He Vā

Possibilities in Moana relationships: Pūrākau with five Pacific educators

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Abstract

My thesis stories and reads the vā between Māori and Moana peoples. I understand the vā to be a dynamic relational fabric woven from past, present, and future encounters that links all entities indelibly. My work reveals the vā in the work of five educators from the Pacific in their cultural-ethical practices that inform political practice and vice versa in the context of Māori and Moana educational and social relationships in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The participants and I use narrative methods of talanoa (Samoa/Tonga/Fiji) and pūrākau (Māori) to bring to life day-to-day practices that exemplify care and nurture (the cultural-ethical) and negotiation (the political) potentials of the vā. Five philosophical lenses assist in the writing of the pūrākau and the reading of the vā: ontological orientation, cultural and ethical responsibility for the Other, decolonising agenda, critique and challenge, and relationships which transcend time and space. I argue that the vā offers an opportunity to harness Indigenous ways of knowing and being that might better serve Māori and Moana peoples in productive cross-cultural, ancient-contemporary relationships today and as we walk backwards into the future.

Dedication

Each night before you go to bed, my babies

Whisper a little prayer for me, my babies

And tell all the stars above

This is dedicated to the ones I love.

Arizona, Orbyn and Ingram

Belinda, Bud, and Bingo

And my husband

Augustine

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Ko rātou ngā toka tū moana. Ka ākina rātou e ngā ngaru o te moana.

Ka ākina e te tai, ka ākina e ngā hau.

Engari ahakoa pēhea ka tū tonu, ka tū tonu

They are rocks that stand in the sea. They will be struck by the ocean's waves.

They will be dashed by the tide; they will be struck by the winds.

But no matter what they will stand, they will stand

This doctorate has been a long haul, and even now as I type these words, I'm not sure if this is the end. How can it be? For over half of my youngest child's life, I have been grafting away at finding some words that do justice to the lives of the Tūmoana: Rae, Tafa, Maima, Lili and Tamasailau. I appreciate your patience with me and for trusting me with your words, ideas, and stories. He mihi whakawhetai ki ngā Tūmoana, te ngākau o tēnei rangahau

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Contents

Glossary

Te Reo Māori	
Ahi kā	Burning fires of occupation
Anamata	Future
Aroha	Love
Aroha mai	Apologies
Atua	Deity
Awa	River
Hapū	Subtribe
Hariru	Shake hands
Hawaiki	Ancient homeland
Hikoi	Walk, land march
Hongi	Press noses in greeting
Hoturoa	Chief of the Tainui waka
Hui	Meeting
Inamata	Olden times
Iwi	People
Kaiārahi	Guide, escort
Kaihautū	Keeps the beat in the waka, work Māori advisory group
Kaikaranga	Woman caller
Kaitiaki	Guardian
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face
Kapa haka	Māori performing group
Karakia	Prayer
Kaumātua	Elders
Kaupapa	Topic
Kaupapa Māori	Māori approach
Kura Auraki	English medium education
Mahi	Work
Mamae	Painful, sore, hurt
Mana	Authority
Mana whenua	Authority over the land
Manaaki	Hospitality, care and nurture
Manaakitanga	Expressions of hospitality
Marae	Enclosed space in front of a house, courtyard, village common

Mātāmua	Oldest child
Mātauranga	Knowledge
Maunga	Mountain
Mauri	Life force
Mihi	To greet
Moana	Sea, ocean
Mokemoke	Sorrowful
Mokopuna	Grandchild
Mōteatea	Lament, chant
Naianei	Now
Ngāpuhi	Tribe from the north
Ngatokimatawhaorua	Name of a waka
Noa	Profane, normal
Oranga wairua	Healthy spirit
Pātaka	Storehouse
Pepeha	Tribal saying
Poroporoaki	Farewell
Pou	Pillar
Pōwhiri	Traditional welcome
Pū	Base, roots
Pūrākau	Ancient story, narrative pedagogy used in research
Rākau	Tree
Rangatira	Chief
Raranga	Weaving
Rōpū	Group
Rumaki	Immersion
Tā mako	Traditional tattoo
Tainui	Name of a waka and a tribe
Takoha	Gift, donation
Tangata Tiriti	People of the Treaty
Tangata whenua	People of the land
Tangi	Funeral
Taniko	Embroidery
Tapu	Sacred
Tauiwi	Non-Māori, colonist
Tauparapara	Incantation

Tautohetohe	Debate
Te ao Māori	Māori world
Te ao marama	The world of light, the physical world
Te ao wairua	Spiritual world
Te Arawa	Name of a waka, an ancestor, and a tribe
Te Mamaru	Name of a waka
Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa	Pacific Ocean
Teina	Younger sibling
Tikanga	Cultural protocol—doing what's right
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination
Tohu	Signs
Tohunga	Expert
Tuahine	Sister to a male
Tuakana	Elder sibling
Tukutuku	Lattice work
Tipuna/Tupuna	Ancestor
Tūpuna	Ancestors
Tūrangawaewae	A right to stand, belonging through kinship, whakapapa
Ūkaipō	Original home
Utu	Repaying, avenging, answering, restoring
Wā	Time, space
Wahine	Woman
Waiata	Song
Waka	Canoe
Waka hourua	Double-hulled canoe
Wānanga	Knowledge forum
Whaikōrero	Formal speech
Whakaaro	Thought, understanding
Whakairo	Carving
Whakamā	Ashamed
Whakamana	Give prestige
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakataukī	Proverb
Whakatōhea	Tribe from the Eastern Bay of Plenty
Whānau	Family
Whanaunga	Kin, relation

Whanaungatanga	Family like connections
Whangai	Foster, adopt a child
Whare	House
Wharenui	Meeting house
Gagana Samoa/Samoan Language	
Afakasi	Half-caste
Aganu'u	Culture
Ali'i	Chief, nephew
'Aiga	Family
Alofa	Love
Fa'aaloalo	Respect
Fa'alavelave	Obligations, that often include donating money, anything which interferes with normal life and calls for special activity
Fa'amatai	Chiefly
Fa'a Samoa	Samoan way
Fale	House
Fanua	Land
Feagai	Opposite
Feagaiga	Sacred covenant
Fe'oa	Chores
Fono	Meeting
'Ie lavalava	Cloth worn as a wrapped garment
'Ie toga	Fine mat–highly prized
I'inei	Home-place
Ilamutu	Niece
Itulagi	Worldview
Laumalie	Essence, spirit, wairua
Malaga	Migration
Matai	Chief
Mau	A nonviolent movement for Samoan independence from colonial rule
Noa	Secular, profane
Nu'u	Village
Onasa'i	Patience
Palagi	Pākehā, European
Sogi	Greeting pressing noses
Tā	Rhythm or beat of life

Tagaloaalelagi	Creator of the universe
Tagata o le moana	People of the ocean
Talanoa	Talk about nothing
Tapu	Sacred
Tapuia	Make sacred
Tausi vā	Formal care and nurture of the vā
Tautua	Service
Teu le vā	Informal care and nurture of the vā
Tona'i	Feast, Sunday lunch
Tuaoi	Boundary
Tulou	Excuse me
Vā fa'afeso'oai	Consultative space
Vā tapuia	Sacred space
Lea Faka-Tonga/Tongan Language	
Fatongia	Duties
Fonua	Land
Fuo	Form
Hokohoko	Genealogy
Kāinga	Family
Kakala	Garland
Mālie	Happiness
Tā	Temporal space, beat of life
Tausi vā	Care and nurture of the vā
Uho	Content
Vāha'a	Space of connection between
Vāofi	Spatially near

NB: Where possible I have glossed Māori, Samoan and Tongan words within the text e.g., aroha/love

Preface

My whakapapa to Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa begins with the voyage of my tipuna Tūmoana from Hawaiki on the Tinana waka. His canoe landed at Moria, known nowadays as Te Tauroa. The eastern peninsula of Te Kohanga (Shipwreck Bay), the curve of Te Oneroa a Tohe (Ninety-Mile Beach) in Ahipara. The rangatira/chief, Tūmoana, and his people established their rights to occupation and discovery of the land from Hokianga to Ahipara on the coast and as far inland as Mangamuka and Mangataniwha.

The pūrākau tells of Tūmoana storing the Tinana waka, travelling across the land and staying for long periods in different places. Eventually, Tūmoana came to rest in the Hokianga but he became mokemoke/sorrowful, for his home of Hawaiki. He returned to Te Tauroa and retrieved his waka, readying Tinana for the voyage home. His daughter, Kahutianui-a-te-Rangi, began to weep for her father as the journey was treacherous.

As the story goes, Tūmoana called to his daughter Kahutianui-a-te-Rangi from the waka. He told her to cease her tears and live in this new land as the head of his tribe. To quell her fears Tūmoana called to Kahutianui explaining when he arrived in Hawaiki, he would chant so that thunder may “Boom” and she would know that he had arrived safely to Hawaiki.

The waka Tinana arrived in Hawaiki and was repurposed by Tūmoana’a nephew Te Parata. The waka Tinana returned to Aotearoa, bearing the name Te Māmaru waka. The crew of Te Māmaru saw land at Maunga Pūwheke on the Karikari Peninsula, before sailing around Rangiāwhio and Whatuwhiwhi to make landfall at Te Ikateretere, near the mouth of the Taipā River. Te Parata married Kahutianui-a-te-Rangi, who is known as the founding ancestor of Ngāti Kahu.

My ancestors from Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa were on the Tinana waka, but from this pūrākau I know many of them returned and remained in Hawaiki or other places in the moana. I have always wondered if other whanaunga of Tūmoana travelled to Aotearoa during more recent Pacific migration and in what way we would greet each other when we realised, we were whānau.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study is about relationships. The central concern of this thesis is the cultural, ethical, and political possibilities of the vā, a dynamic relational space, between Māori and Moana peoples in educational and social contexts of Aotearoa-New Zealand. I argue that the vā offers an opportunity to harness Indigenous ways of knowing and being (cultural-ethical) that might better serve Māori and Moana peoples in productive cross-cultural, ancient–contemporary relationships (political). I talanoa/dialogue with five educators from the Pacific, whom I call Tūmoana, to explore their understandings of the vā they share with Māori.

I write this work as a Māori woman, born and raised in Tāmaki Makaurau, Auckland. This thesis develops my understanding of the vā, a Polynesian relational concept. I have come to know that the vā between Māori and Tūmoana is a dynamic exchange, a relational fabric woven from past, present, and future encounters that binds us enduringly. I talanoa with the Tūmoana about cultural-ethical and political intersections in education and beyond. Through our talanoa we explore ways some educators from the Pacific in Aotearoa-New Zealand establish and maintain their ongoing commitment to Māori people, students, and issues of social justice. The co-created pūrākau/narrative pedagogies, the product of the talanoa, are the centre of this study. They should be purposefully read as stories from the vā that engender knowledge production from the Tūmoana with you the reader, scholar, or practitioner.

The use of five theoretical concepts assists in reading the vā of the pūrākau. The five concepts originate from an analysis of a long-standing Māori–Moana relationship, and weave together the front section of the thesis. The reading of the vā, the discussion from the pūrākau, listens for cultural-ethical and political intersections that display relational responsibility between the Tūmoana and Māori. We listen for intersections that nurture, negotiate and reimagine the potential of their relationships in education specifically, and in Aotearoa-New Zealand society more broadly. I work with two key dimensions: the "cultural" (which I establish as cultural-ethical) and the "political" in organising the talanoa and the conceptual analysis of them.

I draw this cultural and political framing from the work of Kaupapa Māori theorist Graham Hingangaroa Smith (2012) who argues attention to both social dimensions, cultural and political, are important to analyse

and transform oppressive systems. I am guided in my thinking by G. H. Smith's articulation and concern for the centring of Kaupapa Māori theory and practice as a way to reclaim Indigenous knowledge and transform education spaces for Māori (1997, 2000, 2012, 2017). Many scholars from the Pacific think similarly about envisioning education spaces through our own lenses. Their thinking assists me to better articulate the various intersections of the vā and reimagine how Māori–Moana relationships might be conceived in new and optimistic ways. I discuss these ideas further below.

In this introductory chapter, I situate my study. Preparatory material is included to ensure we (you, the reader, and I) can cover the ground together as we move into the body of the thesis. The following is contained in this Introduction: an explanation of finding my research focus, an outline of the questions that guided this study and the scope of this thesis. I turn then to the most important people in this study, the participants. I briefly introduce them, and my use of a selection of terms in this work. I then look at a particular long-standing vā as a recorded example of a committed Māori–Moana relationship and establish theoretical concepts to read the vā. The Introduction then shifts to Māori and Moana scholars whose work has helped develop my own thinking. Next, I establish my appreciation of the concepts of "cultural-ethical" and political and their use in this study, which leads to an overview of chapters.

Finding My Research Focus

For much of my adult life I have focused on Māori inequalities in the education system. This theme travelled with me into this study and had a detrimental effect on me emotionally. I was constantly resentful about education in general. My doctoral studies began while employed with the Ministry of Education, National Office. It was there that I saw at a systemic level why our English education system or Kura Auraki continues to fail our Māori students and their whānau/family. Our colonial education framework was designed to catalyse systemic social and cultural conformity (Freire, 1972) and has generally achieved this outcome. It wasn't like I didn't already know these things, but it was terribly confronting to see such repeated poor decision making at government levels. Māori employed for their subject-matter expertise constantly defending Māori identity, language, and culture in every interaction. In the spirit of working as a team, Māori were often corralled into decisions about work programmes. This detrimental and repressive behaviour occurred without consultation and always required urgent action to comply with Ministry time

frames. Disillusioned about being complicit in a deficit education system, I felt a doctoral exposé of this problematic behaviour was appropriate.

Fortunately (and to stop me being swamped by my rage), my supervisors encouraged me to think bravely and embrace the unknown. They renewed a curiosity in me to want to think about things differently. I had been captivated by a reclamation agenda and they encouraged an envisioning agenda. Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) outlines envisioning as a strategy to bind Indigenous people together politically. In doing this, she says the outcome is that "people imagine a future, that they rise above present-day situations... dream a new dream and set a new vision" (p. 254). I embraced this opportunity to think more broadly about my own lived experiences in education and the hands that had guided me.

An envisioning agenda allowed me to wonder about Māori and Moana relationships. Specifically, my own long-standing relationships with people from the Pacific, as work colleagues in educational settings. I have participated and observed this relationship over a lengthy period. In these relationships, as a Māori person, I have experienced joy in these relationships with my Pacific peers, but there have been moments of hesitation. For the most part the relationship is grounded in a responsibility to and for one another and at other times there is an ambivalence or perhaps a reticence to assist one another. These moments of uncertainty I have questioned and found myself wondering.

More recently, in my work in initial teacher education, I found there lacked significant resources to discuss a tangata whenua-tagata moana vā. I felt able to anecdotally discuss the vā I share with educators from the Pacific but realised this knowing came not from a formal education but more a cavalcade of personal experiences. My knowledge of this vā came from my own private agenda: a familial responsibility to know and understand a Pacific worldview to support my Nesian (abbreviation of Polynesian) children, my extended family, and the students in my classroom. I became interested in what encouraged some educators from the Pacific to remain in long-standing committed relationships with iwi Māori regardless of reward or reprisal and what might we learn from hearing about these engagements.

A Polynesian method, talanoa, was used to create opportunities for the Tūmoana to tell stories and theorise their daily interactions with Māori. The informal talanoa with Tūmoana offered intimate sharing, where negotiation of new and old skills, knowledge, and values could be discussed without fear of restrictions

(Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014). I argue that the vā is a site of cultural-ethics and politics, that calls the Tūmoana to a responsibility in Māori–Pacific relational encounters, more specifically relationships across Polynesia. To explore this idea in the talanoa I asked the following questions:

- How have you come to have long-standing, committed relationships with Māori?
- How have your understandings of the vā you share with Māori influenced your thinking, relationships, and practice?
- What hopes do you have for a Māori-Moana vā in the future?

I focus on the site of education to ask these questions of practitioners from Polynesian for the following reasons. Firstly, my ongoing involvement in the education sector, which has included Pacific mentors who have shaped my pedagogical practice. Secondly, as a Māori mother of Nesian children I realise that education has been used as a tool of domestication in both Aotearoa-New Zealand and the Pacific. Samoan author, activist, and academic Maualaivao Albert Wendt (1982) likened formal education experienced by people of the Pacific to a "lobotomy operation or a relentless life-long dosage of tranquillisers" (pp. 209–210). I have wondered about my own complicity in a domestication agenda and use this work as a lever to awaken myself and decolonise my thinking. Not one more mind![1]

My last reason, in my current role in initial teacher education, I have a duty to support the professional growth and practice of our participants and beginning teachers. Our inaugural cohort boasts a 65% Pacific and Māori enrolment. Yet there are few narratives about our (Māori–Moana) relationships in education to encourage reflective inquiry and improved practice for our participants and their learners. Ergo, it makes the most sense that I would choose education as a site to research so my work would have implications for Māori, Polynesian, Moana and possibly wider Pacific education practitioners and their learners here in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Tūmoana—Co-Conspirators

The participants/co-conspirators in this study are named after my tipuna *Tūmoana* (see Preface). The participants are people who engage in a relatively new and ambitious interface for Māori–Moana dialogue.

[1] Reference to "Not one more acre," a slogan adopted from the 1975 hokoi/walk or land march by Dame Whina Cooper in support of Māori sovereignty issues, signifianlty Māori land loss.

It is fitting that they carry this moniker as navigators, educational leaders, and Polynesians. The Tūmoana, five exceptional educators from the Pacific introduced again in Chapter 4 the Methodology chapter, are Rae Si'ilata, Laurayne Tafa, Jemaima Tiatia, Lili Tuioti and Tamasailau Suaalii-Sauni. In this research, I refer to the Tūmoana by their first name or their nickname but when I cite their published work, I use their last name, following the convention of academic referencing. I note here for the reader that all the Tūmoana have long-standing commitments and responsibilities to Samoa, the whenua, and her people.

I pause at this point to add an important caveat for all readers. 'Pacific peoples' is a term I have used strategically to stand in for the diasporic Pacific identities located in Aotearoa-New Zealand. This is a contested term and obscures the complexities and differences amongst Pacific people (Finau & Finau 2006). In Aotearoa-New Zealand, our orientation to the Pacific often extends from our whenua/land out to the moana/ocean with a focus on the Polynesian triangle to the east. This proclivity to focus on Pacific peoples from nation states within the Polynesian triangle can be critiqued as reinforcing the long-running problematic Pacific identity politics in Aotearoa-New Zealand that tends to marginalise people from Northern and Western Polynesia. However, for those readers who are not familiar with such an inclination I will do my best to outline a few of the key reasons why this is the case. Our modern orientation to the Pacific is politically driven, named and identified. Māori, tangata whenua, the Indigenous people of Aotearoa claim origin beginnings in this Eastern area of the Pacific and are the southern most members of the Polynesian triangle (more information can be found in Chapter 2). Constitutionally we have a responsibility to the Realms of New Zealand which are the Ross Dependency, Tokelau, the Cook Islands and Niue. We also have long-standing, political, and intergenerational relationships with Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji who, in 2018, make up 75% of the Pacific population in Aotearoa-New Zealand, with Samoa making up 48% of the Pacific population (Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2021, p.18). This lens on the Pacific is distinctly Polynesian. As a consequence, I have come to use the term *Moana peoples* as a designation that includes those Pacific peoples with whom my public and private spheres intersect on a daily basis.

I explain this at this point as it would be incorrect to say that the thinking in this work explores all parts of the Pacific, as peoples in the Northern and Western parts of the Pacific have not been the focus of this research. This is in part to the smaller population numbers, given that these nations make up just over 1%

of the Pacific population residing in Aotearoa-New Zealand (Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2021, p. 18), and the reduced political relations at the time of writing.

The term *co-conspirator* expresses an appreciation of the day-to-day actions of the Tūmoana, also the ongoing and reciprocal process of talanoa. The Tūmoana, through the talanoa, were able to ask questions of their own beliefs and refine new understandings (Vaioleti, 2013). The co-conspirator approach is drawn from the discourse of Alicia Garzia, Black Lives Matter co-founder and special projects director for National Domestic Workers Alliance. I am more familiar with the idea of co-conspiracy through Oglala Lakota scholar and educator Josie Green. She explains co-conspiracy as "an enduring and self-sustaining commitment of action towards abolitionism and the liberation of self, all relations, and lands" (personal communication, August 18, 2021) I take abolitionism in this context not just to mean the movement to end slavery of the person but equally to end slavery of one's mind, to decolonise one's mind. I position the Tūmoana as co-conspirators who daily engage in the cultural-ethics and politics at work in the vā they share with Māori.

I had other co-conspirators that were not the Tūmoana, my Pacific Pou/mentors. In the progression of this research, I had to face a significant internal tension. I was extremely cautious about writing about Pacific concepts. I am not identified as a "Pacific person" and therefore writing as an outsider; I wanted to ensure a level of cultural and ethical safety for the Tūmoana and myself. I took counsel from my Pacific Pou (explained Chapter 4: Methodology), a group which has nurtured my thinking and encouraged me to theorise and write about the vā shared by Māori and Moana peoples, stating: *It's time sis, write with your heart filled with alofa, you have got this, and we have got you.* Also, reminders about who I am: *You are from the moana*, and simply what I was doing: *Always remember you are having a conversation with your cousins*. It is undeniable that this type of support can leave you buoyant, but I am tremendously grateful that my Pacific Pou opened the vā for me to work in Pacific spaces and to address my brooding wonderings about these Māori–Moana relationships.

I use other terms that seem pertinent to identify at this stage. *Māori, iwi Māori, Pacific peoples, Moana* and *Pākehā* are used to denote the groups of people included in this research. There is political power in a name and such designations hold differing meanings for the groups of people they label. My selection of these labels is deliberate, considered and taken under advice. In Aotearoa-New Zealand, where this study was

undertaken, the term *Māori* or *iwi Māori* refers to tangata whenua/people of the land. While the term is homogenous and Māori are diverse, the choice is strategic for this written work as a placeholder for the generalised idea about the many whānau/families, hapū/subtribes and iwi/tribes that claim and retain mana whenua/authority over their land.

A Long-Standing Relationship

My study focuses on the possibilities of Māori–Moana relationships, the vā between them. While I was aware of many informal relationships across education and other social agencies that have withstood the trials of time, I did not have an actual case in point that might suggest or shape a vā shared by Māori and Moana peoples. I surveyed the literature for a recorded relationship that might exemplify the commitment I intended to discuss with the Tūmoana. I found one long-standing and committed Māori–Moana relationship of note between Māori politician Sir Māui Pōmare and Samoan nationalist leader Ta'isi Olaf Frederick Nelson (O'Brien, 2017). These two first met in late 1919, during the early period of New Zealand's administration of Samoa. The relationship is remembered as bringing Polynesian people together in new ways, with political and cultural outcomes for both men and their respective nations.

Pōmare and Ta'isi shared boundaries of similar experience in their lives. Both were well entrenched in imperial contexts in their society and were seen as political messengers (O'Brien, 2014). The pair had controversial careers. Pōmare's work in crafting the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act and his promotion during wartime of a Māori conscription strategy, which he later came to regret, were efforts that drew criticism from the Māori community. Ta'isi's controversy stemmed from his work with the Mau, the nonviolent movement for Samoan independence from colonial rule. However, historian Patricia O'Brien (2014) explains that "While much drew these men together, their most powerful connection was their mutual passion for Polynesian culture and history" (p. 38). Pōmare and Ta'isi both had extensive knowledge of Māori and Pacific lore. Pōmare even unearthed whakapapa/genealogy stories that connected his beloved Taranaki iwi/tribe to Samoa.

The Mau were influenced politically by discussions between Pōmare and Ta'isi. Exchanges via letter reveal that Pōmare, who was at Parihaka[2] as a child, explained to Ta'isi the ideas of Māori rangatira and well-

[2] Parihaka is a marae in the Taranaki region that passively resisted government land confiscations in 1881; Parihaka is a symbol of the injustice that was inflicted on the iwi/tribes, hapū/subtribes, and whānau/families of the Taranaki region.

known pacifists Tohu and Te Whiti (O'Brien, 2014). Passive resistance became a hallmark of the Mau. Both Pōmare and Ta'isi interrogated the cultural knowledge and political leanings of the other to make sense of their own situations. Ta'isi was targeted in 1927 for exile due to his involvement with the Mau. This exile prompted much debate in the New Zealand government. Consequently, Pōmare (1927) attacked his own government for their decision to exile Ta'isi, in what has been recorded as an astounding speech that recalled Māori and Samoan kinship and made evident that Samoans had no choice in coming under British rule. The kinship between the two men continued with reminders and enactments to each other of their cultural obligations and kinship (O'Brien, 2017). Pōmare was intent on assisting Samoa to rid themselves of colonial shackles, and Ta'isi's sincere hope in life was to "maintain and restore to my Polynesian kinsmen what has been lost for all time to Māori governing themselves in 'Maoriland'" (O'Brien, 2014, p. 43).

In their later years, the affection each had for the other was evident in their correspondence. Ta'isi and Pōmare both used Pōmare's Samoan chiefly title, Galumalemana, and exchanges of gifts and ongoing support for one another have all been recorded in their correspondence and various political publications (O'Brien, 2014, 2017). After a long illness, Pōmare's death instigated a final highly prized gift and acknowledgement of their relationship. On this occasion Ta'isi and his daughters gifted an 'ie tōga/fine mat to honour Pōmare. Ta'isi likens the tangi/funeral of Pōmare as a reunion through the intermingling of Māori and Samoan language, culture, and protocol. Ta'isi pledged at that time that Pōmare's name and love for Samoa would never be forgotten. Eighty years later, Ta'isi's grandson, Samoan head of state, Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi, along with other members of the Ta'isi family, returned to Ōwae marae in Waitara, Taranaki, to remember the kinship that shaped the history that binds New Zealand with Samoa politically and Samoans with Māori culturally.

The vā between Pōmare and Ta'isi highlights some concepts that are pertinent to this research. A shared whakapapa/genealogy, a responsibility to one another through relationality and cultural ethic, a resistance to colonial rule, a critique of and responsibility for the beliefs of others and commitments to each other are continued. These ideas I framed into five theoretical concepts to read the vā between Tūmoana and Māori: 1) Ontological orientation, 2) Cultural and ethical responsibility to the Other, 3) Decolonising agenda, 4) Commitment to critique and challenge, 5) Relationships which transcend time and space.

Influential Luminaries

In this study I realised that to talanoa with the Tūmoana would require me thinking differently. I outline here for the reader the ideas of Māori and Moana scholars that informed and reformed my thinking, not just once but on multiple occasions. This is not an exclusive list but indicates where intention and attention in my thinking lay. I introduce the thoughts of Graham Hingangaroa Smith (2012), "Interview: Kaupapa Māori: The dangers of domestication," Epeli Hau'ofa (1994), "Our Sea of Islands" and "Pasts to Remember" (2000), and Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi (2007), "In Search of Harmony: Peace in the Samoan Indigenous Religion." and "Bioethics and the Samoan indigenous reference" (2009).

My thinking is informed by Kaupapa Māori theory. Māori scholar and educator G. H. Smith drew on this term to capture the status associated with the word theory "it was a strategic move to open up a powerful space for Māori in the academy" (G. H. Smith in Hoskins & Jones, 2012, pp. 10–11). Kaupapa Māori theory, G. H. Smith (1997) argues, is underpinned by critical theory, a set of ideas that foreground action (social transformation) and theory (structural analysis that informs the action). The notions of action and theory intrinsic to Kaupapa Māori was influenced by his study of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1972) and German philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1974). Freire's seminal text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* assisted G. H. Smith in advancing the term *praxis* to refer to the synergies of action and analysis that are part of Kaupapa Māori theory. Habermas provided a reflection on celebrating incremental victories in political achievements. From these insights, G. H. Smith in his interview with Hoskins & Jones (2012) argued that the goal of tino rangatiratanga/sovereignty for Māori can be enacted or practised in our day-to-day actions.

The cultural and political intersections I analyse to understand Māori–Moana relationally lie in the multifarious vā they share with one another. During the interview with Hoskins and Jones, G. H. Smith (2012) outlines a cultural and a political element as two key Kaupapa Māori elements. I use these dimensions to organise the talanoa with the Tūmoana and analyse the discussion of the pūrākau which I call "reading the vā." G. H. Smith establishes the following:

> The cultural element involves the assertion or reinvigoration of cultural ideas in action such as ideas of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and reciprocity as social capital. The political element

> foregrounds economic power and historical analyses, and the related actions of economic self-development. Both elements are crucial to the radical potential of Kaupapa Māori. (p. 13)

As a Kaupapa Māori practitioner, I learn from G. H. Smith that theory or analysis of structure requires consideration of the historical, socioeconomic factors and politics that restrict or encourage Māori in their attainment of tino rangatiratanga/sovereignty. The action is therefore the everyday practice, the cultural-ethical interplay that encourages and guides decision making that is right and just, not reserved for individual gratification but for the benefit of the collective.

To consider the politics in the framework suggested by G. H. Smith (2012) in his conversation with Hoskins and Jones, I had to think like an ancestor instead of a coloniser. Tongan scholar Epeli Hau'ofa (1994, 2000) cautions us against a restrictive view of the Pacific Islands. He suggests the view promulgated in Western literature poses the Pacific Islands as under resourced, reliant on the aid of other countries and isolated due to a perceived remoteness. The idea of diminutive status for Pacific peoples was calculated on the land surface of the islands, not the sea masses over which Pacific peoples had dominion. For Hau'ofa, this view does not encourage Pacific peoples or people from Oceania (his moniker of preference) to look to their oral traditions, cosmologies, and stories to understand their ancestors. Hau'ofa believes, like his Oceanic ancestors, that they are not small like the islands themselves but are instead large like the ocean. He calls on the peoples of Oceania to remember their world consists of the land, the ocean, the underworld, and heavens above. Hau'ofa believed that smallness was a state of mind that had kept Oceania peoples dependent on Western colonial constructs that underserve the people of Oceania. I have used the thinking of Hau'ofa to inform how I might look for demonstrations of the politics of a Māori–Moana vā. For instance, in the ways this relationship has been designated and mediated by others instead of each other and by questioning who is best served by external mediators. Hau'ofa reminds me to think how we (Māori and Moana peoples) might reclaim our own relationship and the politics that often restrict us and keep us divided.

Hau'ofa's second contribution to my thinking was through his essay *"*Pasts to Remember." In this essay, Hau'ofa (2008) argues that for the people of Oceania to gain greater autonomy they must "define and construct their pasts and present in their own way" (p. 61). I harness this thinking to assist in the curation of historical, socioeconomic, and political events that might best serve Māori and Moana peoples in the

future. The reconstruction of Oceanic pasts has been determined based on a precontact and postcontact timeline. As if nothing of consequence existed outside of this organisation of history, "our histories are essentially narratives told in the footnotes of the histories of empires" (p. 62). Like Hau'ofa, I want to continue to pen the histories and stories that include our narratives as valid sources of history. To do this we must bring to the fore our historical reconstructions and write about the new knowledge and insights we might gain in the process. Such insights include the cyclic nature of time and how the past lies in front of us as we "step backwards" into the future. These notions and others are discussed further in Chapter 2: An Ancient Vā. Hau'ofa warns us that if we do not write our own histories, we will look at a past that is not ours and step into a future that is determined by others. This is why I began this work with the privileging of my tupuna *Tūmoana* to remember the past as I move to reconnect with my Moana future.

The last two essays that are companions for my thinking about cultural-ethics are Tui Atua's "In Search of Harmony." (2007), and "Bioethics and the Samoan indigenous reference" (2009). Tui Atua, the grandson of Ta'isi (long-time friend of Pōmare), proposes a Samoan Indigenous Reference akin to the Indigenous Reference discussed by Cree scholar Shawn Wilson (2008). I have used the idea of an Indigenous Reference to temper my thinking about the cultural ethics of the vā. Tui Atua tells us that "harmony in Samoan life recognises all things are equal" and that the "search for harmony is premised on Samoan Indigenous narratives of creation" (p. 2, 2007). These narratives establish that the Samoan people arrived in Samoa because of the genealogical links to Tagaloaalelagi—the progenitor of mankind. In this worldview, Samoans see a connection between the divine (Tagaloaalelagi) and temporal (Samoan people). In seeking balance, one achieves harmony between the divine and the temporal. Tui Atua explains that in Samoan society this balance can be achieved through the existence of tapu/sacred and feagaiga/sacred covenant relations. I understand that the Indigenous Reference is a constant responsibility from one entity to balance their relationships with the cosmos, the environment, others, and themselves in search of harmony. In seeking harmony there are some cultural doctrines that sustain everyday enactments or practices that are crucial to maintaining balance and achieving harmony. I use the work of Tui Atua and others such as Wilson (2008) to centre my views about the cultural and ethical aspects of the vā.

The Māori and Pacific scholars, activists, authors, and laypeople who have formed and reformed my thinking demonstrate a relational ontology. The scholars that have influenced my thinking understand a

philosophical position that relations between entities are ontologically more fundamental than the entities themselves (Hoskins & Jones, 2017). I have used this thinking to establish a knowledge base that helps me to think like an ancestor.

Understanding Cultural-Ethics and Politics

I understand politics to be the iterative negotiation and reciprocity of power. This notion of power is proposed by an Indigenous Reference (Tui Atua, 2007; Wilson, 2008) and the Māori–Moana concepts of wā/time–space (Māori), tā–vā/time–space (Samoa/Tonga). Power is seen as a generative force in these exchanges, in the vā, and is always in relation. Power is strategically exercised through the social-relational encounters of the vā rather than being possessed by individuals or groups (following Foucault 1977, 1980. Scholar and activist Frances Hancock (2018) draws attention to the pervasiveness of power, operating all the time, everywhere. At a macrolevel, politics is at work in governance and national political parties, and at a microlevel in face-to-face exchanges. The focus of my attention is on the politics that are at work in reciprocal relations of the vā, in the face to face, kanohi ki te kanohi exchanges, of the Tūmoana and Māori.

I was introduced to Emmanuel Levinas by Māori scholar and activist Te Kawehau Hoskins. Levinasian ethical phenomenology has informed my understanding of ethics. Philosopher of ethics Emmanuel Levinas (1969) argues that Western philosophy has forgotten the relation to the 'Other'—something integral to the philosophical ontology of the people of Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa. Māori–Moana knowledges are grounded in the relation, whakapapa/genealogy, and whenua/land, the collective (Barlow, 1991; G. H. Smith, 2000; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009; Tui Atua, 2007, 2009; Walker, 2004; Webber & O'Connor, 2019). Levinas (1969) pointed out that Western thought is preoccupied with the individual and looks to reduce relations to totalities (Hoskins, 2010). I have come to understand totality as that which can be known, akin to the temporal world. I appreciate the understanding I have gained about totality through the work of scholar Andrew Madjar (2016) who writes: "For Levinas, all understanding exists within a *totality*. The world becomes part of a meaningful unity where everything is reduced to definitions, concepts, and generalisations" (p. 26). I can reduce all things outside of myself, ensuring comprehension and understanding of the other. Levinas (1969) asserts that totality is interrupted when we come face to face with the Other. Levinasian ethics is founded on asymmetrical relationships that are revealed between the

self and the Other. Realisation that the Other has a standpoint and a life separate to one's own is embodied in the term *alterity* (1969, 1998).

How does Levinas inform my thinking about the cultural-ethics and politics at work in the vā between all Moana peoples? The phenomenological philosophy of Levinas (1969) can be argued to be understood in the notions of teu le vā/care and nurture, the responsibility to the Other to ensure the sacred and secular of the vā. Hoskins (2010) animates for me that ethics can interrogate politics and vice versa, without reducing one to the other. Such interrogation, she suggests, can lead to ethical-political decision making in service of others. This is the key political concern for Levinas: responsibility for the Other. Levinas (1998) addresses this political concern through his understanding of the relation between politics and ethics as an undetermined space capable of war-chaos and justice-harmony. Politics and ethics in Levinasian thought might be likened to an Indigenous Reference (Tui Atua, 2007; Wilson, 2008) and tā–vā (Māhina, 2010) in that there is an eternal flux in search of harmony. The philosopher Bernasconi (1999) explains it similarly in that ethics and politics co-exist in tension, each able to challenge the other. In these intersections of challenge, the negotiation, the care, and nurture of relations offers generative possibilities. Significant to this study are Levinas's (1998) beliefs that politics are the sphere of necessity for social life which he sees as including the ethical. The ethical does not have dominion over political action; however, the consideration of the ethical can interrupt the political. This, in turn, is an interruption or perhaps a disruption in power in the vā to which the Tūmoana as educators have responded through their long-standing relationships with Māori.

Thesis Overview

As discussed above, the vā between Moana peoples is a site where cultural-ethics and politics intersect. I explore the cultural-ethical intersection through an assertion of the Polynesian relational concept known as the vā, a dynamic relational space between entities. I develop a conversation about the political intersections of Moana relationships through an analysis of historical, collective, and social developments and actions.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The first chapter, the Introduction, orients the reader to this work. I indicate that the motivation for the study is to explore the vā between Māori and Moana peoples at the site of education in Aotearoa-New Zealand. I establish the scope of my research and the guiding questions. I present the idea of co-conspirators, the

Tūmoana who are five extraordinary educators from the Pacific. They talanoa about their lives and how they have come to maintain long-standing relationships with Māori. I point to the literature and foundational knowledge important to this study and explain the influential luminaries that guide my thinking.

Chapter 2: An Ancient Vā—An Approach to Relationality

The second chapter remembers Rangiātea, the ūkaipō/origin of iwi Māori. I prioritise a cultural-ethical kinship between Māori and Moana peoples through a shared whakapapa. Next, I establish the cultural-ethics that assert a reinvigoration of cultural ideas and concepts that underpin an understanding of the vā. These concepts are relationality, whakapapa, wā, tā–vā and relational space. This ordering begins with concepts familiar to me from te ao Māori/the Māori world as the groundwork, then extends through epistemological connections to Moana concepts. Included is synthesised material that outline Indigenous and Moana ontological and epistemological thinking. This chapter expands my own thinking about wā (Māori time–space) and tā–vā (Samoan/Tonga time–space). I take time and counsel to elaborate on the social, relational, sacred, and secular spaces of the vā. This chapter concludes by making links to education and the longstanding relationship between Pōmare and Ta'isi.

Chapter 3: Re-establishing the Vā—A Between-ness of Cultural-Ethics and Politics.

This chapter returns to the Preface where I wonder how I might greet my Pacific whānau when I meet them again. I use the question "How have we (Māori and Moana peoples) re-established the vā?" There are three main sections in this chapter. The first responds to the parallel experiences that Māori and Moana peoples have shared in the diaspora of the great ocean continent of Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa, including but not limited to their experience in colonial structures. In the second section, I pose two possibilities of the vā: teu le vā and negotiating the vā to assist me to imagine critically and creatively about the cultural-ethical and political intersections of the vā. In the final section of the chapter, I ask once more "How have we (Māori and Moana peoples) re-established the vā?" The answer this time is through kinships of conscientisation, acts of resistance and transformation that have been played out often at sites of education.

Chapter Four: Methodology

In this chapter I detail my approach to this study. I explain how this work contributes to a Indigenising agenda using Indigenous storytelling methods. I define Kaupapa Māori theory as seeking criticality which requires both action and theory. I explain my selection and subsequent use of talanoa (Tonga, Samoa, Fiji)

and pūrākau (Māori) qualitative narrative research methods as significant cultural-ethical practices that contribute critique and analysis to Māori and Moana research methodologies. I then turn to introducing the Tūmoana, who join in using these methods. I address the work required for us as co-conspirators in the re-storying of talanoa, development of pūrākau and reading of the vā. I prepare an outline of the five theoretical concepts, woven from the front chapters, used to read the vā in Chapter 11. To complete the methodology chapter, I then explain my axiology or ethics that are guided by whakaaro Māori/Māori thinking from Moana Jackson.

Chapter 5 to Chapter 10: Pūrākau

This section of the thesis opens with an orientation to pūrākau which includes my own pūrākau. Each chapter in this section is a co-constructed pūrākau. They are titled Rae, Tafa, Maima, Lili and Tamasailau after each of the Tūmoana. I include a preface and notes from whanaungatanga/family-like connections with each Tūmoana that was part of the methodology. Here I open the stories, in-between stories, and unspoken stories of the Tūmoana and the vā they share with Māori. The pūrākau include thought-provoking, bite-size vignettes reflecting on daily entanglements and enchantments with Māori that encourage the reader to reflect on their own vā with Māori. We (Tūmoana and I) take into consideration the political and cultural-ethical intersections of the vā that are framed in the pūrākau as three sections: Teu le Vā, Negotiating the vā, and Potentiality.

Chapter 11: Reading the Vā

This chapter contains a reading of the vā from the Tūmoana pūrākau. Here I foreground daily practices of the Tūmoana that exemplify intersections of cultural-ethics and politics in the vā. The reading is presented around the five theoretical concepts curated in the first half of the thesis from the long-standing relationship between Pōmare and Ta'isi. The concepts are: 1) Ontological orientation, 2) Cultural and ethical responsibility to the Other, 3) Decolonising agenda, 4) Commitment to critique and challenge, 5) Relationships which transcend time and space.

Chapter 12: Suspension of the Vā—Takoha

As the word *suspension* implies, this is a pause in my examination of the vā shared by the Tūmoana and iwi Māori. I outline the original contribution this study makes to the field of education and Indigeneity through the exploration of the vā of Māori–Moana relationships in education. I then briefly look at some of

the limitations of this study before moving to the potentials of the vā which include possible research openings. Finally, I provide the takoha/contribution from the Tūmoana, the co-conspirators in this study, to recognise that it is their talanoa, their pūrākau that are the heart of this study.

Conclusion

This introduction has prepared the vā of this thesis. I situate my study here in Aotearoa-New Zealand with five educators from the Pacific, the Tūmoana, who share long-standing relationships with Māori. I argue that the vā, the dynamic relational space between two entities, is a site of cultural-ethical and political intersections that point toward productive cross-cultural relationships between Māori and Moana peoples. I have familiarised myself with a documented long-standing Māori–Moana relationship between Pōmare and Ta'isi from which the five theoretical concepts I use to read the vā originate. I advance the thinking of Māori and Moana scholars whose work guides this thesis. Finally, I have formulated my interpretations of ethics and politics for this study, which are underpinned by a phenomenological view. The overview provides a reader's guide to the chapters which might be read as stand-alone sections but I encourage a reading of the front section so a reader might benefit fully from the pūrākau in the second section.

Chapter 2: An Ancient Vā—An Approach to Relationality

Introduction

The vā, the space between, a "between-ness," is a Polynesian concept that symbolises relationships spatially. In every encounter between people and things, the between-ness (Wendt, 1996) is the intervals that bind and separate each entity in varied ways. The vā is active in every relational engagement and embodies how Māori and Moana peoples live their lives and relate to others. Both fluidity and viscosity exist in the vā in search or creation of relational harmony amongst all entities. The focus of this chapter is the vā—a guiding principle that has been a conceptual focus in the relational ethics of many Polynesian cultures and consequently appears across a range of literature about the inter/intra relationships of Māori and Moana peoples with each other, others, and the environment.

