury Lagoon in the form of kai and work; "Hawksbury Lagoon people ... showing us the manaaki through the kai we shared and through everything like working together to plant the trees". Ngāhuia felt welcomed and appreciated when kai was provided to the volunteers in appreciation for their help. Members of the local community spent the morning preparing a delicious lunch for the volunteers that Ngāhuia sees as demonstrating manaakitanga. Walker (1990) notes that "generosity with food as a cardinal value also cemented internal relations" (p. 77). Further to this, the community groups work alongside the volunteers and carry out the same practical work. As Ngāhuia highlighted, "working together to plant the trees" was another way she believed manaakitanga was expressed.

Poroporoaki

The final example of the enactment of the discourses of mahinga kai, which reflects the operationalisation of mahinga kai, is the enactment of the poroporoaki. The poroporoaki includes "formal farewell speeches" (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004, p. 83) and is another example of tikanga, or carrying out correct procedures. Ultimately, the poroporoaki brings things to a close, and illuminates the discourses of tikanga as whanaungatanga and manaaki.

Discourses of tikanga as whanaungatanga and manaaki

The poroporoaki occurred on the last day of Ki Uta Ki Tai and was an opportunity for the community groups to thank the volunteers and similarly, an opportunity for the volunteers

to express their thanks for the manaaki and aroha they received also. Reilly (2004a) explains, “*manaaki* stands for a sense of reciprocity, of giving and receiving” (p. 68, italics in original). The poroporoaki demonstrated this notion of manaaki because thanks and praise were coming from both the volunteers and community groups. For example, the volunteers gave their time to plant trees but received personal growth, perspective, and positive impacts to their health for doing so. Manaaki is truly evident when neither party knows whom to thank, because everyone was able to benefit equally. In this sense, the poroporoaki strengthens the relationships or whanaungatanga that was established on day one with the mihi whakatau and pōwhiri.

Whanaungatanga between community members and the volunteers proved to be a mutually beneficial relationship. Mead (2003) explains a fundamental principle for whanaungatanga being about an obligation to one another. He explains how “individuals expect to be supported ... but the collective group also expects the support and help from its individuals” (p. 28). Volunteer Miaana Walden says “building relationships with the knowledgeable locals was also really beneficial”. For many of the University students, engaging with the wider community was not something they had much experience doing, so the outcome of this new affiliation was a favourable one for students. Volunteer Maddie Bowles explains further:

Having come to Otago University from a different city, I really appreciated the opportunity that Ki Uta Ki tai gave us to connect with the wider Otago community. Although we come to the city to live for 8 or 9 months of the year, we don't really get out of the University bubble, so to meet people from Dunedin and see more of the area was really nice.

Maddie expresses her gratitude for the opportunity to “connect with the wider Otago community”. As she indicated, most students live “8 or 9 months” in Dunedin but do not see

themselves as part of the Dunedin community because of their little contribution to it. Rather, they remain in the “University bubble” without getting out into communities and being rewarded with the sense of belonging to the wider community. Huia, who has attended two volunteer weeks and engages with the Karitāne community regularly through her connection with PE School said:

Because of the relationship that we as *phedders*⁷ have with this place ... we are lucky enough to be quite familiar with the area and very familiar with the people, so much so that its become another community ... I think having that extra love for Karitāne has made it the success that it is because you see the care in people’s faces ... they wouldn’t love it as much if they didn’t love this place.

Huia is expressing one of the positive outcomes for students who do engage frequently with communities and continue to do so. In comparison to Tania’s quote, Huia very much feels a part of the community because of her regular engagement, while Tania was at an earlier stage of seeing the ‘potential’ of belonging to a community. The community members themselves also share Huia’s perception of students being a part of the Karitāne community. Brendan said “out here is like a kōhanga like its a place, a nursery for people ... yeah like a nursery for people like for you guys, students”. What Brendan is describing here is how Karitāne nurtures students and helps to bring them through their degrees and their lives. The analogy of a kohanga, meaning nest or nursery, is a metaphor for the nurture and manaaki that Karitāne gives to students while they are there. As Mead (2003) explains, “relationships are fragile and need to be nurtured” (p. 28). When these relationships are nurtured, it impacts positively on ones’ growth, as was expressed throughout *Ki Uta Ki Tai*.

⁷ Colloquial term for physical education students

Inculcation of the Discourses of Mahinga Kai

This section analyses the inculcation of the discourse of mahinga kai within the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week. According to Fairclough (2003, 2010), discourses may be inculcated as new styles. Styles refer to “new ways of being, new identities” in the social world (Fairclough, 2010, p. 358). In the case of the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week, the discourses of mahinga kai are inculcated through the following four examples of new identities: a Māori identity; a community identity; an environmental identity and; a health and well-being identity⁸.

Māori identity

A prominent identity emerging from Ki Uta Ki Tai is a Māori identity which is operationalised through the discourse of mahinga kai as whakapapa. The aforementioned genres contribute largely to this notion of a Māori identity, and similarly accommodating volunteers at Puketeraki Marae promotes a deeper connection and interaction with Te Ao Māori. The name of the volunteer week itself is an obvious indication, being in te reo Māori and reflecting a Māori philosophy of resource management, however the Māori values that underpin much of the volunteer week is how this identity is observed. The values of kaitiakitanga and mauri, which have been discussed at great length, are other examples of how this Māori identity is formed. One particular value, which bares importance, is whakapapa.

Discourse of whakapapa

Whakapapa is the foundation for connecting people in space and time; a genealogical link between all animate and inanimate things (Marsden, 2003c; Mead, 2003). Huia claims

⁸ These identities surround the collective identity of the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week, and not the identities of the individual groups that make up this collective community. This section refers solely to the styles of the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week, also known as the Ki Uta Ki Tai community.

“the volunteer weeks’ roots [lie] in mythology, creation, and history of Māoridom ... coming through strongly is the shared belief that a Māori perception allows us to be a part of, not greater than, this beautiful world of ours”. For Huia and many of the other volunteers, a Māori identity is dominant throughout the volunteer week through the discourse of whakapapa. Huia’s words indicate two things: first the origins of the volunteer week stem from a Māori worldview that is demonstrated through “mythology, creation and history” and; second she alludes to the Māori belief that we are part of nature and not above it because of this “shared history”. Huia’s words resonate with the discourse of whakapapa because “whakapapa connects people with their kin, with the land and with the natural world” (Ka’ai & Higgins, 2004, p. 19). In addition it also informs a Māori identity as Mead (2003) states “whakapapa provides our [Māori] identity” (p. 42). Charles explains his view on the link between whakapapa and a Māori identity:

Identity [is] relating and just being with all the atua there in the same place. You know, Rangī, Papa and the awa right there and how you guys were even jumping in and swimming and stuff, just even that just made me feel like, you know that Māori identity that was there but also the values at the same time.