I open this chapter with an abridged history of the population of the great ocean continent, Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa, the Pacific Ocean. I make visible the familial kinships shared by iwi Māori and many peoples of the Pacific. I use this common heritage as the opening of a discussion that provides a deeper context of congruence regarding ontological orientations. A Māori–Moana ontological understanding of relations is the doxa of Indigenous relationality and is foundational to the concept of an Indigenous Reference (Wilson, 2008). I use the idea of an Indigenous Reference to explore the relational responsibility that is central to the vā. To foster thinking about an Indigenous Reference I establish the centrality of whakapapa/genealogy in Māori–Moana relations. I harness the discussion about whakapapa as an essential principle of Indigenous time and space/tā–vā which is a common medium of reality connecting Māori and Moana peoples. I discuss wā/time–space (Māori) as a platform to dialogue about the notion of tā–vā/time–space (Tonga, Samoa, Fiji) that positions my thinking and exemplifies epistemological differences and similarities across the moana.

Next, I navigate the vā through an exploration of the work of various Pacific scholars. Their theories and perspectives assist in conceiving of the liminal space of the vā. I notice in this discussion the epistemological common ground, points of resonance, between Māori philosophy and Pacific thought. I provide context for these attitudes that are innate to the Tūmoana: aroha/alofa, mana/prestige, manaaki/care for others, tautua/service, and fa'aaloalo/respect. Finally, I provide a distinction between a Tongan, social-in-space vā and a Samoan, relational-in-space vā to ensure that the alterity of Moana voices continues to be

noticed. This discussion leads to an elaboration about the sacred and secular vā before the chapter concludes.

Once Were Navigators[3]

Māori origins in Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa are remembered in our oral narratives. In the Preface of this study, I shared the narrative of my ancestor, extraordinary master navigator *Tūmoana,* who used Indigenous techniques to traverse the Pacific like a modern-day highway. Many waka share these histories of island hopping. The story of the Takitimu waka emulates the ease with which Moana navigators traversed Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa. The whakapapa of Takitimu waka and its various iterations is one that has been preserved in the memories of modern-day Māori. These narratives of Takitimu are also known in Samoa, Tahiti and the Cook Islands, the communities where the Takitimu waka spent time. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Ranginui (2021) website points to Takitimu as having a long and industrious history spanning generations and reaching backwards and forwards across Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa until eventually voyaging to Aotearoa.

Genealogies of waka are not the only way Māori evoke their connections to Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa. Whakataukī/proverbs also maintain Māori beginnings in an Eastern Pacific homeland, Rangiātea. *E kore au e ngaro he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea:* I will never be lost, for I am a seed sown in Rangiātea. This well-known whakataukī reminds Māori that, wherever they travel, a homeland remains in Rangiātea. Māori recollections of our origins in the Pacific are also acknowledged by scholar Margaret Orbell (1986) who attests that the ancient name of Rangiātea is Hawaiki, the ūkaipō/origin of Māori.

Similarly, the stories from my grandmother acknowledge Hawaiki as our spiritual homeland. Marama Nathan relayed to us, her mokopuna/grandchildren, on many occasions, that Hawaiki was the place to which all our spirits return and would be the final resting place for her spirit (personal communication, 23 June, 1982). Māori recollections about the location of origin places have been obscured over time but our collective narratives provide memories of these places, people and stories, devices that connect iwi Māori to the great ocean continent of Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa.

[3] A phrase coined by Maniapoto Māori Trust Board Chief Executive and scholar Cadence Kaumoana in reference to the redundancy of Māori mastery to traverse the open water as they developed and adapted to temperate, whenua/land-based life in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

In the epilogue of *Tangata o le Moana*, Samoan historian Damon Salesa (2012 reminds us that while we were master navigators, settlement patterns across the Pacific were complex and took millennia. Māori, a collection of distinct hapū/subtribes, remained the most isolated, in the southwest corner of the Polynesian triangle of the Pacific. Vibrant genealogies, and stories of settlement across the Pacific, highlight the capacity of people who were navigational masters and adaptive experts able to evolve to their surroundings. These characteristics have remained as strengths for Pacific people living in modern diaspora (Salesa, 2012). Similarities in language and oral narratives that we notice today across the various cultures of Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa, including Māori, are a response to those adaptations and point to a shared and common history. Statistical linguistic analysis across the Pacific, undertaken by Russell David Gray, Alexi Drummond, and Simon Greenhill (2009), chart language as a marker of the dispersal of human expansion across this great fluid continent. Gray et al. explain that charting linguistic markers produces a map of pulse and pause periods. Initial voyaging in the Pacific, according to Adds (2012), included a swift dispersal, or pulse, through Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa, followed by a pause in voyaging while adaptation to new environments occurred. When voyaging continued, a process of cultural transformation was repeated.

In Aotearoa-New Zealand, the cultural transformation was informed by people from East Polynesia, the Cook Islands, French Polynesia, and Rapanui. The similarities in reo/language, tikanga/customs and mātauranga/knowledge across East Polynesia supposes that these islands were the last pause before arrival in Aotearoa around 1250CE. Waka hourua/double-hulled canoes landed in Aotearoa and the Polynesian people aboard adapted to their new environment. Each waka bore the beginnings of their own hapū/subtribes, and, through cycles of alliances and conflict, discrete but dynamic iwi/tribes evolved that are now homogeneously referred to as Māori. Return voyages to their ūkaipō/origin from Aotearoa are well documented through whakapapa and oral narrative. My own whakapapa includes the return voyage of Te Tinana waka, leaving from the west coast of the far north of Aotearoa-New Zealand voyaging to their ūkaipō/origin and eventually returning to the more sheltered east coast of the far north as Te Māmaru waka. Similarly, Matawhaoroa, the waka navigated by Kuramārotini, wife of the explorer Kupe, made land fall in the Hokianga Harbour in the North. Matawhaoroa travelled back to Hawaiki and was re-adzed, ultimately returning to the Hokianga Harbour with a new navigator, Nukutawhiti, as Ngātokimatawhaorua waka.

Māori connection to the Pacific is remembered and acknowledged through the act of whakapapa. Preservation of whakapapa was the domain of elite tohunga/experts who demonstrated phenomenal memories and "were often specially trained as genealogists" (Tregear, 1904, p. 383). Tohunga were repositories of oral lore and possessed the ability to recite hundreds of interconnecting genealogies (Ballara, 1991; Taonui, 2015). The responsibility to maintain the genealogies was also shared in a collective effort by hapū with the expectation that knowledge of your own descent line was essential (Barlow, 1991; Tregear, 1904). Whakapapa, often recited in whaikōrero/speeches, that acknowledge this ancient vā determine for Māori and Moana peoples an ongoing and enduring commitment to one another through shared ontological understandings.

Relationality

Indigenous ontological beliefs are premised on relationality and a responsibility to the other. Wilson (2008) makes the point that an Indigenous ontology privileges relations between entities as being more fundamental than the entities themselves. This ontological worldview presumes that there is not one, set reality, instead sets of relationships that indicate multiple realities. This aspect of relationality, a multiplicity of time and space, is at the heart of what it means to be Indigenous.

Relationality in an Indigenous encounter encourages accountability and responsibility to the "Other." The acts of seeking balance and the acknowledgement of connectedness are complicit in such ontological beliefs. I use the term Other in this study to mean another person, someone whom I am not. A phenomenological awareness of Other or otherness, such as that of Levinas (1998), is linked to the concept of alterity, the construct of distinguishing self from nonself and the assumption that there exists a different standpoint from oneself. In an Indigenous mindset, Other includes ancestors from the living and nonliving worlds.

Former head of State for Samoa Tui Atua (2009) explains that a Samoan 'Indigenous Reference' is premised on the notion of harmony or balance in all things. An Indigenous Reference inculcates a relationship of responsibility in search of a harmonious relationship that enacts both roles and commensurate responsibilities. Tui Atua outlines four key harmonies: "harmony with the cosmos; harmony with the environment; harmony with one's fellow men; and harmony with oneself. When all four harmonies come together there is peace" (p. 2). This notion of balance and connectedness to the environment, cosmos,

and each other, characterises Indigenous thought and is embedded in tikanga/cultural-ethical practices that require an ethic of responsibility and care for the Other.

Indigenous communication of knowledge draws upon understandings of relationships and shapes our lived reality. Wilson (2013) writes about the reciprocal appreciation of duty that is undertaken in Indigenous relationships: "since our actions or roles in relationships determine the truth, it is important for these actions and their descriptions to be based upon relational accountability. Hence each role or relationship comes with a set of responsibilities" (p. 314). My study looks at the day-to-day actions and resulting relational accountability between the Tūmoana and Māori.

Whakapapa

The simple translation of whakapapa is to lay down in layers. Māori lay down layers of genealogy through oral traditions that continue to be transmitted by iwi/tribe, hapū/subtribe, and whānau/family through various forms such as karakia/prayer, tauparapara/incantation, waiata/song, and pūrākau/story. Whakapapa are a central pou/pillar in the framework of Māori knowledge to which all concepts are connected. Cosmogenic origin and creation narratives are implicitly and explicitly woven through Whakapapa explaining these connections and various phenomenon (Barlow, 1991; Walker, 1996). I place whakapapa toward the front of this conceptual discussion because of the centrality of this concept to Māori worldviews and as a guide for ethical Māori (my) thinking (see Prior Thought Chapter 4 Methodology).

I think of whakapapa as the web of connections across the same, previous, and successive generations that span both time and space. Māori regard whakapapa as one of the most esteemed forms of knowledge. Ngāphui academic and linguist Cleave Barlow (1991) considers whakapapa to be the nucleus of Māoritanga/Māori way of life, which also demonstrates "the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time" (p. 173). Similarly, G. H. Smith (2000) explains whakapapa as a premise to thinking, learning, storing, and debating knowledge—an epistemological template that explains how we know what is real. Iwi Māori have made great efforts to retain whakapapa (Webber & O'Connor, 2019) because they are complex information repositories that contain knowledge of economic and social value (Firth, 1972).

Māori beliefs about the world are explained through whakapapa. Each relays an account of how Māori experience phenomena and relational encounters. Hoskins (2010) explains that whakapapa are constituted in terms of a "relation/encounter/struggle between two elements/ideas/people/things" (p. 10). This is a dynamic, cyclic, relational world view. Dynamism in these encounters, between elements, ideas, people, and things, is represented perpetually in a state of flux. As such, these encounters give rise to conflict and order. As each encounter strives for order this initiates transformation towards disorder, in a cycle much like seasons or day and night. An important narrative for Māori that demonstrates this encounter is the creation whakapapa that begins with Te Kore/the void and builds through a continuous flow of energy into what might be visualised as a dynamic unfolding of life in a cosmic time–space continuum (Marsden in Royal, 2003). Māori emphasise the constant flow of energy in this time–space continuum, from te ao wairua/spirit world into the te ao marama/the world of light, the physical world.

Māori believe themselves to be part of a cosmic whakapapa, relationally connected to their environment. Tui Atua (2009) explains that this is consistent with an Indigenous Reference that people, through their cosmic origins, whakapapa to all aspects of the environment as teina/younger siblings of the environment (Rameka & Glasgow, 2017). In a relational ontology, this genealogical connection activates an orientation to an ethic of care and responsibility for all Others. Māori philosophy about whakapapa realises the reciprocity in relationships and the breadth and depth to which that extends. Whakapapa knowledge connects Māori to their past, positions them in the present and prepares them for the future.

Wā

The inclusion of wā in Pacific scholarship to advance and connect the notion of vā has been symbiotic. Wā is discussed by Wendt (1996), Tongan academic Tēvita Ka'ili (2005) and numerous others, as a term used by Māori that is similar in meaning to the Polynesian concept of vā. Wendt (1996) states: "Important to the Samoan view of reality is the concept of Va or Wa in Maori and Japanese" (para. 15). Ka'ili (2005) specifies that "while the vā is present in Tonga, Samoa, Rotuma and Tahiti as vā, in Aotearoa and Hawai'i it is known as wā" (p. 89). My orientation to the vā begins here in my understanding of wā and with the provocation to provide intentional connections between the two concepts.

Wā defines Māori notions of time and space. In the context of time, wā indicates seasons, intervals, terms, and duration. In the context of space, wā can be used to determine an area, region, or definite space. Wā

expresses a cyclical rhythm of life and indicates relationships that are maintained through a creative system of balance and reciprocity (Barlow, 1991; Marsden in Royal, 2003; Metge, 1976; Nepe, 1991). Samoan Indigenous Reference, explained by Tui Atua (2009), holds parallels to this thinking, calling all things, entities, into a reciprocal relationship that seeks balance and harmony with each other. The use of wā in te reo Māori/the Māori language indicates a constant awareness of living deeply in a dynamic, qualitative, cyclic, and relative time and space.

Māori believe that the past, present, and future are woven together in a continuous cosmic cyclic sequence. This temporal concept is embedded in Māori oratory devices such as whakataukī/proverbs. *Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua,* which might be translated as we walk backwards into the future with our eyes on the past, is a whakataukī that speaks to the cyclic and dynamic dimensions of wā. In Māori thought, the past and present, times and places, are knowable, therefore in front of us, and the future is unknown and conceived as behind us. Whakatōhea scholar Ranginui Walker (1996) explains that the individual is "conceptualised as travelling backwards in time to the future, with the present unfolding in front as a continuum into the past" (p. 14). Time does not remain in the past but is carried with one into the future.

Likewise, Native Hawaiian scholar and historian Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa (1992) explain the terms for past as *ka wā mamua,* the time in front or before, and the future as *ka wā mahope,* the time that comes after or behind. Tongan scholar 'Ōkusitino Māhina (2008) concurs with this view, writing "The seemingly fixed past and the elusively, yet-to-take-place future are constantly mediated in the conflicting ever-changing present." (p. 79). The idea of travelling backwards into the future validates that te ao wairua/the spiritual realm is ever present in te ao marama/the physical realm, a co-presence of time, existing simultaneously (Metge, 1976). Within this epistemological frame, ancestors within te ao wairua/the spiritual, remain alongside the living in te ao marama/the physical.

Some Indigenous communities come to meet their ancestors from te ao wairua/the spiritual realm in their dreams. Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2001) recognise in their work that the Kwara'ae people have two dream states, one regular and the other psychic dreaming. Here a recently departed ancestor or ancestral spirit may relay a prediction for the future or assist in decision making. Often the dreamer will incur some physical symptoms that point to the fact that a psychic dream has occurred. So epistemologically important are these dreams for the Kwara'ae people that, should the dreamer be unable to make meaning from them, a specialist

will be consulted for interpretation. These common practices and experiences are across the Pacific and remind us that we remain interconnected through our whakapapa across time and space.

I highlight this explanation about different states of simultaneous time as it purposefully connects wā and whakapapa and in turn unites me with this work. For Māori, relationality extends weblike through systems of whakapapa, a genealogy that connects all things, at all times, in all spaces. Anthropologist Anne Salmond (1997, 2012) explains that Māori are defined by whakapapa, as outlined above, in complex sets of relationships and knowledges, transcendent of time and space and in an eternal exchange. This is evidenced in the following expression: *Ko au tōku tūpuna, tōku tūpuna ko au*, meaning: I am my ancestors; my ancestors are me; we are the living face of our ancestors. Whakapapa and wā establish my connection to this work with Moana peoples through my whakapapa Māori.

Tā–Vā—Time and Space

Time and space, or tā and vā as described by scholars of Polynesia, are crucial to understanding integral aspects of Moana culture. Māhina (2008, 2010, 2017) has pioneered and continues to develop a tā–vā theory of reality. His theory provides specific tenets that correlate to my knowledge and application of wā in my daily life. I provide those tenets below to scaffold my own advancement of these concepts. Essentially, Māhina (2010) proposes the following:

- tā and vā are the common medium in which all things are, in a single level of reality;
- epistemologically tā and vā are socially arranged in different ways across cultures;
- all things, in nature, mind, and society, stand in eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to conflict or order;
- conflict and order are of the same logical status in that order is in itself an expression of conflict;
- tā and vā are the abstract dimensions of fuo (form) and uho (content), which are, in turn, the concrete dimensions of tā and vā; and
- tā and vā, like fuo and uho, are indivisible in both mind as in reality. (p. 169)

Tā and vā are fundamental components in the lives of Moana peoples (Ka'ili 2005, 2017; Māhina 2008, 2010; Va'a, 2017). In Samoa, tā means to beat or strike. Samoan scholar Unasa Va'a (2017) often uses tā to mean a rhythmic act and equates this to the natural rhythms of Samoan life that begin at birth and are

marked at intervals or life milestones. Many of these life events are predictable and fall into patterns or a life cycle that constitute the rhythmic act identified. Correspondingly, tā, to Tongans, in a temporal sense, is a marker of time through beats, markings or social acts (Seve-Williams, 2017). Tā marks the rhythm or beat of life cycles, and enables an ongoing communication with ancestors, in a cyclic view of time. This understanding of time is congruent with Māori concepts of wā where we walk backwards into the future taking our ancestors with us. If tā provides the rhythm, beat, to life, then vā enables the ordering of social space. While tā prepares a continuity of communication with ancestors in the spirit world, the past, "vā determines social relations in terms of the present" (Va'a, 2017, p. 195).

The tā–vā theory of reality proposes that the material world is in eternal flux. Māhina (2010) believes that tā and vā act as attractants and repellents in a reciprocal exchange in which nature, mind, and society are constantly in the process of becoming. Tā and vā engage in a relation of cyclic exchange, giving rise to conflict or order. This perpetual transformation of the material world through tā and vā is consistently seeking stability or order. Tui Atua (2007, 2009) might describe this search for order as a search for harmony. When harmony or balance is achieved, tā–vā is thrown back into chaos or disorder, a continual exchange of forces, much like the dynamic expression of the time–space continuum that underpins Māori creation narratives: from the darkness into the light—from te ao wairua into te ao marama—a period of darkness, followed by a period of enlightenment, followed by darkness: a metaphor perhaps for ecosystems, life cycles, even the process of learning. Tā–vā is cyclic, dynamic, and relative, in keeping with Moana ontological beliefs about time and space.

Moana philosophy about relationality posit consistent views that we come into being, in relation. Māori ontological beliefs about the centrality of whakapapa are commensurate with an Indigenous Reference, proposed by Tui Atua (2007), premised on relationships with people, the environment, cosmos, and self. Acknowledgement of these relationships inculcates a culture of responsibility and care for others and calls us to know our ancestors. To demonstrate the relationship Māori and Pacific people have with their ancestors, I propose that the cyclic, dynamic, and relational notions of wā (time and space Māori) and tā–vā (time–space pan-Pacific) underpin a co-presence of time. This multiplicity of time and space is juxtaposed with Western, colonial views of time and life. In Chapter 3, I propose that the sociospatial,

sociorelational vā provides potential to nurture Māori–Moana relationships in ways that encourage productive outcomes at these cultural-ethical intersections.

Relational Space

Pacific scholars have produced research that maintains and nurtures their cultural, spiritual, social, economic, and political knowledges. Through this research development, they have provided space to reclaim their Indigenous ways of knowing. In this section, I draw on a small part of this work to foreground the relational space between people and places, the vā. Hawai'i-based Samoan scholar Sa'iliemanu Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009), in her research "Beyond 'Migration': Samoan Population Movement (Malaga) and the Geography of Social Space (Va)," defines Samoan malaga/migration vā as a space that "connotes mutual respect in socio-political arrangements that nurture the relationships between people, places, and social environments" (p. 12). It is pertinent to note that the territory of the vā is expansive; from Samoa alone, I'Uogafa Tuagalu (2008) has identified 37 various vā. I prepare a reading of the vā from both a Tongan and Samoan perspective and then consider the sacred and secular intentions of the vā.

Vā: An Orientation to Space

Pacific scholars discuss some common beliefs about the vā. My readings suggest that the vā is a sacred, spiritual, temporal, relational and social space (Anae, 2010; Ka'ili, 2017; Māhina, 2010; Suaalii-Sauni, 2017; Tuagalu, 2008). New Zealand-born Samoan Melani Anae (2010) explains that the vā has been glossed in English as "the space between." Refiti (2015) suggests it is more than this through his following definition of the vā: "a holistic identity formation predicated on co-belonging and relationship building" (p. 18). Samoan scholar I'Uogafa Tuagalu (2009) embellishes Refiti's definition and contends that vā are bound together by threads of cause and effect that are socially defined and divinely sanctioned.

Different interpretations of the vā indicate that Moana beliefs are aligned but contrast slightly in practice. While subtly different, these variations, such as the Tongan view of the vā as social-in-space (Ka'ili, 2005; Thaman, 2003) compared to the Samoan observance of the relational-in-space (Tuagalu, 2008; Wendt, 1996), point to the retention of differing cultural traits yet maintenance of core beliefs. The following discussion establishes the vā as a relational organising principle central to many Pacific cultures.

My discussion brings to the fore Wendt's (1996) interpretation of the vā. Wendt's much-quoted essay "Tatauing the Postcolonial Body" has become the seminal work referenced by scholars describing the vā. The substance of Wendt's text is the unfolding of a collective whakapapa amongst people from the Moana, a "Unity-That-is-All." Wendt makes two important points in this paper that resonate with this study. The first is that the vā gives context or meaning to things, events, exchanges, and that the meanings change as the relationships or given the contexts change. Wendt is referring to the reflexive nature of relationships. Tongan scholar Tevita Ka'ili (2017) refers to this as an eternal flux between tā and vā, seeking order. Wendt (1996) proposes that the vā is malleable yet has some restrictions that are signalled by a given context. Māori and Pacific relational contexts are, by design, influenced by certain attitudes or understandings that are unmediated by intellect but motivated by emotion such as aroha/love, the act of manaaki/generosity and care for others and respect for the mana/authority of others.

There are points of resonance between Māori philosophy and Moana thought throughout this and consequent chapters. Below, I provide some context for the attitudes identified in the section above. I touch on these attitudes here as they are terms the Tūmoana talanoa about to express their level of relational accountability to and for iwi Māori. Subsequently, my own use and understanding of these attitudes in my daily life have influenced my selection and curation of material in this study.

Aroha/Alofa/Love

Reverend Māori Marsden (Royal, 2003) reminds me that aroha earns honour and that carries obligation. Hoskins (2012) explains aroha as "unconditional concern and responsibility for others" (p. 92). My understanding of aroha incorporates the above but also embodies the flexibility or perhaps resilience to withstand conflict. The Samoan concept of alofa is intertwined with that of tautua/service and Māori understandings of manaaki (later in this section). Samoan scholar Maureen Fepulea'i (2016) explains that the value of alofa emphasises "giving generously, and helping selflessly, even at the expense of your own needs or that of your own family" (p. 21). Aroha/alofa are acts given or shared unreservedly that add quality and meaning to all interactions.

Mana/Authority

The enigmatic nature of mana has made it hard to define, although many scholars have tried (Pere, 1991; 1994; Royal, 2003, 2009; Shirres, 1997). Lexicographer Moorfield (2011) interprets mana as "a supernatural force in a person, place or object" (p. 238). Reverend Māori Marsden advises that mana is "spiritual authority and power" (Royal, 2003, p. 4). I especially favour Shirres's (1997) definition of mana as "the realisation and actualisation of tapu" (p. 53). and Royal's (2009) interpretation of mana as a "quality, energy or consciousness in the world which can be harnessed and expressed in human activities through acts of generosity and wisdom" (p. 8). Mana is important to this study twofold, one because it is the innate but often dormant energy within all of us that the vā ignites as we encounter one another. The second reason is that mana is a quality that is similarly defined and understood across Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa.

Manaaki/Generosity and Care for Others

Mana-aki (mana-tiaki) means to encourage the mana of others. Often manaaki is just translated to mean being hospitable; Moorfield's (2011) everyday meaning tells us that manaaki is showing respect, generosity, and care for others. In my daily work, I have been advised by Kaihautū/my Māori work advisory group that manaaki is the measurement of your mana, an ethical compass that guides daily decision making and daily interactions. Manaaki is observable and measures affective values, specifically through the demonstration of an "ethic of care" related to the hauora/wellbeing of yourself, others, and the land. I have come to understand manaaki as the daily practice of enhancing the mana of someone or something, by extending respect, hospitality, generosity, warmth, and care to them in ways that honour them but also enhance your own wellbeing.

Tautua/Service

I have often heard the Samoan proverb *O le ala i le pule, o le tautua,* the way to leadership is through service. This best explains the 24-hour-a-day, 7-days-a-week approach that is the basis of tautua/service. I am better placed to understand the implications of tautua through the words of Tuagalu (2008). In his development of a meaning or observation of the level of obligation required in tautua he reflects on the following proverb "*'manatua le tama a le eleele'* ('remember the man of the soil'). The person in the village who tends the family land and keeps the home hearths alight" (p. 121). Refiti (2015) also explains that

tautua is one's commitment to genealogical alliances. In Māori terms I understand tautua as aligned to the service and obligation of ahikā, those who remain on the whenua to ensure we can always return home. Tautua is important in fa'a Samoa/Samoan way as it is an indicator of alofa.

Fa'aaloalo

Respect shown to others might best explain fa'aaloalo. Tui Atua (2009) explains that fa'aaloalo is the respect shown by people to all things which acknowledges the sacred essence and cosmic origins of their beginnings. Fa'aaloalo is a key feature of fa'a Samoa and is established and reinforced in familial relationships, especially those relationships shared with Elders.

Finally, I come to the second point I have deduced from Wendt's (1996) discussion, which refers to a relational responsibility through a unity-that-is-all. Wendt prefaces this notion of the collective with a genealogy of vā that includes Māori, Japanese and Pacific peoples and speaks to the necessity of nurturing the vā. Wendt eloquently describes the genealogical connections across the Te-Moananui-ā-Kiwa which in turn speak to a wider genealogy of relations, language, and ideas. Furthermore, Wendt reinforces this relational responsibility through the notion of a Polynesian personhood that contends that the individual is not singular as can be inferred from the phrase unity-that-is-all. Wendt's suggestion that Polynesians obtain their identity through the group and therefore are bound to a vā, the core of their relations. Wendt explains the vā is not an empty space but one that binds and releases entities in exchange, given the context. Epistemologically, Wendt's definition of the vā emphasises the Samoan concept of the vā through relationality, Refiti's (2015) "relationship-in-space"; in contrast, Tonga-based Tevita Ka'ili (2005, 2017) describes a social-in-space vā founded on reciprocal exchange underpinned by whakapapa. I consider Ka'ili's "social-in-space vā" next.

Social-in-Space: A Tongan Reading

Tongan perceptions of the vā centre on "social space." The term vā is thought to extend from the term vāha'a, ha'a referring to genealogical titles that are hierarchically defined (Thaman, 2008). Traditional Tongan genealogy, as in Māori whakapapa, weaves together kāinga/family and fonua/land. Tongan identity is determined by these connections to fonua and kāinga as is Māori identity. The tracing of hohoko/whakapapa/genealogy in Tongan social contexts, when greeting each other, allows the positioning

of oneself to organise a vā, a sociospatial tie with another Tongan, acknowledging the social space between. Similarly, Māori, on formal occasions, use pepeha recitation to establish familial connections through whakapapa. At Formal events for Tongans, such as funerals, kāinga perform fatongia/duties to reaffirm their vā. Performance of such culturally laden duties creates a reciprocity between social spaces and reinforces sociospatial ties woven through hohoko/whakapapa/genealogy.

The works of Tongan scholars ‘Okusitino Māhina, Tevita Ka’ili and Konai Helu-Thaman are consistent in their discussion of the vā. Māhina (2010) explains how vā is experienced in human contexts as social, sociospatial relations (societies occupying space), and space between people. Thaman (2008) emphasises that knowledge of the vā is vital for interpersonal and intergroup relations and implies behavioural expectations for different relationships in differing contexts. Lastly, Ka’ili (2005) suggests a correlation of sociality and spatiality as symbiotic in Tongan social ontology and uses the metaphor of weaving to demonstrate how the sociospatial connections of the vā are created among kāinga. I present these interrelated ideas to amplify the social-in-space aspect of Tongan vā, that it is a sociospatial fabric woven from connections across whakapapa imbued with contextual expectations.

Protection of the vā is desirable for the maintenance of harmonious relations and minimising conflicts. Thaman (2008) argues that the vā requires constant protection, achieved through a mutual respect and responsibility for keeping the space between intact. Significantly, Tongan nurture of sociospatial ties or *tauhi vā* is organised through reciprocal exchanges based on “one’s genealogy and kinship ties” (Ka’ili, 2005, p. 89). Evidence of the social dimension of vā can be seen in the term *vāofi*, literally spatially near to one another. Vāofi is used by Tongans to describe extended, socially close-knit family members. In the case of extended families, the vā shared is influenced by the genealogical position of family members past and present. While the Tūmoana in this study are not Tongan, I draw Tongan epistemological beliefs about the vā into conversation as this highlights the subtle gradation of knowing and being across the Pacific that encompass Māori.

Relational-in-Space: A Samoan Reading

> Vā is the most significant concept to understanding the complexity of Samoan social interactions between people, church, and the environment. It underpins all epistemologies of participation, obligation, and reciprocation that guide our interactions and continue even as Samoans move

> abroad. Performance of social responsibilities and obligations prescribed in vā rest on the knowledge of social and genealogical connections that ‘aiga members possess. (’Aumua Mata’itusi Simanu, quoted in Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009. pp 13–14)

A Samoan reading of vā can best be understood through the fundamental concepts of fa’a Samoa/the Samoan way. Fa’a Samoa is the cultural knowledge that supports the daily interactions between Samoan people and includes dimensions such as ‘aiga/family, tautua/service, fa’alavelave/obligations, alofa/love, and fa’aaloalo/respect. As with Māori and Tongan ontology, Samoan i’inei/home-place is an important source of identity. Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009) explains how personal i’inei/home-place remains fixed and is defined socially as the origin of one’s genealogy through matai/titles, ‘aiga, and fanua/land. These sociopolitical arrangements nurture the relationships between people, places, and social environments. Wendt (1996) suggests that a Samoan identity is ultimately relational or communal and does not exist individually. Vaifou Temese (1997), a senior orator and Samoan culture teacher, explains that the space between relates specifically to the social aspects of relationships expressed between ‘aiga. Temese explains that these include the relationships between chief–orator, sister–brother, clergy–village, husband–wife, parents–children, people–environment, or God–people. In this reading of the vā, I come to notice that fa’a Samoa/Samoan way is implicit in the daily interactions of members of the ‘aiga and the attitudes towards those interactions. Respectful relations are sought out in the Samoan concept of vā.

Sacred and Secular Space

The vā defines how Moana peoples understand and enact their complex social, cultural, economic, and religious systems. I have discussed that the vā is social and relational, not empty space but a “between-ness” that is dynamic and interrelated. The vā is also described as a sacred and secular space, tapu/sacred and noa/secular, free from restriction. Refiti (2015) provides a succinct Samoan version of noa and tapu: “Noa looks for mana in the unstructured free-space of the extended periphery beyond the social circle. Tapu tries to capture and control mana within the centre of its socialising operations” (p. 41). Mana is the innate authority within every entity. Refiti’s articulation of the purpose of tapu and noa in the vā institute noa as a profane space where mana might be encountered without restriction, while tapu governs the certainties of mana through cultural-ethical lore.

Vā can be coupled with “tapu” or “tapuia” to form the concepts “vā tapu” and “vā tapuia.” Samoan scholar Meaola Amituanai-Toloa (2006) glosses vā/space tapuia/made sacred as “sacred space.” Tui Atua (2009) explains that vā tapuia is the sacred relationship between man and all things. This encompasses our relationships with the living and nonliving where a genealogical relationship can be traced. Similarly, Tamasailau Suaalii-Sauni (2017) quotes a personal communication from Samoan intellectual Sister Vitolia Mo’a in which she advises that the vā is a space “imbued with spiritual forces and energies” (p. 164). Mo’a and Tui Atua both argue that vā tapuia are sacred relational spaces among interconnected entities and establish sociopolitical and spiritual arrangements, an existential relationality, in the temporal and spirit world. This discussion suggests that the nations of tapu and noa, or sacred and secular, are commonly understood in Samoan thought. Accordingly, notions of tapu and noa are characterised in the vā through culturally proper and improper behaviour.

Samoan concepts of vā as relational-in-space are endorsed in the social relationships that are adhered to through birth order and between siblings. Va’a (2017) details the honorifics of first-born children, ali’i/male, and ilamutu/female, along with the preparations that are undertaken to ensure that first-born children attain succession in families. The tuakana–teina relationship acknowledged in Aotearoa-New Zealand and ancient Mangaia, in the southern Cook Islands, is premised on notions of kinship between older, tuakana, and younger, teina, siblings of the same gender. The definition often used in literature is from Māori scholar Tuakana Nepe (1991) who establishes the principles of tuakana–teina relationships which are reciprocity of manaakitanga/expressions of hospitality and love to others and whanaungatanga/relationships through shared experiences. Tuakana and teina engage in co-operative, respectful, and loyal relationships. Mangaian stories imply a moral balance in the relationship between tuakana and teina (Reilly, 2010). Similarly, Māori scholar Ashlea Gillon (2020) suggests that this relationship is complementary as opposed to competitive in nature. Tuakana are seen as kaitiaki/guardians and teina as supporting the work of their Elders. Tuakana–teina are significant in this study because Māori and Pacific people often refer to their relationship in this way; they are clear that they are family but who is tuakana and who is teina is less clear, dependent upon context

Gender in family relationships is also significant in Samoan thought. Amituanai-Toloa (2006) explains that in ancient Samoa, vā tapuia was central to all relationships, founded and grounded on fa’aaloalo/respect

given to the sister by the brother. The sister returns the respect by blessing the brother. One of the most important relationships in fa'a Samoa is that between a brother and sister, known as feagaiga, derived from the word feagai, to be opposite to another (Pratt, 1862/1960). Violation of the sacred space could spell either a curse or blessing for the brother by the sister. Feagaiga is explained by Tui Atua (2009) and Wendt (1996) as a primary aspect of fa'a Samoa dictating people's relations with each other and interdependent with values such as tapu, fa'aaloalo and vā tapuia. The feagaiga covenant determines cultural-ethical division of work roles in this brother–sister relationship. Brothers perform difficult chores, those considered dirty and far from home. Sisters engage in easier roles, regarded as clean and physically near to the home. Brothers "support, in a material sense, and protect, in a physical sense, their sisters in return for their moral and spiritual support" (Va'a, 2017, p. 205). Engagement in the secular exercise of choices, discussed and agreed on, is completed by the brother while the sister provides divine or sacred guidance in the form of a blessing or curse and mana needed for the successful completion of the feagaiga process. Much like tapu and noa, feagaiga enacts opposite but complementary forces that work together to form a whole. Tūmoana use the term feagaiga to discuss the relationship they share with iwi Māori as a demonstration of the long-standing commitment, a covenant they share with Māori in their daily lives.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have exposed some thinking about the between-ness of the vā. To do that I make obvious the familial kinship that connects Māori and Moana peoples, as Wendt (1996) describes in a unity-that-is-all. I begin with the concept of whakapapa as central to mātauranga Māori/Māori knowledge and come to find this ontological blueprint is shared in Tongan and Samoan thought where preference for family, genealogy and land or a home-place are central to their thinking. I intentionally bring into the conversation the concept of wā, Māori time–space, to build on the symbiosis that currently exists in the literature about vā but extend that thinking to show nuanced epistemological differences significantly the dynamic and cyclic nature of wā. The inclusion of tā–vā at this point is the conduit to bring a deeper understanding of the eternal flux of chaos and order that accompanies a time–space continuum before I shift to conceiving of an unseen between-ness that is the vā.

The discussion about vā includes an attention to attitudes that are inculcated by the Tūmoana. The attitudes are motivated by emotion, and I posit here, the cultural-ethical understandings the Tūmoana enact daily,

based on their understandings of their responsibility in the vā. My noticing of the epistemological differences of a Tongan social-in-space and a Samoan relational-in-space was a considered move to ensure we continue to celebrate the uniqueness of differing Moana understandings and perspectives. This chapter is formative in shaping the guiding theme of this thesis: that the vā is a site of cultural-ethical and political intersections that provide the potential to reimagine Māori–Moana relationships in education, specifically and Aotearoa-New Zealand society more broadly.

In education spaces in Aotearoa-New Zealand we have given preference to colonial histories, structures, and timelines. Although that is set to change with in the inclusion of Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum currently in a draft and consultation phase in selected schools. Hau'ofa (2000) calls us to rewrite our own histories and in this chapter I position Māori and Moana peoples as having a lengthy, industrious, and interconnected history. Similar ontological orientations are established in this chapter in a timeline less investigated in schools. The proposition of a cyclic nature of time acts in opposition to the timetabled structure of learning in schools in Aotearoa-New Zealand. I am curious about whether practitioners have developed a growing familiarity of "learning when the time is right," given the last two years of online schooling.

As this chapter concludes I return briefly back to the vā shared by Ta'isi and Pōmare, described in the Introduction, and notice correlations with details in this chapter. Both showed great interest in their whakapapa and sought to make clearer the connections that bind Māori and Moana peoples together. They researched and debated narratives that pointed to shared origins such as the Takitimu waka and intently scoured oral lore and written archives for instances that made real the whakapapa between each other. Similarly, they shared a family-like responsibility and care for each other that are in keeping the Samoan notions of relational-in-space, observing tikanga Māori/fa'a Samoa when meeting face to face, in their correspondence, and even in attendance at tangi/funerals. These observances of the sacred and secular are continued through the next generations of their families, crossing lineal time, and preserved in the liminal time–space of the vā.

Chapter 3: Re-establishing the Vā—A Between-ness of Cultural-Ethics and Politics

Introduction

This chapter returns to my thinking in the Preface, about how I might greet my Pacific whānau when I meet them again. I ask the following overarching question about the literature and conversations I have had with my Pacific Pou (expanded further in Chapter 4), "How have we (Māori and Moana peoples) re-established the vā?", especially after such a long separation. There is a genealogy, historical accounts, of the boundaries Māori and Moana peoples have encountered in re-establishing the vā. The front section of this chapter acknowledges there have been entanglements, ambivalence, parallel experiences, constitutional roadblocks and an imperative to survive.

From this point, I wonder why an ontological orientation has not been enough to draw Māori and Moana peoples back into more productive relations. Commentators on the vā have proposed a range of uses and understandings of this relational concept. I pose two possibilities extending from the cultural-ethical and political intersections of the vā that contribute to productive opportunities in Māori–Moana relationality. They are teu le vā/care and nurture of the vā and negotiating the vā. This examination of ideas about the vā assists me to imagine critically and creatively the intersections of cultural-ethics and politics that inform the relationships the Tūmoana share with Māori.

This conversation about possibilities of the vā points to another relational genealogy. In the third section of this chapter, I ask again of the literature "How have we (Māori and Moana peoples) re-established the vā?" This time I am answered through kinships of conscientisation, acts of resistance and transformation (G. H. Smith 2015), I spend some time looking at some of the ways Māori–Moana collaboration has been enacted at the margins, creating new centres for the next generations.

Lastly, I turn once again to the long-standing vā between Pōmare and Ta'isi. After surveying the literature, I further expand on the five theoretical concepts that are made visible from their relationship: ontological orientation, cultural-ethical responsibility to the Other, decolonising agenda, commitment to critique and

challenge and relationships which transcend time and space. In Chapter 4, I expand on these theoretical concepts as an analysis framework for the reading of the vā.

A Great Ocean Continent

In this next section, I acknowledge the various boundaries Māori and Moana peoples have encountered across the great ocean continent of Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa. I pose this discussion with the understanding that these experiences locate Māori and Moana peoples as the "colonised" constructs of imperialism (L. T. Smith, 2012). Imperialism systematically progressed European economic expansion through much of the Pacific and Aotearoa-New Zealand, subjugating Indigenous knowledge in the late 1700s and early 1800s (Giddens, 1989). Imperial social systems and ordinance then governed encounters between Māori and Moana peoples. Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012), in her text *Decolonising Methodologies*, argues that implicit social rules of an imperial agenda positioned Indigenous people as savage or not fully human and justified policies of extermination or domestication. These ideologies have continued to underpin New Zealand state policy and subsequent responses to requests from iwi Māori and other Moana peoples.

As a counter narrative to an imperial discourse, I continue to use the term the great ocean continent of Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa, established in Lana Lopesi's (2018) text *False Divides.* An imperial discourse positions Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa as being "tiny islands in a vast sea" and has drawn "imaginary lines across it confining people to tiny spaces" (Hau'ofa, 1994, p. 153). A discourse that positioned island nations as small and therefore poorly resourced began with imperial intent and has become endemic. I therefore propose the use of the term the great ocean continent of Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa to renarrate this discourse. This term expresses, amongst other things, our Moana whakapapa, advances an ocean continent and acknowledges that our spaces and places have often been crafted for us, without us.

Continental Diaspora

N.B. For the purpose of this subsection, I use the term Pacific peoples in keeping with the terms used in the referenced literature.

The island nations of the Pacific have been in a perpetual diaspora. Since migration to them, across them and from them, Pacific people have embedded migration stories across their literary devices. This is to ensure a shared and common understanding of the phenomena and events that have shaped their unique

cultural traits. An example of this diaspora is the migration of Māori and Pacific peoples to the urban cities of Aotearoa-New Zealand, which I maintain has been a comparable experience. Although, as Tongareva educationalist and scholar Natalie Faitala reminds us, "the migration stories of Pacific people are vast and varied. No one story is the same, no one story could fully catalogue the experience" (personal communication, August 13, 2021). In the migration to the cities of Aotearoa-New Zealand Māori and Pacific people felt they had some autonomy in their decisions to leave their rural or coastal family communities or communal village settings. Māori made their way to the cities during and following World War II under the Manpower Act 1944. Pacific peoples had been arriving on education scholarships post-World War I. However, in her chapter of the book *Tangata o le Moana,* Samoan scholar, and activist Melani Anae (2012) mentions that this steady drip feeding of Pacific people, to extend education opportunities, was surpassed during the 1960s with migration numbers spiking in response to a labour shortage.

Pacific migrants envisioned Aotearoa as a "land of milk and honey." They believed the shift provided opportunities for a better life for themselves and their families. Hau'ofa (1994) believes the exodus from Pacific homelands was a chance to build economic status that was not available to people in their home nations. Correspondingly, Māori left their rural landscapes for similar reasons. The deeds of the Māori Battalion, who fought in World War II, and the prowess of Māori on the rugby field are what Walker (2004) cites as providing confidence for Māori to "abandon rural poverty in exchange for a place in the economy of the social mainstream" (p. 198). Māori and Pacific peoples saw a positive future for themselves in the cities of Aotearoa-New Zealand and believed the nation saw value in their contributions to society and the economy.

The urban drift that initially intoxicated Māori eventually receded as social problems arose. The state's political imperative of Māori assimilation—another lever for Māori migration—had not factored the reality of exiling Māori from their social supports, and the isolation this would evoke. Similarly, the idealised view of Aotearoa-New Zealand by Pacific peoples, as a land of milk and honey, was fraught with new challenges (Anae, 2012; Salesa, 2017). As the Pacific population living permanently and temporarily in New Zealand grew steadily, they encountered numerous social issues. Academic Cluny MacPherson (2012) cites substandard and overcrowded housing, employment issues and the difficulties of navigating a second

language as quandaries encountered by Pacific peoples. Dislocation from family and various cultural barriers manufactured disparate social divides.

This type of alienation from their homeland prompted a fundamental realignment for Pacific peoples. The Reverend Leuatea Iusitini Sio, first ordained Samoan Minister in Aotearoa-New Zealand, shares these words about Samoan migration to the land of milk and honey.

> It may be true that the first thought in the mind of any Samoan arriving into a new and foreign land is to make sure that he or she has a secure job, and that this person is brought up within and has belonged to two types of circles: (1) the village circle and (2) the church circle. Therefore, this person's heart and mind will always look out for those two things in life away from Samoa. Firstly, they would look for a place in which to use their Samoan language and the fa'asamoa and secondly, they would look for a place where they could find their usual type of worshipping God as they were used to in their homeland. (Taule'ale'ausumai, 1990, p. 23)

Pacific social reorganisation included, but was not exclusively, concentrations of Pacific peoples living close together generating support for church groups, local commercial organisations, and social and political movements in their community (Salesa, 2017). Pacific churches became urban villages, just as houses and garages had become urban maraes when Māori moved to the cities (Walker, 2004).

Economic demands that Māori encountered in their urban drift bound them to mainstream society. Financial commitments forced Māori to seek permanent employment which saw them remain in the city and inserted them into a capitalist system. Māori orientation to an individualistic social structure inherent in the politics of capitalism was at odds with Māori notions of collectivism. Māori did not want, as Walker (2004) states, to "surrender to the Pākehā imperative of assimilation" (p. 198), but inevitably found themselves living in nuclear families that better replicated the demands of the industrial system. This shift in living arrangements prompted Māori to develop urban kinship networks to remain connected to one another and avert assimilation. Many of these networks were developed from voluntary associations, church groups, culture clubs and urban marae, often with a common kaupapa/topic of maintaining Māori identity, language, and culture (Walker, 2004).

Māori and Pacific peoples, generally, lived exclusive lives, as each settled into their new environments, focused on sustaining specific community outcomes. Māori activist and scholar Donna Awatere's (1982)

work “Māori Sovereignty” provides a concise discussion about the polarity of the relationship between Māori and Pacific peoples. In this work, Awatere conceives an identity for Māori as tangata whenua/people of the land, an [is]land. “this country belongs to Māori. This country is Polynesian” (p. 29). Awatere posits that the Pacific community had the greatest potential to be the ally of Māori, due to a shared ancestral homeland, Rangiātea. Awatere views Pacific immigrants, particularly of Polynesian descent, as natural collaborators with Māori. Regardless, she believes that the mid 1980s was not the right time for sustained alliances. Awatere suggests that the Pacific community at that time, while ably positioned to support Māori, instead seemed unwilling to get behind Māori causes. Awatere theorises that Māori struggle for sovereignty, the return of land and revitalisation of language and culture did not appeal to Pacific people. Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Te Tiriti) politics that focused on the Māori quest for tino rangatiratanga/sovereignty discouraged the fashioning of Polynesian or as I propose in this work, Māori, and Moana collaborations.

Awatere identifies that the reestablishment of a Polynesian vā resulted in some shared ambivalence. It was a period of survival as Māori and Pacific peoples made new villages and marae for themselves. In the business of surviving, Pacific migrants did not seek and/or further develop their knowledge of the colonial history of Aotearoa-New Zealand. The concern for Pacific peoples was capital accumulation to support their families and elevate their status. Tongan journalist Sefita Hao’uli (1996) laments that Pacific Island people did not come here to hongi with Māori. Hao’uli’s comment supports the central idea that Pacific peoples came to Aotearoa-New Zealand because of the opportunities for employment and education that could only be sourced from Pākehā. This was also a pull factor for Māori movement to the cities. This preoccupation with a Pākehā value system encouraged engagement in a capitalist economy. Compliance by Māori and Pacific people, I suggest, was initially a residual tendency from colonial occupation across the Pacific, an imperial hangover. Then, eventually conformity to a capitalist economy was born out of an adaptive need to earn money to gain financial security.

A Self-Determining Sociopolitics

It is generally accepted that Polynesian peoples and iwi Māori have some shared historical experiences of colonialism (Salesa, 2017). Polynesian peoples have, over the better part of last century, experienced colonial administrators, teachers, traders, and missionaries in their own island nations and in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Most Polynesian nations have engaged in differing constitutional relationships with the New

Zealand government as a current or past administrator of their nation or on behalf of the Crown. Iwi Māori have also weathered a raft of colonial structures. A desire to be autonomous governors of their own nations and whenua began to build across Polynesia from the 1960s and through to the mid-1970s.

The Māori cultural renaissance of the 1970s was preceded and paralleled by self-determination across Polynesia. Dame Whina Cooper's hikoi/land march of 1975 brought te Tiriti issues into a public sphere and is regarded today as an act of resistance that demonstrates tino rangatiratanga/sovereignty. Other Polynesian nations had already demanded their own autonomy. The Cook Islands and Niue gained self-rule in 1965 and 1974 respectively, while Western Samoa (Samoa) had gained independence earlier, in 1962. Hau'ofa (1994) reflects that while much of the Polynesia had freed themselves constitutionally from the shackles of colonial rule, the political independence that was hoped for during the 1970s and 1980s did not materialise. According to Hau'ofa (1994), Polynesian people fled their autonomous nations for greener pastures, their national leaders surrendered themselves to financial aid from whoever would support their failing economies.

Sociopolitically, re-establishing productive Polynesian or Māori-Moana relationships has been tenuous. One reason identified in the literature is that Aotearoa-New Zealand is framed as a bicultural nation, based on the founding constitutional agreement between iwi Māori and the Crown, The Treaty of Waitangi, Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The paradigm of a bicultural nation feels exclusionary to those not representative of the founding peoples of the colony, Māori and Pākehā (Hill, 2010). In the case of Aotearoa-New Zealand, much has been done, especially in recent years, to bring migrant audiences under the auspices of the Crown. However, Polynesian peoples have found this an exercise in futility, mainly due to the many island nations that have long-standing grievances with colonial administrations as noted earlier in this section of the chapter.

Commentators about sociopolitical aspects of Polynesian relations highlight various issues. Policy analyst David Earle (1995) signals the lack of space in mid-1990s political structures to fully attend to the needs of migrants from the Pacific. Earle indicates that Pacific migrants were becoming problematic on a policy and resourcing scale. Pacific peoples did not want to be assimilated, they were diverse, did not fit into a generic ethnicity box and were fast becoming New Zealand citizens through birth. One of Earle's suggestions encourages an Indigenous-based solution: a paradigm where Māori/tangata whenua are at the centre of

decision making to "determine their relationships with the various immigrant groups including Pākehā" (p. 6); such a model might mean that "Pacific Islands people would be positioned more centrally, based on cultural, linguistic and historical connections" (p. 6). Similarly, public policy academic Richard Hill (2010), some 15 years later, identifies that Aotearoa-New Zealand's bicultural polity might only encompass multiculturalism when iwi Māori are satisfied that tino rangatiratanga has properly been established by non-Māori and the Crown. Hill has a cautious optimism that a political alliance between Māori and Pacific peoples could come to fruition, he believes, due in part to the long history of Pacific leaders and their communities appreciating the Māori struggle for tino rangatiratanga.

Samoan academic Damon Salesa (2017) signals in his work *Island Time* that Aotearoa-New Zealand is becoming more Polynesian by the hour, pointing to a future that has already happened. The last census recorded over 740,000 Māori, and over 380,000 Pacific peoples, together making up one fifth of the nation's population. (Stats NZ, 2018). These population numbers for Māori and Pacific peoples are set to increase with the Māori population predicted to rise to between 1–1.8 million by 2038 (Ministry of Education, 2020). When we add to this over 700,000 Asian residents, the increased diversity of the population in Aotearoa-New Zealand indicates a need to discuss a shift in the current political status.

Chinese, Thai, Cambodian New Zealand-born educationalist Lincoln Dam (2018), in his article "Love and Politics: Rethinking Biculturalism and Multiculturalism in Aotearoa/New Zealand," claims that with the growing multi-ethnic population there is clearly discernible tension now at work "between the state's existing commitments to biculturalism and a growing need to also make multicultural policy provisions, not least in education" (p. 135). Dam's critique of the past and current political status quo in Aotearoa-New Zealand provides an option to consider in addressing the tension between current commitments and future opportunities. Dam proposes one possible way to accommodate the two and draws upon the work of and thinking of Will Kymlicka that encompasses biculturalism and multiculturalism. Dams' theory centres on love and kindness that must be at the heart of all relationships, a prerequisite, and that discourses of biculturalism and multiculturalism must in turn be expressions of love. Dam's thinking has implications for Tūmoana and Māori on many fronts. One way is that his theory encourages an ongoing commitment to and for each other that should be embedded in policy and rhetoric.

Scholars, commentators, and the Tūmoana argue that a harmonious sociopolitical relationship requires a revisioning of current political systems and corresponding discourse. A colonising approach has subjugated Māori–Moana ontological beliefs which might have aligned them politically. Instead, migration to the cities of Aotearoa-New Zealand has resulted in iwi Māori and Moana peoples inserting themselves into political systems and colonial structures that are misaligned to their collective propensities. Māori initially sought economic stability in moving to the city and have since fought to attain tino rangatiratanga/self-determination. This preservation of identity, language and culture has required an effort and focus that has precluded them, in many ways, from rallying for their Pacific peers. Pacific peoples sought economic accumulation and, as a by-product, elevated status on their arrival to the land of milk and honey, Aotearoa-New Zealand. Along with opportunity, they also encountered systemic social issues, many of which kept them focused on their own political agenda but reduced engagement in issues of Māori interest.

Navigating the Vā

What might we learn about how we have come to re-establish the vā between Māori and Moana peoples? This first section presents the idea of continental and domestic diaspora—a migration of Māori and Moana peoples to the cities of Aotearoa-New Zealand. Literature and primary conversations demonstrate that Māori and Moana people had a similar political agenda yet retained a level of specificity to their situations. Initial migration to the cities was prompted by fiscal opportunity. These actions bound Māori and Moana peoples to the economic agenda of a colonial society that positioned them on the margins. Further boundaries were established politically with a general disinterest from migrant Pacific communities toward Māori struggle for self-determination, although this was not the case for all, as we discuss later in this chapter. We also come to know that the reestablishment of the vā requires further constitutional conversations that will work to centre Māori–Moana whakapapa as a lever for change and acknowledgement.

Possibilities of the Vā

In the first section we saw that an ontological orientation has not always been enough when re-establishing the vā. In this next section, I propose two possibilities of the vā that might better support the cultivation of long-standing Māori–Moana relations. Therefore, I use this section of the chapter to clarify the concepts of

teu le vā/care and nurture of the vā and negotiation of the vā. I propose teu le vā as the cultural-ethical intersections of the vā while negotiation of the vā best outlines the political intersections of the vā.

To better understand how I have come to approach the cultural-ethical and political dimensions of the vā, I draw to the attention of the reader the work of Māori scholar Graham Hingangaroa Smith (2012) and his structural analysis work from his paper "Interview: Kaupapa Māori: the dangers of Domestication." During the interview, G. H. Smith is asked "What kind of action-and-analysis will counter the forces of domestication?" (p. 13). In his answer, he identifies two key Kaupapa Māori elements that are related as they both have a praxis: action and analysis. The two elements are cultural and political, and he believes each are essential to the radical potential of Kaupapa Māori.

I have built on G. H. Smith's cultural element to include the ethical. The addition of ethical provides another dimension to the concept of cultural, a deeper ethical connection that is present in the concepts of wā, whakapapa, tā–vā and vā. I am encouraged by many points in this article that bring to life my work in thinking about the possibilities of the vā. Pertinent at this juncture is that the cultural and political elements of structures must interweave, G. H. Smith recognises that "a narrow culturalist frame" is at risk of "neglect of the political element" (p. 13), thus limiting the transformational potential of Kaupapa Māori as an idea and as a practice. Therefore, I provide here two possibilities that address the cultural-ethical and the political: care and nurture/teu le vā and negotiating the vā

Care and Nurture

> A well-known Samoan expression is "Ia teu le va," cherish/nurse/care for the va, the relationships. This is crucial in communal cultures that value group unity, more than individualism: who perceive the individual person/creature/thing in terms of group, in terms of va, relationships. (Wendt, 1996, para. 15)

The concept of care is woven across the vā. Expressions of nurture and care of the vā are expressed similarly in Tonga tauhi vā/tauhi vaha'a and tausi vā/teu le vā in Samoa. Tui Atua's (2007) notion of Indigenous Reference is focused on the ongoing act of teu le vā in the development of optimal relationships, seeking harmony between entities. Thaman (2008) explains tauhi vaha'a as the importance of maintaining and fortifying relationships. Seeking harmony and peace is important for Tongans in their relationships and

requires knowledge of differing social contexts and various relational networks, individual and group. Thaman reveals that such nuanced understanding of tauhi vaha'a is socialised from a young age. As identified earlier, a social orientation of the vā activates responsibility and care for the Other.

Tauhi vā is explained as the Tongan practice of keeping good relations and outlines a commitment to uphold harmony in social relations with kin. Māhina (2004) explains that acts of tauhi vā can be formal and informal. At formal occasions, fatongia/duties are undertaken to reaffirm the vā, to perform an act of tauhi vā. Informal enactments of tauhi vā might manifest in sharing food and resources or opening one's home. Teu le vā (informal), or tausi vā (formal), is the equivalent Samoan concept and means to value, nurture, and care for the secular/sacred and social/relational vā of all relationships. Consequently, Samoan understanding of the care and nurture of the vā governs and guides individual and 'aiga/family behaviour, remains central to vā tapuia/sacred space and is based on genealogy.

Teu le vā in Samoan thought requires demonstrations of roles and responsibilities. The inference of prescribed protocols underpins the moral and ethical behaviour to nurture the vā (Anae, 2007). Attention to teu le vā is paramount for Samoans; when required to teu le vā, immediate action is undertaken to nurture the vā whether formal or informal. Anae (2019) contends that teu le vā offers a decluttering of space, in doing so the vā becomes optimised and focused on the centrality of relationships. Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009) cites a discernment of factors such as gender, cultural status, age, and marital status as playing a part in the appropriate care and nurture required by Samoans when engaging in teu le vā.

Possibilities in a relational space are proposed by the act of teu le vā. However, these possibilities can only be realised if actors in the vā are open to a spirituality that recognises cultural-ethical demonstrations of tapu and noa as protocols in the vā tapuia/sacred space. Teu le vā is not a simple act of apology, relationships are often complex, multi-layered, and fraught with difficulties. To ensure balance and coherence, or "symmetry and harmony" in the vā, as Māhina (2010) writes, requires work and effort, constant challenge, and critique.

There is a collective responsibility to maintain symmetry and harmony through demonstrations of teu le vā. The important idea here is that care and nurture engender a reciprocal responsibility to the Other. Levinas (1998) reflects that being relationally constituted demands an ethical response and an infinite responsibility

to the Other. Hoskins (2010, 2017) believes this responsibility is enacted through daily practices such as attention to attitudes. Such attitudes, outlined in Chapter 2, are implicitly and explicitly woven into, and expressed through, the innate cultural-ethics of the Tūmoana. The vā demands this level of responsibility.

Teu le vā offers the opportunity to restore vā tapuia, the sacred vā. The Samoan term *ua soli le vā tapuia*, refers to the literal trampling of sacred space. Ifoga/forgiveness is a conspicuous example of the potential of teu le vā to restore vā tapuia. In the act of ifoga, a perpetrator's 'aiga/family or nu'u/village seeks forgiveness from the victim's 'aiga or nu'u. In practising ifoga, the perpetrator's party lowers themselves to the victim by sitting and waiting on the ground for the hours, days, weeks, or months that it takes to receive the victim's forgiveness. Practice of ifoga at this level is reserved for an apology for high level transgressions of the vā such as theft, adultery, rape, and murder. In most societies, these acts are punishable by jail sentences and even death. Ifoga demonstrates a means of nurturing or preserving the vā if, when, violated. Teu le vā and the practice of ifoga suggest ways the vā enables complex commitments to the cultural-ethical prescriptions of preserving long-standing engagements.

In this research, teu le vā provides possibilities in long-standing relationships. In particular, I refer here to the relationships the Tūmoana share with Māori. Scholar Alison Jones (2012) contends that engagement in Kaupapa Māori requires individuals to become Māori or ordinary. Jones explains that for individuals to facilitate well-established relationships with Māori they must be

> at ease in Māori contexts, open to Māori knowledges, and familiar with te reo Māori. And to achieve this is to be oriented to learning, watching, listening, in relationships of depth and longevity (as well as having a sense of humour, suspended judgment and humility)—along with a necessary consciousness of the wider relationships of power in which this engagement takes place. (p. 107)

Teu le vā proposes cultural-ethical opportunities to become at ease, more familiar and make mistakes in relational engagements. Oversights can be made and readjusted in a perpetual cycle of relational accountability that can be worked on and worked through because of the desire by both parties to pursue a long-standing commitment and engage in the care and nurture such relationships require.

Negotiating the Vā

Tui Atua (2007) expresses that the vā between people is negotiated, interpretative and a shifting of space. Pacific peoples are born into a multidimensional flow of life, enhanced, and protected by relationships that

are not created but continued (Va'a, 2017, p. 27). Mila-Schaaf and Hudson (2009) have used the notion of "negotiated space" as the basis of a theoretical framework to develop models of care that explore cross-cultural beliefs of mental health and illness. Tongan academic David Fa'avae (2018) indicates, in his chapter "Negotiating the Vā," that the "criticality of vā is a relational space whereby the 'self' is constructed and mediated in relation to others" (p.57). Samoan warrior scholar Fetaui Iosefo (2016) believes that negotiation takes place in the unseen space of the vā, not the physical manifestation of physical space. The Tūmoana negotiate the vā with and for Māori daily, yet there are nuanced differences about what that might mean in practice.

Fa'avae's (2018) chapter considers the multiple spaces that shape a person's social and cultural positioning in a process that requires negotiation. Fa'avae contends that "when one understands the very nature of the vā or relational ties—where the self and others are constructed and mediated—this can better position oneself to deal with people's judgements" (p.57). I understand that to mean that for some Pacific peoples construction of self includes mediation of the vā that inevitably establishes one's own place and identity, in the process. Tui Atua (2007) explains this as relationships with self, increased knowledge of self to seek your own harmony. Central to Iosefo's (2016) claim that negotiation takes place in the unseen space of the vā, is that by navigating and shifting through cultural boundaries and validating identity, one necessarily experiences "struggle" (p. 190). Negotiation of the vā is not a fixed state. Struggle and disruption characterise negotiation in the pursuit of harmonious relations, such as those sought by the Tūmoana with Māori.

I now turn to a differing view of negotiated space that animates further possibilities. I am drawn to the thinking of Refiti (2015) that vā is not merely a negotiated space but rather a co-openness. Refiti argues that "teu is the refinement and orderliness at the heart of Samoan space where a 'rift'—the true character of vā—violently inhabits the centre" (p. 4). Like Māhina's (2010) description of chaos caused from opposing forces in tā–vā, Refiti (2015) explains that vā is an "equation of things bifurcating, of forces moving and breaking apart, towards asymmetrical transformations" (p. 5). Refiti, much like Iosefo (2016), cautions us against the perils of believing that negotiation or teu le vā can lead to win-win situations or utopia. There are always factors of power and privilege or cultural-ethics and politics at play in negotiation of the vā that cannot be subjugated in the exchange, as they hold certainty and require a defined response.

The example of feagaiga earlier in Chapter 2 outlines this concept of complementary opposites that might stand in negotiation.

Negotiation of the vā intimates an end point. It does not imply an ongoing engagement. I suggest that iwi Māori and some Pacific peoples have been good at negotiating with one another but have lacked the insight to further embody a co-openness that is suggested by Refiti (2015). Negotiation perhaps indicates a sense of totality, in that a relationship can be negotiated to a complete harmony or utopia, that the Other in the relationship can be fully known and understood. Such an approach to negotiation domesticates the Other, homogenising them, making them the same, alterity disappearing. A negotiation of a Māori–Moana vā might instead acknowledge that while there exists a shared whakapapa, each is not reducible to the other, the nuanced cultural-ethical differences preserve a unique Indigeneity or the unknowable parts of each other making us simultaneously vulnerable and powerful.

Refiti stories co-openness through the practice of fa'amatai, fono council, a chiefly council. At such an event, the matai/chiefs will sit cross-legged in a circle with their knees touching, no gaps or space are evident in the circle. The matai are more than a single individual; as they sit in the circle, each matai opens themselves to the tā–vā of their ancestors, the names, and honorifics each carries binds them to a genealogy. In turn, this service to ancestors requires a co-openness of the vā which conforms to the cyclic nature of tā–vā woven within us and enduring in our becoming (Refiti, 2017 p. 5).

I began to understand that the reestablishment of the vā between Māori and Moana peoples requires more than an ontological orientation. Necessary also is an orientation to confrontation of the grind, an ability to sit in the uncomfortable spaces. Negotiation and co-openness of the vā assumes that one comes into being in relation. The vā exercises a constant flux or struggle in the evolution of self (Iosefo, 2014), as power, privilege, ethics, and certainty are exposed. While negotiation presupposes a totality or end point, Refiti (2017) reminds us that this negotiation occurs within multiple realms, times, and spaces which requires a vulnerability. Negotiation of the vā by Tūmoana for and with Māori reveals a commitment to a continued vā that exercises their agency to seek harmony and responsibility for the Other.

Teu le vā proposes opportunities to become at ease, more familiar and make mistakes in relational engagements. Oversights can be made and readjusted in a perpetual cycle of relational accountability. I

began to understand that the reestablishment of the vā between Māori–Moana peoples requires more than an ontological orientation but must also assume a political objective.

Kinship

In this section I ask again of the literature "How have we Māori and Moana peoples re-established the vā? My answer looks to some of our own heroes and events to do as suggested by some Indigenous scholars (Hau'ofa, 2000; L. T. Smith, 2012), which is to write our own histories. In essence I make connections to Freire's (1972) notion of critical pedagogy to best explain the re-establishing of a Māori–Moana vā. I look to the educated urban Māori and Polynesian youth, who characterise the collectives through the 70s and 80s. I make comments on the shared spaces of activism, the arts and academic research as transformative acts of social justice. This section addresses the Māori–Moana vā as a space of co-conspiracy.

Conscientisation

Māori and Polynesian peoples share several boundaries in Aotearoa-New Zealand. One of these is socioeconomic marginalisation, often linked with societal ostracism extending through visible references such as ethnicity and class (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010). Health, education, income, and incarceration statistics are a guide to socioeconomic status. In Aotearoa-New Zealand, these indices indicate that Māori and Polynesian communities are at significant risk (Salesa, 2017; Statistics New Zealand, 2015; Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010, 2011) compared to those that are privileged to the culture of power (Delpit, 1988). This shared predicament has resulted in another form of kinship, one that positions Māori and Polynesian peoples on the margins of society. This shared kinship has united them over matters of conscience, whanaungatanga, marriage, education, health, social circumstances, and geographical location. Statistical indicators such as those mentioned earlier keep Māori and Polynesian lives entangled and, as a result, have fortified a growing urban voice that reciprocates support and solidarity for working-class people (Teaiwa & Mallon, 2005). Over time, as the desire for socioeconomic improvement and the preference for spaces of autonomy increased, cohesion and collective action have followed. By the late 1970s, a new generation of activists was emerging and collaborating to oppose issues of oppression and racism. Unlike their predecessors, they were vocal, educated in a colonial system and labelled activists for their conscientious actions to counter the hegemonic discourses pervasive in the wider society.

Young urban Māori who had grown up in the cities of the 1960s sought faster solutions to the social problems they faced in the late 70s and 80s. Accordingly, young urban Māori organised themselves in ways that challenged the more traditional approaches previously undertaken to engage and consult with the state. Walker (1996) discusses how groups began to form as a counter narrative to the marginalisation that was occurring. Ngā Tamatoa was one group that was founded on an ideology of anticapitalism and caught the media's attention with a rhetoric of "brown power" and "Māori liberation" (Walker, 1996). The fundamental belief of Ngā Tamatoa was capitalists, and the Aotearoa-New Zealand parliamentary system, should be confronted about their perpetrated injustices, specifically te Tiriti violations.

At this time Polynesian politicisation advanced in retaliation to unemployment and widespread racism. Ironically, similar experiences had politicised Māori and positioned them as undesirable to early Polynesian migrants. Amidst the economic downturn, Aotearoa-New Zealand no longer required the manual labour services of a mainly migrant Polynesian workforce. Younger Polynesians became politically motivated and sympathetic to the notion of reprisal against an unjust system that had begun to alienate Pacific workers as the economy shrunk (Hill, 2010). Young New Zealand born Polynesians differed in thinking to their Elders, whose impetus was economic opportunities; instead, they demanded more from a system they were born into (Anae, 2010; Tiatia, 2003).

Pacific activists of the 70s and 80s rejected the restraint of their Elders and began to work with radical Māori to form their own action groups. The Polynesian Panther Party (Polynesian Panthers), with a majority Polynesian membership, was explicit about its links to and philosophies based on the Black Panther Party in the United States. The Black Panther movement helped Māori and Polynesian people locate their own experience of oppression within the exploitative social relations of the Aotearoa-New Zealand's capitalist system. Māori scholar Evan Poata-Smith (1996) in a chapter about the evolution of Māori protest points out that the Polynesian Panthers' call to overthrow the capitalist system became a joint goal with Ngā Tamatoa. A shared political impetus ensured their collaboration in the same struggle. The young, brown, and educated were conscientised to the systems that hindered the growth of their communities. They understood that for productive progress, in their aligned agenda, to occur, they could gain better traction in support of one another. Similarly, the Tūmoana have become conscientised to the realities faced by iwi Māori.

Acts of Resistance

Conscientisation, resistance and transformation do not happen in a linear progression. Freire (1972) establishes these concepts as integral for oppressed people to reform their society to give greater benefits for marginalised peoples. G. H. Smith (2017) explains that the three concepts can occur in any order and simultaneously. The establishment of urban resistance to their social and political marginalisation brought about active kinships in a Māori-Moana vā. Iwi Māori and Polynesian peoples worked in ways to tautoko/support each other. The Polynesian Panthers provided security for the historic 1975 Hikoi—Land march led by Dame Whina Cooper and provided support to mana whenua/those with authority over the land, when the state moved to sell Ngāti Whātua land, Bastion Point, to property developers. In a documentary narrated by his niece about the Polynesian Panthers, inspirational Tongan leader Will ‘Ilolahia retells a conversation with his father. ‘Ilolahia senior asked why his son would want to get involved in Māori issues, when he is not Māori. ‘Ilolahia junior replied to his father simply by asking him what he would do if his land was wrongfully taken from him (Vaafuti, 2012a). Both ‘Ilolahias understood that connection to fonua/land is part of your being as a person; in Tonga, land is a birth right. Three weeks later, six truckloads of food came from the Tongan churches to support the Bastion Point protesters.

Synergies on the resistance front encouraged other amalgamations. He Taua, a group formed with Māori and Pacific representation, called for the University of Auckland to cease a racist capping tradition. Engineering students had participated in the graduation tradition since the 1950s, in which they dressed in grass skirts and performed the university haka. By the 70s, this capping tradition had spun into a grotesque racist mimic (Stewart, 2021). Students would draw phallic symbols and inappropriate words on their body, get highly inebriated and generally cause havoc through central city Auckland. When words went unheeded, He Taua took the situation into their own hands (Anae et al., 2015). The frustration felt by He Taua, due to the complete disregard of their cease-and-desist request, resulted in a brief but bloody confrontation with the engineering students. The altercation left people with cuts, bruises, and broken bones. Eleven representatives from He Taua were arrested and charged with offences. This legacy of racism is systemic in tertiary institutions and is often the source of collaborations for Māori and Polynesian academics; Tūmoana talanoa about examples of these alliances.

One significant act that exemplifies the active vā between Māori and Moana peoples was the Springbok tour of 1981. I propose that this event was seen by Māori and Polynesian activists as the opportunity to conscientise the wider Aotearoa-New Zealand population about the racist nature of their own society. The convictions of those protesting were so strong that families were torn apart by the difference of political beliefs. It was that visceral. New Zealand Rugby had invited a South African rugby team, whose political constitution endorsed apartheid, institutionalised racial segregation, to tour New Zealand. Each game around the country was met with increasing resistance and protest that culminated in violent clashes at Eden Park. The tour represented a demonstration of support by New Zealand Rugby of apartheid.

The tour split the nation and the result spilled onto the streets of Aotearoa-New Zealand. The last official act of the Polynesian Panthers was alongside Māori peers in the Patu Squad protests that confronted the Police Red Squad during the Springbok tour protests (Anae et al., 2015). The goal of the Patu Squad was to make New Zealanders look at what was happening in South Africa and how it related to the situation in Aotearoa. Hone Harawira, activist, leader of Ngā Tamatoa and later a member of parliament and Will ‘Ilolahia of the Polynesian Panthers worked side by side to disrupt and instigate agitation at events to ensure the tour could not continue. Members of both Ngā Tamatoa and the Polynesian Panthers were arrested, and many were convicted and did prison time for their role in the Patu Squad. Both Harawira and ‘Ilolahia were involved in a 2-year trial that would have seen them sentenced to 10 years in prison if convicted. Bishop Desmond Tutu, as a star witness, proclaimed the two men to be humanitarians and libertarians (Vaafuti, 2012b). It took the jury an hour and a half to return a verdict of not guilty. This narrative represents a turning point in the history of Aotearoa-New Zealand. It forced middle-class New Zealand to look at racism in their own backyard. Prior to the Springbok tour and subsequent events, New Zealanders believed racism only existed overseas. Following the tour people began to look at their own complicity in the racist structures inherent in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Transformation: Political–Critical–Cultural

I now turn to some other examples of a Māori–Moana vā that appear in literature. This literature speaks of kinships in the arts and research through the expansion of Indigenous knowledge. Sociocultural practices are often mirrored in the artistic realm. Māori expressions of their Polynesian origins, through oratory, bring to the fore the intersection of their Polynesian roots and Indigenous identity. The literature also reveals an

ongoing kinship in research spaces and across the literary canon. Alice Te Punga Somerville's (2012) seminal work *Once Were Pacific* curates the creative writings, readings, and collaborations of Moana peoples. Te Punga Somerville is not alone in collecting anthologies of Māori and Pacific literature (Sullivan et al., 2013; Wendt et al., 2010) but she is the first to bring an analytical lens to the work. Her critique shifts perspectives multiple times to consider the views of Māori creating in Aotearoa-New Zealand and abroad, and similarly for Polynesian people. Most significant to this research is a section on Māori–Moana collaborations. Te Punga Somerville (2012) draws on a wide range of creative works that exemplify individual brilliance, creative collaborations, and heartfelt support of each other's kaupapa/agenda.

Collaboration across the creative arts positions political–critical–cultural thinking jointly. Te Punga Somerville provides a critique of three Māori–Moana collaborations that take for granted and affirm that creative work can be critical and vice versa. I look particularly at a collaboration in 1973, between Ngā Tamatoa, the Polynesia Panthers, and other activist-education organisations, in the publication of a one-off newspaper called *Rongo*. The content reflected the political and social position of Māori and Polynesian communities at the time and was published in Māori, Samoan, Tongan and Niuean. Te Punga Somerville (2012) in her discussion about Rongo illuminates a section at the beginning of said publication titled "Why the Need for Rongo?" which outlines the inability of the media at that time to provide for Māori and Pacific communities. *Rongo* was an amalgamation of the hopes and desires of the contributing organisations to circumnavigate the media channels of the 1970s and educate their own communities.

Rongo was unique in that the editors attended to the historical, political, and cultural dimensions important to their audience. The historical position of the newspaper was identified through the acknowledgement of earlier publications that had provided similar alternate worldviews. The content established political positions through the choice of name, use of language and inclusion of other Indigenous concerns. The title *Rongo*, as a metaphor, has connotations across Te-Moananui-ā-Kiwa. Rongo demonstrates a cosmological connection, as the Polynesian deity of peace, and the humble kumara, through to the literal translation of the act of listening. The kumara, a metaphor for knowledge, also establishes a navigational journey from South America through the Pacific to Aotearoa, thus connecting the people and places on that journey. The foundation of the three genealogies of Rongo, the historical, political, and cultural, point directly to characteristics of the vā between Māori and Moana peoples.

Regarding research, the Māori–Moana vā has provided fruitful grounds for Indigenous theorising. I outline two such alliances and one synthesis of thinking in this section. Tongan poet and health practitioner Karlo Mila-Schaaf and Māori scholar Maui Hudson (2009) propose a "negotiated space," an opportunity for intercultural negotiation and dialogue to take place. Māori physician Elana Curtis (2016) establishes an alignment of Kaupapa Māori and Pacific methodologies and reveals four alignments across methodologies. Tongan academic 'Ema Wolfgramm-Foliaki and Māori scholar Hinekura Smith (2020) propose "vā-kā" methodology to lash Māori and Pacific researchers together to maintain their sovereignty.

In viewing this literature, I found that many of the fundamental tenets of Pōmare and Ta'isi's relationship are replicated in the proposals for Māori–Moana collaborations in research spaces. Across the three collaborations, there is an establishment of a cultural ethic: that of whakapapa/genealogy or connection premised on an Indigenous ontology, the use of cultural metaphor to story decision making and axiology, the use of Māori and Pacific methodologies and a focus on Indigenising the academy.

Whakapapa is positioned by each of the researchers as integral for collaborative participation in research. Curtis (2016) points to whakapapa providing a unique platform for engagement. H. L. Smith and Wolfgramm-Foliaki (2020) concur with this argument when they write that an Indigenous framework is informed by a "relational ontology that centres relationship building and connections" (p. 9). Mila-Schaaf and Hudson (2009) discuss the benefits of engaging through this Indigenous connection, whakapapa, identifying that this space "enables and empowers cultural innovation, acts of imaginative rediscovery, Indigenous knowledge theorising and the creation of new relationships (va) with other forms of cultural knowledge and understanding" (p. 118). Whakapapa, in Māori–Moana thought, draws every entity, living and nonliving into a relationship with one another—unity-that-is-all.

Māori and Pacific metaphor and methodology underpin collaborative research. H. L. Smith and Wolfgramm-Foliaki (2020) draw on the language similarities across the Pacific, essentially Polynesian, to establish a new metaphor from the old in their vā-kā moana methodology. They use vā (Pacific), relational space and kā (Māori) from ahikā/the home fires, in new ways to re-envision vā-kā or vaka, the word for a Polynesian sailing vessel. In the Wolfgramm-Foliaki, Smith (2020) account vā-kā is a methodological approach that lashes researchers together, each bringing their own knowledge, to maintain their sovereignty and alterity. Mila-Schaaf and Hudson (2009) draw on a metaphor of the vā, to explain their practice of

negotiated space: “A simple (Pacific) and somewhat appropriated definition of negotiated space is that it creates a relationship of va between cultural knowledge systems” (p. 116). Curtis (2016) explains how a Māori and Pacific axiology, like an Indigenous axiology (Chilisa, 2012), reflects relational accountability, respectful representation, reciprocal appropriation and rights and regulation, prompting ownership of the research process and the knowledge curated within this process. Metaphors assist cross-cultural thinking for Māori and Moana peoples, allowing easier recognition and appreciation of their role and responsibility to each other.

The collaborative research that seeks to bring Māori and Moana peoples knowledge together also has the ongoing agenda of decolonising or Indigenising the academy. The work of Mila-Schaaf and Hudson (2009) addresses the challenge that Māori and Moana communities face in thinking together outside of the prioritised Western frameworks that encompass health services: “Contemporary Pacific societies are challenged to develop theories of how ideas and perspectives within Indigenous knowledge systems cohere with each other, align, connect, and form pathways of logic; create discourses of ‘truth’ and dominoes of ‘reason’” (pp. 115–116). Negotiated space is a vā of critical discussion and critique to address these challenges and, at the same time, Indigenise thinking and frameworks in the health sector. H. L. Smith and Wolfgramm-Foliaki (2020) similarly want to establish opportunities for Māori and Moana peoples to talk more “to ignite the space between us” and encourage “Indigenous Moana scholars to look to our own sets of ideas, understandings, knowledge, language and ways of being to theorise and seek transforming solutions” (p. 22). Curtis (2016) adds to this discussion and promotes a decolonising approach inherent in both Kaupapa Māori theory and Pacific research methodologies. Each piece of research argues not for a homogenisation of “thought” in the coming together of Māori and Moana peoples. Instead, their thinking suggests that iwi Māori and Moana peoples should source space to talk more and to consciously seek just outcomes for each other in pursuit of mutually beneficial outcomes.

Conclusion

Politically, the connection across all these stories is a decolonising approach. Pōmare and Ta’isi both worked in search of freeing their own people from colonial systems. Likewise, activism radicalised the brown, young and educated into action and engendered support for one another. Experience on the margins of society motivated young Māori and Polynesian peoples to demand more for themselves and support

others to do the same. The entanglements of groups such as Ngā Tamatoa and the Polynesian Panthers resulted in a flourishing of creative collaboration, a co-conspiracy. This is identified by Te Punga Somerville (2012) who outlines ways in which Māori and Moana writers brought a critical view of current circumstances to their audiences, encouraging action to improve circumstances through various art forms. *Rongo* exemplified the political ideas of the time through attention to the cultural-ethical vā that is shared by Māori and Moana peoples.

Pacific and Māori research spaces have looked to decolonise research practices and publications through collaborations built on an Indigenous ontology. Each of these political approaches undertaken was informed by a cultural-ethical understanding of what it means to be connected to a community of others and the responsibility that engenders. When considering re-establishing the vā I notice that an ontological orientation and a common whakapapa are not enough to sustain productive conversations and resulting outcomes. When an added political alignment occurs possibilities are generated, through both large and small actions. This reminds me of Levinas (2006) and his description of "acts of small goodness" (p. 230), everyday gestures that foster relationships. Hoskins (2010) contributes to this thinking and sums up the actions and deeds of shared boundaries for Māori and Moana peoples. She suggests that these acts of small goodness are displays of the ethical being enacted and remind us of our ethical responsibility to the Other. Kinships in the vā have provided space for Māori and Moana peoples to work together to actualise their politics through acts of social justice that recognise a responsibility to one another and a reciprocity in their care for each other.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

Talanoa and pūrākau are the storytelling practices I engage in my study of the vā between the Tūmoana and Māori. In this chapter I discuss how I have drawn on my Māori worldview and encouraged brave thinking about a cultural interface with Pacific methodologies that simultaneously encourage an Indigenous Reference. I discuss the theoretical underpinnings of my study that embrace critical theory and a call to Indigenous ways of doing and being. I describe my decision and use of talanoa as a power-sharing process that includes Tūmoana as co-conspirators. The separate and reflective readings of each talanoa come to develop pedagogical narratives known as pūrākau. I use five theoretical concepts woven from the front section of the thesis to read the vā of the pūrākau. I prepare this reading of the vā not as a prescriptive set of lessons but as opportunities to forge long-standing commitments. Engagement with Tūmoana in the collection and curation of their talanoa required me to navigate the vā between us. This chapter outlines the actions undertaken in the interactions with Tūmoana that were premised on lines of connectedness and relational accountability. To enact this vā required a level of manaaki to protect and present the co-produced talanoa in respectful ways that whakamana/give prestige to the Tūmoana and their lived experiences.

Indigenous Methodologies

Research of Indigenous communities has left a legacy of harm. As a Māori researcher with Nesian children I am acutely aware of the subordinate positions Māori and Moana mātauranga/knowledges have held in the research canon. My theoretical framework for this research works as an antithesis to Western research of the "margins." New Zealand educator Anne Milne (2017) discusses the term *margins* in her book *Colouring in the White Spaces*. Milne explains that our education system in New Zealand perpetuates a Western academic hegemony that relegates Māori and Pacific learners to the margins of our education system. If what Milne says is correct, then my research is positioned in the margins. I instead consciously position this work at the centre, with my whānau, Māori and Moana peoples, to realise potential for productive partnerships and explore the life experiences of the Tūmoana and the dynamic vā they share with Māori.

Historically, research in the margins has been traumatic for Indigenous, and underserved peoples. American academic Lisa Delpit (1988) examines the "culture of power" in society. Delpit brings into perspective the research experience for minority people, "People of colour are, in general, sceptical of research as a determiner of our fates. Academic research has, after all, found us genetically inferior, culturally deprived and verbally deficient" (p. 286). Similarly, Māori academic Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) contends that many Māori, scared by the process of poor intergenerational research outcomes, feel likewise. In New Zealand, dominant neocolonial views have permeated social and educational research, devaluing Māori knowledge to enhance colonial paradigms.

Māori are not the only Indigenous peoples who have suffered through overtly Western power-based research paradigms. Similar experiences extend across the Pacific, with many research practices deriving from initial Western contact via colonial explorers and missionaries. Western views that Indigenous people required salvation from their lives were enacted through the imposition of socially considered norms via religion and compulsory schooling (L. T. Smith, 2012). Organised religion played a significant part in the erosion of Indigenous knowledge but does not sit in the scope of this research. In that vein, the social norms of schools were used to divorce Indigenous peoples from their traditional customs and methods of education and assimilate them to the culture of power (Kape'ahiokalani et al, 1998).

In response to the Indigenous experiences of research, Indigenous scholars have shaped their own research practices based on their ontological beliefs. Māori, Pacific, and Indigenous knowledge are distinctly different from Western philosophies. Primarily, the desire of Māori, Pacific and other Indigenous peoples is to reclaim self-determination. Additionally, we have read in Chapters 2 and 3, that Māori and Moana ontologies align, as they see themselves in the world in relation to one another, bound to those before them and those that will come after them. From an Indigenous perspective, the nature of knowing "comes from a foundational belief that knowledge is relational" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 74) and shared with all of creation (Wilson, 2008). In summation, it is the Indigenous research paradigm that prioritises "relationality" with interrelated components that correlate so specifically to the vā.

Pacific peoples have described research frameworks that reflect their worldview. This growing body of Pacific literature is conscious of the need to decolonise Pacific research while being mindful that such research is "only beginning to find its footing in the world of academic research" (Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-

Aiolupotea, 2014, p. 332). A process of deconstructing Western representations of Pacific identity and conveying preferred processes for knowledge gathering, processing and dissemination has been the focus for Pacific scholars. I provide here a few examples of decolonising Pacific research frameworks and tools that might be of interest to scholars and practitioners, Thaman's kakala framework, Māhina's tā–vā theory of reality, Rae Si'ilata's va'a tele and Nabobo-Baba's vānua framework. Pacific frameworks and models for thinking in research reflect the epistemological beliefs that underpin Pacific peoples lived experiences and represent how they know the world around them. Each framework highlights the importance of seeing research through the eyes of those who are recruited for research, as well as ensuring that specific Pacific worldviews are not ignored but upheld during formulation of a research design. Moreover, part of acknowledging a Pacific worldview is ensuring research practices are culturally appropriate to the community group with which one decides to engage (Vaioleti, 2006). For this research, talanoa was a well-known concept to the Tūmoana and worked seamlessly with the questioning, lead taking and sense making of our conversation.

Storytelling: Talanoa and Pūrākau

As expressed earlier, Indigenous perspectives and experience of the world differ from views in the West. Māori and Moana peoples share similar perceptions and beliefs in a spiritual connectedness between all things, living and nonliving (Curtis, 2016; Henry & Pene, 2001; Marsden in Royal, 2003; Royal, 2012; L. T. Smith, 2012; Tui Atua, 2007; Wilson, 2008). Tongan scholar Timote Vaioleti (2006) explains that talanoa encounters and conversation occur in a nonlinear and reflexive way. Vaioleti believes that these underlying qualities of talanoa research methodology share a "universal appeal to Māori, Indigenous, oral tradition communities and those who are interested in using specific qualitative and localised critical research" (p. 25). I concur with Vaioleti and have undertaken the use of talanoa in this study to support the cultural-ethical needs of the Tūmoana. Talanoa provides human face-to-face interaction and removes the distance between researcher and participant.