In this dialogue Charles mentions the primordial parents Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku and describes a Māori identity about being able to connect and “relate” to “all the atua there”. This is similar to Walker’s (1989) view on identity who states, “Māori cultural identity is readily defined in a tripartite sequence of myth, tradition and history whereby gods, ancestors and living people are linked through genealogical descent” (p. 36). For Charles he understood that the world was created from the separation of “Rangī and Papa” and understanding the whakapapa of the atua and thus the natural environment. Charles contends that connecting to these atua was how a Māori identity was enacted. For example when he says “how *you*’s were even jumping in and swimming” made a connection for him to a Māori identity, because it was one way he saw people engaging with the atua Papa-tū-ā-nuku. This supports Huia’s

earlier statement of the volunteer week having roots in “mythology” and “creation”, which reflect a Māori identity.

Another example of whakapapa informing a Māori identity in the volunteer week is expressed as physical manifestations of whakapapa, or more specifically whakapapa in the environment. Sophie explained her take on the volunteer week when she stated:

I think it just further reiterated to me about the importance of place for Māori, so I guess being like around Huriawa and maunga and things, just always reflecting back on awa and reflecting back on where we are and what we’re doing in relation to those things.

For Sophie, the volunteer week exposed her to the “importance of place for Māori” such as “Huriawa and maunga”. These are cultural sites of significance, which volunteers engaged with throughout the volunteer week. Mead (2003) highlights how “some places are given names and this is always an indication of special significance” (p. 67). Huriawa is the name of the traditional pā site and holds much significance to the Kāti Huirapa people. On the Rūnaka working day, a walk around the pā was included in the daily activities. Volunteers are taught the history of the pā site and are able to walk through and learn about Kāti Huirapa hapū. The maunga Sophie refers to is Hikororoa, which the volunteers were able to work behind during the volunteer week. Mead (2003) explains how “mountains are always named and became symbols of identity” (p. 67). Huia makes this connection between identity and whakapapa more explicit when she said:

It was really awesome working under Hikororoa yesterday ... I have heard and seen it from so far away and every time Brendan gets up on the paepae he says

like titiro ki Hikaroroa⁹ and its sort of like whakapapa right there. You can feel that, you can connect with it; you can feel a part of it.

For Huia, being able to connect with Brendan's whakapapa through engaging with his maunga Hikaroroa was an "awesome" experience for her because she could "feel a part of it". It was the opportunity to connect with not only Brendan's individual identity but also to a wider Māori identity, which is entrenched in whakapapa (Mead, 2003; Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004). Durie (2001) explores Māori identity as one that "goes beyond affiliation, knowledge and behaviour to include actual access to the institutions and resources of the group" (p. 55). This resonates with Huia, who was able to access the physical resource of the maunga in securing her expression of a Māori identity.

Community identity

Another identity that operationalises the discourses of mahinga kai is a community identity. The idea of 'community' is constantly referred to in student interviews and reflections. Brendan describes his view on community:

Community is anyone, that you know, has a connection you know, not just in the extractive connection not just the weekend fishermen that come from Central Otago that come and plunder and leave again, but the people that actually have that connection, with whatever, where they just like walking on the beach so forth. So communities, yeah its all those people (Brendan Flack).

The community identity is about people having a connection to place and developing a relationship to place. This is reflective of the discourse of whanaungatanga.

Discourse of whanaungatanga

⁹ Look to Hikaroroa (maunga)

Volunteer Talia Ellison wrote “the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week is an amazing experience; it allows us as students the opportunity to engage with the community in a really positive way”. As discussed earlier, this community engagement is all part of whanaungatanga and building “positive” relationships (Mead, 2003; Reilly, 2004a). Tania Bell similarly shares her experience as one that showed her “first-hand how iwi initiatives and community groups work together to sustain the environment”. Tania is referring to the collective and collaborative work between different groups, which in turn creates a community. The East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee for example, consists of members from multiple groups including: Kāti Huirapa representatives, local fisherman, River Estuary Care and commercial fisherman. According to Hepburn et al. (2010) the Taiāpure “collectively ... perform well because the right mix of people is actively and reliably working with good leadership ... [they] build good foundations of trust and confidence” (p. 146). This is a similar case for the Ki Uta Ki Tai community, which is made up of different community groups working together in collaboration because “good foundations of trust” were built from the start. Huia reiterates how Māori and non-Māori groups come together as a community through the sharing of Māori values stating that they are “applicable to everybody, Māori and non-Māori”. She explains further:

Yesterday when we went up to the Smith’s Farm, I think like last year I thought like there was quite a lot of Māori history given at each of the places that we visited but the Smith’s Farm was quite different because it was their farm they own and they’re non-Māori but their values were similar to ours, or similar to Māori in that they care about their land, like the future of their land (Huia Pocklington).

The community identity that is acknowledged therefore blends in with a Māori identity also; this reiterates Brendan’s point when he said “because we’re all community”.

Environmental identity

The third identity inculcated in Ki Uta Ki Tai is an environmental identity. The overarching kaupapa of Ki Uta Ki Tai is centred on the protection and restoration of the natural environment significant to the four community groups. This surrounding environmental ethic produces the discourses of kaitiakitanga and manaaki.

Discourses of kaitiakitanga and manaaki

The discourses of kaitiakitanga and manaaki are reflected in Ngāhuia's words when she shared her planting experience during Ki Uta Ki Tai:

I'm not a mother but being able to give life through replanting the trees was really cool and being like, not only giving life back to the place but the river that we were by also ... starting off that new growth.