I have used the terms talanoa and pūrākau at length already in this thesis and provided a broad overview of each. In designing this research, it was my job to meet the needs of the Tūmoana to provide the conditions in which Tūmoana could "talk from the heart" (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014). Talanoa reflects the knowledge making and sharing practices of the Tūmoana. As an apprentice in talanoa for the purpose of

documented research, I was interested in ways that I could improve my practice and found guidance in the idea of "an education [apprenticeship] of attention" (Gieser, 2008, p. 300). As an apprentice in talanoa, I was required to bring a level of attention to this new practice. Gieser (2008) explains that to gather skills that have not necessarily been passed down through culturally embedded interactions requires an undertaking of an apprenticeship with more experienced practitioners, fine tuning my skills; this is the education of attention. An orientation to the practice of talanoa, and the Tūmoana, requires attention to spatial-cultural specificities or, more simply, the vā. I had a degree of understanding having used talanoa informally in classrooms, with tertiary students and as a vehicle for professional development, albeit, I had never used those skills in a formal research capacity.

Talanoa

Talanoa is a way that Polynesian people use storytelling and group conversation to make connections, explore understandings and build schema. Rooted in an oratory tradition, talanoa is a concept recognised in many island nations across the Pacific including Fiji, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Niue, Hawai'i, the Cook Islands, and Tonga (Prescott, 2008). Vaioleti (2006) breaks away from conventional Western methodologies to reinvigorate this practice as a tool for Pacific researchers and their communities. He describes talanoa as tala, to inform, relate or tell; and noa, meaning nothing or the profane. Literally, talanoa means "talking about nothing in particular in a space without any particular framework for that discussion" (p. 23). Vaioleti argues that talanoa presents an authentic Indigenous voice to the research through the sharing of lived experiences and narratives. Talanoa allows an engagement in social conversation which may lead to critical discussions or knowledge creation that generates rich contextual information as co-constructed stories.

I was also drawn to the versatility and widespread use of talanoa. Talanoa research is now arguably the most prominent research methodology applied across the Pacific (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014) and is increasingly accepted by Pacific scholars who are indicative of a growing Pacific presence in academia. This encouraged a level of familiarity with Tūmoana that talanoa was not only a conversation but also a narrative research tool. I wondered also how the various applications of talanoa might incentivise different types of talanoa. Tongan scholar Sitiveni Halapua (2007) suggests the use of talanoa as a tool in conflict resolution, while Fijian academic Uanisi Nabobo-Baba (2008) explains that talanoa can be a way to

"offload." Nabobo-Baba and Halapua's insights confirm that talanoa provides an opportunity to teu le vā, nurture the vā between people.

Finally, I return to the words of Vaioleti (2006), who describes talanoa research as "holistically interming[ling] the researchers' and participants' emotions, knowledge, experiences, and spirits" (p. 24). My hope was that I would be able to provide space for Tūmoana to share intimately their experiences while, at the same time, enhancing their own critical consciousness, thus encouraging new ideas and potentialities in their own thinking and practice.

Pūrākau

When I was growing up, pūrākau were the stories that seemed extra-ordinary, phenomenal, and held lifelong lessons. In developing a greater understanding of the use of narrative pedagogy in educational research, I became aware of the way that Māori-Chinese scholar Jenny Lee uses the term, repurposing pūrākau as a valid research method in the movement to decolonise research spaces. Lee (2008, 2009) develops pūrākau as a Kaupapa Māori narrative-based research methodology, she argues that it "is a flexible, creative and culturally derived narrative device for collecting, containing and transmitting knowledge" (p. 46). Pūrākau are a credible research method for Indigenous people because of the reciprocity of shared experiences and because knowledge of the participants is foremost. A growing number of Indigenous scholars utilise pūrākau or talanoa within their methodological designs (Cliffe-Tautari, 2020; Faitala, 2013; Pope, 2017; Swann, 2018). I take some time here to explain how I have come to understand pūrākau, my selection of this method and the opportunity it provides to prepare pedagogical narratives from the talanoa of the Tūmoana.

Storytelling is a feature of Māori–Moana and Indigenous life. Orators are revered for their ability to shape pūrākau to influence whānau, hapū, iwi and even generations to come. Pūrākau were not the only way that cultural codes of conduct were passed down to each generation. Lee (2005) explains there are various narrative forms through which cultural knowledge was sustained: mōteatea/chants, whakapapa/genealogy, whaikōrero/speechmaking, and whakataukī/proverbs, but that the term pūrākau is literally the telling of stories. Pūrākau, Lee tells us, are rooted in Māori language "in its literal meaning of *pū* (roots or base) of the *rākau* (tree)" (p. 7). This approach embraces cultural nuances and interprets stories which represent a more accurate reflection of Indigenous experiences.

My aim is that the pūrākau in this study will provide lessons, observations, and pedagogical narratives about how the Tūmoana experience committed relationships with Māori. Lee (2005) encourages the use of pūrākau to "stimulate reflective thinking" (p. 12). I take this to mean we should engage in pūrākau to provoke and engage the audience to make meaning for themselves. I hope that the pūrākau can serve as teaching and reflecting conversations for education practitioners, scholars and others interested in improving their understanding and relationship with Māori.

Talanoa and pūrākau may appear to mirror each other in metaphorical and practical approaches; however, each of these methodologies is unique to their Indigenous groups. The connection and inherent knowledge required to appreciate these Indigenous principles comes from those who understand the importance of these methods. Although talanoa is used across the Moana, each Pacific nation has a varied and distinctive method in applying this concept and research methodology. Anyone undertaking research drawing on concepts of talanoa and pūrākau requires a high degree of personal investment; Bishop (2005) describes this as requiring mutual control and understanding by all participants. Vaioleti (2006) proposes that the knowledge given by participants to researchers implies reciprocity. To engage in talanoa requires me to open a vā with Tūmoana to take responsibility to protect their interests, language, culture, welfare, and reputation from our first point of contact and enduringly. I talanoa with Tūmoana as co-conspirators to tell their stories, then to read and reread these talanoa with them to craft pūrākau that uphold their mana/authority.

How We Told Stories in the Vā

My process to tell stories was informed by my understanding of narrative pedagogy (Bishop, 1996, 2019), pūrākau (Lee, 2008, 2009), talanoa (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006, 2013) and my mother. From my mother I knew that storytelling had to be engaging; from Bishop and Lee I learnt that storytelling could hold cultural lessons that could span generations and be retold in slightly different ways depending on the audience. From Vaioleti and Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba I realised that storytelling can be a process of knowledge creation, clarification, and conflict resolution. For the process of this thesis, I began with talanoa to story and re-story the experiences of Tūmoana and then to create the pūrākau. What follows is a talanoa about how we told stories. This talanoa is punctuated with comments from scholars, whose knowledge of the methods of talanoa and pūrākau have come to be unconscious acts of practice to this work

and fulfils the academic requirements of this chapter. Included, where appropriate, are the encouragements and counsel of my Pacific Pou.

Before setting out to do this work, I had several preconversations with Moana peoples whose opinions I value and who have acted as friends, critics, and mentors. These people became my Pacific Pou and co-conspirators in this study. All the Pacific Pou are connected to the education sector in numerous ways. I contacted each of them separately to discuss the idea about this study that was forming. These conversations oriented me to the work and highlighted to me some of the pitfalls that might be present. During these conversations we talked about Moana concepts in my study; I listened and was told what not to do; I made suggestions about how I might go about the talanoa with my eventual participants, they made counter suggestions. We clarified my decision making and how I might continue to make decisions about this study. We made connections from their daily lives that would fertilise my thinking for this study moving forward. Each of the pre-conversations, I realised, were opportunities to practise the art of talanoa; talking about nothing very easily segue into talking about real and tangible ideas and actions.

Pacific scholar's adept in the art of talanoa write about the theory of talanoa but not the reality, their practice of talanoa has been interwoven into their lives. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) suggest that the "skills of interviewing are learned through the practice of interviewing" (p. 17). Granted, talanoa is not an interview; the takeaway for me was the idea that I would have to practise listening, hearing, observing and patiently waiting for conversation and conclusions to emerge. Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba (2014) write about an "empathic apprenticeship" where talanoa is an embodied mode of communication expressed as "attunement," a way of tapping into the spoken and unspoken word. Refiti (2015) might describe this attunement as a co-openness of the vā. Likewise, Vaioleti (2006) contributes to this line of thinking by acknowledging that for Pacific peoples "much information is communicated through the senses, so it is vital that researchers understand the *laumalie* (essence, spirit, wairua) of concepts, notions, emotions, or expressions in the Talanoa encounter" (p. 32). My pre-conversations provided time to continue to experience laumalie amongst my Pacific Pou. I would, however, require ongoing supervision and mentoring in my practice with Pacific peoples, to talanoa my findings and scratch away at my wonderings.

My Pacific Pou became a conduit to the Tūmoana; we worked together to shape a list of possible participants who might provide the type of long-term commitment to Māori that we were wanting to talanoa

about. I wanted to better understand Tūmoana influences that shaped their decision making and positionality regarding Māori. We developed the following routines to select solid Tūmoana.

Who Told Stories?

There is no database of which Pacific peoples are working with iwi Māori and no index of how good they are at that work. Researchers Cohen et al. (2000) suggest the quality of a piece of research can rise or fall on the "appropriateness of methodology and instrumentation but also by the suitability of the sampling strategy that has been adopted" (p. 100). In this study, the sampling strategy that was undertaken was purposeful selection which involved considering several factors such as what working with and for Māori might mean and how I might ascertain that.

For selection to proceed, I curated lists of people who, through my own connections and experiences and those of my friends, family, colleagues, and supervisors, I felt had made contributions to and had long-standing relationships with Māori. I would bring these lists to hui/meeting with my Pacific Pou we would engage in a form of due diligence that included drawing on a wider group of confidantes, reading published material by those on the curated list, searching our own contacts and even browsing the internet. We worked through addressing the question: "How had this possible participant fostered productive partnerships with Māori in their educational work?" Often, that single question alone threw up more names for us to do our due diligence on. Inevitably I only approached people who worked in different sites of education to provide a wider view of the education sector. I was continually challenged by my Pacific Pou to include Pacific peoples working in other domains outside of traditional education sites, often for the radical stance they had been afforded working outside of the gaze of education, but I felt perhaps that was the work of someone else.

I focused on educators from the Pacific because I wanted to arrive at conclusions that could be made in the field of education as a way of containing the study, otherwise it would have been pertinent to talanoa with people from the Pacific across the social spectrum. I specifically sought educators from the Pacific who were known for negotiating the vā with Māori in their work life and were respected by their colleagues and others for their conduct in these engagements. I had a supplementary reason to encourage an ongoing conversation for Māori and educators from the Pacific at the site of education, that was to inform and

provide a resource for initial teacher education programmes. We approached people who we thought would talanoa about the various ethical and political responsibilities in these relationships.

I felt overwhelmed when five extraordinary educators of the Moana agreed to talanoa with me about their commitment to Māori outcomes. They are Dr Rae Si'ilata, Ngāti Raukawa, Tūhourangi and Fijian; Pouli Laurayne Taulaete Nuanua Tafa, Samoan and Scottish; Dr Jemaima Tiatia, New Zealand-born Samoan; Aiolupotea Lili Tuioti, Samoan-born, Samoan–New Zealander; and Dr Tamasailau Suaalii-Sauni, Samoan-born, Samoan–New Zealander. Tūmoana was the name selected to represent the co-conspirators to honour the contribution they have made to this work. The selection of the moniker Tūmoana was for two reasons. The first, of course, relates to the Preface about my tipuna Tūmoana who travelled on the waka Tinana from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. The second is from a whakataukī *He toka tū moana*—a stone that stands at sea. This metaphor is used in a range of oratory, to describe a steadfast person, a leader of the future.

The full whakataukī is as follows. *Ko rātou ngā toka tū moana. Ka ākina rātou e ngā ngaru o te moana. Ka ākina e te tai, ka ākina e ngā hau. Engari ahakoa pēhea ka tū tonu, ka tū tonu*—They are rocks that stand in the sea. They will be struck by the ocean's waves. They will be dashed by the tide; they will be struck by the winds. But no matter what they will stand, they will stand. This whakataukī embodies the way the Tūmoana have lived their daily lives in a commitment to iwi Māori and their aspirations.

Whanaungatanga

Before the talanoa began, the Tūmoana and I engaged in whanaungatanga/family connections to recognise kinship lines that lay between us. Often the vā between us was opened via an email from one of my Pacific Pou who would connect us. A small note of introduction via an email, was a practice from my Pacific Pou that validated me in what I was asking of the Tūmoana. From there I would continue the email to see if the interest in the topic existed for them and then a call would ensue. If the Tūmoana were interested, we would meet kanohi ki te kanohi to make visible our connections to one another. These whanaungatanga conversations established my whakapapa Māori and my connections to Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa. One unanticipated issue arose early on for me. I was filled with anxiety in contacting and sustaining contact with the Tūmoana. This was due to their busy schedules and me not fully believing that they would be interested in talking with me about their experiences. In the face to face of the hui whanaungatanga this was put aside as we developed our own lines of connection.

The Tūmoana put me at ease with their desire to participate in talanoa. We were able to easily navigate the sterile process of the participant information sheet and consent forms (Appendices A and B respectively). I loathed having to provide these for the Tūmoana and was genuinely surprised that they had a real interest in the indicative question sheet (Appendix C) I supplied to them, as part of the university ethics process. I had not thought that we would strictly use the questions, but they provided a good start for Tūmoana to establish what we would talanoa about.

Each talanoa was a face-to-face occasion. Each talanoa lasted, on average, about 90 minutes and the time and place were set by Tūmoana. Generally, we met on their ground, and I supplied food in an act of manaaki/hospitality and to whakanoa/make neutral. The Tūmoana were offered the opportunity to karakia/pray with me to open the vā between us, to wipe away any tapu that might be lingering; food was also used to make us noa. After karakia we always continued with whanaungatanga, tracing and establishing lines of connectivity, listening, and responding to one another, probing to see the vitality that each of us brought to the talanoa, always considerate of the vulnerability that each of us might convey in the exchange.

During the talanoa, I suggested emails to re-story the talanoa, commensurate with their limited time, with work and family. The medium of email was helpful as a process to gather, reflect and change the information as required but it did not allow me to observe body language and other gestures. There is only so much a crying, laughing face emoji can convey, so some of the nuance of their re-storying was lost. The talanoa was audio recorded and notes were taken so I could point to parts of the talanoa during transcription that might be enhanced by the feeling of the vā at that moment, a pause, laughter, tears. The notes also helped me to anchor the talanoa, as I found hooks to investigate an interesting idea or turn of phrase from the Tūmoana. Most significantly, the notes helped to maintain lines of thinking and connection as the process of transcribing, emailing, and re-storying was lengthier than expected.

Talking Talanoa, Writing Pūrākau, Reading the Vā

Talanoa remains a central process in the production of knowledge and identity. Through talanoa, the social and political body is the site of passive and active resistance, resilience, and innovation (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014). There were multiple conversations in the talanoa, but I talk about four deliberations that were applied to encourage re-storying: transcription, talanoa for edits, talanoa as a pūrākau, and pūrākau intersections and potential.

Transcription

This process was unhurried. Onwuegbuzie et al. (2009) express the need for the researcher to delve further than the transcribed word to increase the rigour of the analysis. This was what I did, not because the literature told me I had to, but I genuinely relished having the time to reflect and explore the talanoa. I often listened to the recording of each talanoa when in the car by myself. This process helped in remembering the other emotions not evident in the slow black and white text of the transcription. Constant reruns of the audio gave me a level of intimacy with the transcript. I caught myself crying often over the same part in the talanoa when you might hear the voice of the Tūmoana break as they recollected an experience or the inflection of excitement at another moment. I noticed again how many times the Tūmoana said "you know" and then left an idea hanging in midthought, the tape recorder unable to capture the reciprocated eyebrow raise. As I listened to the talanoa, I remembered where we were: breakfast in our pyjamas, lunch in a tiny office drenched from the rainiest day ever, first time greetings in car parks, leisurely coffee and cake sessions, or a busy shared-office space. All this noticing became part of the transcript of the talanoa and began the re-story of the talanoa on paper. The next three readings required reading.

Talanoa for Edits

In this second deliberation, the focus was ensuring the accuracy of the content. Initially, I paid little attention to this process. The process of quick read and minor edits reduced the rigour of the transcription phase. There seemed reduced rigour in a quick read and minor edits. What I failed to see is that it was not so much about the rigour of the task or the edits, it was more about the consent. The Tūmoana were giving their consent to use the talanoa. This was done through their suggested corrections to unintentional inaccuracies in my transcription or something interpreted out of context from the talanoa. Talanoa for edits required returning the transcripts to the Tūmoana and then onosa'i/patience. During this phase of patience strengthening, I began to read the transcript looking for storylines that might engage a reader. When the transcripts, and Tūmoana consent, were returned some changes were made to two of the transcripts and the anonymity preserved of actors who appeared in the talanoa of one Tūmoana.

Talanoa as a Pūrākau

Oral storytelling requires reading the room, seeking a reaction, modifying the story, embellishing a little bit here and there because you can see if people are interested or not. Storytelling other people's stories on

paper is hard. I began first by seeking the obvious plotlines, ones that delivered on emotion or significant occasions, ideas that might keep the talanoa moving and engage a reader. I was myself engaging in "mise-en-scène," arranging actors and scenes to make the most of the talanoa. I was extremely mindful of my environment in the rearrangement of the actors and storylines of the talanoa. Where possible, writing was undertaken close to the water to remember the metaphorical meaning of the Tūmoana moniker. Tafa's talanoa unfolded in Waipu, her tūrangawaewae/a place you belong through kinship, whakapapa; for Rae, her talanoa developed in her beloved Fiji, the birthplace of her mother. During this process in the re-storying, my words as interviewer were redacted and the Tūmoana words were edited. I suffered a level of noticeable guilt in the rearrangement of the talanoa.

Ongoing checks and balances were engaged with the Tūmoana. This process affirmed validity of the pūrākau. At times I was elated when the essence of the pūrākau authentically captured our talanoa and the intent of the Tūmoana. Conversely, I felt a sinking in my stomach when I had missed the mark. I would be saddened by my inability to provide the pūrākau desired and annoyed at myself that I had misinterpreted transcripts, emails, and phone conversations. But always with grace the Tūmoana engaged in the process, refining their words until they were content with the flow, meaning and possible interpretations by others.

As co-conspirators the back and forth allowed confirmation, validation, and continuity in the pūrākau. This iterative process meant that the Tūmoana pūrākau embodied their voice, philosophical thought, and mana. When confirming that their names would be used in the final thesis Tūmoana conspired even further to ensure they did justice to the complex ideas, events, and people they talanoa about.

Pūrākau Intersections and Potential

In this engagement with the pūrākau, there was a shift from Tūmoana stories to a focus on interpretations that might structure the pūrākau as pedagogical narratives. I now concentrated on Indigenous relationality, philosophy, theory, and metaphor because I wanted to bring to the fore the acts of social justice in which Tūmoana engaged daily. I sought illustrations of the political and cultural-ethical intersections of the vā between Māori and Moana peoples. I intentionally framed the pūrākau around the following notions: teu le vā, negotiating the vā, and potentiality. Each of these notions that were used to curate the pūrākau were loosely woven around the questions that progressed the talanoa. Teu le vā collated parts of the talanoa that connected and placed Tūmoana in cultural-ethical relationships with Māori and broadly addressed the

question “How have you come to have long-standing, committed relationships with Māori?” Negotiating the vā was generally focused on the question “How have your understandings of the vā you share with Māori influenced your thinking, relationships, and practice?” and sought to bring to the fore organised daily practices/political actions that required critique and challenge of the daily grind for and with Māori. Lastly, potentiality offered an opportunity to appreciate and reimagine their vā with Māori and generally brought some light to the third question, “What hopes do you have for a Māori–Pacific vā in the future?” In structuring these sections, I consider how I might bring the reader’s attention to items that address the initial questions for the research (in the Introduction, p.4), and then reflect on the choices that Tūmoana have made and how this might guide the reader to some introspection of their own situations.

Presentation of the Pūrākau

The five chapters dedicated to the pūrākau of the Tūmoana are meant to engage multiple readings. Pūrākau are ways to voice experiences that are often unheard. In the first talanoa with Lili she sums this up “It feels right at this time that someone is telling these stories, our stories have slipped silently into the night.” The presented pūrākau draw attention to the politics and cultural-ethics of the vā between the Tūmoana and Māori. The Tūmoana, challenged, made sense, and voiced their views on the vā they share intimately with iwi Māori, and transformed their spoken and unspoken words into pūrākau for themselves and others. In writing these pūrākau I am reminded that Tūmoana create the “opportunity to write about culture as well as write culture into text” (Lee, 2009, p. 13). In the pūrākau of the Tūmoana they offer some obvious pedagogical examples that are established through their life experiences but also provide implicit advice embedded in the text. I have structured the thesis (a staggered view of historical Māori–Pacific kinship and preparatory material on the vā) to prepare a reader to appreciate the pūrākau that unfold, to position readers so they too can listen, interpret, and make sense of the stories and more subtle messages interwoven into the pūrākau.

Reading the Vā

Finally, we come to reading the vā. I use five theoretical concepts about the vā between Tūmoana and Māori that are woven from the front section of the thesis to assist in reading the vā, they are 1) ontological orientation, 2) cultural and ethical responsibility to the Other, 3) decolonising agenda, 4) commitment to critique and challenge, 5) relationships which transcend time and space. An outline of each follows.

Ontological Orientation

Māori and Moana peoples describe their orientation to a relational ontology through their belonging. Whakapapa/genealogy and whanaungatanga/connectedness position Māori and Moana peoples in relationships that demonstrate ancient and contemporary kinships. The notion of whakapapa and a relational ontology are paramount in Indigenous thought. Connectedness underscores Tui Atua's (2007) Samoan Indigenous Reference that calls for an important philosophical awareness that all things are related, living and nonliving. To be oriented to an Indigenous Reference is to be in a relation with all entities. In theorising a relation of all entities, a relational ontology, Wendt (1996) describes a unity-that-is-all, a genealogical connection to every entity. Māori ontological beliefs about genealogy or whakapapa are commensurate with the Indigenous Reference proposed by Tui Atua (2007) in that people are not superior in any encounter or relationship but related through whakapapa (Rameka & Glasgow, 2017).

An Indigenous Reference is replicated in the thinking of Hoskins and Jones (2017) who describe relationality as the identity of things that emerges through and relates to everything else. This concept positions the cultural-ethical practices connected to cultural identity and the responsibility of whakapapa as a priority for Māori and Moana peoples. While there are nuanced differences in ontology, their orientation remains aligned. However, the reestablishment of Māori–Moana relationships discussed in Chapter 3 identified that an ontological orientation alone was not sufficient in encouraging and sustaining long-standing commitments to one another; often, self-imposed boundaries have kept Māori and Moana peoples distant from one another. I read for moments in the pūrākau that indicate events and characteristics that enact a relational ontology and engender a whanaungatanga/connectedness to Māori and Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Cultural and Ethical Responsibility to the Other

Levinas (1998) reminds us that because we come into being through our relationship with the Other, we have an infinite responsibility to them. Fluctuations of power exercised through kinships and framed in an accountability and responsibility to one another are emphasised as requisites of enacting the vā, and establish, as Levinas suggests, a responsibility to the Other. Similarly, Māhina (2010) explains that demonstrations of teu le vā maintain symmetry and harmony in the vā that engender a reciprocal responsibility to the Other.

Indigenous Reference demands an ethical response and an infinite responsibility to the Other. Hoskins (2010, 2017) believes this responsibility is enacted through practices such as an attention to attitudes that are unreservedly woven into and expressed through the cultural-ethics of the Tūmoana. Enactment of one's role in the vā requires a level of cognisance about the required responsibility to the Other. In the reading of the vā, I look for an attention to attitudes that point to an unconditional level of care and concern for the Other. Māori might explain this as aroha/love or even manaaki/ethic of care that are unmediated by intellect but motivated by emotion and acknowledge the innate mana/authority of all things. Moana thought about attitudes that embody this level of concern are woven into the notions of concepts from Samoa such as tautua/service and fa'aaloalo/respect and are embraced through the vā. The vā demands this responsibility.

Decolonising Agenda

A decolonising agenda positions Māori and Moana peoples with the ability to determine and control their relationship. Māori and Moana political engagement with a modern society has required an amnesia to the cultural-ethical knowings and practices of relating and a responsibility to one another. Instead, a modern society and the quest for self-determination has called Māori and Moana peoples into economic relationships with the Crown and other organisations. Capitalist ideology leaves little room for collective productive conversations in the vā of Māori and Moana political engagement. I read for ways that Tūmoana have stretched, manipulated, broken, and made anew the boundaries that have confined them in their relationships with Māori.

Hau'ofa (2000) encourages us to construct our own realities. The acts of talanoa and pūrākau by the Tūmoana are acts of Indigenising the education space. They offer alternative thinking in relationships with Māori across education and society and anticipate a level of reciprocity. G. H. Smith and L. T. Smith (2019) call for research that decolonises and transforms the academy to provide spaces for Indigenous people. The work of the Tūmoana as co-conspirators in this study works to achieve this goal. I read their pūrākau to highlight ideas, understandings and actions that theorise or seek transformative solutions in their current contexts or for the future.

Commitment to Critique and Challenge

I understand that ethics and politics co-exist in tension, each able to challenge the certainty of the other (Bernasconi, 1999). The vā is a site of these intersections. In this study, the vā between the Tūmoana and iwi Māori holds many intersections that require negotiation, challenge, and nurture to offer generative possibilities. Similarly, wā/time–space (Māori) and tā–vā/time–space (Tonga, Samoa) and all things in nature, mind and society stand in eternal relations of exchange, giving rise to conflict or order (Māhina, 2010, 2017; Marsden in Royal, 2003; Refiti, 2015, 2017). Critique and challenge that occur in this cyclic interpretation of time are often prescribed. The acts of forgiveness and restoration as demonstrations of teu le vā are also inbuilt mechanisms that attend to critique and challenge in a perpetual cycle. Refiti (2017) reminds us that the forces moving and breaking apart in the vā towards asymmetrical transformations do not anticipate a utopian conclusion. Instead, utopia remains elusive in the search for balance where a commitment to challenge and critique, forgiveness and restoration are in an eternal exchange.

Vā remembers connection, seeks balance, attends to boundaries, enacts forgiveness, and is attuned to various lore. Reading the vā for commitment to challenge and critique I notice how a responsibility for the Other conscientises one to issues that, once identified, can never be dismissed. I read for occurrences in the vā that point to challenges and critiques that have eventuated in the day-to-day encounters of Tūmoana with Māori that come to offer forgiveness and restoration of vā tapuia/sacred space and vice versa.

Relationships which Transcend Time and Space

In the search for a balance in tapu/sacred and noa/profane, Māori use tikanga, doing things the right way. Tikanga ensures that we stay spiritually, mentally, and physically safe when we engage in relationships. Tapu and noa are also concepts found across Polynesia that require certain lore or practices that are socially defined and imbued with spirituality (Refiti, 2015, 2017). Ceremonies that lift tapu or instil noa require an openness to te ao wairua/the spiritual world, a connection to one's ancestors and a Māori–Moana view of the cyclic nature of time in all their undertakings. This responsibility encourages a deep knowledge of protocols or tikanga that Tūmoana use interchangeably, borrowed from te ao Māori/the Māori world and fa'a Samoa/the Samoan way.

To stand in a co-openness of the vā requires a certain vulnerability. Refiti (2015, 2017) supposes that negotiation of the vā requires this vulnerability, perhaps even an uncertainty of entanglements with multiple realms, time, and space. Negotiation of the vā by Tūmoana for and with iwi Māori reveals a commitment to a continued vā. This is an exercise in agency to seek harmony and responsibility for the Other, a spirituality and connection that reaches from the past to inform the present and assists in shaping the future. I read the vā for acts of co-openness, the presence, knowing or understanding, informed by te ao wairua/the spiritual world that guides and informs the senses of the Tūmoana in their decision making.

Ethical Considerations: Time to Think It Right

Axiology is the ethical concerns and practices that guide our interpretation of information provided for evaluation in a study. It is the time we should always take to think about what is right, ethical, and moral when we begin to question others and the lives they lead. My own axiology is guided by a relational ontology inherent in the beliefs of Indigenous, Māori and Moana peoples. To be specific, for the purposes of this study, integral to these beliefs are the cultural ethics of te ao Māori. I identify a cultural ethics as acknowledging: a connection to te ao wairua/the spirit world, that we are our living ancestors, time and space are in eternal flux and an ethical responsibility to the Other.

I am guided in my axiology by well-known Māori lawyer and philosopher Moana Jackson. In his Keynote address at He Manawa Whenua Indigenous Research Conference in 2013, Jackson outlined a tentative philosophy of ethics. He asks us to take the time to *think it right*, a phrase coined from a conversation with his granddaughter, which has grounded me in this study and therefore I outline his thinking in this section. While the list is not definitive, what is included here interweaves and overlaps across each other in a messiness that is required for a cultural/ethics of and for others. The ethics I have considered from Jackson (2013) are the following: prior thinking, moral or right choice, imagination, change, time, power, courage, honesty, modesty, and celebration. Anthropologists have often written about us without us and progressed a narrative that Māori were incapable of indulging in purposeful thought. In taking some time to "think it right" I outline below a philosophy of ethics from Jackson (2013) for Māori, Moana, Pacific and Indigenous people, and co-conspirators to assist in manifesting similar ways to research and search for who we are and story our experiences.

Jackson's Tentative Philosophy of Ethics (2013)

Prior Thought. To research and make sense of who we are, with the confidence to reach back to the prior thought of our ancestors. Indigenous peoples have a proud and noble intellectual tradition that explains our world and our relationships and that should be the foundation for our research.

Moral or Right Choice. Research requires a moral focus. We must ask ourselves: will this be right? Will this be moral? Those judgements should then underpin the decision we make first about *doing* the research then second about *how* we do the research. Theory does not exist in isolation from people, ideas do not exist in isolation from the lives of those you are researching. The possible human consequences of research require an ethics of moral or right choice.

Imagination. The joy of any intellectual tradition is identifying the flights of imagination that lead from the observation of a phenomena to the description of the phenomena. It takes a leap of poetic imagination to lead us to the facts, to lead us to the evidence through which we can draw conclusions. Objectivity denies the ethics of imagination.

Change. Whether it is immutable or rapid and swift change, research requires a dedicated aim to transform the realities in which people live. Static research which does not seek change or to improve the lives of our people does not meet the ethical test.

Time. Our notion of time is whakapapa based on a series of never-ending beginnings. This notion of time folds back on itself and brings the past into the present and into the future—this notion of time recognises the interconnectedness of all things. If we have an ethics of time as an ethical base for research we can decide when we undertake the research, determined by our notion of the interconnectedness of things, not by the demands of someone else.

Power. Be clear about whose knowledge we are defining, because if knowledge is power and it is the coloniser's knowledge, in the words of Franz Fanon, that knowledge may one day devour us. If it is our knowledge, and it gives us power to be who we are, then we can conduct ethical research.

Courage. To research well we need to be brave; to be transformative and bring about change requires courage. If you cannot bravely seek change then the research in a fundamental sense is missing some of its ethical ingredients. The courage might be in the process you adopt, it might be in asking why

your literature review cannot include the literature of our ancestors and why we continue to include the ramblings of dead white men. Courage might also be something more expensive and frightening because you will be challenging the funders and the Crown, those that currently hold the power.

Honesty. Honesty is acknowledging that as beautiful, wonderful, and wise as our people are, they are human. We are prone to all the fallibilities of humans, we will make mistakes, we will do dumb things, we will often be hurtful to people. This ethics is the ability to be honest with ourselves, with a wise and honest heart that is lacking in meanness. This can be hard because the culture of colonisation is a mean-spirited culture. But there is a strength in gentle criticism and there is mana and respect for those with whom we disagree. When we are honest, we can pursue that path of ethical research.

Modesty. The seductions of academic success in the Western sense are very alluring and tempting. By its very nature, academic success provides a hierarchical elitism that can be seductive; but if we remember we are the mokopuna of those that came before us, and the holders of the future of those that will follow, then we must be modest in what we do. To be an expert is to be the modest carrier of knowledge.

Celebration. Wanting to research and know more about the world should be an ethics of celebration. An ethics of celebration is wanting to celebrate our survival, to celebrate our uniqueness, to celebrate our journeys ahead of us, to look at our mokopuna to celebrate the future they will inherit.

Jackson ethics remind me about how to be in the act of researching. He prompts me to enact my ethical and moral day-to-day self in research spaces. He validates the attitudes and dispositions I engage daily as an axiology that is legitimate and logical in the western framework of doctoral research. However, there are non-negotiables when working with Others in a university space. Regulations stipulated by the University of Auckland can be found in the participant information sheet and consent forms (Appendices A & B).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have made a case for the use of Māori and Polynesian methodologies. I argue that Māori and Moana worldviews are similar in their orientation to a relational ontology and therefore pose that they can work in conjunction. Talanoa is a familiar exchange for the Tūmoana, the development of pūrākau centres their voice, issues, understandings, and actions. In turn, the pūrākau provide an iterative resource to be shared with scholars and practitioners. I position this research as a contribution to Māori and all

storytelling nations. I outline the way we told stories, in the vā, about the vā, and then re-storied the talanoa together through multiple readings, listening and remembering. This methodology chapter has allowed space to elaborate on the five theoretical concepts used to read the vā between Māori and Tūmoana. I want to make the point that I could not write about the vā between Māori and Moana peoples without understanding what that means ethically. I could not have done this work without an apprenticeship, attention to, and an education in talanoa and the vā. I have sought out mentorship and continue to be mentored by people that remind me in my daily activities to live the ethics outlined by Jackson above, after all it is my responsibility to the Other.

Pūrākau: Reading the Vā and Suspending the Vā

The purpose of this work has been to investigate the cultural-ethical and political potential of the vā between Māori and Moana peoples. Through this study I have come to have a fuller understanding of the Polynesian relational concept known as the vā. I redefine the possibilities of the vā in a cross-cultural but familial relationship that is implicit in the ancient whakapapa/genealogy that Māori and Moana peoples share. To situate this study, I make connections to my own work as an educator, my long-standing relationships with Pacific educators and through providing a small contribution to initial teacher education. This has led me to ask five exceptional educators from the Pacific about their long-standing, committed relationships with Māori. As suggested by Māori and Pacific scholars in this research (Hau'ofa, 2008; Royal, 2012; Suaalii-Sauni, 2017), I have sought to engage Indigenous epistemologies to explore these Māori–Moana relationships and co-construct pūrākau as pedagogical narratives.

It took many readings of the talanoa to present issues of interest that might inspire the reader, honour each Tūmoana and provide intersections of cultural-ethics and politics that characterise the vā between Māori and Moana peoples. To do the work of forming the talanoa into pūrākau, I focused on Lee's (2009) reflection on the purpose of pūrākau: "A pūrākau approach may intentionally not be explicit in intent or deliver the 'answers,' rather inspire the reader to continue to ponder and think more deeply about the issues and the story" (p. 12). These pūrākau offer educators, scholars, mana whenua and tagata o le moana insights into productive Māori–Moana relations as considered by five Pacific educators who have held long-standing relationships with Māori. The pūrākau contribute philosophical thinking to the fields of education, Indigenous studies, Pacific methodologies and Kaupapa Māori. The pūrākau offer opportunities for the reader practitioner to contemplate and critique their own practice

The notions I use to guide the structure of the pūrākau are 1) Teu le vā, 2) Negotiating the vā and 3) Potentiality. I read for points of illumination in the lives of the Tūmoana that might suggest concrete connections and buried tensions that embody the cultural-ethical and political intersections of their vā. The final takoha/contribution of the pūrākau sits in the suspension where the Tūmoana consider the contributions or potentials they make towards this study and the encountered limitations. I propose that we might continue to create spaces for Māori–Moana dialogue that challenge our thinking and shift our certainties.

Chapter 5: Whetuu

Whanaungatanga

Māori tell stories. This story shares some of the various influences that have shaped me as a Māori woman, mother, wife, friend, and teacher. I tell this story as the flipped narrative to the pūrākau that are presented as the centre of this thesis, that is, how I have come to have committed relationships with Pacific people. Māori orators will often change the path of their story for a given audience. This pūrākau places me in the vā of this thesis and establishes my motivations to maintain cross-cultural relationships with Pacific communities in education and my life.

Over the last 30 years, my relationship with Pacific peoples has been one of growth and restriction, as a wife, mother, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, Godmother, aunt, friend, and accomplice. I have been privileged to walk in their world. They have invited me in, and I have seen the depth of care for me and other Māori. My Pacific whānau have chided me, taught me, challenged me, laughed with me and at me, prayed with me and for me, loved me, and nurtured me. These engagements with Pacific people have led me to a committed relationship with tagata o le Moana and frame how I think about myself as tangata whenua, mana whenua and wahine Māori. I discuss some of the ways that I have come to know Pacific peoples and utilise a pūrākau approach to do so.

Teu le Vā

I have always carried romanticised notions of the Pacific. My maternal Scottish grandfather, Donald Davis Calway, was born in Suva, Fiji, and was a connection to the Pacific. The romantic notions of the Pacific were imprinted on me by a single sepia photo of him, taken circa 1923. Tīpu Don, as I called him, can be seen in the photo, age 1, with an absolute look of glee, sitting in a strawberry patch at Government House in Suva, where his father was the head gardener. My notions of idyllic island life were further augmented through the culturally inaccurate film “Blue Hawaii” featuring Elvis Presley—one of my father’s favourites. Consistent with this image were the dreamy record covers kept by my parents that highlighted the impressions of dusky maidens and noble savages, through nostalgic sunsets, silhouetted palm trees, and scantily clad smiling natives. These exaggerated impressions were my first conception of island life. In

hindsight, my first conceptions of the Pacific were exoticised by the artefacts around me and my vivid imagination.

In West Auckland, where I grew up, it was not until the late 1980s that Pacific peoples came in greater numbers to take up residence. Generally, they were first-generation families. Before then, my interactions with Pacific peoples were minimal. When I attended secondary school, I found the closer I got to central Auckland the more I met Pacific peoples in my daily life and friendships. At my first secondary school, it became clear to me you had to sit in the right cultural box. As my circle of influence increased, so did other people's interest in categorising me and ensuring I sat in my box. Those years were tumultuous. The realisation that "being brown" was not valuable, was devastating for me and resulted in consistently poor decisions.

The concentration of Pacific peoples increased when I moved to an inner-city single-sex secondary school. I came to know where Pacific peoples lived and how they lived, as my relationships, friendships and social circles with Pacific peoples grew over this time. There were a few things I noticed about Pacific peoples back then. There were some distinctions and hierarchies. Firstly, the noticeable loyalty to God, then to their specific place in the Pacific. Secondly there were shades of being brown which included your ability to speak the language and know the culture. Lastly whoever ruled "Polyfest" ruled the land.

Negotiating the Vā

There are not many things more life changing than having a child. The birth of our daughter and, in quick succession, our first son kicked my life up a few notches. It also connected me in a profound way to the Pacific. Our children whakapapa to the moana through Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, and Kiribati. They are Tamariki o le moana—children of the ocean. Just like my mother connected me to my whenua, I began connecting them to the moana. Our children attended Aoga Amata (Samoan language nest) and then went on to Catholic primary schools, to placate the in-laws and because I wanted my children to feel connected to their wider fanau. I chose to teach in schools with high Pacific rolls. In this way, I was bringing the Pacific close to my children so they would know how to be a young Pacific person here in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Throughout the course of my teaching, my friendships became more aligned with Pacific people. My mentors in my work and teaching were Pacific people significantly from Polynesia. Our family holidays

were increasingly back to the islands of Samoa and Fiji, to take in-laws, our children, or class groups. On occasions when we would meet with my husband's family, I was proud that I was familiar with specific protocols. My level of cognisance came from knowing my roles in te ao Māori; service to Elders, kitchen duties, cooking for large numbers, respect for the proceedings, watching others to see what was required of someone of my level in the family. I felt connected and accepted.

Potentiality

When I began teaching, I did not fully comprehend the disparity that existed in education for Pacific people. My focus had been on Māori inequalities, but, after the birth of my children, I had to recalibrate where my attention and intention would be focused. Not all, but many of the students in my secondary classes were disengaged from education. Yet these same students were able to recite large pieces of the Bible, play complex songs after hearing them once and rival Usain Bolt for the fastest 100m. I knew I had to do something more for them than just kill time.

I already knew what to do from the example of my own Pākehā mother, a teacher. My mother opened our home to foster, whāngai/adopt any child that needed extra space, time, or shelter until they made their next move. In that sense Mum was the ahikā/home fire for many children who found themselves adrift. My mum most probably invented social justice and, as a teacher, provided opportunities to other urban Māori children to realise their potential. I had to go back into tertiary education to be able to understand my mother's daily pedagogical lessons. My mother had done all these things because her daughter was of this whenua. Those actions opened her eyes to the injustices her husband and daughter would face daily. In the same way I began to consider how I would make a difference for my whānau, her mokopuna. When I began to apply those ways of being my mother had modelled for me, with my students, a funny thing happened, they became my family.

N.B. Pacific, Pacific peoples, and Pasifika are used throughout the following Pūrākau. Here we see that the Tūmoana are orientated to an Aotearoa-New Zealand understanding of who might be included in this idea of Pacific people (see the Introduction).

Chapter 6: Rae

Ko Tararua te pae maunga.

Ko Ōhau, ko Ōtaki ngā awa.

Ko Tainui, ko Te Arawa ngā waka.

Ko Ngāti Raukawa, ko Tūhourangi ngā iwi.

Ko Ngāti Kikopiri te hapū.

Ki te taha o tōku mātua, no Ōtaki ahau.

Ki te taha o tōku whaea, no Fiti, no Savusavu ahau.

Ki te taha o tōku hoa rangatira me āku tamariki, kei te hono ahau ki Hamoa.

Rae's pepeha above positions her in te ao marama, the world of light. Rae's mother was born in Savusavu, Vanua Levu, Fiji and arrived in Aotearoa-New Zealand as a 12-year-old in 1946. Rae's father grew up in Tokomaru just south of Papaioea (Palmerston North). Her parents played a significant role in imparting Māori and Pacific values in their tamariki. Rae's mother took the family to Fiji on several occasions during her childhood and consequently the connection to Fiji, family, and land runs deep in Rae and her siblings. Her parents were foundation members of Māwai Hakona a kapa haka "Māori Club" in Orongomai/Upper Hutt in the 1960s, during the beginnings of the urban marae movement. At 17, Rae went to Wellington Teachers College which at that time was a "wonderfully and creative environment." Her recollection of this time prompted her to reflect on the type of initial teacher education provided today in Aotearoa and whether the heights of creativity of the early 80s might be attained again.

As a beginning teacher, Rae saw te reo Māori integrated across the whole curriculum. In her early teaching career, she was called on regularly by schools to provide support with Māori boys. Inevitably she drew on what she knew best, her connection to te ao Māori, which saw her build authentic relationships with Māori learners, strengthening learning opportunities for them. About a decade later, in the late 1980s, Rae and her family headed to Samoa where she lived for nine years, establishing a school with just 50 students in the first year which has grown to 300 students in the present day.

Rae's return to Aotearoa provided her opportunities to shift across cultural spaces. When we spoke, she was working at the University of Auckland in the School of Curriculum and Pedagogy. Rae supervised

master's and doctoral students and lectures in critical literacy and bilingual education. She held the Associate Dean Pasifika role in 2017 and 2018, which saw her work closely with Te Puna Wānanga the School of Māori and Indigenous Education. She is also a member of numerous faculty and national committees and had won awards for her commitment to improving teachers' pedagogy to include Māori and Pacific ways of being. Rae talked about the importance of tamariki/children being successful as *who they are*, having opportunities to become bilingual and biliterate and to experience an education where their languages, cultures and identities are seen as central to their educational endeavour and academic success.

Whanaungatanga: Preparing the Vā

Rae sang her way into my life at a lecture. She opened her presentation for us with a waiata/song and karakia/prayer. I was immediately drawn to her presence in the lecture room, with a bright hibiscus flower positioned behind her ear. At the end of the lecture, I vowed to get to know this woman. The reality was, I just had to be satisfied with following her career as it came along in leaps and bounds. As fate would have it, my Pacific Pou was involved with Rae in numerous ways through the PPTA, shared academic engagements and in the real world. Their interactions with Rae allowed me to feel connected to her, even if she was unaware.

While Rae was none the wiser to my existence, I had prepared my list of possible co-conspirators, and I put her name at the top of my contacts. I emailed and received an enthusiastic response. Rae had met my husband a few weeks previously and already had the whakapapa of our fruit-salad family, some of which extends to Fiji. We met for coffee and conversation about her life, and that is when I realised, she is Pacific and Māori—she was my children, she was my motivation.

I hoped that Rae felt similarly about the importance of the relationship between Māori and Pacific peoples. She is Māori/Pacific, and I was encouraged that her insights would be well balanced. Rae had spent her whole career in the service of teaching others. I believed she would consider becoming a co-conspirator as she would see that as another opportunity to continue teaching others through the written word. As an academic Rae could also share her experiences in a way that should resonate with readers of this research. As a co-conspirator, I hoped that she would be able to guide her narrative to encourage readings in many ways.

Initially, I felt that perhaps Rae did not fit the criteria, being both Pacific and Māori. But the more we spoke at our first meeting, the more I realised that her unique perspective allowed for a balanced view. Her genuine care and nurture of Māori and Pacific agendas was evident and would provide a critique that might encourage a different view from the other Tūmoana. Rae had also spent a significant amount of time in initial teacher education spaces as well as in the sector. I was optimistic that her views on both experiences would hold a variety of learnings for a broad audience.

Teu le Vā

Power of Whakapapa

Rae opened the vā between us by asking after my family, our conversation moved back and forward as we eased into a warmth and familiarity. As we continued to talanoa I realised we were doing what all Māori and Pacific people do when they greet each other, usually for the first time; we were asking each other "Nō hea koe?" "Where are you from?" We were establishing our connections to each other, the whenua and the moana. This is where Rae began.

Recently a good friend came to visit with us at home. He provided our family with a stunning metaphor to consider whānau-like relationships across the entire Pacific. His field of work is Indigenous Science. He had been tasked with curating a catalogue of Māori fishhooks for Te Papa. As part of the process, he requested access to the Pacific collection of hooks. He explained that his reasons for the request was that the Pacific collection is part of the origin story for the Māori collection. He knew that to curate the Māori catalogue he must first establish a whakapapa story for the hooks themselves. For me, that is the right thing to do, acknowledge the whakapapa of that hook. He went on to describe in detail the hooks, each Māori hook version identical to its predecessor. Māori and Pacific fishhooks were the same. Since he shared that story with our whānau, it has resonated with me as a metaphor for thinking and talking about the relationship between Māori and Pacific people. He was explaining to us, through his story, how our linguistic and cultural connections bind us. Can you imagine the hands of tupuna/ancestors sharing that craft and sustaining it over generations and across oceans to new whenua/lands? We, as Māori, originate in the Pacific.

I've never understood when people say if you are both Māori and Pacific you must choose. For me, both are equally important. When I'm in Māori contexts, I'm Māori, and when I'm in Pacific contexts, I'm Pacific. I believe you don't have to choose; we can have multiple identities. I have had the privilege of growing up with a foot on the whenua and a foot in the moana. Our parents brought us up to value both worlds, Māori, and Fijian. They always acknowledged that we whakapapa to somewhere. My dad always taught us that we whakapapa back to Hoturoa from Tainui waka. My father was a strong example of walking in both worlds, Māori and Pākehā. He went to night school to become an accountant when he first married Mum. He then worked his way up in a building company, eventually becoming the director. He was one of

the few Māori in a position like that in the 1970s. We had a very privileged upbringing, not because of his professional position but because Dad always instilled in us our whakapapa and to be proud of who we were. I think he wanted that for us because our grandmother hadn't been allowed to use te reo Māori. That didn't stop Dad from being passionate about being Māori. People would say my dad was one of those Māori who didn't talk about values like aroha, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga, Dad lived it. He was full of manaakitanga. People were always at our house, because that's who he was, he lived manaakitanga. [Rae pauses and I sense she is caught for a moment in the memories of her father.]

On my mother's side I'm Fijian, Irish, and Scots. I know that my great-great-great-grandfather came on the first mission ship to the Pacific in 1797, to Tahiti. Names are an important part of retaining our history and have been carried down in our family. My grandfather was William Henry, my uncle is William Henry Simpson. My Simpson tupuna originally came from Scotland in the early 1800s and married an Indigenous Fijian woman, just as my maternal great grandmother's line, the Whippy whānau [Rae and I celebrate the Whippy connection through my husband momentarily]. A lot of the Fijian kailoma/afakasi [half caste] families are interrelated; a lot of them come from Savusavu.

Educational Challenges, Attractions, and Their Impact

What have been the challenges and attractions you have faced in education? How have these experiences impacted you?

I left school after 6th form and went straight to Wellington Teachers College. I was probably one of the youngest at Teachers College at around 17. It was a fantastic time in my life. Teachers College was a creative environment; I majored in te reo Māori, Pacific Studies, and Drama. Amster Reedy and Liz Hunkin were both amazing rangatira and lecturers who I learnt so much from. I saw the power of aroha from Liz who had hundreds of people doing kapa haka and learning te reo Māori, because of her aroha. It was a time in education when the arts were valued; we took all of that creativity into the classroom: dance, drama, music, and kapa haka and connected it all with curriculum learning.

I began my teaching in Porirua. There might have been one Pākehā student in the 2 years I taught there, the classes were made up of Māori and Pacific students. We used te reo Māori throughout the curriculum. It was before Māori-medium education, there was a lot more reo happening across the curriculum back in the

early 80s than now. It was for all tamariki. I ran the kapa haka, it wasn't perfect but there was certainly much more happening in English-medium education than is happening in schools now.

After Porirua, my husband Milo and I ended up in Ōhakea. He was in the New Zealand Airforce and lived in an Airforce flat in Bulls. Back in those days you were placed by the Department of Education into a school, and I ended up in Sanson. In my last year, I was seconded to Marton school to take on a difficult class. They gave me the class that had a few "difficult" Māori boys. I never went into the classroom thinking of the students that way and of course, after a short time, the strength of the relationship meant their behaviour changed. That relationship was successful because of encouraging tikanga. We began and ended the day with karakia, lots of waiata; relationships were important, and those students loved me, and I loved them. I was using what I had encountered from Liz at teachers' college. After two months the principal asked me to do a staff meeting about how to work effectively with Māori learners. What I was doing in my class was because of my upbringing, you know, doing what my parents had done for me, which was to instil in Māori and Pacific children who you are and where you come from. It is central to the educational endeavour. You can't leave your language and culture at the gate. You've got to bring that with you and make that part of your journey to success. If we lose all of that then we have only got one dimension of success really, the one determined by the system of which our students and their families have rarely had a voice.

Things changed in 1989, Tomorrow's Schools came in and basically the arrival of Māori-medium education. The government said, "Here is the resource, Māori you do education over there." They forgot about all the Māori left in the English medium. I hadn't expected the changes that would happen in education, in our classrooms, when we left for Samoa in 1989. When we returned in 1998, te reo Māori had disappeared for our English-medium classrooms, beginning teachers had no idea coming out of the initial teacher education programmes. They were given no preparation in te reo Māori; if they were, it was nowhere near what we had experienced in the late 70s.

Influences on Educational Pedagogy

I can hear that teachers' college was a formative experience for you, are there other influences that underpin your educational pedagogy?

My mum was 12 when she came to Aotearoa. I talk about her story a lot when I speak at educational events. Her first day at school in Central Wellington she was asked to write an essay. My mum had no idea what that was. That first interaction at school made my mum feel overwhelmed and inadequate. She carried a sense of "not being clever," during her life. Mum arrived here as a speaker of Fijian but wasn't allowed to use her language in the classroom. Actually, she's pretty smart. She happens to be a great writer and has written a book about her life story, but that occasional sense of inferiority has surfaced at times because of the education system that she experienced, and due to what was perceived as valued knowledge in the system which did not include what she had brought with her from Fiji..

This story and other teachings from my parents have become central to the work I have done and the work I currently do here in the university space; it can be challenging. The demands of the academic world are not aligned to the responsibility you have as a Māori/Pacific person moving in our worlds. I remember this all the time when I work with practising teachers, even graduating teachers; I always say, "If you are not supporting Māori or Pacific young people to envisage their journey to success as including their linguistic and cultural identities, then you are not doing your job." We must establish educational opportunities for Māori and Pacific young people where they see themselves as Māori and as Pacific, in a story of success, that who they are is central to the educational experience they receive. Māori and Pacific students need to know that they don't have to become Palagi or Pākehā to be successful. It's been the story for years and years that Māori and Pacific people who have been successful have felt they had to leave their linguistic and cultural identities behind. That experience is no longer acceptable. Most of the teachers I work with are in English-medium education, but I challenge teachers that we need to be politically supportive of Māori-medium education because nowhere are Māori more able to succeed as Māori than in Māori-medium education.

You know what gets me really discouraged about our education system? Still, in this day and age, for both Māori and Pacific outcomes in English-medium education, the lack of systemic support and resourcing to enable bilingual, biliteral outcomes. Because it's not just enough to talk about culture really, it's about

creating spaces for language revitalisation, the empowerment of cultural identities, and the validation of Māori and Pacific knowledges. We must lobby for te reo Māori to be compulsory in schools. Firstly, Māori need to be supported to retrieve what we have lost, which is knowledge of our own language, learning our own language, but also for all New Zealanders to have the opportunity to learn te reo Māori. I rang up the wānanga this year, I did two years of Te Ara Reo [basic te reo Māori course] in the 2000s when we arrived back here, and I was like I really need to brush up my reo again. "Arohamai whaea we are full." Can you believe that? You can't even get in. What is the government doing, they should be resourcing it? You know I think all teachers need to validate and value te reo Māori; that would be a big take-home message for all who teach in Aotearoa-New Zealand, that te reo Māori needs to be as important as te reo Pākehā. Imagine that, if all kaiako believed that te reo Māori was as important as te reo Pākehā and, after that, all the languages that all the children in my class speak, that they are as important too, and that I will create space and opportunities for my learners to use their languages in class.

It's disheartening though that in 2018 we are still debating if te reo Māori should be compulsory at schools; we would never dream about having that debate about maths, science, or English, why is it even a debate, I can't believe it. Those are the things that I am passionate about promoting these days. At times I think, "Do I really want to stay in this university system, maybe I would feel more comfortable working in a wānanga?" Sometimes I think we are regressing instead of progressing in Māori and Pasifika outcomes. Graeme Smith said to me "Pacific people aren't going to get anywhere until they set up their own institutions like we did with Kaupapa Māori." (Rae subsequently moved to wānanga).

Negotiating the Vā

Tensions and Learnings of the Daily Grind

What have been some of the tensions and learnings you encounter daily?

My mother was one of the earliest migrants from the Pacific in the 40s. Followed later by a wave of migration through the 50s, 60s and 70s. Some of those that arrived at that almost didn't even acknowledge tangata whenua. I think it was because of the position of Māori at that time. Many Pacific people didn't honour or respect tangata whenua so there were tensions between them. Pacific people did not want to be mistaken for Māori and the social implications this might have for them. It was like tuakana–teina

rarurarau/arguments. Currently, this relationship has more sustained focus for many reasons. I believe there should be more focus because of increased migration. With people arriving from all over the world and settling here, we need to have some systemic acknowledgement of the place of Pacific people in Aotearoa-New Zealand, obviously because the relationship with Māori is much closer than anyone else's. We are part of the same whānau, Māori came from the Pacific. You can never take away the importance of "mana whenua" the "rangatiratanga" that iwi/tribes have over their own whenua, that always must be acknowledged when you live here, on this whenua.

For me, the next part is acknowledging the connection between tangata whenua and tangata moana, that we are deeply connected. Linguistically our reo are similar, especially Polynesian. That's even the basis of the work I have tried to do here when I was in the Associate Dean Pasifika role. I tried to work closely with Māori at Te Puna Wānanga, to me there's no sense in putting us up in competition with one another, which the system has been good at doing, Māori and Pacific having to fight for limited resource. We must support one another, to me that is so vital because I am both, but I think we're not doing ourselves any favours if we compete with each other. We need to support each other to get better outcomes for each other in these colonial systems we have become embedded in.

The reality is these spaces [universities] are very colonial spaces. The only piece of good news I had last year was that new appointment as Pro Vice-Chancellor (PVC) Pacific. I'm so pleased that we have a Pacific person going to be right up there now at that level. At least Pacific will have that voice there and the appointment of a PVC Māori who has a real heart for Pacific issues. This was the first bit of encouragement that I have felt in a long time, to have both those roles acknowledged and appointed. I look forward to how they might work together. Interestingly though, some of the writing of the PVC Pacific is about our Māori and Pacific connections and the "symbolic violence," particularly to people who whakapapa to Māori and Pacific people. In my mind there is only one option, we must work for both. Pacific people should be as passionate about Māori outcomes just as Māori are and Māori must be as passionate about Pacific outcomes just as Pacific people are. We need to look out for each other. We are the same whānau, but we also need to recognise that mana whenua have mana over this whenua, but if we see ourselves as a Pacific nation, the relationship with Pacific peoples is essential to that identity as a Pacific nation.

As Associate Dean Pasifika, one thing that I thought a lot about is "How do we stay true to our Māori–Pacific identities within this neoliberal university that privileges individual outcomes over everything else?" An example of that is I was asked to write a chapter in the Handbook of Indigenous Education. It is not appropriate that just my name was on the chapter as a Pacific person. I felt I needed to include my colleagues, to write it with me, even though I had been asked to do it. Most of the research was from my research in my doctoral work. That didn't matter, we shared the load and drew on each other's strengths to complete the chapter. In a way, I was resisting that discourse of privileging the individual over the collective in the academy. Resisting doesn't do you any favours in the system. I have colleagues that have come into the university after me who have been promoted or gone for promotion. I haven't gone for a promotion because I have been too busy engaged in a whole lot of service which takes you away from your own individual writing, and the system says you need those individual publications to progress. Tautua, the service to others, never ends, that's the tension. I'm never going to turn away Māori and Pacific teachers who say, "Rae can you help me with this?" or "Can you supervise me?" or "Can you talk to me?" I can't say to them "No, I can't do that, I have to do my own thing—I have no time for you." I mean that's the tension, I think; as Māori and Pacific academics we have different pressures to Pākehā because, it's a generalisation, but our values promote the collective prioritisation of people. For me, I have been taught to prioritise the collective and people, over my own individual career.

That's me. I've come into the academic world late and I am not very ambitious. I have no big ambition to get right up to professor, to me it's mainly about making a difference at the chalk face. I've been a bit slow to learn that whole academic discourse and being in that Associate Dean Pasifika was pretty challenging. It was so demanding, but you know it was a good role to be in. Every opportunity I had, I'd talk to my colleagues about the importance of Te Puna Wānanga and supporting Māori staff. If we really want to be a bicultural institution, we need to ensure we look after our Māori staff within this very difficult restructuring period that we've gone through and the same for Pacific. If we go back to that reciprocal relationship and the place of Pacific people here in Aotearoa, why would we get rid of Pacific staff that can bring that knowledge? I always see them going hand in hand. I know a lot of people; Māori say we need to separate but I think we need to support both Māori and Pacific. We need to be passionate about both.

It won't take much for Māori to come to that space of thinking about Pacific people. I think the push back from Māori is simply about Pacific people acknowledging mana whenua and giving that respect where it is due. As soon as you do that, Māori will be very open and receptive to supporting Pacific people. That was how I worked with Māori colleagues at Te Puna Wānanga together, when we wrote our submissions around the staffing cuts. Māori wrote in support of Pacific staff, and I wrote in support of Māori staff. In the end of the day, Te Puna became out of scope, which was great, but we lost three Pacific staff. Those FTEs [full time employees] are gone now. How are we to embed Māori and Pacific world views when you have that limited degree of representation? Think of all the Māori and Pacific postgraduate students who want to position their research from Māori and Pacific worldviews, how is that going to happen?

I just reviewed somebody's article that positioned Pacific children and families as so needy in the "tail of underachievement" and [waves hand like she has a wand] here is this intervention that made a big difference! But it is this one-dimensional identity-box positioning Pacific people as deficit. There is no discussion of their multilingual, bilingual, cultural resources, or the fact that we have our own language and literacy practices that could have been used in schooling. We [Māori and Pacific] have to be honest and call out their deficit, they may not like it but you have got to be real, it's not good enough in this day and age to have that kind of deficit discourse happening, "because it is the system that has failed, not the families and students"; but the system has to privilege Māori and Pacific knowledge systems and histories and ways of being in order for our children to see that they are central to being successful, both at home and at school.

Changes in the Māori–Pacific Vā

How have things changed in the vā between Māori and Pacific people over time?

Back in those days, my father was part of that migration into the city. Young Māori men, they were struggling at that time; they had kind of lost the connection with the marae, had experienced language loss, were disenfranchised, and sometimes angry. Then Pacific people arrive while these issues are arising. In Poneke in those days there used to be a lot of tension between Māori and Pacific people in the streets. It was common knowledge that there might be trouble. But one thing that I really appreciate about my Samoan husband, is that he has a good understanding of the place of tangata whenua and mana whenua and is one of the few Pacific people I hear talking about the need to acknowledge the place of Indigenous people.

Māori have sovereignty and mana whenua in their own land and we as Pacific peoples must acknowledge that positioning and recognise that Pacific peoples can't do anything without Māori there.

Cultural-Ethical Influences

How have your Māori–Pacific, cultural-ethical understandings of the world impacted on your role?

In this role here, as a lecturer, I'm still trying to do as much as I can to advance Māori outcomes. Mainly because I think we have regressed so much. I don't like the separation between Te Puna and the English-medium part of the faculty. I think there is a lot that the English-medium faculty can learn from Te Puna. One way I make those connections evident is we have encouraged Māori from Te Puna to teach in the bilingual papers here. That's the most recent example I can think of around privileging Māori knowledge and Māori colleagues in the faculty, creating this space, insisting to my people in Curriculum and Pedagogy that we needed Māori to work on these bilingual papers and Dip TESSOL [Teaching English in Schools to Speakers of Other Languages] with me because they can bring a Māori-medium lens and our English teachers need to know about Māori-medium education and so the students are exposed to more Māori worldviews from me and even more so from our colleagues in Te Puna. It's been magic; we have such a great partnership.

Another example was when I was asked to deliver the first lecture that orientated new students by providing a history of post-colonial language policy in New Zealand with a focus on the whole relationship with Britain. But, when I looked at it, actually, it doesn't have enough about the relationship between tangata whenua/tangata moana: Māori and Pacific peoples. There also wasn't enough about relationship between Māori and the Crown. I put a whole section in there about Te Tiriti o Waitangi, so that the very first thing those teachers hear when they come to our programme is Te Tiriti o Waitangi. You have to make te Tiriti a real part of your life, not just talk about it as a piece of history, you must talk about your personal connection to te Tiriti, that way you give permission for others to do the same.

Potentiality

Political Arrangements

What arrangements will Māori and Pacific people come to in the future that will benefit them both?

I know the Pacific MPs is trying to get a treaty between Māori and Pacific peoples. Te Tiriti was a partnership between tangata whenua and the Crown. I would see Pacific peoples as first needing, at the systemic level, to get that relationship with Māori sorted—like in some way what William Sio is endeavouring to do, which is to enact and practise our own treaty between Māori and Pacific peoples. If that were to happen, then I would see Pacific peoples as coming under the rangatiratanga of Māori. I think a lot of people would say that Pacific people are part of tauiwi [foreigners], that they belong on the side of the Crown in the Treaty partnership. But I would see it from the other viewpoint, I would see our connection as being with Māori. It would be by invitation by Māori, it would have to be Māori that extend that invitation whether as tuakana or teina, but as tangata whenua, and as te whānau o te moana.

I don't see Pacific people sitting on the Crown's side because we [Māori and Pacific] are whānau. Also, the Pacific has been colonised and doesn't want to be positioned with the Crown. But even what you just said around tangata whenua and manuhiri [visitors] and when they come together, that hongi, that sharing of breath following the pōwhiri [traditional welcome] which means they are no longer two people but one, that hongi. The ancient word for that in Samoa was *sogi*. The ancient word for kiss is sogi. My husband always reminds me that we, all Polynesians, had that practice of hongi. Māori and Hawai'i: they were the only ones that kept the hongi and continued the practice. They kept the tikanga. If you go throughout the Pacific, you will find that a lot of Māori tikanga is present in ancient Pacific history. The tikanga also connects us. Much of that history for Pacific people has been obscured by colonisation.

Instituting Teu le Vā

In what ways might you help others to teu le vā Māori and Pacific relationships?

It's all about ancient whakapapa. This is how resourcing should be provided, how funding rounds should be distributed, how immigration applications should be prioritised, and the list goes on. I wrote an article not only about the ancient precolonial whakapapa that connects Māori and Pacific peoples, but there is also the postcolonial history that so many Pākehā New Zealanders have no idea about. I talked about this when I did the Herbison lecture at NZARE. The significant problem is we don't teach our own history. Remember just a couple of months ago when that reporter talked about Pacific people as being leeches, and then saying a particular nation was the hell hole of the Pacific. Well, if she knew Pacific and New Zealand history, the

reason it was a hell hole, as she put it, is because New Zealand and Australia have basically ravaged the resources from that nation.

Know your history; when we know our history, we will know the harm that has happened. We will know things like how the New Zealand administration of Samoa from 1914–1962 was both fatal and irresponsible. Their lack of care at an administration level and the errors from that lack of responsibility ensured the influenza epidemic arrived on a New Zealand ship to Samoa, killing one fifth of the population. Then a decade later the Mau movement, a peaceful demonstration with unarmed people were shot by New Zealand soldiers. New Zealanders don't know this history. To me, we must know our history. In order to enact relational past, we must enact our reciprocal present. The whakataukī for Samoa language week was "*Alofa atu nei alofa mai taeao"*: Give love today, receive love tomorrow or show kindness today have kindness received tomorrow. I was just saying you often think of that on an individual basis: but what if we went beyond individual or whānau or village to actual nations? How do we enact reciprocity, genuine reciprocity as nations? My argument is this, to enact genuine reciprocity we need to think about New Zealand's responsibility to Pacific peoples. We need to know that we have a Treaty of Friendship with Samoa due to our shared history. We must know our history because you there is no sense of responsibility to one another if we didn't know the precolonial and postcolonial history. I mean, to me, history is central to our reciprocal relationship as Māori and Pacific peoples and as a nation in the present, so that we can also collectively imagine a transformative future.

Chapter 7: Tafa

Pouli Laurayne Taulaete Nuanua Tafa refers to herself as a "hakahula," [meaning Pacific–Māori ancestry] with "Whirinesian" [mix of two words, Whirinaki a town in the north of New Zealand and Polynesian] children. Laurayne (Tafa) grew up in Whangārei and Waipu, towns located in Northland, Aotearoa-New Zealand. She comments that this was a predominately European environment and that her family encountered a fair bit of racism, especially her brothers.

Tafa's father, a Samoan, descends from a long line of female chiefs. On her mother's side, she is a proud descendant of the 179-ton Brig the Highland Lass from Nova Scotia. Tafa has often commented that, growing up, she knew "the strongest men wore skirts."

Tafa found compulsory education less than engaging. Consequently, the principal handed her papers to leave school on several occasions. Despite this, she made her way south and attended the Auckland College of Education. Life in Auckland allowed her to establish connections to her Samoan heritage and politicised her about the institutional racism experienced by Māori and Pacific students within the tertiary sector and broader society.

Tafa's teaching career began in earnest in South Auckland. Later, she followed her mum north to the Hokianga Harbour. After the birth of her first son, she headed back to Auckland but returned to the north as the deputy principal of Opononi Area School. Tafa talks about the "prophets" she has encountered over her career that curated her leadership style. As a principal, Tafa changed the trajectory of educational achievement and community engagement for Māori at Homai and Stanhope Primary schools.

Still turning heads, Tafa's work influences students, teachers, and school leaders across New Zealand, the Northern Territories of Australia and Canada. She has held numerous advisory roles across a range of sectors including education, health, and corrections. Tafa works in a consultancy capacity and mentors education leaders and school trustees regularly. Her whakaaro and love of te ao Māori and Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa [Pacific Ocean] allow her to work in these spaces. She is on a mission to disrupt the education system in ways that benefit marginalised students. Her focus is to enhance relationships and effective pedagogy of all teachers to deliver this outcome.

Whanaungatanga: Preparing the Vā

I had no idea what to expect when I first met Tafa. Her name had been given to me by one of my supervisors. Subsequently I spent numerous hours stalking her online. I became quite fascinated with her ability to respond to the room in her presentations. Most organisations pay a lot of money so their employees can learn how to be culturally responsive to their clients. Tafa seemed to be a professional at it.

Her response to my initial email was in a similar vein to her presentation, upbeat and jovial. However, nothing can prepare you for your first encounter with Tafa. She is someone who can immediately make you feel at ease, but who is also in control of the situation. I noticed how she carried herself confidently, she took up a lot of space when she moved into the room. By that I mean you are drawn to her. Tattoos adorn her forearms and fingers. Her fiery red hair billows behind her as she breezes into the room. It is like an imaginary red carpet rolls out in every place she enters. As we spoke, I realised Tafa didn't suffer fools, and she seemed to be a person that would be your ride or die. If she believed in you, and what you were doing, she would be there every day, with coffee.

I knew Tafa would make a good co-conspirator I also wanted to get to know her better. We spent a few hours the first day talking about the work she was currently delivering, with Emeritus Professor Russell Bishop. Tafa was easy to talk to, she was able to tell riveting stories, and her work in education had been substantial. I knew that Tafa would make a great Tūmoana because her stories about her relationships with Māori extended past the classroom. She had stories that reached out into the community and drew on her identity as a Samoan woman. The exploration of Tafa's development of relationships with Māori and the interactions she engaged in that laid the foundations for this long-standing relationship will provide insights for others and reveal what led to her heightened awareness and obligation to ensure Māori aspirations are achieved, significantly so in education.

Teu le Vā

Kinships With Māori

How do you describe the relationship you have with Māori?

My relationship with Māori is one based on whanaungatanga. I think of that as being in a family like relationship with Māori. Our family grew up in Whangārei, and, for the longest time, we were all assumed to be Māori. The number of Samoans in the 70s and 80s in Northland was so small; we became a subset of Māori, Ngāti Hamoa. I knew how to be in Māori spaces from growing up in Northland. We weren't the white kids on the block; in that sense, my life experiences continued to position me with Māori.

I learnt some fundamental lessons about my relationship with Māori when I was much older, from Matua Brian Wikaira of Opononi. His experiences in whanaungatanga informed how I have lived my life and how I premise my relationships with others. Matua Brian had such an influence on me that I wanted to learn everything I could from him. I sought ways to be in his circle of influence. I would work at the marae, in the kitchen, in the gardens, with local kaumatua and kuia [elderly man and woman], just to hear his words and follow his actions.

Matua taught me the centrality of whanaungatanga. Simply, when you are in a family-like relationship with others, everyone thrives. Matua would say things like "Laurayne, if you want to buy a fridge for yourself go and check if the marae needs a fridge first because that fridge will feed more people." His leadership style was very much through service to others. Nowadays, this is an actual leadership philosophy, where the main goal of the leader is to serve: servant leaders. The man was a prophet and embodied the teachings of those tupuna before him in his everyday service to others.

Matua reminded me of the importance of "ahi kā," the home fires. "Laurayne, everyone needs a place where people come together, where they can be whānau." Matua's teachings about ahi kā spoke to me about the significant loss that so many of the Māori students and families I taught in Auckland had experienced, over generations. Every interaction with Matua recaptured for me the multitude of ways that whanaungatanga connects people and places and is the glue that sustains authentic relationships.

Lessons From Māori

What were the lessons you learnt from Matua Brian?

My first trip north culminated in the birth of my eldest son. Matua Brian was there to bless my first-born. This old man from Whirinaki in the Hokianga Harbour galvanised my resolve about working for and with Māori and, along the way, helped me to be stronger in my Samoan–Palagi Afakasi identity. Matua Brian helped me to see my relationship with Māori. I had left Hokianga briefly and returned as deputy principal at Opononi Area School. The school community at Opononi challenged me about my affinity to Māori in several ways that I had never encountered in Auckland schools. I was called out by tangata whenua for not being Māori. Being Māori was what I had prided myself on. I had cultivated an identity that heavily included Māori aspects.

Full of frustration, and in tears, about the challenges I was facing from the Opononi community, I sought out Matua Brian to find absolution. I explained how I felt like a fraud. I wasn't Māori, and I was being confronted and judged by Māori. At that point, I had worked so hard to support the school. I was close to exhaustion and desperate to resolve this with the community.

That man, at that moment, I will never forget it, [Tafa is crying] like Jesus, he placed a hand on my shoulder. Matua's next words were, "You have a Māori heart." He gave me the permission I had been seeking. From then on, I never questioned my identity. That single act from that rangatira made me secure in my afakasi status. Having a Māori heart made me secure in being Samoan. That deed of Matua Brian, I call it "the anointing," validated my identity and embedded Māori at the forefront of my thinking and my heart.

Cultural-Ethical Attitudes Guiding Decision Making

You describe the attitude of onasa'i as patience. Are there other Samoan attitudes or concepts you draw on to make sense of your responsibilities to others?

I threw myself into Samoan life when I moved to Auckland and discovered I had not served my father well as a Samoan. I had this massive realisation of what we, his children, didn't do to serve our father. We were so incredibly Palagi around him. When we would be in Samoa and visitors arrived, it was like "Sh, sh, get out of the lounge," my cousins would put on 'ie lavalava [cloth worn as a wrapped garment], get cups of

tea, get the table to put it on. I couldn't even make tea! I had this unexpected wake-up call to what my role was as a young unmarried Samoan woman, and I was terrible. I only knew how to say "tulou" [excuse me].

I wanted to do these things for my dad, so I did, and he noticed with great appreciation. Even with my brothers and sister, I started to get upset about them ignorantly showing disrespect when Dad had friends around. I would chastise my siblings, "Don't sit in the lounge, go to the back." I suddenly took on this role of cultural advisor to my siblings. We were so ignorant, but people forgave us. "Don't worry, you're Palagi, it's all right." Without realising, I was becoming the head of the family and with that came a lifetime of responsibility. Maybe it would have happened anyway but not with the same understanding that I have of my duty as a Samoan daughter. I had to learn lessons in how to be Samoan such as tautua, service, fa'aaloalo, respect and alofa, love; I learned these lessons considerably later than most young, unmarried Samoan women. To finally understand and enact these pillars of Samoan life are values I have carried into all my relationships right through into the educational space.

Being more self-aware helped me understand the type of principal I wanted to be. The ideals of tautua/service, fa'aaloalo/respect, and alofa/love became enabled through my Māori heart. When you embody these principles, you see opportunities to provide service. Sometimes it is in little ways. I was never going to be the principal that walked past the dishwasher full of clean dishes. I knew I would be the principal that would jump into a classroom if needed, drive the van, and shout out "cancel all my appointments for the afternoon," as we would drive out of the school to a volleyball tournament. I listened to the metaphors of those that came before me and those that stood in front of me.

Understanding Responsibility to Others

How did you become cognisant of your responsibility to the other?

Samoan Great Aunt Lole, Matua Brian, and others like them taught me there are people at all levels of leadership. Some people move up or down the levels. Some don't realise their degree of leadership until they make sense of their identity. In my case, I knew my whakapapa. I come from a long line of Samoan female high chiefs. My grandmother Tole'atunuanua is a high chief. Matai titles are handed down the women's side in my family. My grandfather had to leave his village, Nofoali'i, to go to his wife's village. All my life, I have been told that is why the Tafa women are so stubborn. The knowledge of this narrative from a young age allowed me to accept leadership roles and develop a challenging demeanour.

On one trip to Samoa, I was identified by my aunt as having characteristics of someone that had been here before, reincarnated. During the visit, I had demonstrated an interest in the intricacies of Samoan life. My reticence, when most children my age showed no inclination to watch such tedious daily interactions, was seen as an indicator of leadership. My dad would remind me how I would sit at the feet of my grandpa watching him make coconut rope. This ability to remain still and observe tasks provided opportunities to be involved in activities. Unlike my brothers and sister, I could sit quietly; I was allowed to go with the women and watch them make mats.

Over the years, the lessons in onasa'i/patience that I learned at the feet of my Samoan Elders prepared me for the role of matai, village chief. My orientation to tedious daily chores in the village and the relationships that extend from such duties positioned me well when I became a matai. The lessons in the village were about the necessity to execute daily routines for the benefit of the whole village, not just a single individual.

Negotiating the Vā

Educational Advice and Guidance

What influenced your education journey?

I also received cautionary advice from a legendary secondary school principal who would tell me how much I reminded him of the first Pacific secondary principal Lili Tuioti. His advice was "Laurayne, beware the shadow you cast." I was just a classroom teacher at that time. I thought I understood the advice he was giving me. It wasn't until much later that the full meaning of the message revealed itself to me.

I was employed at the Ministry of Education and threw out a whole lot of applications for principalships. If I'm honest, Homai was probably the one I least wanted. I was testing out where I thought the next part of my career was going and Homai appointed me. My first reaction was that I didn't even really want to work there. I explained this to a close colleague of mine when I was appointed. He said, and I will never forget it, "Who the f#&k do you think you are? You arrogant b@#*h!" Boom! I could hear the lessons of my prophets. My colleague went on to say, "It's not about who you choose; it's about who needs you." In my head I was going, "shame on my undies." I was put in my place that day and realised the potency of prophecy. I thought I was too good for the job. I hadn't realised that the appointment wasn't about me and

what I wanted, it was about what I could do for them. That was a clear lesson of leadership in the service of others.

Leadership Attitudes

What attitudes have you developed that define your leadership practice?

I developed an uncompromising stance to always challenge deficit views about Māori. I continued to create a level of cognisance about my responsibility to others, and I sought out the connections that bind me to others or them to me. You must take a side and once you take a side, there is no more neutrality. There is no more finishing at the end of the day and going home and leaving those responsibilities to others. By responsibility, I mean, once you see deficit discourse, you cannot unsee deficit when you go home. You begin to see it everywhere; you cannot turn your deficit viewer off. Then you have the responsibility to act in ways that realise potential and challenge deficit thinking.

My experience of deficit discourse in schools had adverse effects on my health and wellbeing. Wholly dissatisfied, I was easily doing a 40-ounce bourbon a week. My disappointment arose from the pattern of poor leadership I encountered and their inability to recognise the potential of our Māori learners. Continued experience of deficient leadership from Pākehā middle-aged men with an entitlement mentality, compounded my frustration levels, and I developed an uncompromising attitude to their privilege.

Accentuated in schools' discourse is an ongoing disparity between Māori and non-Māori. There is still an agenda around Māori that connects to a long history of being disenfranchised. Schools perpetuate this agenda by the way they talk about Māori, how they see Māori, how they interpret Māori data and explain Māori achievement from a deficit perspective.

The realisation that I could permit myself to use my agency and voice to make an accelerated change for my learners was liberating. Off I went, "F#&k this, I am never going to let someone, like you, tell me what to do, how to think, and how to be, ever again!" At times it was lonely, it was an unfamiliar stance, no longer stuck, cruising in neutral, nodding and smiling. I now had a space to defend. I found when you give yourself the authority to be uncompromising; you just become more and more resolute. You care less and less about what people think, and you become more driven to obtain your desired outcome.

I would go into education spaces and completely disrupt them. My uncompromising attitude, radiant disposition, and ability to connect with others allowed me to challenge people in positions of power. In my work across Kahui Ako [Communities of Learning], we test deficit assumptions which have led to me becoming more astute in reading and understanding the discourse of others and their environments. Teachers and schools I worked with called it being "Tafaed," like getting hammered, but I like to think of it more like Tafa (me) Ed (education), my type of education.

Cross-Cultural Educational Practice

Tafa, you speak about being afakasi, what does that mean to you? And how does it inform your practice in educational spaces?

I think of being afakasi as a luxury. Being aware of where I come from allows me to draw on multiple dimensions of my identity to connect with others. However, Granny had such fears for me being afakasi, half-caste. Granny believed her half-caste grandchildren would suffer a life of rejection from society's norms. My mother's mother was a descendant of the Highland Lass from Nova Scotia; she harboured some genuine fears for her grandchildren. This deficit acknowledged by Granny became a strength for me.

In my work with Russell [Bishop], my core role is shifting school culture. The work we engage in challenges schools and their communities to realise the potential of their Māori and marginalised students and families. Russell tells me all the time that it's so good not to work with a Māori. He doesn't mean it negatively. What he means is he knows I get away with saying things to Māori because I'm Samoan and I know I get away with saying things to Pacific people because I am afakasi.

To know who you are and how you relate to other people assists in developing relationships with others quickly. I have used all my identities, those things that Granny saw as a deficit, as real strengths to navigate cross-culturally in educational settings.

Negotiating Self in Support of the Vā

How did you become Samoan? What did this mean in your relationship with Māori?

Being in Auckland meant I was in more regular contact with my Samoan family. As a result, I became desperate to learn more about my "Samoaness." My Auckland cousins, enculturation into Samoan culture, had made them complacent. My cousins had become negative towards their culture. I was still amped every

Sunday for tona'i [Sunday lunch]. Tona'i and other family celebrations remained cherished experiences for me.

While learning to be Samoan, I felt like I had to defend Māori constantly. There was a general antipathy about Māori amongst my family and many of my afakasi friends. They had not had similar educational or real-life experiences as I had with Māori. Many of them just took on the discourse of the political profiling of Māori as welfare bludgers. I also recall the deficit discourse about Māori at Teachers College from Pacific international students.

The tension was not so much being afakasi; I was good with that. I very much understood I was half Scottish and half Samoan. I just didn't know how to be Samoan. I didn't know how to unknow the harm Māori had experienced. I felt embarrassed that many of my family, friends, and even strangers, were unwilling to re-educate themselves about Māori issues.

Teachers College exposed me to many more Māori from further afield. This deeper level of exposure to Māori and detailed information about historic injustice through tertiary papers fuelled conflicts for me. Knowledge about the Native Schools Act and similar traumatic events throughout Māori history generated additional anger in me about the flippant indifference my Pacific counterparts had about the need to protect a place for Māori. I knew I had to be better; those trainee teachers would soon be in classes, with no idea about the Treaty of Waitangi, or Māori issues and a deficit discourse about Māori.

When I began to teach, I realised that many of my Māori students and families had limited knowledge about the historical treatment of their people. Majority of my Māori students' families were dislocated from their tūrangawaewae. Consequently, they had horrific stories to tell of their time at school. It became essential that I did not replicate that experience for Māori in the schools I worked in. At some point, I began to focus on what I could do instead of what others were not doing. By others, I mean my Pacific counterparts. It rattled me for a long time that many of my Pacific fanau [family] in education spaces were often unable to support Māori in achieving equitable and accelerated outcomes in the education sector.

I continued to work in a family like way and provide opportunities for my Pacific colleagues to hear the narratives of educational harm experienced by Māori. What I found was, when the time was right, many of my Pacific colleagues listened to those narratives and embraced the vision of Māori success as Māori.

Potentiality

Lessons From Tensions

What tensions, if any, did you experience supporting Māori and what have they taught you?

I began to understand what it meant to be a young Samoan woman later in life. As we grew up, I suspect our father heard the fears of his mother-in-law. He did not inculcate his children to fa'a Samoa, the Samoan way. Our father almost rejected Samoan conventions around his family. We would hear him speak "Zulu" on the phone to his sister, but he never included us in anything Samoan. He didn't explain to us about how to be Samoan; we just knew we were. Our dad left us, his children, with a void where our fa'a Samoa should have been. Instead, I filled it with taha Māori.

For the longest time, people assumed I was Māori. In Whangārei, where we grew up in the 1970s, there was not the concentration of Samoan or Pacific families we may see in 2019. Honestly, we didn't even know there was any real difference between Samoans and Māori because Dad didn't do this fa'a Samoa thing, he didn't bring us up doing the fe'oa [chores] or folding 'ie toga [fine mats].

Instead, as we grew up in the north, I filled that void with my affinity to things Māori which drew me into circles of Māori influence. I was a kaikaranga/caller for kapa haka, a role filled with responsibility and mana/prestige. Marae were our second home; we were always at kapa haka. Over this time, I began to develop proficiencies in reo/language, tikanga/customs and mātauranga Māori/Māori knowledge. Later, this knowledge became a significant asset when I was working in the education sector. I was able to stand and honour a bicultural journey, I could mihi to groups [greet groups], say karakia [prayers] when required.

Some tension did linger for me in the substitution of my Samoan side with my Māori capabilities. The realisation that Māori and Samoan were not the same occurred for me with the move to Auckland to begin Teachers College. At Teachers College, I majored in Māori and spent all my spare time, when not with family, hanging out with Māori at the marae or kapa haka. I sensed that some of the Pacific students at Teachers College knew I was Samoan. They always acted with such disregard about matters regarding Māori sovereignty and language loss. I wanted to scream at them "Can you just understand what these people have been through, and you want to come here and just want to be an Islander, you can be an Islander in the islands!" As a trainee teacher, many of my Pacific Island [PI] peers challenged me about the spelling

of my name. I was always down at the marae and my PI peers would say "You're Tafa, T.A.F.A not Tawha T.A.W.H.A.!" When they would say this, I knew I had to learn to be Samoan.

PIs that I was in contact with during the 1980s at Teachers College were arrogant, not like my majestic Samoan aunts. They couldn't see past the propagated media image of Māori drinking and smoking. Many Pacific people I knew did not want to learn about Māori separation from their tūrangawaewae [a place you belong through kinship, whakapapa]. As a result, they knew nothing of the effects of urbanisation on Māori education, health, and wellbeing. If I am honest, many of my Pacific counterparts did not want to change their views about Māori. I would watch films like *Ngāti, Utu* and *Mark II* and they would watch *Police Academy*. They had low expectations about what Māori could achieve. Some Pacific people felt that Māori were foolish for selling their land to Palagi. It was tiresome trying to re-educate my family to the real history of what had happened to Māori.

Being Pākehā

Were there other people who helped you in your relationships with Māori?

Teachers College put me in contact with many amazing people. I learnt so much from and with them, and the majority have remained in my life for over 30 years. One of them is an amazing educator. She was proud of being Pākehā. She knew and understood there is nowhere else in the world that you can be Pākehā. My interactions with her taught me about a deep abiding commitment to Māori. You could see how devoted she was to things Māori. She wasn't tangata whenua, but she prioritised Māori interests.

Her efficacy about being Pākehā promoted me to consider my assumption as being Māori. I had always thought about myself as tangata whenua, that I was of this land. She taught me to think about what that meant "to be of this land." She questioned me "Had my family experienced intergenerational trauma through land and language loss?" She invited me to know what it means to whakapapa back to a maunga [mountain] and awa [river] that sustained your tupuna. I had to adjust my lens about how I had a degree of complacency about being tangata whenua because I had been born here in Aotearoa.