Ngāhuia's words reflect the discourses of kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga. According to Kawharu (2000) kaitiakitanga "embraces social protocols associated with hospitality, reciprocity, and obligation" (p. 351). For Ngāhuia, she was able to "give life" to the area through planting her trees, which supports Kawharu's (2000) notion of demonstrating hospitality and reciprocity. Ngāhuia explains that "replanting" was one way she could "show that manaaki back [to Papa-tū-ā-nuku] by replanting and giving life". According to Reilly (2004a) "*manaaki* stands for a sense of reciprocity, of giving and receiving" (p. 68, italics in original). Charles similarly demonstrates an ethic of reciprocity when he uses the planting of trees as a metaphor for life and growth. He suggests the plants "represent human life ... the plants are like a metaphor for human life ... as it grows it needs nourishment and care to blossom, just saying that's us". For Charles he's taken the environmental identity of the volunteer week and applied it to human life.

An environmental identity is about making connections to place. Volunteer Parehuia Renes said, “being able to participate reinforced the connections I have to the land”. For many of the volunteers, Ki Uta Ki Tai gave the opportunities to engage with the environment, for a mutually beneficial experience. Volunteer Sam Feeney describes Ki Uta Ki Tai as being important because “it supports the concept of kaitiakitanga and caring and supporting our environment. Planting various trees and clearing new walkways gave me the feeling that we were nurturing the land”. Sam’s description reflects both examples of an environmental identity: engaging in “planting” (kaitiakitanga) and “nurturing the land” (manaakitanga).

Health and well-being identity

The final identity surrounding Ki Uta Ki that operationalises the discourses of mahinga kai is a health and well-being identity. The objectives of each of the four community groups are concerned with the ‘health’ of the environment and ways of ensuring this health through the discourse of kaitiakitanga. River Estuary Care, for example, aims to “have a healthy productive river and estuary ecosystem” (J. Vanderburg, personal communication, October 12, 2013). The East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee similarly want to “protect ... the [taiāpure] area” (KHR, 2013), while Hawksbury Lagoon want to “enhance, protect and conserve the habitats of the wildlife and plant life” (Hawksbury Lagoon Inc, 2013). These objectives all reflect a health and well-being identity surrounding Ki Uta Ki Tai. Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki Rūnaka make explicit their principle of “kaitiakitanga” (KHR, 2013), which operationalises this health and well-being identity.

Discourse of kaitiakitanga

As I discussed in Chapter Five, health and well-being is inextricably linked to mahinga kai as this practice engages people with their environment in a mutual and reciprocal manner (Panelli & Tipa, 2007). Durie (2001) emphasised the importance of having a healthy environment in order for people to reflect good health. Ngāhuia expresses this conviction

when she claimed, “when you restore the health of the place you restore the health of the people”. Durie (2001) stresses the importance of land to health stating that “Māori society depended on common interests in traditional lands for cohesion and purpose. As land was transferred ... so Māori identity and well-being were rendered” (p. 50). This highlights how land is vital to one’s health (Durie, 2001; Durie, 1994; Panelli & Tipa, 2007).

Tania contends “Ki Uta Ki Tai promotes the well-being of the environment as well as the well-being of people”. This was enacted through the work she and the other volunteers undertook around fisheries management, conservation and habitat restoration. Although the work was primarily to restore the health of the places Tania and the other volunteers worked, she alludes to the fact that this also impacted on “the well-being of people” also. Volunteer Maddie Bowles shares a similar experience when she explained, “I enjoyed all the planting we did. I’ve always found activities like gardening rewarding”. A health and well-being identity is reflected in Maddie’s words when she described her planting experience as “rewarding”. Durie (2003) explains how participation in society is a fundamental way health is achieved, because people are able to feel connected to others and gives them a sense of purpose. Further to this, Maddie also made the connection between her own health and that of the environment when she stated, “knowing exactly how our work was helping the area made it more so [rewarding]”. Kawharu (2000) supports the connection Maddie alludes to when she explains how *kaitiakitanga* “weaves together ancestral, environmental and social threads of identity, purpose and practice” (p. 350). It is through this thread of ‘purpose’ that links to Durie’s (2003) notion of health.

Personal health and well-being is also reflected in Sam’s dialogue. She believes “through working with the land this provided me with the time, place and space to reflect upon my emotions surrounding my life events ... these moments allows opportunity for self-reflection”. The planting Sam engaged in where she was “working with the land” provided her the ideal environment of “time, place and space” for self-reflection. This work became

therapeutic for Sam and had a positive impact to her mental health. For Sam, working with the land allowed for personal growth and development. Sophie shares in this opinion, explaining, “for me I feel like when I’m in these settings that’s when I’m most aware of how my health is affected”. Furthermore she concludes with “and it seems that when I’m in these settings that I always find that it’s a positive enhancement”. This resonates with Panelli & Tipa (2007) who contend that an intimate engagement with the natural environment is linked to good health.

Conclusion

Utilising Fairclough’s (2003, 2010) notion of operationalisation, this chapter examined how the discourses of mahinga kai were operationalised by Ki Uta Ki Tai through the materialisation of the newsletter, the enactment of the mihi whakatau, pōwhiri and poroporoaki, and the inculcation of a Māori identity, community identity, environmental identity, and a health and well-being identity. The discourses of mahinga kai as: whakapapa; kaitiakitanga and the subsequent discourse of mauri and; tikanga and the subsequent discourses of whanaungatanga and manaaki, were operationalised through Ki Uta Ki Tai.

A kaupapa as unique as Ki Uta Ki Tai has the capacity to bring together local hapū, local members of the community, environmental groups and University students and staff who collectively work toward the common goal of restoring the mauri in the environment they are all a part of. An imagined future for the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week is explored next in the concluding chapter, which also provides a summary of the main findings and conclusions of the thesis. The link to Māori PE and health is also determined.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion and Imagining a Future

The final chapter is presented in two sections: first, a conclusion of the previous five analytical chapters and their key findings that elucidate the role of mahinga kai in Māori PE and health and; second, a discussion around Fairclough's (2003) notion of imaginaries and imagining a future for mahinga kai, utilising the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week as an example. Using Fairclough's (2003) notion of imaginaries posits future implications for the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week and the benefits for the Karitāne community.

Research Questions

The aim of the research was to examine the role of mahinga kai in Māori PE and health. Māori PE and health is grounded in the four core tenets of the Māori worldview (Te Ao Māori), the Treaty of Waitangi (te Tiriti o Waitangi), Māori health (hauora Māori) and, the natural environment (te taiao). The first four analytical chapters reflected these four aspects, whilst the fifth and final analytical chapter applied these to the Ki Uta Ki Tai case study. The five research questions of the study were:

1. What are the emergent discourses of mahinga kai within key creation narratives that underpin a Māori worldview? (Chapter Three);
2. What are the emergent discourses of mahinga kai within key te Tiriti o Waitangi translation texts and Waitangi Tribunal texts? (Chapter Four);
3. What are the implications of the discourses of mahinga kai for Māori health and well-being? (Chapter Five)
4. How are the discourses of mahinga kai recontextualised by the interviews, personal communication and wānanga kōrero within an environment context? (Chapter Six) and;

5. How are the discourses of mahinga kai operationalised, utilising a detailed case study of the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week? (Chapter Seven).

Main Conclusion

Māori PE and health moves beyond a physical view and embraces more deeply the significance of spiritual, cultural, social and mental elements. It also moves beyond an individualistic, or person-centred view (Heke, 2010, 2013). For example, Māori health is inseparable from the environment. Good health comes from the interaction between people and their environment; healthy environments nurture healthy people (Durie, 2001; Durie, 1994). This thinking reflects a Māori worldview and the concept of whakapapa permeates a Māori worldview. Whakapapa is central to Māori PE and health as it lays the foundation for making connections between people and their environment (Mead, 2003; Marsden, 2003a). In this sense Māori PE and health is underpinned by the discourses of whakapapa, whānau and whenua. Mahinga kai is a fundamental practice that engages with this notion of Māori PE and health. The discourses of mahinga kai were operationalised throughout the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week validating the positive benefits of running such a programme.

Key Findings

Each of the five analytical chapters are dialectical in nature, informing one another and should not be seen as ‘separate’ chapters. Chapters Three and Four specifically focused on developing the context of mahinga kai and where the discourse of mahinga kai emerged from. Chapters Five and Six looked at the implications of these discourses in a health and environmental context. Chapter Seven drew together these four analytical chapters to discuss the application or operationalisation of the discourses of mahinga kai, utilising a detailed case study with the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week. I summarise the chapters below.

In Chapter Three I utilised Fairclough’s (2003) notion of emergence to trace the emergent discourses of mahinga kai within three key creation narratives: the separation of

Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku; the retribution of Tū-mata-uenga and; the creation of humanity. The main finding from Chapter Three was the emergence of multiple discourses of mahinga kai that underpinned a Māori worldview. The emergent discourses from these texts were mahinga kai as: whakapapa; whanaungatanga; tikanga and the subsequent discourse of tapu; kaitiakitanga and the subsequent discourse of mauri and; mātauranga. The discourses of mahinga kai have implications for Māori PE and health because they emulate foremost a Māori worldview. Much of the criticism surrounding existing notions of Māori PE and health (Hokowhitu, 2004; Palmer, 2000) highlighted issues of sanitisation and marginalisation of Māori knowledge within the discipline; a Māori worldview is crucial in mitigating this issue as it privileges Māori ways of thinking and being (Heke, 2010, 2013).

Chapter Four also utilised Fairclough's (2003) notion of 'emergence' and outlined three te Tiriti o Waitangi translation texts and three Waitangi Tribunal texts from which multiple discourses of mahinga kai emerged. From these various texts six discourses of mahinga kai emerged. The emergent discourses of mahinga kai were mahinga kai as: identity; rangatiratanga; mana; kaitiakitanga and; taonga (as forestry and fisheries).

Māori PE and health share an important relationship with the Treaty of Waitangi. According to Kingi (2007) the "fundamental intent of the Treaty was centred around a desire to promote and protect Māori health" (p. 4). In a similar way, the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi from a Ngāi Tahu perspective is centred around a desire to promote and protect mahinga kai, which has further implications to the health of their people also. From a Ngāi Tahu perspective, the emergence of the discourses of mahinga kai demonstrated the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi for the iwi and how the Treaty and Tribunal texts are relevant to their hapū today. This was of particular importance to the Karitāne community, of whom the case study was based, and how the Treaty impacts their access and ability to engage with all interpretations of what mahinga kai constitutes.

Chapter Five examined the aforementioned discourses emerging from the various texts and how they implicated Māori health and well-being. The main finding of this chapter was that the discourses of mahinga kai (and its subsequent discourses including whakapapa, rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga, and identity) had a positive impact on one's health and well-being because it sought to restore an intimate relationship between people and their environment. Mahinga kai is more than a physical engagement with the environment, but one that spiritually and culturally connected people to place (Dacker, 1990; Williams, 2004; Russell, 2004).

Māori PE and health is holistic however current notions have only partly embraced this, often diminishing the value of a spiritual element (Hokowhita, 2003, 2003a, 2004; Kohere, 2003). Māori movement in schools (Salter, 2000a, 2002, 2003) and taonga tākaro (Brown, 2008, Kokiri Hauora, 2013) for example focused too heavily on the physical aspect of movement and therefore weakened the importance of other aspects more prevalent to Māori (such as spiritual). Heke (2010, 2012, 2013) addressed this gap by tailoring his perception of Māori PE and health toward a whakapapa approach, one that promoted mātauranga Māori and encouraged engagement with various atua in the environment. He explored the role of atua in relation to Māori health and how physical activity may be drawn from this knowledge. Panelli & Tipa (2007) had a similar approach, which explicitly looked at the environment in relation to health. Mahinga kai, through its emergent discourses, is a way that spiritually, culturally and physically connects people intimately with their environment, which Durie (2001) contends has a positive impact on ones' health.

In Chapter Six I outlined the ways in which kaitiakitanga, a discourse of mahinga kai, was recontextualised in the interviews, personal communication and wānanga kōrero. Talking with participants in these three genres changed my way of thinking about mahinga kai, and in particular, about kaitiakitanga also. Mahinga kai and kaitiakitanga are lifestyles; they are 'living' examples. The aim for this chapter was to perpetuate the voices of those who engage

regularly with the notions of mahinga kai and kaitiakitanga, because these are the stories we need to capture; the stories of those who are actually living and breathing these practices everyday. The main findings from this chapter were the multiple ways in which kaitiakitanga was identified. From these spoken texts, the following discourses of kaitiakitanga emerged: tikanga, rāhui, transmission of knowledge, karakia, kaitiaki, and mauri. I concluded that a genealogical approach to viewing kaitiakitanga was necessary because it reaffirmed the traditional knowledge of our ancestors and the tikanga that must be upheld. The recontextualised discourses of kaitiakitanga illuminate the importance of the natural environment, which has particular affinity to Māori PE and health. Māori PE and health is intimately bound to the natural environment through the concepts of whakapapa, whenua and whānau (Heke, 2013; Durie, 2001). The discourses of kaitiakitanga and mauri therefore have implications for Māori PE and health. Mauri in particular is a reflection of health and kaitiakitanga is our ability to protect it.