I can whakapapa to the arrival of my Scottish ancestors on the shores of Waipu Cove. This ancestry defines me as manuhiri, tangata Tiriti, tauiwi, not as my adopted identity of tangata whenua. Although I love things Māori, she taught me that I acknowledge that I am not Māori. That there was a level of disrespect in

assuming that identity. She showed me that in knowing her identity as Pākehā that there was a prominent place for her in Aotearoa.

It was refreshing to see a Pākehā proud of her heritage and knowing the history of her tupuna. Her actions and understanding of her role as a Treaty partner in the Treaty of Waitangi was so powerful. Pākehā I worked with didn't know their history and continued to tell me that Māori needed to move on and get over the past. I recognised that embracing my Scottish-Samoan heritage was a signal that you don't have to be Māori to be family like with them, to whanaungatanga with them.

Māori–Pacific Potential in the Vā

What potentials do you see in the vā between Māori and Pacific people?

I have built a career in education based on my multiple understandings of cultures; this gave me an ability to code shift. I used my perceived deficits and flipped that view to use these numerous identity connections as a strength in relating to others. What an asset to be afakasi and know that it is entirely okay to have multiple and moving sets of identities to work within.

Understand what it means to be self-aware. It took me until I was 50 to develop a deep understanding of the discourse of my own culture and identity. When you are self-aware, you can become critical about your discourse. When you have this measure of awareness, you can challenge your discourse—especially if you are a leader. You must learn to accept that your discourse might be the problematic one. A good leader is open to self-critique and change for the better.

Power Sharing 101, give people all the information. I would expect my family to provide me with all the information I need to decide. The same needs to happen in schools. When we offer the uncensored version of information, then we are treating our colleagues as our peers. Deliberately open communication and information in schools to support teachers to work cooperatively in nondominating relationships. Shared, clear, concise information creates a different discourse about being in the same waka and paddling in the same direction.

Matua Brian taught me "Ko wai au?" "Who are you? Tell me about yourself." He taught me the power to know the person. Become a professional listener. Similarly, Russell taught me that when you listen and come to see a person, you can hear and identify their discourse. When you understand what level teachers

recognise their responsibility to Māori learners in their educational contexts, you can see the point where you can challenge their beliefs in a family like context. I could have never had this level of restraint in my old political rally days. But I have won more wars by listening, hearing, challenging, and supporting than I have riding in over the top of others.

Chapter 8: Maima

Dr Jemaima Tiatia (Maima) identifies as a New Zealand-born Samoan. She was born and initially raised in Tokoroa, she tells of her maternal grandmother having arrived in New Zealand from Sāmoa when she was 26, marrying and raising a family in the Waikato. Her paternal side is spread across the globe with family members in the United States of America, Samoa, and New Zealand. Her parents met and started their family in Tokoroa encouraged by the burgeoning work supplied by the Kinleith paper mill.

In her youth, Maima's family shifted north to Auckland in search of the land of milk and honey and the promise of prosperity. Maima's parents had hopes and dreams for their children and their education. Even with three girls in her family, Maima's parents continued to whāngai nieces and nephews over the years. In the early years, Maima's family were often mistaken for Māori. Their ease with other Māori families, having spent some time in the South Waikato, and growing up in a time when her family were not allowed to speak Samoan at school were all factors in this confusion.

Maima attended school at Avondale Primary, Intermediate and College. Her friendship group was predominantly Māori and Pacific people. Those school connections continued to sustain her through to tertiary. Maima went on to pursue a career in community and public health. Her writing and research skills progressed through her academic credentials, culminating in her doctoral thesis entitled, *Reasons to Live: N.Z. Born Samoan Young People's Responses to Suicidal Behaviours*. This work and her various other research and reporting have contributed significantly to the area of Pacific and Māori mental health at both an academic and national-body level.

In her role as Co-Head of School, Te Wānanga o Waipapa, School of Māori and Pacific Studies at the University of Auckland she has a range of responsibilities, from servicing roles, to lecturing and supervision and to publishing and reviewing. Maima has a complex and long-standing relationship with Māori and is definitive about her place here in Aotearoa as a New Zealand-born Samoan. She was married to a Māori. Maima resides in Auckland, the largest Polynesian city in the world, where she can contribute daily to both Māori and Pacific lives.

Whanaungatanga: Preparing the Vā

I first met Maima in the late 1980s. We both attended Avondale College in Central West Auckland. Our lives took different directions from the early 1990s onwards, but I followed her highly visible career in sports and academics. Maima came into scope for this research when I began putting my list together of prospective Pacific educators who had committed relationships with Māori. I believe in tohu (signs), and when Maima and I bumped into each other accidentally at the University of Auckland Tamaki Campus, I began to consider the ways in which her experiences might provide insights to my kaupapa. Sometime after that serendipitous meeting, I contacted Maima. She suggested a meeting to whanaungatanga and discuss my research. We had much to catch up on after nearly 30 years. I was pleasantly surprised to find out how connected we were, through our families. Our lives had continued to swivel in close proximity to each other but never allowed us to collide.

I had to consider why Maima would want to share her experiences working with Māori before approaching her. Would she be open to talking about her work with Māori or work in Māori contexts? Maima is very visible as a Samoan, and her previous roles and titles announced that. Her new position had a very different title: Co-Head of School Te Wānanga o Waipapa. I wondered if this new role and exposure required her to make more obvious her connections and ties to Māori. This research was looking to make those connections more visible.

I am hopeful that Maima's commitments to Māori will inform other Pacific academics about working with Māori. There are numerous ways that Maima's experiences can highlight the relationship she has with Māori and how she can work as a Samoan to build on and extend those relationships. I wanted to ask Maima about how she has worked with Māori and what informed her practice. One aspect I was looking to explore was the events that had occurred or what knowledge was needed to work alongside Māori in high-profile government-funded roles such as her work reporting on mental health and wellbeing across the country. Another aspect I was interested in was her role as Co-Head of School and how this work collides with Māori.

Teu le Vā

Tokoroa Shared Boundaries: Te Pito o te Ao—The Centre of the World

Tokoroa in the 70s and 80s was a melting pot of Māori and Pacific people. What do recall of your time there?

Tokoroa is where I was born. It is a small, mainly working-class, town in the South Waikato region of New Zealand. The town was built around the forestry industry. The town grew exponentially when timber was at its pinnacle in the market. Most of the working-class families, like my own, earned enough to own their own home. There was a more affluent part of town where the "Mill" managers and office workers resided. That was not the brown part of town.

In Aotearoa, Pacific people have a particular affinity to Māori. First, there are the more obvious visible characteristics such as the colour of our skin. Then there are the links generated by the minority status of both groups. In Tokoroa, we grew up with Māori, everyone thought our family were Māori. My parents' generation, in our family, was not allowed to speak Samoan. At school, it was forbidden; they were only allowed to speak English. In a way, my family experienced some similar colonial oppression as Māori just a few generations later. It was bound to happen in such a small town that the concentration of brown people was generally mistaken for Māori. In many other areas across the country, even though Māori and Pacific families lived in close proximity, they remained isolated from each other.

I cannot recall my family ever speaking of any rivalry between Māori and Pacific people when living in Tokoroa. Perhaps this was because everything was going well economically. Everyone in town had enough of everything. If you didn't have enough, others in the community made sure you got what you needed. The community was really whānau and community driven. There was never any promotion of competition amongst members of the community. There was almost zero chance of the "you have come here to take my job" mentality. There were enough jobs for everyone, which meant that financially everyone was doing okay, which in turn prompted people to look out for one another.

How would you explain your relationship with Māori?

Growing up, Māori and Pacific people were my childhood friends. We all hung out together and supported each other. We had a deep connection with one another. Familial connections to Māori exist through the

whakapapa of my maternal aunts and uncles. When you marry a Māori, you become a separate category of ethnicity, you are Samoan, but you are also whānau. When I was married, you become more fully aware of the issues that impact your spouse. I know my wife, at the time, could seamlessly slip into the role that I needed her to play at family functions, just as she knew I could do the same for her. I have been on several marae, I can karakia and waiata, and I know what to do at Māori events. Each of us knows our place, what we can do for each other in a cultural sense. For me, when I was married to Māori it made considering Māori issues more of a daily conversation instead of the responsibility of others.

Urban Migration: To Live and Die in AD[4]

Eventually your family made the move to Auckland, what effect did that have on you?

Tokoroa set our family up well and gave us an extensive network of families that we could connect with, the Legers, Gavets, Frasers, Cowleys and Shecks. Those names are synonymous in New Zealand with their contribution to sports, and the arts and are part of my whakapapa here in Aotearoa. My maternal grandma came to New Zealand when she was 26. My granddad was already here. My father's side was still in Samoa. My parents met in Tokoroa because of the work available at Kinleith Mill. Our move to Auckland when I was a kid, my parents followed the work. Like so many other Pacific families would do, we made the move north to chase the "milk and honey." The promise of prosperity that New Zealand offered and the hopes and dreams for their children and their education.

I attended Avondale College in the late 1980s. The only place you could learn about Māori history without taking te reo was in 7th form history. If you chose this subject, you were provided with a textbook version of the Treaty of Waitangi by Claudia Orange. Before university, exposure to Orange's seminal textbook became my only indicator of Māori history and politics. Once entering university, my exposure was again limited to what could be offered by textbooks. None of what I read connected with me on any level of reality. There was nothing contextual or even current about what I was reading. I felt a degree of sorrow for Māori and the loss they had sustained but the trauma of colonisation never really resonated with me. That didn't happen until I became family with Māori.

[4] To Live and Die in AD is a song collaborated on by Tom Scott of Avantdale Bowling club and Melowdownz. The song pays tribute to the neighbourhood they grew up in AD short for Avondale.

New Zealand-Born Samoan

How would you explain your identity and connection to this whenua/land?

Our family is a melting pot. One of my mother's siblings married Māori. That seemed highly likely as Mum's family were born in Mangakino, next to the Waikato River.

When questioned about my ethnicity, I always say that I am a Samoan. Yet when I am in Samoa, this identity is continuously challenged. "Have you ever lived in Samoa?" "Are you fluent in Samoan?" "No? Well then, are you Samoan?" It is a real dichotomy for me. As a New Zealand-born Samoan, I will always be manuhiri. My status here in New Zealand will always be manuhiri. I know I was born here on this whenua, not in Samoa. Aotearoa is my home, but I feel Samoa in my bones, it's in my DNA. Even though I was born here, I could never think about calling myself tangata whenua. That would be an insult to mana whenua. I can't even imagine how Māori would feel to hear that, someone calling themselves tangata whenua when they aren't.

Conflict in identities is what many Pacific people navigate—figuring out where we stand, our sense of belonging. I could say to my partner that Aotearoa is my home because I was born here, I wasn't born in Samoa, even though I feel it. I don't have a marae here, but I have pondered over what space is there for tagata o le moana, people of the Pacific. Aotearoa is a Pacific Island. What status do we have here? People of the Pacific all come from Hawaiki. It is like in some way the rest of the Pacific are coming full circle to Aotearoa.

I think it is much more complicated for Pacific peoples born in New Zealand to consider their identity. If you were to ask a Palagi born in New Zealand where they are from, they are like "I am European, I was born here in New Zealand, this is my country. I am six generations deep. I have got every right to this land." If you were to ask a Pacific person the same question they would be like "It comes back to the vā and respect. It is our core values. We respect tangata whenua, and we know where we come from." It comes down to whose eyes we define our sense of place and space with. By this, I mean our cultural lens helps position our identity. I will always, always respect tangata whenua and te Tiriti o Waitangi and that's just how it is. As much as Aotearoa is my home, it's just how it is; I can't disrespect the kaitiaki of my birth country.

I have had a similar conversation with other academic staff, about my inability to identify as Indigenous. There has been a push for this term more recently as it has a more globally shared understanding. On our postgraduate website, which is outward facing for marketing, we advertised an "Indigenous postgraduate qualification." The use of that term for our qualification was exclusive. It meant that it did not include the whole of the department. I questioned why "Pacific" wasn't used as "Indigenous and Pacific postgraduate qualification." In an explanation, reference was made to the political ramifications of including Pacific in the title. I had to argue my point that I disagreed with that for two reasons. One I was extremely mindful about the position of Māori and lumping Pacific people as Indigenous alongside tangata whenua was insolent. Reason two was that not all Pacific people identify with being Indigenous; hello, that includes me, I was born here.

Co-Openness to Politics

What influenced you to make these decisions about your identity?

There have been many moments in my life that have helped me define my identity as a New Zealand-born Samoan, as manuhiri. The singular most defining moment for me brought me to tears. Several years ago, I was at Waitangi Treaty Grounds. Ironically, Waitangi means weeping waters, and I wept. I was there for a suicide prevention conference. This event was not a political moment for me. Politically I have always sided with Māori on issues. This event touched my soul and pierced my heart. That day I learnt what my place was here in Aotearoa.

There are some things I should explain. The Waitangi Treaty Grounds are spectacular. When you stand in front of the wharenui [meeting house]and look out across the grassy expanse to the horizon, this is something breath-taking. The Treaty grounds are the national site that marks the signing of New Zealand's founding document between Māori and the Crown. For many, the Treaty of Waitangi promises have never been honoured. As a result, Māori have borne the brunt of historical injustice for generations. Negative statistics in education and health have plagued Māori communities. Māori suicides are near twice the rate of non-Māori. A straight line connects suicide to the ongoing effects of colonisation. As a result, I had come to Waitangi on that occasion to discuss the kaupapa of suicide prevention.

For the pōwhiri [traditional welcome] that day a local rōpū [group]stood and began to haka to the manuhiri for the conference. The haka was about Waitangi and what had happened for their iwi over generations. The women were crying as their voices rang out across the marae ātea [courtyard]. You could feel the raw emotion pouring out of them. The men performed the haka as I have never seen it before. The actions were provocative and spine chilling at the same time. The chanting from the women pierced my heart. I could feel their hurt and that of their tupuna. That haka has always stayed with me. Even now thinking back, I can feel the rōpū reaching out to the atua [gods], as they chanted. My mind filled with images of rape, abuse, addiction, loss, and desperation experienced by those doing the haka and their tūpuna.

So no, I wasn't so much politicised into a deep commitment to Māori. Instead, it was emotive for me. I knew about Māori political issues, but they could easily stay at work. To experience a haka that was so powerful, you have a physical and spiritual reaction. The result is that you can never go back to unknowing that feeling. Without sounding too patronising, I felt unworthy. At that moment, I concluded that I didn't belong in this country. I have a place to call home, let this always be rightfully Māori whenua.

Negotiating the Vā

Pacific Peoples

As the Co-Head of School for Pacific Studies, what term do you use to speak of the multifarious nations of the Pacific?

Often the title given to Pacific people is driven by current policy. I have some definite views about the common use of the term. I tend to go with Pacific for the mere fact that Pasifika isolates Fiji and Tonga. For instance, Tongan academic 'Okusitino Māhina also argues this point stating that the use of Pasifika divides Pacific people. It's not ideal, though, that we use Pacific because this has Spanish origins and connotations of Portuguese conquests.

In my role as Co-Head of School, naming has been a complex issue, and I must use the term Pacific to be inclusive of all our staff and students. Another term preferred by some is Oceania, but that also has connotations of Western discourse. Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, this name resonates with me. It directly links to te ao Māori and acknowledges the connectedness that exists between Māori and Pacific people as members of a wider whānau. Unfortunately, Disney has gone and colonised the word for us. The Moana that connects

us does not divide us. Western ideals view the Pacific Ocean as a barrier, but Pacific people see it as the ocean that connects us.

Workplace Cultural-Ethics and Politics

In what ways has your work impacted your thinking about Māori?

There is much about my work that I cannot talk about with specific reference. Instead, let me speak broadly about the ways that I have been encouraged by Māori in my work. Firstly, most of the work I have engaged in deals with mental health challenges, addiction, gang affiliations, and cycles of abuse. The list goes on and is not a pretty picture. When you read about these experiences, reports, statistics, or findings, you can become somewhat anesthetised to the information you are receiving.

In my travels up and down the country I heard submissions kanohi ki te kanohi, first-hand accounts. It became very real to me how people's mauri/spirituality/energies and mana/prestige were raped. I know I have used that word a lot in our conversations, but it goes a long way to represent the level of pain encountered. Generations of trauma experienced by Māori from participating in the colonial systems thrust upon them.

When confronted with the stories you feel their trauma, you feel their pain and hurt. It doesn't get any better across the motu/nation. These stories are often there without the opportunity to be told. It is soul-destroying listening to Māori talk about their mamae [pain] so openly for all to hear and learn. In those moments of despair, I think to myself "Maima, you have no right to claim anything, not one piece of land or anything, no right."

Māori are locked in a never-ending battle, fighting a fight that shouldn't be theirs to fight in the first place. Māori fight to have a voice, to be heard and space to speak. That trauma now extends to our "hakahula" babies who will face intergenerational and interethnic trauma.

Maima, you have worked with Māori throughout your career. What have you learnt from these relationships?

In every faculty of the university, I have always worked closely with Māori. Karakia, waiata and Māori cultural practices embedded in those work environments feel natural to me. It was unusual then going into my first interactions in mainstream organisations. It was different. The work was a secondment and was

around suicide prevention. We worked under the umbrella of Māori, Pacific and Pākehā. Initially, there weren't any Māori staff when we began that mahi [work]. There wasn't that level of kaupapa that I was used to in my work. It was more head down with little distraction or discussion.

When they began hiring Māori staff to the team, I started to gain some confidence in sharing my opinion with the rest of the team. I didn't have that sense of isolation that I felt when I was the only brown face. I realised I was more likely to share ideas and engage in robust discussions. This connection to Māori was significant in mainstream organisations where it was easy to become insular. In that forum, having Māori as an ally gave me another platform to dialogue with others, someone with a similar sense of humour and with alignment to my worldviews.

My experience in that environment taught me about how important it is to have someone in your corner. It meant that I reciprocated this support when it came to Māori voicing their opinions and concerns. I found that Māori were almost always like-minded in their ideas. In the suicide prevention work, I feel very confident as someone underserved in such settings. It came down to there was an affinity in our life experiences and how we could understand each other's perspectives. This level of reciprocity has sustained my working relationships with Māori.

Are there other ways you ensure a space for Māori in your work?

In the many pieces of research I have been privileged to work on, I refuse to speak for Māori. There have been times when others have felt that because I work closely with Māori, I can speak on their behalf. This is just not the case. If I am ever to do any component where it involves Māori or mātauranga Māori as part of the research, I just never go there out of respect. It is not a shameful type of respect; I am not scared that someone will say "Shut up and sit down!" It is entirely out of respect, that is not my place to make any comment and place my lens on Māori whakaaro [thought]. It is almost like a reverence.

By ensuring my stance on this, it safeguards a space for Māori academics in that research space. It means we work in a partnership with your knowledge and my knowledge. I am enacting the partnership principle of te Tiriti contextually because I'm not saying that I know more than you. I'm saying I don't know about things the way you know about things. I need you to come and look at things with me; we are doing this together.

When I work with Māori, each time I learn and grow, that gives me the wisdom to know when to stand back and when to forge ahead. If I had to name that feeling, the closest concept would be wairua/spirituality/energy. I call it that because I don't make those decisions about when to hold back with my brain. My brain is not telling me; it's my heart, my soul, and my gut (my ancestors) saying this is what you need to do. If you have a concept of the metaphysical, I guess it is also my whanaunga [kin] on both sides interpreting the timing of my actions.

Navigating Space

How have you navigated spaces to support Māori?

The colonial constructs of the university often obscure the ways that Māori and Pacific people make a difference for or support each other. From my perspective, Māori and Pacific people must engage purposefully and meaningfully. The university historically has not really offered opportunities for this to happen, so we find ourselves supporting by attending events and being present when the numbers are needed. Our work at the university often positions us together, but off to the side—working separately, funded differently, with different reporting lines. None of this, to me, seems like exceptionally meaningful ways to engage with one another.

Many of the ways I work are not ground-breaking or Instagram worthy for the masses. Smaller day-to-day attitudes and conscious actions have become part of the way I work. Some of these things are the inclusion of protocols such as karakia, ensuring that visitors and new staff enter the university through Waipapa Marae, consulting the aunties on anything and for everything, knowing who knows what needs to happen. Most importantly, stepping aside when it's not my time or place.

The university, prior to the transformative changes under our current leader, as an organisation, has several tick boxes to ensure that some of those things happen. But mostly in a sterile sense, without the wairua and aroha of an actual person. I have found this problematic. For instance, when you write a research proposal, there is the section about how this will positively impact Māori to engage meaningfully. Well, you and I, we know what that means. We live the crux of that every day. To explain the positive impact on Māori is harder than the 500 words in a research proposal. It is not just the reading of specific texts or articles or a Claudia Orange book. To positively impact Māori to engage meaningfully is sitting down with the aunties,

kanohi ki te kanohi. I have sat with Māori academics who have explained to me how they have developed their thinking and consequent theories from the conversations with the aunties. For me it is about prioritising Māori in your day-to-day thinking, normalising Māori ways of knowing, being and doing. Always contribute in a meaningful way to further Māori potential.

We haven't yet built a space to challenge current constructs in an ongoing, as-they-arise type situation. I am hopeful that with the appointment of a vice-chancellor Pasifika we will have the foresight to create spaces to dialogue about issues from a range of views. An example would be the appointment and role of the kaiārahi [mentor] in each faculty. A Pacific person would never get that role, and this is where I'm torn; while it makes sense that it is a Māori appointment, it still is contentious among Pacific peoples.

Of course, you could challenge those appointments, but who would want to be that guy, we all like our jobs. We have now appointed kaiārahi in science, arts, business, and other faculties. They are all Māori appointments. I know there have been qualified Pacific people that applied for those roles. We could be at the point that consideration of a separate Pacific role is required. I know that the appointments are legitimate, but once again the university structures are putting Māori and Pacific people in that same waka, va'a. We end up with kaiārahi speaking on behalf of Pacific people, which is kind of off, in the same way that I would never speak for Māori. There seems to be a reduced capacity for reciprocity in that exchange.

Potentiality

Cultural-Ethics Balancing the Vā

What can you share about how you approach the spaces where you work?

When we went to the Faculty of Medical Health and Science [FMHS] a well-known Māori professor, the Head of Department and her crew were all there. They were part of the School of Population Health. My first week at the FMHS, my partner at the time, a Māori, says to me, "Make sure you go and see the Head of Department and them." I was very calmly like, "Okay." I knew I would have to go and introduce myself.

So, I went up there and introduced myself. Did whanaungatanga, placed myself and my connections, opening the vā. Eventually, the Head of Department and her team would have known I was there, but it just rolls differently when you go and introduce yourself. There is a level of respect to that. It shows them that I know they are mana whenua of that place. When you make the first move, engage, go, and say I'm here

for these reasons, it makes every interaction after that more straightforward. It is the right and respectful thing to do. When you arrive at someone's house even if you aren't visiting the owners, you make sure you greet them. The same thing applies here. I had no other agenda; I wasn't there to ask for a pōwhiri [traditional welcome] or a whakataukī for my lecture. I was sincere and open about who I was. I believe that from that moment on we easily engaged on all matters because I made the effort to whanaungatanga before ever seeking anything.

Reciprocity in the Vā

How has your relationship with Māori embodied reciprocity?

My work has allowed me many opportunities to work with Māori in a range of capacities. That has taught me significantly about reciprocity. I have worked alongside Māori academics who have paved a way for Pacific people. How can I not reciprocate that kind of alofa? I never felt like those that opened spaces for me were coerced into doing it; I felt like they wanted to do that, make space for Pacific people to stand with them. At times and in certain places that hasn't always gone well. But that has never meant that their intentions have wavered.

Many of these people that promoted and protected me had a type of wisdom that comes with being on this earth a long time. One time that comes to mind was when we were in the middle of a poroporoaki [farewell]. We were gifted a unique taonga [treasure]. Our kaumatua and my senior colleague turns to me and tells me to close off proceedings. I was "Holy f#$k! I can't back out because basically the guru just told me to get up."

He had passed on everyone, and then the chairperson called on me to close. I was panicking hard out and saying, "You better not f#$k this up." It all turned out okay, but I was left feeling that it was a statement about the place of Pacific peoples, we were elevated through that act. Later we attended another event where there were extremely influential Māori in attendance. He turned to me again and goes "You're closing." I was terrified, again, and I was also thinking why is he doing this to me? He was mentoring me. There were other Māori there, the chair, more significant Māori, but he chose to open the pathway for me. He positioned it so that there was no challenge to my closing; no one could say who are you? He validated my presence and made it tika/appropriate that I attended these hui [meeting].

This same man spent the whole time we were travelling together always looking to see if I was alright. Old school manners, opening the door, this guy was so cute on so many levels. I would do the same for him but more like the service of a Samoan daughter to her father. In reflecting on that specific relationship, it is almost like the concept of tuakana–teina. My equivalent would be feagaiga. We have used tuakana–teina to explain the relationship of a more senior experienced person providing support to a younger, less experienced person, which is part of the relationship. Feagaiga really encapsulates for me this relationship. Feagaiga is the sacred brother–sister covenant, where the protection and care for the sister is paramount, ensuring the sister's sacred status in the family. The treatment I received from this high profile senior academic showed an elevated level of respect and provided privilege and status to complete the work that was required.

Chapter 9: Lili

Aioluotea Lili Tuioti hails from the villages of Falelima and Lauli'i and was born in Matavai, Savaii, the Independent State of Samoa. She was 5 years old when her family landed in Whenuapai, West Auckland, in the 1960s. Her parents went on to raise five children in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The family purchased their first house in Māngere East later shifting to Manurewa. Lili went on to marry her childhood sweetheart, Turi Te Hira, of Te Rarawa and Aitu descent.

Lili was a high achiever in school. She excelled in maths and accounting and went on to complete a BCom, Dip Teaching at the University of Auckland. Lili's entry to teaching began in South Auckland at Tangaroa College. The family then spent some time living in Samoa but eventually returned to New Zealand and she went back to Tangaroa College.

Eventually Lili moved on to Central Auckland's Seddon High School, now Western Springs College, Ngā Puna o Waiōrea. She rose quickly to deputy principal under the tutelage of her principal at that time, a well-known Auckland principal and founding member of the Youth Mentoring Trust. Lili became the first female Pacific Island secondary school principal while at Western Springs College and credits her time and the relationships she cultivated there as seminal to her leadership philosophy.

Consequently, Lili went on to develop leadership programmes for aspiring Pacific principals and became a leading voice in Pasifika education. Since 2015, Lili has been the chief advisor, Pasifika for the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). She is also a trustee for Pacific Advance Secondary School in Otahuhu and is an established member of Super Diverse Women. Lili's contribution to Māori education spaces has been at every level, as a peer, a teacher, a parent, an aunt, a deputy principal, a wife, and principal.

Even now, as Lili moves in predominantly Pacific spaces, she still holds a place for Māori. Her commitment comes from the love she has for her family and, in her words, "you do things as a teacher not because someone told you but because you look into the eyes of those students, you just know what a difference it will make for them and their families. It is not just acknowledging the kids you have got in front of you but acknowledging the families and communities that sit behind them."

Whanaungatanga: Preparing the Vā

I did not know the history of Lili Tuioti. She came into my thinking and conversations a great deal when I began to put a wish list together of the people who might share their stories and consequent lessons about their enduring commitments to Māori. My supervisor initially suggested Lili and, months later, in a meeting with my Pacific Pou, Lili's name resurfaced. They concurred that Lili's experiences could bring valuable insights to the work I was undertaking. They provided me with an overview of Lili's contributions to the education sector: in schools, with the Ministry of Education, the then Teachers' Council and the NZQA.

After an exchange of emails with Lili, I began to consider how I would encourage her to become a co-conspirator. Upon her suggestion, I called her so we could further discuss my kaupapa. Armed with a few bullet points about my study, I called her. I remember Lili answered the phone after the first ring, which gave me no time to hang up on her. I was nervous and stumbled over my words as I sought to articulate my kaupapa and encourage Lili to talk about her connection and commitment to Māori. Lili, on the other hand, opened the vā immediately.

The call was punctuated with laughter and tears. Lili left an impression as having a deep understanding of the education system from several perspectives, student, teacher, parent, principal, and education provider. Lili's commitment to Māori came from her relational accountability in all those roles.

Our phone conversation and my follow-up notes positioned me well to think about the questions for Lili. I wanted to encourage Lili to talk about the ways her experiences informed the relational concepts she had drawn on to work in the education sector. I was keenly interested in her relational pedagogy in the classroom and what had impacted her leadership philosophy. I felt, as a co-conspirator, Lili would have several insights into her relationship as a Samoan teacher, leader, and manager in the ways she has worked for and with Māori.

Teu le Vā

I met Lili for the first time on a lovely summer day in early December. We met in the carpark of all places and after we pulled ourselves from our cars, we came together in an embrace that felt like we were old friends. Just like the first phone call, Lili seamlessly opened the space between us. We moved to our meeting room and began our conversation like the phone call had never ended.

Alterity Elevating Commitment

How has knowing your identity forged a commitment to Māori?

My parents fostered a strong identity in me as a Samoan. When Turi (my husband) and I became parents, we discussed our obligation to know our identities for our children. We could not let our children stand up and say this half of me is Māori and this part [cutting her body in half] is Samoan. They must be able to stand up here in Aotearoa, as tangata whenua and as tagata o le moana and say their whakapapa/genealogy back to Panguru in the north of New Zealand, Atiu in the Cook Islands and Falelima in Samoa.

As an educator and then as a parent, I understood how crucial it was to be secure in my own identity. All the ways I was able to influence, support, and speak that supported social justice outcomes for Māori came from this underlying value of knowing my identity. When I became a parent, I wanted my children to understand their identity and be confident in te reo, tikanga and te ao Māori. Not just because they whakapapa to Te Rarawa but more importantly because they are citizens of Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Whakapapa, Whenua a Place to Belong

I can hear that it is essential for you that your children understand their whakapapa and place in Aotearoa-New Zealand. What did it mean to you being Samoan, here in Aotearoa-New Zealand?

When I was much younger, my siblings and I received clear messages from our parents. Our parents instilled considerable pride in us about being Samoan, the expectations about how others perceived us and our obligations as Samoan children. As a child, the actions of our parents made other messages clear about what it meant to be Samoan. These messages included playing at home, keeping to ourselves and a devout faith in the Methodist Church. These actions set us aside from our brown peers, the Māori kids.

We all knew how hard our mother fought for us to come to New Zealand. Our mother's fears for the future lives of her three daughters became imprinted on us all at a young age. Our mother's request, never to marry

a Samoan man, was transferred to us throughout daily routines. Our mother explained to us that not all Samoan men were as wonderful as our father. What she meant was that the life of a Samoan woman could be very oppressive. There are obligations to the husband's family. Not all husbands had the same compassion as our father about the responsibilities of married women to their in-laws. Our mother did not want her daughters serving at the feet of their in-laws. The dreams and aspirations held by our mother of a better life informed how we were as Samoan children growing up here in New Zealand. The decision to migrate to New Zealand gave all her children the opportunity to be educated, have jobs, good health, and material wealth.

Our parents worked hard to set us up here in New Zealand. My older sister and parents saved and capitalised on family benefits to generate a deposit for a home. In those days, the family benefit is what got families into homes. Later, as we progressed through school, I could tell that it was pleasing to our parents when we excelled at school, that we were making the most of the opportunity they had provided for us. To own a home and have children who were achieving well in school raised the status of our family.

Church life was fundamental to our family; many Samoan families in New Zealand take an active role in the life of their church. Our family values were grounded in the Samoan Methodist Church. We were one of the five founding families of the Otara Methodist church. The teachings of the church informed how we acted as Samoans. My identity as a member of the Otara Methodist congregation connected me to the community. My status as a Methodist parishioner was something I drew on strongly in building relationships with my students when I began teaching at Tangaroa College in Otara. The church provided routine and purpose for our family. Being Samoan here in New Zealand meant opportunities for my family in education, employment, and faith.

Vā with Māori

How do you explain the vā in your relationships with Māori?

The vā is an interesting concept; I have respect for Māori because of the vā. The notion of the vā is ingrained in me; it is how I have lived my life. The unspoken ways that we, as Samoans, I only have authority to speak about Samoans in this instance, come into relationship with others, people, nature, the cosmos. The space that separates us but keeps us in a relationship; this is the vā.

It is hard to articulate the concepts of the vā concisely. Much of the way we understand the vā is nuanced verbal and nonverbal discourses. Often, I have said in this conversation "you just know." What I mean is that I am aware of things. I am aware of where I am and who I am with and the roles and responsibilities I might have to that person at this time. Because of this awareness, I can call on numerous ways of knowing how to interact in that relationship. To understand how to act and be in individual exchanges has allowed me to consider how to support Māori in their educational aspirations. Understanding the vā helps me to work in ways that realise Māori potential. Samoans would call this tausi le vā, to care for the relationship. In my case specifically, it is deep abiding care that includes my family.

Negotiating the Vā

Samoan Bubbles, Being Brown and Conscientisation

What do you mean by "the Samoan bubble"?

Yes, the Samoan bubble is the obligation to our faith, our parents, and our family. There was an expectation as Samoan children that we played at our house; occasionally, we went to our Palagi friend's house, which was very flash. We never went to the homes of the children who lived on the poorer side of Māngere East, Massey Road. Our parents would say "Why do you want to play there?" As children, we began to understand that the poorer side of town was not very Samoan, even though some Samoans married to Māori lived there. As children, we often wished we could play with the children from the other side of the street; our parents restricted our time with them. When the opportunity arose to play with them, we had so much fun. Their lives seemed so carefree compared to ours, which were regulated by church, family, school, and chores.

In the Samoan bubble, my parents saw a move to the top-stream class at school as beneficial, regardless of the lack of brown kids in the class and the isolation you felt. The Samoan bubble would never have allowed me to go out and show support or march for Māori issues. My role as the eldest child at home meant I had to support my parents and be there when they needed my services. Eventually, I did shift outside of my bubble; this came about through a conscientisation around power relations and Māori politics. Outside of my bubble, I found a voice and an opportunity to know other things.

You mentioned a conscientisation about Māori politics, what do you mean by this?

Secondary school introduced me to a fantastic Pākehā debate teacher. My attraction to her was fuelled by how far outside of my Samoan bubble she lived her life. She was very socially aware and politically inclined. [Lili whispers] She was a communist. My parents trusted her because she was my teacher. As an avid reader, my debate teacher shared with me the writings of Lenin and Marx. To develop a broad understanding of socialism was a wonderful time for me. I began to think about society differently. My debate teacher's inspiring teachings and interpretations of what I was reading raised my consciousness about social equity. I did not believe that I held deficit views of Māori but witnessing their struggle and fight for their land transformed my thinking. I developed an appreciation of tangata whenua. These were some of the theoretical teachings that opened my mind and heart to Māori issues of sovereignty, language, and land loss. I learnt about oppressed peoples, the rights of all people, and how to make a political stand. I did not realise then that these teachings were foreshadowing my leadership philosophy.

At this point in my life, I had developed a dual persona. I was a good Samoan daughter taking her mother to church every Sunday, teaching Sunday school. I was also Lili that was attending rallies, seeking out militant Māori at university, listening to members of HART [Halt All Racist Tours] and forming views about society and equity. Learning about the history and injustices experienced by Māori, in turn, informed my own identity as a Samoan. Our parents, who had been vigilant in ensuring we could walk in this world as Samoans, had not educated us in our histories. My experience alongside Māori challenging the status quo opened space for me to learn about the struggles Samoa faced. I had never heard of the Mau movement or the colonial injustice that was suffered by my Samoan whānau. It took me learning about injustice towards Māori to scratch the surface of my Samoan history and inform my Samoan identity.

What implications were there for you being recognised as "brown"?

The "brown kids" was a discourse used by others to label Māori and Pacific kids. But we owned it. The collectiveness of it that we were together and united. We didn't understand that there were many negative connotations to the brown kids. It was a homogenising term mixing us [Māori and Pacific people] into one group. Many of our teachers and Pākehā people would have thought about us in this way. We had brown skin, lived near each other; many families were poor and suffered adverse outcomes from social issues.

My conception of being brown was slightly rose-coloured. Our family owned their own home, were regular attendees at church and spoke their mother tongue. We still lived alongside brown families in our neighbourhood, but there were some definitive markers. When we lived in Māngere East, there was an established affluent Pākehā population. Children from those Pākehā families attended Māngere East Primary, where our parents chose to send us. But the brown kids who lived on the poor side of Māngere East, on Massey Road, went to Sutton Park Primary. There was less than a kilometre separating the two schools.

Being the minority brown kids in a majority Pākehā primary school meant we received the same messages as the other Pākehā students. There were high expectations on all the kids to learn. Teachers never said you couldn't do something in the learning. The first Māori kids I met were the kids in my class at primary school. I still remember their names, and even though we were friendly, I don't recall an invitation to their house. When it came time to move on to intermediate, I noticed only the brown kids stayed from Mangere East Primary and went on to Mangere Intermediate. My Pākehā friends all went to private schools. When we moved from Mangere East to Manurewa and on to secondary school, I met Māori in a more significant way. School, even back then, was a very divisive experience for brown kids.

Being brown at secondary school was challenging. As a student in the top stream, in the junior years, I was not afforded the same responsibilities as my non-brown counterparts. I was not trusted to work with the money in the tuck shop, not expected to achieve as highly as my peers or remain in school past Form 5. These deficit discourses from some staff were how brown kids experienced school. In school, success was limited for brown kids, and so they left. My memory of Form 7 was that I was the only brown kid in my class. There were no Māori or Pacific students left in my final year at James Cook. Over my time at secondary school, I was rarely in a class with other brown kids. The message that this sent to the brown kids was that school, the academic rigour of school, was not for them.

Some Pākehā teachers at secondary school were openly racist towards the brown kids. I can recall a particular incident with my Form 6 accounting teacher; I can still see his ugly white face and sneering lips. He would say to me "Lili, how old are you?" my reply "16" he would follow with "Oh all you Maree [Māori] girls, 16, you get pregnant, just a waste of an education." Racist, sexist, bigoted comments like that were heard by all the brown kids, whether the teachers voiced criticisms aloud or not.

I went on and topped his class in Form 6 and reappeared in his class in Form 7. I had anticipated that he would congratulate me for my undeniable success in the subject. Instead, he said "Lili, how come you are back? Aren't you pregnant or have a baby yet?" His insensitive comments spurned me to be better. Maybe he knew that, but if he had taught my sister, she would have walked right out of his class. I, however, developed resilience to that accounting teacher and his uncalled-for comments.

Later, when I became a principal, I knew I didn't want our students to have that experience of teachers voicing such low expectations of them. As a deputy principal, I witnessed my principal encouraging, well telling, the staff that, to build relationships with the students for their learning, we had to treat them as if they were our children. Simple when he said it like that; if we wouldn't let our children fail, why would we allow another person's child to fail?

Familial Concepts Informing Political Decision Making

What concepts and attitudes might best describe your relationships with Māori?

A concept that sits at the fore of the Māori/Pacific relationship for me is Māori are tangata whenua, the people of this land, Aotearoa. They are the homeowners. So, I always think about the type of respect you would use in someone else's home. When you go to some else's house, you do things their way. Even when you stop being a guest in their home and you can help yourself to food in the fridge, or you choose to get up and clear the table and do the dishes, you are still in their home; they own it, it is their food, they are letting you eat it, you put the dishes back in the cupboards where they want them. You do things their way. That is the way we as Pacific people should think about tangata whenua. As tangata whenua, I have always considered Māori our tuakana/older siblings.

The tuakana–teina connection is one premised on a familial bond. For Māori to be our tuakana, this acknowledges that we have a shared whakapapa. Consequently, there are specific ways that families interact with each other, an increased level of care and nurture. Subsequently, I have always seen myself as teina [the younger sibling]; this is not my whenua; this is not my land; I can never be tangata whenua. Recently, my understanding of tuakana, teina, and who plays those roles and when, has been evolving.

It came to my attention at a hui not long ago that perhaps the way I had always thought about Māori as tuakana and Pacific as teina may require more consideration. I came to this conclusion after listening to a

senior Māori academic at a poroporoaki [farewell]. He was chastising the polytech that was under review, mentioning that Māori memory has forgotten the premise of the tuakana–teina relationship. His questioning referred to a structure within the polytech that saw the highest Pacific role reporting to a Māori te tumu [leader]. The speaker explained passionately and with a wealth of knowledge, of which I cannot recall the minute detail, that through Māori whakapapa back to te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa that "We [Māori] are teina to our Pacific tuakana."

An admission like this made me think about why Māori and Pacific people did not regularly recall this relationship. The speaker's kōrero left me with many questions that required more in-depth scrutiny. I have wondered what the implications, if any, there are around the Treaty of Waitangi. What would this mean for Pacific people? Possibly that we are included as tangata whenua or as tangata o le moana in the Treaty, or perhaps a less formal ally-type relationship that we currently have but with more recognition and understanding of the whakapapa that exists between us.

A pacific member of parliament for Labour, has continued to work on formalising this relationship with a Pacific treaty. I fear that this relationship may never have the full support that could generate a united front for Māori and Pacific people. A united front may not suit Māori fiscally. Māori might perceive a reduction to budgets if we made way for Pacific initiatives. The way I have worked is that I continue to encourage Pacific people to always remember we are manuhiri. There is a Samoan saying "Aua le soli le va" used to let someone know not to speak in a particular discussion or meeting. Pacific people must apply this mentality to our relationship with Māori here in New Zealand. There are so many times when we must not force our agenda.

Disruption in Search of Balance

You used the word disruption; what do you mean by this?

Disruption for me means never taking the easy way out. It means to conceive of things in different and imaginative ways. It involves flipping the spaces that exist and imagining the spaces not created yet. I had seen disruption at Bastion Point and the Springbok tour. These were the acts that helped me find a voice

about injustice. I learnt about disruption from the moving of the wharenui[5] and the implications that rippled out from that decision. Those acts taught me how to act and alter injustice.

Our principal was our leader, a discernible face of the move but the other deputy and I also had to face the community and staff. Many staff did not appreciate the relocation of the Māori bilingual unit at the front of the school. Māori teachers, students and their whānau knew this was a turning point. The decision to shift laid a platform for so many other things to happen. Whānau now dared to go to the school and ask for the next thing they needed. "Okay, we've moved the marae here. Now can we have classrooms around the wharenui/big house so we can teach our kids close to a place where they feel they belong." After each request became a reality, another followed. "Okay, now can we get Māori teachers teaching all the subjects in te reo?"

We had a groundswell of parents who wanted more for their children. Whānau saw the difference the shift of the whare had on their tamariki. Conversations with Māori teachers and whānau were beginning in earnest. We were fortunate that we had many champions for our Māori students and community across the staff. The shift from a bilingual unit to a Rumaki [total immersion] Māori became possible because it had the support of the senior school management and wider staff.

The early years of the Rumaki were disruptive, messy, and frustrating. We all learnt through trial and error. No one else was doing what we were doing; we were creating a blueprint. We considered different models to provide education for Māori students by Māori teachers in te reo. It was difficult. We were called separatist, elitist and divisive by those who did not understand or were threatened by the change.

This disruption caused the school roll to fall somewhat. Some parts of the community were not happy about the new focus for the school and felt that educational opportunities were declining with the new focus. Data and discussions were showing us that positive achievement was occurring for the Rumaki students. The results provided evidence that the shift of the wharenui and changes were working for Māori students and indicated we were on the right track.