The final analytical chapter, Chapter Seven, explored how the discourses of mahinga kai were put into practice utilising the case study. The operationalisation of mahinga kai materialised through the newsletter, enacted through three Māori practices and inculcated through four identities stemming from the volunteer week, were the main findings of this chapter. The major outcome however, was the experiential learning that student volunteers gained about the importance of connecting with each other, the communities they serve, and the environment they are a part of. The Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week is evidently grounded in the discourses of whakapapa, whānau and whenua, key discourses that form the way we think about Māori PE and health.

Imagining a Future for Ki Uta Ki Tai

The future of mahinga kai within the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week can be explored further utilising Fairclough's (2010) notion of imaginaries, which I discuss next. Fairclough's

(2010) notion of imaginaries explains how discourses are “representations of how things might or could or should be” (p. 445). These discourses as imaginaries can be inculcated as new and prospective identities (Fairclough, 2010). The current identities of Ki Uta Ki Tai are: Māori; community; environmental and; health and well-being, however one way Ki Uta Ki Tai may be seen in the future is representing a student identity. This vision was reflected in the participants’ interviews and reflective pieces, where they suggested that Ki Uta Ki Tai should have a larger role in University studies encouraging a better partnership (or whanaungatanga) between University (staff and students) and local communities.

A student identity

One reflection made by student volunteer Talia Ellison summarises four key ways a student identity is imagined for Ki Uta Ki Tai. She claimed:

These types of activities should occur more often because they create positive relationships, positive change and encourage an ethic of volunteering ... It is the practical aspect of theory taught to us in class and works out to be undeniably mutually beneficial (Talia Ellison).

Talia’s dialogue highlights four key points. First, the idea that Ki Uta Ki Tai “create[s] positive relationships” is the foundation of whanaungatanga (Mead, 2003; Reilly, 2004a). Whanaungatanga, or building relationships, occurs on different levels for students during Ki Uta Ki Tai. The students develop connections with one another, which is reflected in Parehuia’s words, “being able to participate has reinforced the connections I have ... and enhanced my friendships with other students”. Whanaungatanga is also evident in the connection students made to the land. Volunteer Stevie Fergusson explains how Ki Uta Ki Tai encouraged students “to nourish, cherish and appreciate what is given to us by our ancestors so that our land can stay enriched to be passed down through the generations”. Finally

whanaungatanga occurs between students and the community, which Miaana explained “it was really important for me to get involved in such an important community”.

The role of connecting to the community has wider implications for students, which highlight Talia’s second point, “create[s] ... positive change”. Talia’s dialogue alludes to the role of students in creating positive change for communities. For Jackson (2008) this is enacted through student research. She contends:

Research is a social game and as social researchers we have dual obligations of utilising theory to explain social realities for the purposes of the ‘Academy’ but also moving beyond this, and to engage in meaningful ways with the society it is that we are critiquing; by creating, producing and disseminating knowledge (Jackson, 2008, p. 1).

Jackson (2008) explores the reciprocal nature of student research, in that it produces benefits for the researcher and the community they work with. Jackson (2008) argues, “we must produce research that is at least as beneficial to the community we are working with as it is to the researcher” (p. 5). This reflects the dual obligations of a researcher working with a community (Jackson, 2008). According to Hepburn et al. (2010) the East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee make “good use of its proximity to the University of Otago ... It supports the work of at least 15 students and many other researchers from the university” (p. 145). The research that was conducted for the Taiāpure supported the community “in developing new regulations, and programmes to restore pāua stocks” (Hepburn et al., 2010, p. 146). This is a prime example of the benefits student research has for communities and creates the positive change Talia alluded to.

The third point “encourage an ethic of volunteering” (Talia Ellison) also demonstrates how Ki Uta Ki Tai would be attractive for students. Ki Uta Ki Tai provides students with an opportunity to see where they fit into the big wide world. Jackson (2008) encourages student

researchers to “actually move outside our ‘Ivory Towers’ and engage with the very world it is that we are critiquing, in meaningful ways” (p. 6). Engaging in a kaupapa like this plants a seed for students to go out and make a contribution to the world. This was a similar experience for Ngāhuia who said it was “extremely positive being able to come out and just realising like that’s just a small moment in the bigger span of things and there’s lots of really important issues that we could be looking at”. Ki Uta Ki Tai opened Ngāhuia’s eyes to the ‘bigger picture’, and how she was able to make a difference in the community. Community (or whānau) contribution is linked to positive health; the capacity to contribute to the wider collective has implications to Māori health (Durie, 2001, 2003; Love, 2004). The opportunity for students to ‘volunteer’ not only gave them a sense of purpose, but enabled students to step outside of the “University bubble” or the “Ivory Towers” and make their contribution to society.

Talia’s words: “it is the practical aspect of theory taught to us in class and works out to be undeniably mutually beneficial” reflects the final way a student identity is imagined in Ki Uta Ki Tai. Talia is referring to the benefits of Ki Uta Ki for students in terms of their course content, as it has the ability to put theory into practice. The two classes that took part in the case study (PHSE 427 and MAOR 310) had objectives tailored to the volunteer week. This created a learning environment for students that enabled them to apply their knowledge from class into a real life setting. For example, a class objective of *PHSE 427* is to “critique your understandings of Māori PE and health” (A. Jackson, personal communication, 2013). Huia claimed:

Māori PE and health to me I think has been embodied by this entire weekend because kaitiakitanga is at the very heart of it and is at the crux of a Māori worldview and within a Māori worldview is Māori health and physical education (Huia Pocklington).

Huia's critique of Māori PE and health is centred on what *PHSE 427* taught her about kaitiakitanga and a Māori worldview, which she believes was evident in Ki Uta Ki Tai. Similarly Charles explained: "over the weekend yeah just engaging with the atua of course and creating that identity ... that's you know relating to PE". For Charles his experience of the volunteer week linked him to his understanding of Māori PE and health being about atua and identity. The students were able to draw on the theory from their classes and apply it practically to Ki Uta Ki Tai.

Ki Uta Ki Tai has potential to bridge the gap between University staff and students with their local communities by encouraging student engagement through: volunteering opportunities, community-based student research and the practical application of course content. These aspects support how a student identity could arise through the continuation of Ki Uta Ki Tai. The next section explores the potential of taking Ki Uta Ki Tai and implementing a similar programme into other areas that need it.

Future implications for other communities

Analysing the data it became evident that many of the volunteers saw the benefit of the Ki Uta Ki Tai kaupapa and expressed an interest in starting up something similar in their own communities. Miaana wrote, "the work was really satisfying and I was inspired to try and start up discussions back at home about creating a similar [volunteer] week". Huia also felt the same and noted, "the continuation of Ki Uta Ki Tai deserves great devotion and I see initiatives like this as being the driving force of greater, more positive relationships between people and our natural world". For Huia this kaupapa is for the environment as much as it is for the communities driving it. This opportunity created an ideal environment for students to think and reflect on the work over the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week and how they may continue this kaupapa in their own areas. This is essentially how the kaupapa of Ki Uta Ki Tai

may be passed on and implemented elsewhere; beginning with the community and growing further through the energy of its young people.

Ki Uta Ki Tai is a unique kaupapa that works because of the solid foundations that have been established and nurtured over time. Having the right people is also crucial (Hepburn et al., 2010) but it is also about developing the right people into these positions. Implementing something like Ki Uta Ki Tai in other areas starts with the community and then benefitted through students. Returning to what Brendan said about Karitāne being a 'kōhanga' that nurtures and raises students, they do this by instilling in them the passion and kaupapa for the environment. The seed that is planted within each of the students from the community is how Ki Uta Ki Tai will permeate other communities.

Final Thoughts

Through the research process I discovered a plethora of diverse expressions of mahinga kai that extended beyond my initial understanding. In particular, the stories shared from my participants as well as the hands-on experience I gained at mahinga kai wānanga and the case study, exposed mahinga kai as way of life, encapsulating the intimate relationship between people and their environment and all the whakapapa that exists between them. My thinking of mahinga kai has definitely changed and I remain committed to questioning and extending my current perspective. For example, some questions that arise from the thesis, which could direct future research, are around how we make these insights translated for access by non-indigenous peoples. Are we looking at re-indigenising humanity and is this tika and ethical? Or, in a similar fashion, can we extend the concepts discussed in this research to what some may consider the antithesis of mahinga kai, such as shopping at Pac n' Save? Can the principles of mauri, kaitiakitanga or tikanga in relation to mahinga kai apply to modern urban shopping experiences?

It is my hope that we are able to engage Māori and non-Māori with our natural environments (through mahinga kai), but also if this access is a barrier, than how can we incorporate mahinga kai within an urban setting and improve health this way? These are exciting times ahead indeed!

Mahinga kai validates the importance of connecting with each other, the communities we serve, and the environment we are a part of. The original inquiry of examining the role of mahinga kai in Māori PE and health is not only grounded in the four basic tenets of Te Ao Māori, te Tiriti o Waitangi, hauora Māori and te taiao, it is grounded in the emergent discourses: whakapapa, whānau and whenua. Whakapapa is the foundation for connecting all things and it is these connections that compel us to care for one another (such as our whānau) and care for the whenua (Mead, 2003; Marsden, 2003a). Without a doubt mahinga kai has a role in critically examining the way we think about Māori PE and health. In fact, it has a place in Te Ao Mārama today. This is summarised in the title Brendan Flack gifted to this thesis:

Mahinga kai – he tāngata

Mahinga kaitiaki – he mauri.

Mahinga kai and all its parts help sustain the people.

Kaitiakitanga and all its parts help restore the mauri.

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Appendix 1

Glossary

Ahi kā	Burning fires of occupation
Atua	Gods, deity
Atuatanga	Māori aspects, Māori ways of knowing
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Au	Me, myself
Awa	River
Awhi	Hug, support, embrace
Hākari	Feast, sharing of food
Hapū	Sub-tribe, pregnant
Hāpua	Lagoon
Harakeke	Flax plant
Harirū	Handshake
Hauora	Māori health
Haumia-tiketike	God of cultivated food
Hine-ahuone/Hine-hauone	First woman
Hinengaro	Mind, mental element
Hine-nui-te-pō	Goddess of death
Hine-tītama	First daughter, dawn maiden
Hongi	Nose press, symbolises the passing of breath
Hui	Meeting
Inaka/inanga	White bait
Io	Supreme being
Kai	Food, to eat
Kai awa	Food sourced from freshwater

Kaihaukai	Exchanging of traditional food
Kai manu	Birds for eating
Kaimoana	Sea food
Kaitiaki	Guardian, protector, spiritual animal
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship, protection, resource management
Kai rākau	Food sourced from trees
Karakia	Prayer, incantation, to pray
Karanga	Call
Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki	South Island sub-tribe
Kaupapa	Purpose, goal, agenda
Kawa	Protocol
Kāwanatanga	Governorship
Ki Uta Ki Tai	Name of the volunteer week/case study
ki uta ki tai	From the mountains to the sea, environmental ethic
Kūtai	Mussel
Koha	Gift, present
Kōhanga	Nest
Kōrero	Talk, speech, interview
Mahinga kai/mahika kai	Food gathering practice, where food is produced and procured
Mana	Power, authority
Manaaki/manaakitanga	Care, respect, hospitality
Mana atua	Power derived from the gods, power to procreate
Māori	Indigenous peoples of New Zealand
Mana whenua	Power over the land (derives from Papa-tū-ā-nuku)
Mana moana	Power over the sea (derives from Tangaroa)
Māra	Garden
Marae	Complex of buildings

Mātua	Parents, older man
Mātauranga	Knowledge, Māori knowledge
Mate Māori	Sickness
Maunga	Mountain
Mauri	Life force, life essence
Mihi	Greeting, speech
Ngāi Tahu/Kāi Tahu	South Island tribe
Ngāhere	Forest
Noa	Unrestricted
Pā	Fortified village, ancient site
Papa-tū-ā-nuku	Earth Mother
Pāua	Abalone, shell fish
Pēpeha	Tribal saying
Pipi	Shellfish
Poroporoaki	Closing ceremony
Pōwhiri	Welcoming ceremony
Pou	Post
Rāhui	Temporary closure
Rangatiratanga	Self-determination, chieftainship
Ranginui	Sky Father
Rohe	Area, district
Rohe pōtae	Ancestral lands
Rongo	God of uncultivated food
Roto	Lake
Rūnaka	Council, tribal council
Taiāpure	Māori fisheries management
Tāne-mahuta/Tāne	God of forests, birds, trees
Taonga	Treasure, prized possession
Tapu	Sacred, set apart, restricted
Tāwhiri-mātea	God of the winds and elements
Tangaroa/Takaroa	God of the sea
Te Ao Māori	The Māori worldview
Te Ao Mārama	The world of day, light
Te Ao Pākehā	The European worldview, the European culture