[5] Lili is referring to the relocation of Western Springs College wharenui from the back of the school to a place of prominence at the front of the school.

Those committed to the kaupapa carried on, and the Māori Parents Association was established, providing a voice for whānau. The board of trustees also understood the value of partnership with their Māori community and agreed that representation from the Māori Parents Association became mandated. The development of the school within a school model was only made possible through the vision of those kaiako [teachers] and whānau demanding better student outcomes.

I firmly believe that the initial decision paved the way for every decision to be made for Ngā Puna o Waiōrea. We couldn't have made those consequent decisions without the first decision. I learnt that to disrupt structures that were not providing the desired outcomes for our tamariki was paramount. The shift of the wharenui to the front of the school was laden with much meaning: the wharenui in a place of prominence, a place of equality, that spoke volumes. When our kids walked into the school, they held their heads high, because it was their place.

Potentiality

Leadership in Service of the Future

In what ways were you able to influence education outcomes for Māori learners?

We have enough information about what works for our Māori learners. Yet we see little change or impact on the engagement and achievement rates of our tamariki. There has been no sustained acceleration for Māori in mainstream education. We have not enacted the evidence of what we know works best for Māori learners. One way I have witnessed and seen the evidence adopted was the work done at Ngā Puna o Waiōrea. The monumental shift of the wharenui from the back of the school to the front. This work began in the late 1980s and became a reality in 1990. Before I came to Western Springs, I had never been to a state school that had a wharenui at the front. The shift was significant for our community in so many ways; physically, culturally, spiritually, and educationally. This shift was a complete disruption of the school structure. The movement allowed the Māori community to become partners in their children's education.

When we shifted the wharenui to the front of the school I saw how vital relationships were. Our principal at the time, had support from the board of trustees, teachers, and school community. It helped that our school board of trustees had broad-thinking Pākehā who supported the initial push from kaiako Māori.

Western Springs kaiako spoke of the benefits of welcoming manuhiri to school through the wharenui, how this would lift the mana of the Māori students and the community.

Relocation of the wharenui was a statement of the place of Māori in the school and the wider community. To enact the evidence about what works for Māori in education, we must start with ensuring that educational spaces elevate the status of Māori learners, as tangata whenua. Ngā Puna o Waiōrea did just that. The levels of achievement didn't accelerate overnight; it was an extended period. But it has been sustained. The shift of the whare was not an intervention; it was an invitation.

How did your leadership impact school experiences for Māori?

When I stepped up as principal, I drew on the teachings of principals that had mentored me. I knew I had to make an impact on some of the structures that had encumbered Māori student access to education that could help to realise their potential—for instance, timetabling and subject selection from Year 9 through to Year 13. I was looking to continue to make a difference for our Māori learners. My own experience had shown me that achievement for my Māori students could be improved significantly through curriculum choices and the pedagogy used to deliver the curriculum.

Māori and Pacific student achievement has always been lower than the national average. We now had many Māori in our school community opting for the Rumaki. There was a choice for our whānau; however, as a school, we still had to improve outcomes for Māori students in the English-medium side of the school. It had become apparent to me over the years that access to certain parts of the curriculum correlated to career opportunities. The subjects that students selected during their senior years either prepared them to move to tertiary or saw students exit higher education pathways.

Even after 20 years, I could still see my own experience of school replicated. Nothing had changed in most mainstream, English-medium schools. As a principal, I could help demystify subject selection and timetabling for our Māori students, by providing more career information, making the curriculum more accessible and making informed decisions about timetabling. The timetable was no longer a rigid structure in schools, it could be manipulated to support the academic potential and pathways for all students, not just those that had a monopoly on education structures.

As a teaching principal, I felt that it was essential to be visible and accessible to students. I participated in the compulsory community service students undertook through the school curriculum. These acts kept me in a relationship with students, teachers, and the curriculum. When I asked teachers to bring attitudes to their classrooms that embodied a family-like environment, I did it too. When we sought solutions for the students, it was authentic; we trialled change together. It never occurred to me that not all principals worked in this way.

Another significant way I was able to make a change as a principal was to advocate and give voice to the inequalities that existed within our school system. Decisions at the system level, especially concerning funding or budget requests, can be difficult. As a Samoan with a Māori family, it is those connections across the vā that have assisted me in making decisions about funding based on the impact on learning outcomes for Māori students. The benefit of the vā provides you with a clarity of vision. You don't just see what is in front of you, but you can see 5–10 years down the track and who you can have an impact on in the future.

Navigating Tension

How have you navigated tension between Māori and Pacific people in the workplace?

Samoans are very competitive. We don't ever want to be at the bottom. We like others to think of us punching above our weight. When we successfully punch above our weight, this presents a high level of visibility of the work that we do. Part of my role currently has been to use that competitive edge we have as Samoan, Pacific people, to deliver objectives in our organisation, New Zealand Qualifications Authority.

The work structure positions us, the Office of Pasifika, and the Office of Māori under the Deputy Chief Executive Māori. The Office of Māori has four times the amount of staffing compared to the Office of Pasifika. As employees in New Zealand, we recognise the Treaty of Waitangi in our organisation. We have goals to achieve a bilingual organisation to ensure that Māori voice is paramount in all decisions. As a New Zealander and a mother of Māori children, this resonates with me. In the workplace, these objectives sometimes seem aspirational when attempted.

In this government environment, there is a bicultural focus. It can be hard to maintain my team's enthusiasm when they feel there is an unequal distribution of resources, but there is an expectation to deliver the same outcomes. I have experienced how difficult it has been for my small team to perceive that people who enact

the Treaty see a place for others. By others, I mean other partners, concentrated groups of migrants that sit outside of the Treaty relationship.

As a Pacific person, in a position of influence in a governmental organisation, I must continue to hold a space for Māori, our tuakana. To keep this space can be difficult when I feel the very urgent push back from my Pacific colleagues. The framework used in government organisations that posits Māori and Pacific as separate teams under one umbrella has generated tension and conflict in some of the groups I have worked in. These spaces have traditionally been Māori and non-Māori, and a sustained focus on biculturalism in policy aligned with the Treaty has created and sustained this binary: them and us. This structure has made it difficult for Pacific people to see how they can support Māori outcomes.

What have been some of the ways you have supported your Pacific teams to achieve Māori-focused outcomes?

Pacific people are often not heard in the Māori/non-Māori binary. My personal experiences mean that my responsibility as a leader in these settings is to be explicit about our place here in Aotearoa as manuhiri/guests. Often many of the groups I work with have had the experience of working in their own Pacific bubble. The goal in the Pacific Bubble is usually to forward Pacific agendas. Many of my workmates did not experience a conscientisation about Māori politics as I received in my late teens. My role is to remind my colleagues how exaggerated the inequalities are for Māori—harmed by the colonial structures that are the framework of New Zealand life. Māori have been the products of systems that have devalued their potential. As Pacific people, we must support Māori with the time and space to be and, for some, find themselves. These are heavy messages for many of my team to hear, but we continue to talk so we can do a better job for Māori and Pacific people.

One of the ways that we have challenged a deficit about Māori and Pacific division in their work was the NZQA's Pasifika strategy "Takiala" [Tokelauan term meaning guide or direction]. The metaphor of Takiala draws on the whakaaro/thinking of Tongan academic Epeli Hau'ofa and seeks to connect Pacific people. Hau'ofa speaks about "a sea of islands," he discusses foundational aspects of a Pacific worldview as being transformative, adventurous, and aspirational. Furthermore, Pacific people already know we are explorers, seafarers, scientists, astronomers, politicians, and navigators of our futures.

This whakaaro was significant in providing a stable cultural connection to Aotearoa for the Pacific people in my team. Connection to Māori in a profound family-like way meant that became the focus instead of being divided over resourcing. The use of a culturally laden construct to create space for Pacific people and Māori in a colonial system has been very powerful in shifting the thinking of my team—a focus on connectedness rather than separation.

Space and Place

Alluded to early on in our conversation was "knowing your place." Can you explain that further for me?
I know that I am a Samoan; I have never had an identity crisis. I know my place when working with Māori. I know this place because I will always be manuhiri or tangata Tiriti. My stance is perhaps different from other Samoans because my husband and my children are Māori. My mokopuna and every descendant from my line can claim tangata whenua, but I will always be manuhiri, tagata o le moana/people from the sea.

Knowing my place means that I understand I can support Māori to achieve sovereignty. I work in sectors where I can influence decisions that enhance and even accelerate outcomes for Māori. I know I can do this and be Samoan. I know it is not my place to lead a hikoi [walk, political rally], but I can walk in support of my husband and children.

I do this for Māori because I can take my children and mokopuna back to Samoa; there is an actual country called Samoa. If they want to go back to Samoa where their mother comes from, they can go there and learn the language and the culture. They can step off the plane and immerse themselves; that cannot happen for them here in Aotearoa-New Zealand. So, my place is to be here, be present and continue to leverage outcomes for Māori at whatever level of the system I am involved in.

Chapter 10: Tamasailau

Born in the village of Saoluafata, Upolu, Samoa, Tamasailau Suaalii-Sauni (also known informally as Sailau) came to New Zealand with her parents in the early 1970s. They found a base at Herne Bay and moved to Otahuhu for work but made the most of benefit payments to make a deposit on a house in West Auckland.

Tamasailau has held many roles in tertiary institutions, the University of Otago, the National University of Samoa, and Victoria University of Wellington, and is currently an associate professor at the University of Auckland, lecturing in Criminology. She delivers a Stage 3 paper: The Indigenous and the Global and recalls that one of her reasons for returning to Auckland was to teach in the only criminology programme in the country that deliberately foregrounds Indigenous criminology issues. Her academic work draws on and contributes to the building of Pacific Indigenous knowledges, especially Samoan. She specialises in Pacific jurisprudence theory and is currently engaged in Indigenous criminological research.

Her involvement in various research and related community service work keeps Tamasailau busy; she is on Pacific advisory groups to the New Zealand Police, a member of the New Zealand Prime Minister's Chief Science's 2020 expert panel on the cannabis referendum, and on the Establishment Advisory Group for the New Zealand Criminal Cases Review Commission. Over the past 3 years her academic research has a focused on a Marsden-funded research project looking at Māori and Samoan experiences of youth justice in New Zealand, Australia, and the United States.

In her latest piece of qualitative social science research writing, Tamasailau and her colleagues used talanoa sessions with Māori and Pacific community service providers and youth to express ideas shared about their experiences in the youth justice system. Her work on the Marsden grant has highlighted that Māori and Pacific youth are faced with social scripts that can contain unconscious or systemic biases that constantly tell them, in subtle and not so subtle ways, that certain parts of society believe they are not to be trusted.

I have drawn heavily on Tamasailau's chapter in *Critical Conversations in Kaupapa Māori*, entitled "The Vā and Kaupapa Māori." throughout this study.

Whanaungatanga: Preparing the Vā

I had seen Tamasailau speak at several events; she was impressive. Her mana was extended by my adoration for her academic publications that I had stumbled across in my personal reading about Samoa. The trinity of tohu/signs came when some of my Pacific Pou invited me along to a Pacific writing retreat and I was lucky enough to meet her in person. In that first meeting I stumbled over my words and found that I was unable to string a sentence together. I was also still on some heavy-duty pain relief and crutches after ankle surgery that day.

A year or so later I was asked by some of my Pacific Pou to attend a hui with Tamasailau. We had managed to convince the MAI Doctoral conference organising committee to have Tamasailau on a panel with Leonie Pihama. They would be speaking together in the Fale Pasifika. I was stoked that some members of my Pacific Pou thought that I should come along. We met at McDonalds and after warming up and chatting the conversation moved quickly to compatible Samoan Māori metaphors and philosophies to enhance Māori–Pacific relationality. I was really blown away by Tamasailau's thinking and her articulation of how the panel might proceed.

After the conference I checked in again with my Pacific Pou and eventually, as with all my Tūmoana, I worked up the courage to email her; she politely agreed to a meeting with me. We spent 3 hours opening the vā so that Tamasailau might say yes, and I would know exactly what I was in for. She did agree and I could not have been happier. I wondered if I might need an encyclopaedia to keep abreast of her thinking and use of language.

Teu le Vā

It is a terribly rainy midmorning, and we meet in Sailau's office, share karakia and food. She thanked me for the opportunity to talanoa and kōrero to share her stories and thoughts. I am humbled to think she needs to thank me; I should be doing the thanking. We continue…

Fa'a Samoa/Samoan Way

How would you describe your cultural heritage?

My cultural heritage is founded on Samoan values: fa'a Samoa/the Samoan way, aganu'u Samoa/the Samoan culture, aganu'u fa'a Samoa/the Samoan cultural way that was learnt and that is continuing to be learnt. I can never get the word right—whether it's being learned or learnt. [Sailau laughs and tells me to correct her "Englishing" in the transcript.] It is always the "Samoanness" if you like, that has been what I have drawn on to focus my understandings of culture and indigeneity. I arrived from Samoa with my parents when I was only three. Samoanness has been a necessity, for anchoring growing up, something that I have drawn on living and growing up in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

I was raised very much in a Samoan household. This is where I draw meaning when I refer to Samoanness. I have some glimpses of my life of when we arrived in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and of our time in an apartment in Herne Bay, inner-city Auckland. I must have been about 4 years old; I have a memory of swinging on the swings with my cousin and a Palagi [he had fair skin] who lived in our apartment block. There was me, my female cousin, a little older than me and my twin sisters at the swings with this young palagi boy. Later my brother, the youngest of us, and the only brother at that time, would join us. It was me, this girl cousin, and my biological siblings for a long while. My girl cousin went back to her mother after a while and then my parents adopted two boys quite late in life. I had either just finished high school or was entering university at the time. So, then there are six of us. There was a whāngai [adoption] system that was going on at that time, but our parents adopted the younger two boys through the Palagi system.

When you are the eldest there are some Samoan-ness responsibilities. There were numerous children in the household, and one of my roles meant I would stay with some of the children when the family went off on overseas trips. I remember one incident; it still bugs me [Sailau laughs]. My parents decided to go on a church trip and took everybody else but me. When I questioned "Why can't I go?" my mother explained I

had to stay because it was my responsibility as the oldest sibling to look after the "kids." That is not an unusual story for the oldest Samoan girl to be left in sole charge of younger siblings.

Tuakana–teina: The Politics of Birth Order

In te ao Māori you hold a significant place as the oldest sibling—mātāmua. You are tuakana to your younger sisters and tuahine [sister of a male] to your younger brothers regardless of whāngai. In what ways has your birth as the mātāmua impacted your upbringing?

Birth order has played a significant factor in my upbringing—who I have been able to become and the learnings that were afforded to me. I am the eldest grandchild on my mother's and father's sides. They are both the second eldest children to their respective parents, but both were the first to marry. When I was born, my mother's grandmother named me Tamasailau. The name is from the family of Fuimaono—le 'aiga Sā Fuimaono. That is the family line of my great grandmother Aivale. Just like many other cultural similarities across the Pacific, in old Polynesian traditions, these names, family names, carry our genealogies. They carry our stories of origin, so to speak. So my name, Tamasailau, carries an account in the history of the 'aiga Sā Fuimaono about two sisters prominent in their history. Over the years I have had many Samoan people comment on my name as they know it as a taupou title from the Salani village. I know they are wondering whether I hold it as a taupou title or not. I do not. My great grandmother gave it to me as a first name. It is not a common practice for a taupou title to be given to a child as a first name. I can understand the raised eyebrows and hesitation when Samoans learn of my first name.

When I was little, I was raised a lot by my aunt, my mother's sister, Naoupu. My aunt holds a lot of my mother's extended family knowledge and is a staunch cultural custodian of that knowledge. But I have also always felt connected to my grandmother on my dad's side, his mother, Ailei'u; they (my maternal aunt and paternal grandmother), had a lot to do with raising me. I also have a deep association with my mother's father, Telea Lote. He passed away the year I was born. I was the only grandchild that he ever saw. My aunt that raised me would always tell me "You are the only one, [grandchild], that your grandfather Telea saw. You will be the one that will take his dream of educational success and make it a reality."

The name Tamasailau and the role I have played in my family has prepared me for a lot of the work I have done subsequently in the Samoan Indigenous space.

Encounters with Māori

Your upbringing here in Aotearoa-New Zealand was very influenced by the Samoaness you talk about. How did you encounter Māori growing up in a Samoan house?

My experience of growing up in a Samoan household, (where all the members were Samoan), meant that my knowledge of things Māori or my awareness of things Māori, or any other culture for that matter, even at a surface level, did not occur until I went to public school. We were raised and still are Seventh-Day-Adventists. I attended church schools when we could afford the cost, it was sort of this ping-pong thing of going backwards and forwards between schools until I hit high school. That's when I stayed in the public-school system, and I went off to Waitakere College where I did all my high school years. It is there that I encountered Māori in more specific ways.

At that time, in the early to mid-1980s, the school roll was more Māori than Pacific. I would guess that has changed now. I had lots of Pacific friends in 3rd and 4th form and then they started dropping off by 5th form, even some of my Māori friends. I was in a mostly Pacific space at school, in terms of my friendship groups and peers, until I joined the Polynesian Club. It was a Māori group, but they called it the Polynesian Club. I can still remember the words of the Māori chants that you learn as part of the group. They always impacted me because it reminded me of my paternal grandfather. He would chant in the early hours of the morning and the whole house would be yelling [nicely of course] "someone tell him to go to sleep." Of course, my grandfather would repeat the chants again at night. Those chants, there was something haunting about them, almost ethereal. I miss it.

I remember my brother and I; he was in 3rd form, and I was 6th form, we were in the Polynesian Club, and we were going to visit a marae. Of course, as a Samoan girl, I was not allowed to travel by myself, I couldn't go without a boy accompanying me, so my younger brother had to chaperone. It was probably a good idea on my parents' part as I really liked this Māori guy in the group [Sailau laughs]. That was probably the real reason why I wanted to go. He may have been my reason for joining the group in the first place [still laughing]. This trip was really my first time in a Māori-centric space. That experience has always stuck with me. We had a lovely Māori teacher, and I can't quite recall but I think it was his marae we travelled to. To our surprise when we arrived the marae was preparing for a wedding. Of all things it was a Samoan-Māori wedding. This was 1986, I thought woah, this is unusual, a Samoan-Māori wedding. At the time all

the Samoans I knew were married to Samoans. This really interests me; that I had those thoughts at the time, reflective of the sheltered life I had.

If my memory serves me, we, the school group, were sitting in the pōwhiri with the hosts when the wedding guests arrived. The Samoan families coming on to the marae were welcomed and gave speeches, mostly in Samoan. I recall I was whispering to someone next to me trying to translate what they were saying in Samoan. Our teacher overheard me. Next minute he had me beside the kaumatua trying to translate what was being said. I was like, "Okay, he's thanking God and now he is thanking God" [Sailau laughs]. That was my first experience of being on a marae, of being among Māori in a Māori space. This experience brought me into contact with Māori in a significant and memorable way and showed me that there were more similarities between us than I realised. They are the ones you feel in your bones.

Cultural-Ethics Informing Work Life

What experiences have influenced the way you work with Māori in the university?

I remember going to Hamilton to the Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development at Hopuhopu. I attended a conference there, it was beautiful. In the meeting area, where we were, there were all the portraits of the rangatira around the room. Tangata whenua explained who they were and also the fact that they [their ancestors] were there with us, that they are in the conversation with us. That struck me as not something that is usually part of contemporary university discourse. That our ancestors are present in our intentions and attentions when we converse and work.

The tangata whenua went on to explain that, as I recall it, in the context of what we are doing, in our conference and presentations, these rangatira may speak through our conversations, guiding our delivery. When you are in that kind of environment, having the faces of these rangatira present, one can actually feel their physical presence. That is powerful, in a physical, emotional, and spiritual sense. To recognise this as an academic, to me it is a huge statement, and says a lot about our Polynesian epistemologies, ontologies. It is an environment that is conducive to growing through and with knowledge of the past. That is why the marae is such an important place to learn from, to relearn or unlearn. Since that exposure I have reflected on how we [at the university] have been trying to figure out how we can use the marae space or other spaces that render us to our rangatira as guides in this way in what we are working through.

I am in the process now – which is going to cause some issues – of setting up a Samoan scholars' network at the University of Auckland, involving both staff and students. A group of us are having conversations starting tomorrow about formalising it. It's not a formal university-sanctioned body but it is a way to bring Samoan scholars based at the University together to talk about Samoan scholarship related issues, including our relationship with Māori. It would be interesting, for example, to discuss, as Samoans how we utilise the Marae and the Fale and other Māori and Pacific university or higher education spaces to create a history and relationship between people and those kinds of cultural spaces/places. For me, as experienced in Hopuhopu, there is teaching-learning power in them.

Recognising Ourselves in Others

Has your relationship with Māori changed over time, if so, in what ways?

The main way that I preference tangata whenua and Māori at present is through use of Māori language, terms, and values. I find connections between them and similar Samoan terms, concepts, and values. I've always felt an affinity with Māori tikanga because of the deep sense of connectedness I have with my ancestors, three in particular. It wasn't until I went to university and started to develop a deeper appreciation for Māori tikanga that I could begin to articulate some of the connections I saw between Māori tikanga and Samoan Indigenous aganuu (ancient customs, values). For example, I know that most Samoan academics here understand the concept of kanohi ki te kanohi as meaning 'face to face' but don't know that the Samoan concept or terms vā fealoaloa'i is also 'face to face.' The term 'alo' in the word "fealoaloa'i" refers to face, aloalo is a shortened version of the concept 'alo atu, alo mai' – face meeting face. The concept of vā fealoaloa'i is also about respectful relations. So, when I preference kanohi ki te kanohi I am also at the same time implicitly or explicitly, preferencing the vā fealoaloa'i. I try in this way to make visible the deeper meanings carried by our reo.

That is a deliberate everyday practice for me living in Aotearoa as a Samoan, the privileging, and honouring of our Indigenous languages, noting as Polynesians their connectedness, their whanaungatanga aspects, and paying tribute by drawing implicit links to shared values, such as with the tuakana–teina kanohi ki te kanohi and va fealoalo'i ideas. By doing this we as Samoans honour our ancestors and ourselves as whanaunga. By recognising through our reo our shared heritages we can find what is tika or agatonu in our tikanga or fa'asamoa in terms of honouring tangata whenua status.

Little things can come to mean a lot. We may come back later and reflect on these little things. We might see this in the lessons we learn from family. Reunions of family play a critical part in maintaining ethno-cultural norms and family identities. These days as our families expand and intermarry and live far from each other, family reunions, especially extended family reunions, help to strengthen belonging and identity to whānau as village. At our recent Leauanae family reunion in Melbourne our Māori whānau did an amazing haka. One of my first cousins is married to a beautiful Māori wahine. They have ten kids, nine boys and one girl. Their boys taught their Samoan cousins a haka and they performed it together as part of our closing event. Seeing them practising and then performing together was powerful. It provided me with a moment of pride and learning. I learned that there is much within our intimate spaces that can positively influence our search for intercultural understanding.

Today there is a lot of mixing of cultures. I was just talking with some friends who expressed that several of their children have married Māori. Now their mokos/grandchildren are Māori Samoan. This brings home, literally the va fealoaloa'i question between Samoan/Pacific peoples and Māori in Aotearoa. This impacts Māori-Samoan/Samoan-Māori relations beyond the cerebral, it creates an intimately felt politics. For many Samoans who remember, were part of and/or felt Māori activism of the 70s, if they had close relationships with Māori then those memories and feelings are still strong. These relationships continue to flow in their/our bones.

Negotiating the Vā

Indigenous Reference

Tamasailau, you briefly spoke about your work with others in a Samoan and an Indigenous space. What do you mean when you refer to an Indigenous space and how does that impact your work?

I have been particularly interested in Indigenous research methodologies and Indigenous jurisprudence. I'm interested in our ancient wisdoms. To bring forth what within them is good, what has life and gives life, what gives, affirms, or enhances mana both then and now and perhaps into the future. To bring all of that good and allowing it to breathe and grow.

When we explore the politics of Indigeneity, we are exposed to the many different and shifting dimensions of it. I understand the Indigenous to refer to native or first nations cultures and peoples; to peoples and

cultures who were present and living on lands before Imperial European colonialism took over. I see indigeneity as part of the history of all countries, Samoa included. Many Samoans in Samoa believe that the term Indigenous does not apply to them. They are Samoans full stop. This in my view, reflects quite a narrow and perhaps ignorant perspective of indigeneity. Anyone genuinely interested in Samoan aganuu, faasamoa or agaifanua, (Samoan custom, traditions, cultural values, and principles), must be open to the question of indigeneity, to all of its philosophical, intellectual, and political dimensions.

Those things have always been implicitly valuable to me, instilled in me I believe by my ancestors, by my parents and grandparents, and by the many Samoan Elders and family members I have had the privilege and honour to know and spend hours talking with or listening to.

Developing competency in an Indigenous language is hard for those who have grown up in an environment where it was not considered a must. But if you're going to get into Indigenous scholarship, it is critical to have a deep appreciation of the languages of that scholarship. That means developing more than a working knowledge of the Indigenous language/s at hand and of the relevant academic languages. It means having a natural curiosity for searching for depth of meaning, nuance, and insight. Developing good levels of spoken competency gives you access to that depth, especially when complemented with a good dose of intellectual curiosity and skill. I mean if you're coming to the Indigenous language as a second language, like I ended up doing, where you didn't learn the grammar nor gain opportunity to do so in later years or to expand your vocabulary, you are never totally comfortable speaking because inevitably you run out of words [Sailau laughs]. There is therefore always a measure of vulnerability present when speaking Samoan. I like the idea of "Samoanising" our English or "Englishing" our Samoan. For me it's about picking up and communicating nuance in ways that allows for better, deeper inter-cultural understanding without undermining genuine efforts to learn.

Tā–vā—Time–Space

I shared with Tamasailau some words messaged to me about the Pacific "itulagi" (worldview) and the mana of silence. "Silence in certain contexts is valuable—not empty, not neutral, but a sign of wisdom." I ask for her thoughts about this statement.

This is interesting. This comes from a Samoan theologian and scholar, Reverend Dr Upolu Vaai. He speaks a lot about Pacific itulagi. Itulagi literally means the sides of the heavens. Which metaphorically could be taken to mean the different sides of wisdom (heavens symbolic of divine knowledge and power, divine wisdoms/divine heavens – notably noted in the plural). The concept of silence as not empty, not neutral but a sign of wisdom speaks to the different cultural understandings or 'sides,' (itulagi), attributed to silence. Saying nothing could in itself be saying something. Depending on the cultural context it could mean I agree because if I did not, I would say so or leave; or it could mean I disagree because if I agreed I would say so or could perhaps mean that I am not yet sure and as such would prefer not to say or decide yet either way. Understanding cultural context here is pivotal. Silence could also refer to the need for stillness, meaning that wisdom can also come to us through the stillness of silence and that having such silence in a relationship or meeting or in our protocols or strategies for connecting and learning, regardless of how long it takes, is normal and is just as important as talking or having to say things out loud. In this sense silence speaks, it has mana and meaning in and of itself. The same could be said about time and about sleep.

Today we are subservient to the industrial clock. Should we not move to that clock, food won't get on the table for the kids. This reality has come to dictate our modern understandings of time. Time has become subject to value commodification, to linear explanations of history, identity, and relationships, to human arrogance and control pulling us out of physical and spiritual balance. This is especially evident for those that believe in Indigenous values and philosophies, that see the modern world through this critical lens.

In Samoa there is a saying "moe le toa." Moe as in sleep, toa as in strong or steadfast. It's a saying that is used to convey the message "let's sleep on it.." Let's give our steadfast views time to sleep, to engage in sleep dialogue and when we wake, we will see what wisdoms they still hold.

In ancient Samoa sleeping was believed to be a state that allowed for "dream dialogues" with our ancestors. Tui Atua refers to these dream dialogues as "moe manatunatu." This is a belief system that is frowned upon today by Samoans for their non-Christian origins and theological leanings. Seventh-Day-Adventists (SDA) believe that when one dies, they sleep until the second coming of Christ. My husband, an SDA Pastor's son, tries to correct me whenever I speak of talking to ancestors. He believes that one cannot speak to ancestors because they are sleeping and while sleeping, they [our ancestor] cannot talk in any shape or form to anyone, particularly to anyone living in our world. Modern Samoa seems to have relegated the dream

dialogues of moe manatunatu to the margins of our spiritual being. However, funnily, this idea of talking with our ancetors, even while awake, will surface within our Samoanness every now and again, in instances, for example, like when my mother, a staunch Christian reprimands out loud her ancestors for interfering with her television connection at home. We would hear her say to the fuzzy television screen, albeit under her breath, "That's enough, tell them to go away."

Spirituality in the Vā

You discussed earlier your upbringing in a deeply religious, Seventh Day Adventist family and you are also a profoundly spiritual person. In what ways have these understandings supported your awareness of the vā between Māori and Pacific peoples?

I see spirituality in all living things. There is a spiritual relationship between human beings and animals, between humans and the environment, the land, the trees, the sea, the sky, the earth, everything. There is a spiritual relationship between peoples, between Samoans and Māori, tauiwi and tangata whenua. Tui Atua writes about a Samoan Indigenous Reference. He describes it as that which belongs to Samoans since time immemorial. That is, those values, philosophical principles, practices, protocols, rituals that were passed through generations, that are carried within our language terms, our cultural rituals, our identity frameworks, in our Samoanness; those things where a whakapapa or genealogical kin connection (physical and metaphysical) can be traced. He speaks of the pre-Christian gods of Samoa. He argues that in the mau, or beliefs of early Samoans their God Tagaloaalelagi was a progenitor God, not a creator God. There was genealogical propinquity between God Tagaloaalelagi and human beings, and between God and animals, the environment, and all things. This not only gave humans divinity but also animals, the environment and so on. It also meant that humans, animals, the environment were/are our kin. This kinship relationship thesis underscores Tui Atua's Samoan philosophy of ancient Samoan life, it informs his Samoan Indigenous Reference. It is a philosophy, spirituality and theology that resonates strongly with me and underscores my respect protocols and values, such as those within my interpretation of the va fealoaloa'i. It is a spirituality that has shaped and shapes my interactions with tangata whenua and mana whenua in Aotearoa and beyond.

Spirituality is also a way of being and knowing in the world that embraces spiritual encounters as normal and core to being human. It's a phenomenon that is centred around balance, around the idea that there is

balance in everything. In my Samoan reference this balance is expressed in the words agatonu (right values) and lagimalie (harmony in the heavens). In Māori I believe it is also found in the words tika and pono. When that tika or pono balance is upset, it is important to find ways to restore it, to achieve restoration. By compartmentalising our spirituality so that we feel we ought to only see or express our spirituality in particular compartmentalised ways, by going to church only on Sundays, for example, or by praying out loud at certain times of the day, we can forget as Samoans that in our Samoanness we carry our spirituality it is in our DNA, our bones, in our divinity as the progeny of Tagaloaalelagi

Contemporary Restrictions on Māori–Pacific Vā

What tensions are imposed on us [Māori and Pacific people] through contemporary society?

Modern notions of progress are notions that have individualised knowledge and separated our spiritual, itulagi, if you like, from our social, mental, physical itulagi. This creates tension, significant tensions. We need more holistic models of self, of society, economy, spirituality, learning, teaching, and so on and so forth, that allow us to know and honour all our itulagi, to know, feel, practice them all as a whole, not having to stifle or chose one over the other. Again, the principle of balance must apply here. Actively balancing our contexts so that our whole selves are respected by the collective, the family, within society, within our various worlds – even by ourselves – we need to be able to have time and space to do that nurturing and honouring, throughout our everyday lives.

Human rights discourses privilege the individual and the notion of rights. But the individual does not come into being on its own, it exists because of and alongside others (human and non-human). These rights are lived and made meaningful because of the existence of others. This understanding places those rights in a context where they cannot exist without corresponding responsibilities, without an idea of being in relation. A key tension today is understanding how best to balance our individual and collective rights, relationships, and responsibilities. This is a challenge for modern Polynesian contexts, for us as Māori and Samoans, to know how to do this in our Māori-ness or Samoanness.

The compartmentalisation of the spiritual I spoke of earlier was considered necessary by those Western countries who sought democratic rule, rule ‘by the people for the people,’ a rule away from the despotic rule by representatives of the divine (of monarchs, clergy, and aristocrats). Secular government and western

ideas of citizenship now privilege in the modern world and normalise as core to universal models for suffrage, political autonomy, government and nationhood, these notions of liberal democracy. Concepts assumed within understandings of modern-day citizenship in Aotearoa reflect this political genealogy. These notions of democracy are informed by the idea of a social contract between people as individuals, and their elected government. They are implicit in Westminster styled systems of government, a style that has a British whakapapa. They frame contemporary relationships between the British Crown and her Parliaments, and between the Crown and Governments in the Commonwealth, of which Samoa and Aotearoa New Zealand are a part. The place of Indigenous peoples in this commonwealth is complicated, each commonwealth country has their own historical and contemporary relationship to British colonialism. When Samoans came to live and settle in Aotearoa New Zealand, we brought with us our own histories of European colonialism. Open opportunities to share and learn of these Indigenous colonial histories that come with migrants to Aotearoa were and are, however, not (understandably) encouraged by New Zealand immigration or education officials. Where one is ignorant or unaware of these other colonial histories tensions can arise. Educating ourselves about different Indigenous histories of colonisation (formally or informally, through a vā fealoaloa'i respectful relationship-based approach) is critical to achieving societal harmony.

This kind of holistic relationship-based education requires leadership willing to acknowledge lack of knowledge and willing to do something about it. Empowering inter-cultural understanding of what is tika and pono, agatonu and lagimalie, just and ethical, takes patience and humility. Now that might sound idealistic or Pollyanna-ish, you know, but you've got to have some way of talking about how you would come together, and leadership is more often than not about inspiring workable strategies for coming together, for achieving compromises that allow integrities to stay intact while achieving clear societal objectives.

Seeking Balance

You have spoken about our responsibility to the earth, our environment and how that might lead us to consider how leadership holds responsibilities to the individual and the collective. Are there other ways you think we could consider our attitudes to the life we lead in the 21st century?

There is a human need for certainty. A need to be able to point to something concrete and know that it exists, that you can touch it, that you can depend on it, that it has certainty of meaning and value. What we often do not consider is the price we pay for certainty. There is an illusory aspect to that certainty that when probed can be revealed. Artists and philosophers know this illusion well. However, there is certainty in the laws of nature, of physics and gravity. This is proven every time we throw something up and it comes down. The certainty of mathematics is evidenced in the many creative wonders of technology. But as Reverend Dr. Vaai has said, there are many sides to the itulagi of certainty. Philosophers have pointed persuasively to the fact that a lot of what is real to us as human beings is subjective and felt and this serves as both a strength and a vulnerability. The challenge for Indigenous leaders in the contemporary moment is how to hold onto the wisdom of our Indigenous truths amidst human desires to control time and space.

For many Samoans, culturally, we won't talk about or challenge certain cultural 'certainties,' such as 'the faasamoa;' we won't probe why particular faasamoa rituals or practices, said to be part of the faasamoa, are so or considered appropriately so or not. To challenge or question them is often met with stern reprimand, suggested to be a display of disrespect, of breaching the vā. Open questioning as a mode for ascertaining certainty or truth of practice, for affirming the appropriate application of foundational principles, their contextual relevance, is not a culturally appropriate thing to do in some settings, seen or interpreted as an affront to authority. But here authority is imagined as something closed to probing full-stop or unless probed in particular ways, ways that meet cultural understandings of tika and pono, agatonu and lagimalie, right or just. This raises questions about how Māori and Samoans in the contemporary space create certainties and balance that do not ironically subject them to the very colonial hegemonies they may be seeking to resist.

Leadership is different to authority. It is about inspiration. Inspiring open critique of vā-based relationships requires space to probe what the vā is. This is not easy for cultures where spaces for open critique is not part of their structural norm. What intrigues me in my study of the Indigenous in the contemporary moment is the epistemological tug-of-war that occurs when we question or probe these so-called norms. For example, there are so many answers that may not need explicit explanation among people who share common epistemological reference points. But in mixed audiences we are compelled to voice what is often left implicit or unsaid. Let's take the ancient Samoan practice of the ifoga, for example. Modern leaders

today involved in the Samoan ifoga are challenged not only by shifting attitudes to ancient or traditional Indigenous ideas or practices of the ifoga within Samoan society, especially with regards to punishment, but also of the need to spell out to people outside of Samoan society, who do not understand or believe in a Samoan Indigenous Reference or may not been exposed to any Indigenous Reference for that matter, what the ifoga is, what it constitutes, why it is relevant to hold onto in modern justice contexts, its points of difference to other restorative justice initiatives, etc., etc. The pressure to explain, and to explain now, to a disbelieving public, is always on, and can be very exhausting and tense. In modern-day contexts the pressure lies in the fact that more of us, even Samoans, have developed an unconscious bias towards ancient or Indigenous epistemological ideas of justice. When the philosophical principles behind the ifoga is probed these biases surface. The probing becomes in and of itself too confronting.

In theory the Samoan ifoga ritual seeks to restore the relational balance between those who offended and those who were victims of the offence. The victims and the offenders are not just those who were directly involved in the offence but also their support people, family members, and family leaders. The ifoga seeks to restore balance by bringing remorse and forgiveness together, by seeking remorse and forgiveness from the collective as well as the individual. The aim of the ifoga is to restore balance between the parties, noting that this happens individually and collectively, and directly between offenders and victims, rather than through third party intermediaries. It assumes close bonding between both sides. In the ancient Samoan ifoga, victims had the right to refuse forgiveness, to make the ifoga party suffer, and that suffering was accepted to be part of achieving the right punishment. The victims were the law, the judge and jury, in terms of how and when the scales of justice would find balance. Māori, I understand, have a similar concept/practice, utu. The same Indigenous paradigm of restoring balance when humans cause wrong against other humans can also apply when humans cause wrongs against the environment – both are considered kin – and restoring balance, gaining justice, is something that is to be sorted as kin.

Potentiality

Citizenship

Tamasailau, you have mentioned in our previous conversations the notion of citizenship. What are your thoughts about citizenship? How might an Indigenous Reference enrich New Zealand citizenship and benefit Māori?

Citizenship is a very loaded word because the concept is today largely defined by the state. The state is one of those institutions that Pacific Island countries, including Aotearoa New Zealand, had imposed on them by colonial governments. Citizenship exists within the context of the modern nation state. I wonder what might be a Samoan or Māori equivalent of citizenship [Sailau ponders]?

I think of our shared Māori and Samoan understandings around whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, kotahitanga, around vā fealoaloa'i, sa'ili malo, faasinomaga, around notions of stewardship, custodianship, our collective ethics of care, notions of accountability, punishment, destiny, identity, and heritage. Our Indigenous perspectives on all of these concepts would be embedded in what I would consider an Indigenous rendering of citizenship, but perhaps it's more that they ought to be included in what is an Aotearoa New Zealand understanding of citizenship. We have the opportunity to shape and influence our imaginings of citizenship as a country. By including tangata whenua and tauiwi concepts of citizenship we have the chance to a citizenship that works for us, is defined by us, as a country, acknowledging Te Tiriti o Waitangi and it's foundational principles, acknowledging the plurality of our experiences and identities as people of Aotearoa New Zealand, acknowledging our multicultural-ness as a nation, embodying all of this and the many ways we do this in our definitions of citizenship in Aotearoa. Today citizenship is multifarious and multi-levelled. There is local, national, regional, international, and global citizenship. Today they intersect and inform each other. But all, I feel, have not yet properly engaged with Indigenous ideas and practices of citizenship.

As a Samoan living in Aotearoa-New Zealand, I believe citizenship is ultimately about being in search of that tika and pono balance between the values and tikanga of tangata whenua, mana whenua and tauiwi. This is what I see to be the fundamental promise of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This may be seen as an attempt to 'Indigenise' citizenship. Perhaps so. But it would only be so because current understandings of citizenship

have excluded tikanga or te ao Māori values and paradigms of governance from being operationalised on the ground, in policy, in our governing structures and systems in schools, universities, boardrooms, sports-fields, and so on and so forth. In this kind of pluralistic citizenship for Aotearoa there is opportunity to honour indigeneity, and do multiculturalism and diversity differently, to celebrate rather than oppose differences, to find common ground beginning from building better understanding of our difference cultural entry points into the nuances of tika relationships

Politics Informed by Cultural-Ethics

What examples from your life have provided a pluralistic view or a "multiplicity of hats" that could support a reciprocal relational politics between Māori and Pacific people, specifically Samoans?

Samoans practise politics and cultural ethics wearing multiple hats all the time. We can see this for example through the matai [chiefly] system. There isn't just one type of matai. You are an heir to all the family lineages of your parents and their parents and their parents—that means that you can have multiple matai titles, carry multiple lineages and identities. A person can be bestowed multiple matai titles because families from all these different lineages could bestow one on you. My father has three different matai titles from three different families. So, depending on context, he would have to think, which of these titles or roles is appropriate to use? Am I representing this family or that family or all in this moment? As Samoans growing up in New Zealand, we ask ourselves; in this space, in this event, are we tuakana or are we teina? Are we professor or student? Whanaunga or tauiwi? You know?

We know that there is a history that connects us as Polynesians prior to the Europeans arriving here in Aotearoa. As Samoans growing up in New Zealand, we might ask ourselves; in this space, in this event, what are our roles, what hats do we wear, and what is appropriate to acknowledge at this time? Important to this process is understanding our links, our ties, our relationships, and connections to all these sides of ourselves.

I've been blessed with the opportunity to learn gain some of this knowledge from my families, from some of our leading Samoan cultural custodians, from tangata whenua, Pakeha university colleagues and friends, students and more. I have lived in Aotearoa New Zealand for most of my life, in that time I have learned to

blend my Samoanness and Kiwiness so that they find strength in what they share in common and what they see differently. A reciprocal relational politics for me draws on the strength of our various blends.

Talking More

How might you begin these much-needed conversations between Māori and Pacific people?

By building on-the-ground, kanohi ki te kanohi, vā-honouring relationships. By setting up safe sites or spaces for open critical conversations that bring to the fore ideas such as citizenship from an Indigenous perspective or citizenship that honours indigeneity. If we don't, we risk having no conversations or conversations that don't go anywhere, both equally problematic.

Why must we take such an approach?

All cultures and cultural systems have their strengths and their faults. It is important to take the time to observe and analyse things in context. Life is messy, right, so you have got to work out the how, why, and where things work. There is always an internal logic to why, how, and where we do things. Our histories and genealogies are full of them and drawing on them can help shape us moving forward. This is the kind of pluralistic, culturally honouring, type of Aotearoa New Zealand society I would like to contribute to.

In my view, you can't relate or speak about any other people or any other culture unless you can relate to your own first. If you desire is to speak about things Samoan, if that is what you want to do in your work, then you have to be able to relate to Samoan people, Samoan ideas, Samoan things. The same with Māori. And if you want to work across or between Māori and Samoan spaces, the same principle applies. You have to embed yourself in the tikanga of both cultures. This 'relating' is reciprocal, relational, and not restricted by time or space. Much of this 'relating,' this knowledge of vā, starts in the family. For me, that is where the real soul of the vā lies. It is in those first intimate spaces where we first family that we learn our principles for relating, for showing alofa, aroha, love, compassion and belonging.