Te Kerēme	The Ngāi Tahu Claim WAI 27
Te Korekore	The world of potential, the void
Te Pō	The darkness
Te Reo Māori	The Māori language
Te Tai	Coastline
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi (Māori text)
Te Waipounamu	The South Island
Tikanga	Custom
Tīti	Mutton bird
Tohu	Signs
Tohunga	Expert, skilled person
Tū-mata-uenga	God of war
Tūpāpāku	Deceased person's body
Tūpuna	Ancestors, grandparents, elders
Tūrangawaewae	Place of belonging
Wai	Water
Waiata	Song, sing
Waiata tautoko	Supporting song
Wairua	Spirit, spiritual
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Waka	Canoe
Waka ama	Outrigger canoe
Wānanga	Learning forum, interview
Whaikōrero	Speech
Whakaaro	Thoughts, ideas, opinions
Whakaeke	Walk on
Whakapapa	Genealogy, connections, origins
Whakanoa	Process of removing tapu
Whakataukī	Proverb
Whakawhanaungatanga	Process of building relationships
Whānau	Family

Whanaunga

Relatives, relations

Whanaungatanga

Relationships, connections, networking

Whenua

Land, placenta

Wharenui

Meeting house

Whetu

Stars

Appendix 2

Consent Form

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information such as audiotapes will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years.
4. This project involves an open-questioning technique. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.
5. The results of the project may be published but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity should I choose to remain anonymous.
6. I, as the participant:
a) agree to being named in the research,
OR;
b) would rather remain anonymous

I agree to take part in this project.

..... (Signature of participant)

..... (Date)

This research has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Ethics Committee

Appendix 3

Information Sheet for Participants

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

The aim of this research is to investigate the role of mahinga kai (food gathering sites and practices) in Māori physical education and health. This research explores the various meanings and understandings of mahinga kai; and how these understandings resonate with Māori physical education and health.

What Type of Participants are being sought?

Participants of the volunteer week (case study) and members of the Māori community who are experts in the field of mahinga kai and/or Māori physical education and health.

What will Participants be Asked to Do?

Partake in an interview answering questions and sharing personal experiences/insights. Participants from the case study will also provide personal reflective journals over the 4-day weekend reflecting on their experiences.

What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?

The discussions at the interview will be audio taped and written into an analysis in essay format. Should you wish to have a copy of this analysis it can be provided upon completion. All data collected will be treated with respect. On the Consent Form you will be given options regarding your anonymity. Please be aware that should you wish we will make every attempt to preserve your anonymity. However, with your consent, there are some cases where it would be preferable to attribute contributions made to individual participants. It is absolutely up to you which of these options you prefer.

This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning is around experiences with or surrounding mahinga kai and/or Māori Physical education and health. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

The reflective diaries will be collected, transcribed and analysed. Should you wish for your journal to be returned to you, this can be arranged upon completion of the thesis.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about this project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Miss Chanel Phillips (researcher) or/and

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Appendix 4

Reflective Piece

Write ONE reflective piece addressing the following question:

Why is the Ki Uta Ki Tai Volunteer week important and what does it mean to you?



Appendix 5

Ki Uta Ki Tai Newsletter



Student volunteers are led on a tour around Hawksbury Lagoon learning some of the history.

Ki Uta Ki Tai: From the Mountains to the Sea volunteer week took place for the second time this year, running from 26-29 September with the four environmental groups in the Waikouaiti-Karitane area including Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka, River Estuary Care: Waikouaiti-Karitane, East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee and Hawksbury Lagoon.

The groups welcomed student volunteers from two University of Otago classes including: PHSE427/527 Working with Māori Communities, supervised by Dr. Anne Marie Jackson, lecturer at the School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences and; MAOR310: Indigenous Development, supervised by Dr. Lyn Carter lecturer at Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies. We were also fortunate to have members of the community and some past volunteers from previous years join us in the field.

On Friday the volunteers worked alongside Hawksbury Lagoon with local residents, planting native trees and shrubs at an old pine plantation site at the lagoon. The planting of native trees is an effort to restore the habitat and help improve the water quality of the lagoon. Volunteers were provided with a gorgeous lunch and delicious home baking supplied by the lovely ladies from the Hawksbury community.



Student volunteer Talia Ellison planting at Hawksbury Lagoon.

Talia describes planting as “*incredibly rewarding and therapeutic and looking at the end result instilled a sense of pride and achievement*”.





Student volunteers Bethany Struthers (left) and Stevie Fergusson (right) planting at Mt Watkins Farm.

Bethany says *“it was an awesome feeling to be part of the team who planted behind Hikaroroa, knowing that we were helping to build the mauri of the area”*

On Saturday volunteers teamed up with River Estuary Care to plant native trees along the north branch of the Waikouaiti River up the catchment on the Mt Watkins Farm, behind the beautiful Hikaroroa maunga (mountain). David and Sarah Smith (landowners) are advocates for sustainable farming and invited volunteers from the Ki Uta Ki Tai program through River Estuary Care to help them in their efforts. The Smiths have recently fenced off a large area of riparian margin to exclude stock from the river.

It was a massive turnout at the Smith farm with over 50 volunteers and the spirits were high! Children, adults, young and old turned up with their tools and gloves to offer their help. It was awesome to see the community come together to support these landowners who are clearly making a positive difference to supporting the mauri (life) back in the waterways.

The planting (over 1700 plants!) will improve the biodiversity of the area and enhance habitats for long-finned eels and other native fish in the river whilst improving the quality of the water. We even had a couple of keen volunteers jump in to cool off after a day’s work. The water was refreshing and healthy!



Group photo of the workers – included student volunteers, River estuary care members, the Smith family (landowners), and members of the Karitane – Waikouaiti community.

On Sunday we had the pleasure of having Mark Brown from Blueskin Nurseries come to talk to us about seed raising and to share some of his expertise. We were fascinated to learn about vegetative propagation and just how easy it was to grow your own plants at home. Many of the volunteers went away enthused and inspired to start their own little nurseries. A big THANK-YOU to Mark for coming along to speak with us.

After lunch volunteers joined the East Otago Taiāpure to survey the marine life in the estuary. We learnt about the important role of the rāhui (temporary closure/restriction) on pāua and the work of the Taiāpure to regenerate the pāua population for future use.

Part of the Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week is about teaching the values of kaitiakitanga (resource management) and how we must be kaitiaki (guardians) of our environments for our benefit and for our children and grandchildren. The continuous work of the Taiāpure is to sustain the health of Tangaroa and all the resources that are bound to him. They are ensuring that these environments and the resources that flourish from them are not lost to erosion, sedimentation and over-exploitation.



Mark Brown from Blueskin Nurseries teaches volunteer Charles Walters about seed raising.

Charles explains “we need to treat them [the plants] like ourselves, nourish them and give them attention”.



Image of pipi (shellfish) and kūtai (mussels) that the volunteers gathered for dinner with Brendan Flack from Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki.



Volunteers carrying out Marine Meter Square surveys for the East Otago Taiāpure Committee.

Mahinga kai (traditional food gathering places and practices) lies at the heart of the ki uta ki tai volunteer week, teaching volunteers the importance of looking after the environment from the mountains down to the sea, so that these food resources continue to be available for whānau (families) and communities to access.



Dr Anne-Marie Jackson (far left) and her Physical Education students sit around the kōwhai tree that student Huia Pocklington (third from right) gifted to Puketeraki Marae in appreciation for hosting the volunteers.

On our final day of Ki Uta Ki Tai, the volunteers joined Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki for a morning waka ama paddle. This was a perfect time for us to reflect on the last 4 days of work and understand the importance of what we were a part of. Whanaungatanga (relationships) are what make this program work, with the four community groups coming together and supporting one another on this collective journey. Mahinga kai lies at the heart of volunteer week, encouraging others to be kaitiaki of their environments and expressing the values of looking after these places that nurture us through the food that they supply. Most importantly it is about understanding that food feeds not only the body but it feeds the hearts and minds of people also; feeding our wairua (spirit), hinengaro (mind) and whānau (family).



Volunteers join Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki locals Waiariki Parata-Taiapa and Brendan Flack on the water for some waka ama paddling and fishing. We were blessed by the appearance of a beautiful Southern Right whale while we were out on the water. Our hysterical screaming and pointing could be the reason why we didn't catch any fish on our lines that morning. Nonetheless it was a beautiful morning surrounded by good people and beautiful scenery.



Volunteer Maddie Bowles shows off her gorgeous kete she weaved at the volunteer week thanks to the expert guidance from Suzi Flack.

Appendix 6

Ki Uta Ki Tai Activity Plan

Friday, 26 September

10am

Vans to arrive at the Rūnaka office for mihi whakatau

10.30am

Leave to Hawksbury Lagoon meeting at the end of Scotia Street (down Beach St turn left immediately over the railway line).

11am-3.30pm

Hawksbury Lagoon work: Planting for habitat restoration. Lunch will be provided onsite at

1pm. (Weather permitting)

Contact person: Shirley McKewen 027 603 0541

4pm

Arrive at the marae for pōwhiri

Settle in/set beds etc

Project Description:

The Hawksbury Lagoon Society endeavor to enhance, protect and conserve the habitats of the wildlife and plant life within the environs of the Hawksbury Lagoon, encouraging interest and appreciation of Hawksbury Lagoon by local residents, visitors and special interest groups.

We will be continuing to plant the area which was a pine plantation, where the Ki uta ki tai group earlier this year completed planting about half the area. It will be a mix of native shrubs/trees.

Tides

Low tide: 10am High tide: 4pm

(Meals- lunch provided in the field by Hawksbury)

Saturday, 27 September

8.30am

Arrive at Karitane Hall

9am-3pm

River Estuary Care work: Habitat restoration

Contact person: Joel Vanderburg 022 605 2298

Project Description:

River-Estuary Care: Waikouaiti-Karitane – This community group has been carrying out habitat restoration projects in the catchment since 1999. The plantings are set to improve the biodiversity of the area, reduce erosion and sedimentation of the waterway, and enhance whitebait habitat. In cooperation with local farmers large stretches have been fenced to exclude stock from the river. This group won the first ever Department of Conservation Coastal Otago Community Conservation Award. They also carry out education projects about the Waikouaiti River, actively advocate for improved water quality and river flow, and monitor the birds of the estuary.

Volunteers will be planting an extensive strip of land (fenced off by the farmer to exclude stock) along

the north branch of the Waikouaiti River. The farm is near Hikaroroa (Mt Watkins) about 20 minutes inland from Karitane.

3.30pm

Arrive back at the marae

In the evening

Harakeke weaving workshop at the marae

Contact Suzi Flack: 021 257 6048

Tides

Low tide: 11am High Tide: 5pm

(Meals- lunch provided in the field by River Estuary)

Sunday, 28 September

8.50am

Meet at the Rūnaka grounds

9am-9.50am

Huriawa walk and kōrero about the significant landscapes to the Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki hapū.

Contact person: Brendan Flack 027 440 9998

10am-11.30am

Seed raising and planting community workshop at the rūnaka office

Contact Person: Mark Brown (03 482 2833)

12pm-3pm

East Otago Taiāpure work: Meter squared surveys of the estuary and water activities (weather permitting)

Contact person: Brendan Flack 027 440 9998

Project Description:

The East Otago Taiāpure Committee is involved in enhancing and maintaining the community fishery in the Rohe of Kati Huirapa ki Puketeraki. Volunteers will be training in the use of the Marine Metre Square protocols along the Waikouaiti estuary. This work will contribute to sustaining the health of Tangaroa. Later in the afternoon water activities including waka ama, stand up paddle-boarding and mahinga kai will be offered by community members in appreciation of your help.

After tea

Poroporoaki/farewell to students?

Tides:

Low tide: 12pm High tide: 6pm

(Meals- BBQ lunch provided by Rūnaka and hosted at Patti & Joel's house)

Monday, 29 September

Early morning:

Clean up the marae and pack vans

8.50am

Meet at rūnaka grounds

9am-2pm

Volunteer work to be determined on the day

1pm

Mihi Whakamutunga/Farewell

3pm

Volunteers leave on the vans

Tides

Low tide: 2pm High tide: 8pm

(Meals- lunch provided in the field by the Taiāpure)