Chapter 11: Reading the Vā

Introduction

Chapters 6 to 10 curate and present the talanoa of the Tūmoana as pūrākau. In this chapter I present a reading of the vā, the point of which is to foreground daily practices of the Tūmoana that exemplify intersections of cultural-ethics and politics in the vā. In Chapter 4: Methodology, I express that the pūrākau are meant to engage multiple readings. The reading of the vā is an example of how to think about the pūrākau of the Tūmoana. To read the vā, I use the five theoretical lenses from the long-standing relationship between Pōmare and Ta'isi identified in the Introduction and commented on in Chapters 2 and 3 and outlined in the Methodology. These theoretical lenses are 1) ontological orientation, 2) cultural and ethical responsibility to the Other, 3) decolonising agenda, 4) commitment to critique and challenge, 5) relationships which transcend time and space. While I present these readings as subsections, they are not exclusive, often overlap and are interrelated. I do not consider that what follows is a definitive list of lessons provided by the Tūmoana to educators about how to engage in long-standing relationships with Māori; instead, I view them as instances to interrogate one's own relationships and, as Moana Jackson would say, take some time to "think it right."

Ontological Orientation

To consider the notion of ontological orientation, I return to Wilson (2008) and Tui Atua (2007, 2009). They remind scholars and practitioners that Indigenous ontological beliefs are premised on relationality and a responsibility to the other underpinned by a unity-that-is-all (Wendt, 1996). Integral to this ontological stance is that our relationships have multiple realities, conducive to a multiplicity of time and space (Refiti, 2015, 2017).

Rae's pūrākau tells stories about the curation of Māori fishhooks. In Rae's account the fishhooks are demonstrations of material artefacts that connect Māori and Pacific peoples across time and space. Her story explains that to know more about Māori artefacts we must look to the original Pacific artefacts. The hooks are a catalogue for understanding the layers of whakapapa that exist between Māori and Moana peoples, our shared genealogical connection. Each pause and pulse across the Pacific, each adaptation to new moana and whenua (water and land) is evidenced in the technology and materials used in the making

of the hook. Each difference in the hook represents an epistemological template, a shift in thinking, a nuance in cultural difference that is explained through derivatives in narrative, prominence in atua/deity and the functions of language. The hooks are prima facie evidence of a shared yet varied whakapapa.

Fishhooks are an integral artefact featured in numerous narratives across Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa. The hooks have a whakapapa of their own, in their acquisition and manufacture. In Rae's ontological orientation she understands that the hooks from the Pacific collection function as a repository of ancestral knowledge, not as simply inanimate objects. Each is filled with its own mana; its design, the use of materials, its specific purpose—each of those processes is imbued with intent, synthesising the mana and mauri/life force of the object and the user. Rae's idea explains that the vā Māori and Pacific peoples share straddles Te Moananui-ā-Kiwa, time and space. She encourages us to talanoa more with others from the moana, seeking connections and noticing the differences so we might better come to know ourselves.

My research suggests that in a unity-that-is-all, proposed by Wendt (1996), each and all of us have the capacity to bring about harmony, order, or balance in our relationships with others. As different as each of the Tūmoana are, in reading the vā they all describe their beliefs about who they are in the world and allow us, scholars and practitioners, to appreciate the importance they place on knowing their origins. Whakapapa exercises knowledge as an epistemological template to explain how we know what is real (G. H. Smith, 2000). Rae explains how knowing her whakapapa is important to her understanding of place in the world: "Our parents brought us up to value both worlds, Māori, and Fijian. They always acknowledged that we whakapapa to somewhere." Similarly, Lili has designs for her children to know their whakapapa comprehensively, as she knows her own: "They must be able to stand up here in Aotearoa, as tangata whenua and as tagata o le moana and say their whakapapa." Tafa spends longer making those connections to her whakapapa and speaks about the necessity of whanaungatanga as: "the glue that sustains authentic relationships," as a guide for living her life. Tamasailau realises the connection to something wider and bigger than the individual, that whakapapa connects you to the past and reaches out into the future. Maima describes how being family with someone changes your priorities. The Tūmoana understanding of what it means to be a part of a collective, part of something bigger than their individual needs and desires, is foundational to their identity. They seek knowledge of their origins and in doing so unravel the relations that place them in space, in this world.

The Tūmoana understand what it means to be a part of a collective. Each of the Tūmoana receives lessons in how to move in the world from family, family-like communities and Māori who have become family. Tamasailau, in her sheltered Samoan-ness, comes to know how to be in the world through the teachings of her family. Ranginui Walker once famously wrote that being Polynesian means that everyone is your aunty and uncle. Tamasailau understands that who [she has] been able to become and the learnings that were afforded to [her] were a preparation from her family about her place in this world. Tamasailau carries her whakapapa/genealogy in her name, "Tamasailau, carries an account in the history of the 'aiga Sā Fuimaono about two sisters prominent in their history." Naming in Polynesian tradition ensured genealogies and stories were passed on through the generations. Rae's community of Māwai Hakona provide her a conduit to te ao Māori and an education that her father and mother prepared for her. Lili received messages about how to be in the world from her parents and the Methodist community to which her family were integral. Maima's experience of living in Tokoroa, a true diaspora of the Pacific, is one that has connected her to the fabric of rural, sporting, Māori, and Pacific, Aotearoa-New Zealand. The Tūmoana understand profoundly, albeit idealised, what it means to part of a collective that moves on in perpetuity.

Maima sees her New Zealand-born status as a multiplicity of identity. These identities connect her to both time and place (space). Her comprehension of the dichotomy of being in two spaces at once is the result of multiple vā at work, negotiating concurrently. Iosefo (2016) agrees that negotiation of the vā is characterised by struggle and disruption. Lilomaiava-Doktor's (2009) discussion about place of origin being firmly rooted in Samoan identity comes to life in the pūrākau of Maima: "Aotearoa is my home, but I feel Samoa in my bones." Through her understanding of respect woven into the vā, Maima explains that she will always be manuhiri and will be questioned about her 'Samoan-ness' in Samoa (Anae, 2010; Tiatia, 2003). This ongoing negotiation of the vā is a constant tension in her place here (Aotearoa-New Zealand) and a space there (Samoa). Tafa similarly tells how her negotiation of self, assisted her in developing an in-depth knowledge about her place in the world. She came to understand the importance of knowing who she was and honouring that genealogy, instead of taking on board an identity that was not her own. In doing this, Tafa realised her own potential as a Samoan and as a Scotswoman, as an Afakasi.

There is an intentionality in the way Tūmoana discuss their identity. They make links to cultural-ethical origins that bring them into a whakapapa with Māori and structure the vā as a relationship-in-space. The

Tūmoana go on to make wider connections to the teachings and learnings they have received about how to be part of a collective. This orientates them again to an awareness of a relational ontology inherent in an Indigenous Reference. Knowledge of cultural identities is seen by the Tūmoana as a strength in daily interactions with Māori. The pūrākau inform us about the identity formation and status of the Tūmoana. We can also appreciate Fa'avae's (2018) awareness that self-identity is constructed in relation to others, in negotiating similarities and difference through the examples of the Tūmoana. We have come to know in the reading of the vā that the Tūmoana identities are both traditional and diasporic in origin and have been (in Aotearoa-New Zealand) fashioned through the process of migration. Identity and consequent understanding by Tūmoana of the roles and responsibilities contained within these identities raise wonderings about Māori–Moana relations on a larger political relationship scale.

Cultural and Ethical Responsibility to the Other.

Conscientisation occurs in the vā. I read for parts of the vā to call the Tūmoana into a relationship with Māori, whether through proximity, education or acts of kindness. Inevitably this has evoked in the Tūmoana a desire to protect and nurture the vā for and with Māori. The Tūmoana talanoa about various moments that conscientise them to the lived reality for iwi Māori. Maima explains how when she was married to a wahine Māori this provided her with a new hybrid identity, a Samoan and whānau Māori. Being married to Māori orientated her world to Māori issues that become part of her daily discourse, no longer the responsibility of others. Maima realised her responsibility to slip into the role required to support her spouse at family functions. "Each of us knows our place, what we can do for each other in a cultural sense." Maima leans on the lessons she has learnt through her own family vā and is able to apply her fa'a Samoa knowledge to Māori situations; her attention to the attitudes discussed in Chapter 2 such as alofa, tautua and fa'aaloalo were noticed and appreciated at whānau Māori occasions and reciprocated in kind.

Relational responsibility is understood by the Tūmoana as being "10 toes deep." Not only the practice of "turning up" daily but also "being in it for life." Tūmoana did not just magically snap their fingers and become uncompromising in their attitudes or unwavering in their commitment to Māori. Instead, this has come from years of being present, not leaving that responsibility to others and often being confronted for their beliefs. These are the trenches of the vā, the grind. Defence of the grind is a critical hallmark of what it means to engender love in an ethical and agentic way necessary for productive Māori–Moana relations.

Being in the trenches with Māori requires a "cherishing of the relationship;" Wendt (1996) describes this as teu le vā. To cherish this relationship, the Tūmoana have invested in an empathetic apprenticeship, they have engaged, like Jones (2012) suggests, with iwi Māori and developed a critical consciousness about the lives of Māori.

Tūmoana voiced their awareness of daily attitudes. They spoke often of aroha, mana, manaaki, tautua and fa'aaloalo as attitudes that guide their actions and initiate small acts of kindness. Rae reminds us about the reciprocity of love through the Samoan whakataukī *alofa atu nei alofa mai taeao*—give love today, receive love tomorrow. Rae embodies the idea of love in her own pedagogical practice in the classroom and the students respond in like. The Tūmoana do not require receipt of the love they give in their relationships with Māori. They recognise that what is given is received in the ebb and flow of time and space. It is the small acts of kindness that embody the attitudes the Tūmoana identify. Tafa's anointing by Matua Brian expresses the aroha she has for things Māori. Matua Brian's act gave Tafa the permission she was seeking to move in Māori spaces. His love for her healed her heart to do the work that was required at that time and to validate her own identity.

Onasa'i/patience, tautua/service, fa'aaloalo/respect—these attitudes are recognisable in all the actions of the Tūmoana. They are also the hallmarks of the leadership styles they have cultivated for themselves. For the Tūmoana, tautua is an element that acknowledges the concept of teu le vā. It is in service that Polynesian peoples honour their obligations and is a well-known step to leadership, *O le ala i le pule, o le tautua*—the way to leadership is through service. Tafa's realisation of tautua comes late in life when she embraces her role as a Samoan daughter. Lili and Tamasailau serve as Samoan daughters and then in different ways serve iwi Māori, Lilli through challenging Pacific peoples to seek, develop or strengthen their own connection to Māori. For Tamasailau it's daily in her manifestation of te reo in her philosophical and theoretical work.

The Tūmoana identify other actions of service that happen in small ways, such as leading karakia, visiting the aunties in your workplace, and always acknowledging mana whenua. These are acts of service, centring te ao Māori. Not break-your-back service but sustainable change, embedded in the workplace, visible to colleagues and students, extending to and from their homes. This is service even when the lights are out. Rae notices a tension in the level of service that Māori–Moana peoples tend to engage in with each other

in education spaces. She comments that the service to others never ends. We will never turn away Māori and Pacific students, “For me, I have been taught to prioritise the collective and people.”

Mana and manaaki feature as attitudes that the Tūmoana possess. Each has a divine mana: innate, inherited, and procured through industry. This is extended to Tūmoana when they move in Māori spaces as it reflects the work they have engaged in with and for Māori. Tafa’s mana grows when she comes to the realisation that we are often called to the work. We don’t always get to choose the choose the best job instead the work chooses you. Maima has her mana elevated when she is called on by a rangatira/chief to close proceedings; this act positioned Maima as noa, ordinary, more Māori than not Māori. Rae elevates the mana of others in her work, seeking space to include Māori lecturers so they can expose their Māori world views to practising and emerging teachers. Tamasailau elevates the mana of Māori concepts in her thinking and deliberate actions to find academic spaces where present conversations are open to our ancestors. Lili uses her mana to make decisions that will have impact in the years to come, not just the space we are in now but a consideration of the place we would like our Māori and Pacific students, teachers, families, and friends to be in the future.

Decolonising Agenda

Being in spaces with Māori provides intimate exposure to various experiences. Concentric circles of knowing are identified and acknowledged by Māori and felt by the Tūmoana, perhaps as encouragement but possibly, more intimately, as acceptance. Consequently, all the Tūmoana have a definitive and steadfast understanding of the importance of tangata whenua. Again, and again the Tūmoana negotiate their own experience with Māori using this knowledge as a reference point. Airini et al. (2010) sheds light on this relationship by questioning what the space is for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Tangata whenua have a certainty about their belonging on this whenua/land and the Tūmoana explain how they can identify their interactions at and with this boundary as a guideline in their commitment to Māori.

Terms such as tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti are used by the Tūmoana. Each is based on the discourse of te Tiriti o Waitangi. Rae explains that many Pacific peoples understand the binary of Māori–Crown in this relationship but struggle to position themselves with the Crown due to the harm they have experienced in their home nations due to unwanted colonial intervention (Teaiwa & Mallon, 2005). Tūmoana acknowledge Māori are tangata whenua of Aotearoa-New Zealand and that Māori identity has been

constructed with some certainty about social and political designations. Politically, Māori are engaged in a struggle without end for sovereignty in a colonially constructed homeland: “Ka whawhai tonu mātou.” Socially, to identify as Māori connects you to this land, a collective of people, language, customs, and traditions that provide guidance in how to be in this world.

The Tūmoana framed their reference to Aotearoa and tangata whenua in many ways. The terms they used detailed the evolution for the Tūmoana in the growth of their commitment to Māori. The same terms/names that acknowledge essentialist views are also the concepts that breathe life and connection into the political identities and relationships of Pacific peoples here in Aotearoa. For instance, the Tūmoana spoke of themselves in binary terms to Māori, as manuhiri, guests in Aotearoa. This discourse shows a reverence for the place of Māori as tangata whenua and an assurance in their own role, in support of Māori. Maima tells us “I will always be manuhiri. I could never think about calling myself tangata whenua. That would be an insult to mana whenua...How would Māori feel to hear that?” The confident use of manuhiri and tangata whenua by the Tūmoana emphasised a profound perception of the complex meanings that each description conveys.

An incongruity emerges in the binary that exists politically between the two concepts: manuhiri and tangata whenua. Perpetual manuhiri/guest or tangata whenua/person of the land. Such insight, of political identities might over time encourage reduced commitment to tangata whenua as levels of responsibility wax and wane. Yet the discourse of manuhiri–tangata whenua encourages an ongoing relationship and responsibility to the other. As tangata whenua, manaaki/care and nurture guide all interactions. The political binary of tangata whenua–manuhiri keeps each entity separate. However, the notion of manuhiri in te ao Māori is one that, through the process of pōwhiri/welcoming ceremony, subsumes manuhiri as tangata whenua. Rae acknowledges the act of hongi/pressing noses at pōwhiri as a means of two people sharing breath and becoming one. In this exchange, the tapu/sacred is lifted and the manuhiri becomes noa/ordinary, one with the tangata whenua. Rae wonders in what ways the tapu can be lifted from Pacific people to remove the mantle of manuhiri and become ordinary to Māori.

This curiosity of Rae’s is shared by Lili and Maima, who, even affirming the fact they are manuhiri, wonder about what a different political relationship might engender. Perhaps a relationship that acknowledges the whakapapa between Māori and Moana peoples in a lore and law exchange. In opposition to this curiosity

of Rae's is the contingent commitment that Tūmoana feel to their homeland, their resolute connection to their place in the Moana. The label manuhiri is meaningful for Pacific peoples in that as a guest it allows a release from ongoing obligations in Aotearoa-New Zealand to tend to family and villages in the islands of their ancestors.

The Tūmoana consider the status of manuhiri to be on a political spectrum. Manuhiri status allows a flexibility for the Tūmoana to be respectful to the sovereignty of Māori, their ancient whānau. Being manuhiri permits receiving manaaki from Māori that is reciprocated by the Tūmoana in their relationships with Māori as spouse, whānau, friend, confidant, and colleague. Being manuhiri positions Tūmoana alongside the Crown, which causes tension for Pacific peoples who have suffered similarly to iwi Māori in colonial systems, such as sites of education. Daily, the Tūmoana negotiate their acknowledgement of what it means to be manuhiri. Lili sums this up in her comment about Māori as the homeowners of Aotearoa, and the need to "always think about the type of respect you would use in someone else's home." This requires daily attention. The obligations of manuhiri were established through the pūrākau by the Tūmoana; they were defined through attitudes of deep respect for and celebration with tangata whenua. To be manuhiri and appreciate tangata whenua requires ongoing negotiation, aroha/alofa/love, and responsibility to the Other.

Negotiation of temporal space in the vā entertains the notion of a heightened awareness of power and privilege. This includes cultural-ethics and politics, such as the roles and responsibilities of the Tūmoana in tuakana–teina and feagaiga relationships with Māori. More specifically I read the vā and hear the frustration Tūmoana have in negotiating temporal space at sites of education. An ongoing search to bridge, break and eliminate colonial spaces in education. A dividend from the constant frustration of engaging in these ongoing issues has built, in the Tūmoana, a realisation of their personal agency which they channel in their own contexts to disrupt and challenge colonial education spaces.

Rae explains how her work at the university is a 'constant negotiation' to hold space and make Māori visible. She has found the demands of the academic world do not align with the cultural responsibilities of Māori and Moana peoples. For Rae, the responsibility to the Other outweighs the structures of the system. When she is called upon by Māori and Pacific people she turns up. Generally, this means that Rae puts the Other ahead of her own advancement in the academic system. Rae realises that without Māori and Pacific

academics who know research and use Indigenous methodologies, she wonders who will supervise students in developing their cultural-ethical understandings.

Rae has been buoyed in her work by the recent appointment of the PVCs Māori and Pacific to the university. She recognises that Polynesian peoples and iwi Māori must work for each other, passionate and committed to outcomes for each other. *"*We need to look out for each other. We are the same whānau." To do this, Rae reminds us we must have a heart for one another. Universities are colonial spaces that we must work in and around to benefit Māori and Moana peoples. To follow Rae's line of thinking, we (Māori–Moana peoples) must come to positions or even understandings of how the system works. There is a power and employment of agency when we are at the table making decisions and/or know how these decisions will be made. Walker (2004) and Rae believe that if we can negotiate for each other, we can come to use our agency to push the boundaries to ensure space for the voice of mana whenua/those with authority over their land first and then Moana and Pacific people.

Rae seeks ways to manipulate current boundaries while Maima calls for new spaces to define boundaries. In anticipation of the work that will come from the offices of the PVCs Māori and Pacific, Maima is seeking some different spaces. Her hope is that those in these positions have the foresight to create spaces to dialogue about issues that better support one another, each other and allow challenges to the current structures. Maima's suggestion is one that draws the political systems of the university into conversation in a cultural-ethical way. In this proposal, Maima encourages a challenge to the certainty of positions and structures in the system. Her request would mean that the cultural-ethical ceremony inherent in the lives of all Moana peoples would be tested within a political structure. Talanoa and wānanga would become the structures for discussion, negotiation, sense, and decision making—the cultural-ethical guiding the political decision making in the university.

The use of personal agency is a hallmark of how Tūmoana negotiate temporal space for Māori. Similarly, in her work across numerous schools, Tafa develops an uncompromising stance to challenge deficit views about Māori learners. Another unintended consequence for Tafa in the realisation of using her agency was the liberation that came from breaking boundaries, "once you see deficit discourse, you cannot unsee deficit when you go home... you cannot turn your deficit viewer off. Then you have the responsibility to act in ways that realise potential." Breaking boundaries, Tafa style, means that they (the fences) may never be

mended and that what you see on the other side calls you to action. A conscientisation occurs that politicises us to the discourses that control and dominate classrooms, schools, education, and wider society.

Holding space is one way that Maima has negotiated space for Māori. Her refusal to speak for Māori is not a demonstration piece but rather a reverence for the work that must be completed by Māori for Māori. Maima recognises that in her research work she must safeguard a space for Māori scholars. She knows that it is not her role to interpret Māori whakaaro/thought. Well versed in the principles of te Tiriti, Maima uses the principle of partnership to ensure she can hold that space when required: "I'm not saying that I know more than you. I'm saying I don't know about things the way you know about things. I need you to come and look at things with me; we are doing this together."

The idea of working together in a partnership is one that is often discussed in Māori and Pacific spaces. From a Māori perspective, this has been labelled as tuakana–teina. The Tūmoana who talk about being manuhiri in Aotearoa gauge themselves in their work negotiations for and with Māori using this relational framework. Some Tūmoana have gone further to extend that thinking through to feagaiga. The boundaries of these relationships are generally designated by birth and preference notions of mana and, accordingly, power. In Aotearoa-New Zealand, the idea has been that Māori, as tangata whenua, are the tuakana to their Pacific whānau. In the pūrākau of the Tūmoana there lingers a curiosity about who might be tuakana or teina. Much of this new discussion has come from an ongoing remembering from Māori about their origins in the Pacific, in turn calling into question who might be the Elder. These are the new boundaries requiring discussion. Perhaps the model of tuakana–teina does not fit any longer and implies a power dynamic that keeps many Moana peoples separated. Possibly, the relationship that Māori and Pacific people might be seeking in a new political future might be the notion of feagaiga—a covenant of reciprocal support, where the two parties have different designations and responsibilities but aligned outcomes.

The Tūmoana remind us that the political actions of Pacific peoples at the site of education are acts of social justice. Daily they consider what it means to be visible in colonial structures and what negotiations take place to hold space, create space anew, shift boundaries, design new ones and break ones that no longer serve a purpose.

Commitment to Critique and Challenge

There are underlying challenges in the vā pointed to by the Tūmoana in their pūrākau. These challenges are apparent in the thinking and actions the Tūmoana undertake daily to preserve their relationships with Māori. At times, the tension lingers and Tūmoana are curious about ways to grapple with issues to produce productive outcomes from challenging thinking. Māhina (2010) and Refiti (2015) would surely feel a sense of māfana/warmth in reading the pūrākau as they believe there must be struggle to achieve mālie/happiness. Similarly, Tui Atua (2009) agrees that in seeking harmony we must address the things that have pulled us out of balance. The pūrākau offer opportunities for scholars and practitioners to challenge doctrine and dogma that might be working to keep Māori and Moana peoples separated while still seeking ways to better address previous harm through forgiveness and restoration. In the reading of the vā, this thesis provides what G. H. Smith (2012), in his interview with Hoskins and Jones, reminds us are the key elements of Kaupapa Māori—we cannot just have a view of the cultural-ethical without our analysis of the political.

Tamasailau makes some salient arguments about the misalignment of Indigenous and Western thought. She discusses the compartmentalisation of ideas packaged up for public approval which reduces the ability to then recognise that somebody else can co-exist with you from a different point of view. Tamasailau's consideration of the sanitisation of ideas and processes means that when we (Moana peoples) do come to talk about challenging ideas that we can often let our perceptions of right and wrong, even our cultural-ethical selves, obscure the topics at hand. Tamasailau explains that for us to co-exist, we must seek "inspiring workable strategies for coming together, for achieving compromises that allow integrities to stay intact while achieving clear societal objectives." In order sit in the same circle to discuss contentious topics, we must be prepared to compromise to achieve balance.

Furthermore, Tamasailau explains, for scholars and practitioners, how we (Moana peoples) have become insecure in the culture of modernity, separating the individual from the collective and reducing Indigenous beliefs to myth. Tamasailau believes we should seek to restore the relational balance. To do this we must take individual and collective responsibility for wrongs committed. What might that mean for iwi Māori and Pacific peoples? How might we begin to do this? Tamasailau gives a poignant example about how discourse shapes perception with the common term of *human rights*. There is a shared common understanding across cultures, countries, and beliefs about what this means. However, the notion of human

responsibility, the reciprocal human response, is not spoken about or given the same light in the media and is therefore rarely enacted. If we never discuss what these responsibilities are and who or what we might be responsible to or for, then we never practice that responsibility. Tamasailau tells us "the individual does not come into being on its own, it exists because of and alongside others (human and non-human). These rights are lived and made meaningful because of the existence of others." These rights in turn engender an obligation and responsibility to oneself and others. This reciprocity in relationships insists that we remember to keep ideas and actions in balance. As a Samoan woman, Tamasailau understands there are certain roles that are to be played. Equally, as a Samoan woman there are responsibilities that must be acknowledged. In this sense, as extended whānau to Māori; a critique of this balance may face restrictions and challenges that are part of the cyclic process of tā–vā.

Rae challenges us, scholars, and practitioners, to know our history. She believes that "In order to enact a relational past, we must enact our reciprocal present." Rae makes the same connection that Tamasailau does about collective responsibility but considers that our actions are often weighed and judged as individuals. In essence, Rae reminds us to do what Hau'ofa (2000) argues, that is, if we the people of the Moana want to

> gain greater autonomy than we have today and maintain it within the global system, we must in addition to other measures be able to define and construct our pasts and present in our own ways. We cannot continue to rely on others to do it for us because autonomy cannot be attained through dependence. (p. 61)

Rae challenges us (Moana peoples) to think bravely past our immediate whānau, or nu'u/village, to how nations might enact genuine reciprocity. To do this, Rae suggests we must work through our history, to understand the reciprocity that might be required in cross cultural engagements. Rae calls for a criticality in knowing our sociopolitical history. She tells us to listen for voices unheard in the telling of stories, to develop our understanding of the systems that perpetuate colonial structures, and remember the names, spaces, and places of those that have been unfairly treated.

Tafa alerts us to the need for "always doing what it takes." Her uncompromising stance to always challenge deficit views about Māori has become known as being 'Tafaed.' "The realisation that I could permit myself to use my agency and voice to make an accelerated change… was liberating." Tafa noticed that to nurture

the vā required moral-ethical support and obvious positioning with Māori on the issues that matter most to *them*. Tafa suggests that to be able to engage with Māori in ethically responsible ways requires self-awareness. This is emphasised by all the Tūmoana, that a sense of your identity is essential in rolling up your sleeves and attending to the grind of a committed relationship with Māori. Self-awareness allows a conscious criticality of your own discourse. Tafa explains that the intersection of self-awareness and criticality allows us, scholars, and practitioners, to challenge our own discourse/s, administer self-critique and transform educational relationships for the better.

Cross-cultural relationships discussed in the pūrākau at times encounter confrontation. Often this happens internally, as actors negotiate roles and responsibilities, but also externally from their own peers and others. The Tūmoana suggest they have an ethical 'will' that ensures their commitment to Māori. Tafa remembers ongoing tensions and challenges by both peers and family about her support of Māori. She had to defend her position 'with' Māori constantly. Tafa noticed that the arrogance she encountered from her peers was through a lack of real-life experience with Māori and education about Māori issues of sovereignty:

> Many Pacific people I knew did not want to learn about Māori separation from their tūrangawaewae. As a result, they knew nothing of the effects of urbanisation on Māori education, health, and wellbeing. If I am honest, many of my Pacific counterparts did not want to change their views about Māori.

The low expectations Tafa's peers had of iwi Māori were perpetuated by popular media and hegemonic discourse. Often the daily grind for Tūmoana in this cross-cultural relationship requires negotiation of the daily discourse of friends and family.

Critique and challenge are balanced in the vā by forgiveness and restoration. There are numerous ways that the cultural-ethical is enacted in the ritual of forgiveness or restoration. Teu le vā provides a domain to safely engage in acts such as utu/restoration of balance or ifoga/forgiveness that might be required in restoration of the vā.

Enactments of restoration for the Tūmoana are guided by the cultural-ethical understandings they share about relationality. Maima alerts scholars and practitioners to the potential dangers of not acknowledging space and place—the mana whenua/those with authority over their land at your work, home, or community.

Maima believes in acknowledging mana whenua when at work. She realises that, in this exchange, you open the vā for a new chapter or restore the vā if previous relations were undesirable.

Tūmoana see the need for restoration of places where people can come together and seek forgiveness or reprieve. Tafa explains the lesson of ahikā/the home fires in that everyone requires a place to return to, to stoke the fires to teu le vā. Tamasailau is seeking places in the university where students and staff may come together to talanoa challenging issues but under the watchful eye of ancestors, a place to create history and relationship between people and places or spaces. Lili was part of the restoration of mana in her school when the wharenui was shifted from the back of the school to the front. "The wharenui in a place of prominence, a place of equality, that spoke volumes. When our kids walked into the school, they held their heads high, because it was their place." This large act of reconciliation changed the heart of the school.

There were few acts of forgiveness that the Tūmoana dwelt on. Two accentuate the transformative proportions that acts of forgiveness can achieve. The first is the anointing of Tafa by Matua Brian. She credits him with assisting her to clearly see her relationship with Māori after being challenged by mana whenua in the community about not being Māori. Upset Tafa seeks Matua Brian for absolution. Her mental and physical exhaustion from the ongoing battle with the community had taken its toll:

> I will never forget it, [Tafa is crying] like Jesus, he placed a hand on my shoulder. Matua's next words were, "You have a Māori heart." … That single act from that rangatira made me secure in my afakasi status. … That deed of Matua Brian, … validated my identity and embedded Māori at the forefront of my thinking and my heart.

The second act of forgiveness happens to Maima. She claims that the singular most defining moment in her relationship with Māori occurred at Waitangi Treaty Grounds. Politically, Maima has always sided with Māori, but this event changed her irreversibly. At the pōwhiri that day, a local rōpū stood and began to haka to the manuhiri/guests for the conference. Her explanation of the event was that it "touched my soul and pierced my heart." During the haka at the pōwhiri Maima was moved in a profound way. She listened and heard the haka which spoke of whakapapa, historical injustice and trauma experienced by the mana whenua.

> The women were crying as their voices rang out across the marae ātea. You could feel the raw emotion pouring out of them…I could feel the rōpū reaching out to the atua [gods], as they chanted.

> My mind filled with images of rape, abuse, addiction, loss, and desperation experienced by those doing the haka and their tūpuna.

Maima was forever changed by the physical and spiritual reaction she had to that haka and the metaphysical realisation that Aotearoa-New Zealand is whenua Māori/Māori land. Maima's experience is of the cultural-ethical that actualises an awareness to enact a political responsibility for others.

Relationships Which Transcend Time and Space

This research preferences Indigenous knowledge and encourages scholars and practitioners to open themselves to the vā. The Tūmoana learn that it is in places of uncertainty and vulnerability that they can engage in a co-openness of the vā. Refiti (2015, 2017) argues this as living in cyclic time, tā–vā. Relationships with Māori are viewed by the Tūmoana as a reconnection with and extension of ancient whakapapa that positions them powerfully as co-conspirators. Decision making for the Tūmoana is filled with intent they look to the past to assist in decisions for the future. The Tūmoana receive guidance from their ancestors to which they are open, that guide them in the use of lore that impact present and future time/s.

The Tūmoana receive and make decisions that are guided by their relational ontology and their subsequent orientation to a cyclic time continuum. Whakapapa and the cyclic nature of time explain that our ancestors are present with us. Tui Atua (2007, 2009) Māhina (2010) and Kame'eleihiwa (1992) agree that we walk backwards into the future—facing our ancestors. The Tūmoana listen, observe, and reflect on the instances in their lives that defy explanation in a Western paradigm unless perceived as the supernatural. We have come to know, in this study the Tūmoana's co-openness to the vā acknowledges that their ancestors walk alongside them.

What might we learn from the Tūmoana about living and responding to a cyclic time? Tamasailau proposes connection to a cyclic time through a particular perception, a 'Spiritual knowing.' "Spirituality is a way of being and knowing in the world that embraces spiritual encounters as normal and core to being human." Her recognition of family guardians and the ancestral name she carries position Tamasailau to consider family in the past, present, and family yet to come. Lili has a slightly different perception: "you just know." For her, this knowing is an awareness: "I am aware of where I am and who I am with and the roles and

responsibilities I might have to that person at that time." Lili knows that the context of time and space guide the roles and responsibilities and subsequent actions.

How might this strengthen Māori and Pacific relations? Tamasailau calls us to be vulnerable in our relationships and for Indigenous leaders to "hold on to the wisdom of the Indigenous truths amidst human desires to control time and space." The Tūmoana accept there is a fear of uncertainty that punctuates their Moana relations. They are open to this vulnerability in the long-standing relationships they hold with iwi Māori. Maima experiences a vulnerability that emboldens her commitment to iwi Māori, her political stance cemented through an emotive encounter. No amount of reading scholarly material, new articles, or attendance at political rallies had the impact of this igniting of consciousness. Maima's spiritual ignition at Waitangi became a co-openness to the vā, a comprehension beyond the physical that reached Maima at her core: "The result is that you can never go back to unknowing that feeling." When you are shifted by time and space to come to an enlightenment.

Negotiation of the politics of the vā hardly seems the intersection of spirituality and connection to our ancestors. Yet Refiti (2015, 2017) argues that it is in these spaces of opening to cultural-ethical understandings that the Tūmoana can prepare a co-openness to discussion and knowing that might be beyond the written and spoken word, that might be felt more than decided. The co-openness that Refiti suggests opens us to the cyclic nature of time, and to the notion that our ancestors reside in us and with us and are therefore guides in our political decision making in the present, informed by the past to have the desired impact in the future.

Tūmoana are spiritual and religious. They are open to the belief and faith of other entities that impact on and guide their judgements. They consciously seek these moments to support their thinking and have developed their own philosophies about how best these ways of knowing help them in their lives and daily interactions with iwi Māori. The experience that Tamasailau has at Hopuhopu research centre confirms that a wider conversation is required about the presence of ancestors in our intention and attention in contemporary university discourse. However, she points out that such a suggestion, along with numerous others she makes, lacks a formal construct for learning in the Western sense. She makes the case for time, balance, and silence as being constructs that are not epitomised in an Indigenous way in her current workspace and the thinking of those she often engages. Balance, Tamasailau believes, should be sought in

all our actions. Her belief comes from her understanding of whakapapa that connects us to each other, our environment, and the cosmos.

Conclusion

The five theoretical lenses established in the vā between Pōmare and Ta'isi provide space for thought-provoking analysis. Reading of the vā means resisting precise prescriptions in how to interpret acts by the Tūmoana and instead encourages thought about the daily engagements and interactions that characterise the vā between the Tūmoana and Māori. Ontological orientation recognises a unity-that-is-all and presents possibilities that we all, living and non-living, Moana peoples, scholars, and practitioners, have mana that can be transferred and embodied by the Other. We learn from the Tūmoana that their identity is formed through negotiation which culturally-ethically designates roles and responsibilities. A cultural and ethical responsibility to the Other is to be "10 toes deep" every day—to have a desire to protect and nurture the vā, and the ability to teu le vā as constituted within the vā. These acts must be achieved through the attitudes of aroha and fa'aaloalo that must be meted out in their daily grind.

In pursuing a decolonising agenda, Tūmoana negotiate and struggle with and for Māori to seek new space and hold space in colonial constructs, literally and metaphorically. The Tūmoana believe that to fully engage in a commitment to critique and challenge, the balance of forgiveness and restoration must be present. This ensures a cyclic struggle that can be negotiated through prescribed cultural-ethical practices to keep the vā intact. Lastly, relationships that transcend time and space offer opportunities to explore decision making that seeks advice and guidance in a co-openness to our ancestors to inform our present and imagined futures. The Tūmoana seek balance and coherence in the vā through care and nurture, fa'aaloalo, reciprocity, struggle, negotiation, and responsibility to the Other. These values are enacted in the way that the Tūmoana hold space for Māori, respond to challenges, and lead for Māori interests. These final readings of the pūrākau withstand certainty in the Tūmoana responses but rather advocate for the reader to source their own narrative and examine their own vā with Māori.

Chapter 12: Suspending the Vā—Takoha

Five theoretical lenses assisted in presenting a reading of the vā in the last chapter. In this chapter I suspend the vā. As the word *suspend* implies, this is pause in my examination of the vā shared by the Tūmoana and Māori. A suspension is not forever and presumes that, in some similar or perhaps decidedly different way, the vā shared by Māori and Moana peoples will be revisited. In the same manner, the pūrākau themselves remain in a suspended state. They outline a specific time interval for the Tūmoana but encourage sense making from scholars and practitioners in an iterative engagement of time to come.

In the suspension of the vā I outline four aspects. The original contribution this study makes to the field of education and Indigeneity. Considerations for scholars and practitioners who are considering engaging in storytelling practices. Suggested next steps or research openings which I am calling the potential of the vā. Lastly, I position each of the Tūmoana, the co-conspirators in this study, last—to recognise that it is their talanoa, their pūrākau, that are the contributions of this study: a takoha/contribution to assist other educators, scholars, and practitioners. Rae's pūrākau opened the vā for us and it is her takoha that closes this research. I use her work as bookends because she is Māori. It is her voice that was heard first and will be her voice that suspends the vā.

Contributions

In this study I argue that the vā is a site of cultural-ethics and politics that offer opportunities to harness Indigenous ways of knowing and being to better serve Māori and Moana peoples in productive longstanding relationships. I ask of the Tūmoana three questions that assist in talanoa about their committed relationship with Māori in education and society more broadly. I specifically talanoa with educators who identify as Pacific so that the pūrākau provide a resource for scholars and practitioners in education spaces across the Moana. An exploration of literature helps establish some possibilities of the vā and provides a framework to write the pūrākau.

Tūmoana explain that the vā they share with Māori summons in them a responsibility in their relational encounters. Their pūrākau are the heart of this study and offer iterative opportunities to learn about these productive Māori–Moana relations. The theoretical concepts used to read the vā are also blueprints for educators to study their own cross-cultural relations. Their pūrākau encourage others to develop a brave

praxis and their responsibility to the Other. The pūrākau are the main contribution of this study to the fields of education and Indigeneity, but, below, I consider a range of other contributions that this study makes to this space.

The work of exploring the possibilities of a Māori–Moana vā cannot be completed in a thesis format. This study is only one way that we might begin to have more formal conversations about this relationship. Over the duration of this study, I have noticed an increase in academic publications prioritising Moana relations. I am comforted to know that the pūrākau of the Tūmoana will contribute to forming this body of work and provide various entry points for those Pacific peoples coming to examine the vā they share with iwi Māori, specifically in the site of education.

Indigenous storytelling practices are on the rise (Vaioleti, 2013). In the field of research, these practices are a response to the harm inflicted on Indigenous peoples through imperial research paradigms (L. T. Smith, 2012). Such research practices resist imperial impulses by reflecting a relational world view and by demonstrating outcomes for the research participants that align to their beliefs about self-determination for their people. This study contributes to the research pātaka/storehouse that promotes Indigenous storytelling practices as culturally reliable and politically valid for those speaking about their lives.

The practices of talanoa and pūrākau have provided an opportunity to work together: Māori me and the Tūmoana—as co-conspirators. We looked to encourage the idea of co-conspiracy in research—that as co-conspirators there is both some thinking and theorising but also requisite action. We talanoa about their day-to-day actions and represent these as pūrākau, pedagogical narratives for educators and others. In this process I learnt from the ethics of Moana Jackson (see Chapter 4: Methodology), who, from the wisdom of his mokopuna, calls us to take the time to think it right. I took time to listen, but more importantly to hear the heart of the Tūmoana.

Considerations

I have come to learn that *thinking it right* takes time.

As a beginner in talanoa, I required an apprenticeship (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014). It took time and practice to develop confidence and expertise to be more proficient in talanoa. In this aspect I am grateful to my Pacific Pou who challenged me to undertake talanoa and guided me in my attitudes to deliver on the

talanoa. Taking time meant I prioritised the mana of the Tūmoana and their experience over meeting deadlines. Rae explains in her talanoa that Māori and Moana peoples will prioritise the relationship over the perceived rules: "it is innate in us to prioritise people" (R. Si'ilata personal communication, December 12, 2018).

To talanoa requires an attention to attitudes such as fa'aaloalo, tautua and alofa (See Chapter 3: Re-establishing the Vā). As a researcher, I have been required to become more expert at talanoa to engage in a vā with others. Talanoa requires a mindfulness about the energy that you bring to every engagement, face to face, email, text, call or zoom. The mana/prestige and mauri/life force you bring to the vā are also shared with the others and vice versa. Bishop (1996) explains that in doing this type of narrative storying, we must bring our whole self to the exercise. Once you share a vā with others, you have a responsibility to uphold the mana and mauri of others and to teu le vā when required. There is much for a researcher to consider when entering into storytelling research.

The study "sample" is small and produced five pūrākau. I did not intend to write a generalisable study. The selection of five Tūmoana emphasises my purpose of coming to better understand their motivations in their long-standing relationships with Māori, and to share their insights with others. I wanted to be able to think and co-conspire with them. As it transpired, the Tūmoana have strong familial connections to Samoa. I hope that other Pacific peoples will see the wider contribution that this study makes and in turn call for their own pūrākau. A final limitation that presented itself was the lack of opportunity for all the Tūmoana to talanoa directly together. If they had been able to, the Tūmoana together would have problematised issues from their various vantage points. A robust debate might have ensued as they applied deductive reasoning and critical analysis to the questions and problems at hand.

Potentiality of the Vā

Awatere (1982) believed that the 1980s were not ideal for productive Māori–Moana relations. I am of the belief that cultural-ethical and political conditions are now more than favourable to encourage a deeper philosophical conversation between Māori and Moana peoples. Such a conversation might include the acknowledgement of a shared whakapapa in a more formal way. In turn, this formal recognition might embolden new political alliances that deliver on cultural-ethical responsibilities to and for one another. I believe this type of interaction would demonstrate negotiation of the vā and teu le vā as interfaces,

and/which would be both comforting and confronting. I argue that the vā has a critical potential to affect transformation and provide doctrine from Indigenous philosophy that encourages structural, cultural, ecological, and political analysis to inform action in the search for harmony, balance, and order.

Indigenous Reference (see Introduction) requires a collective impetus in the search for harmony. However, as humans, we are cultural, political, social, and spiritual entities who interact with each other and as a result will eventually generate conflict. Tui Atua (2007) speaks of conflicts as transgressions of tuaoi/boundaries and products of disharmony. Suaalii-Sauni (2017) has wondered if critical unpacking of Māori–Pacific relationships has not happened often yet, simply to avoid unintentional offence, disharmony. In leaving the edges blurred around wider Moana relationships, Suaalii-Sauni suggests, we reduce the possibility of infractions and attain more peaceful connections between each other, to remain harmonious. Nevertheless, I argue that it is in the challenge of the unknown spaces of our (Moana) relationships that we must engage, that the critical potential of the vā between Māori and Moana peoples can only be actualised if it is faced. The only way relationships can flourish is through negotiation of challenge and critique of the things that each of us (Moana peoples) might find as certainties. Suaalii-Sauni (2017) explains the angst such an approach might cause her as a Samoan. Attitudes such as fa'aaloalo, tautua, alofa and even tau le vā are promoted as nonconfrontational in fa'a Samoa. Suaalii-Sauni evaluates the certainty of fa'a Samoa attitudes, not in a way to dismiss them but instead to consider these attitudes in ways that mobilise potential.

Takoha

Takoha is a gift or contribution. When Māori give takoha there is an indication whether the gift might be returned sometime in the future. As this chapter is a suspension of the vā, there is an anticipation that others will talanoa again about a Māori–Moana vā. The Tūmoana offer one last summation of their pūrākau as the takoha of this study.

Tamasailau evokes for readers a vā that prioritises responsibility with vulnerability. She embodies a vulnerability as a place of tension in the vā to ensure she continues to enact her responsibility to the other. This responsibility to the other comes from the acute appreciation that her Samoanness is what provides the conduit for her relationships with Māori. Hoskins (2010) argues that the ethical interrogates the political, and vice versa; Tamasailau's pūrākau reveals that her grounding in fa'a Samoa is the cultural ethics that guides her engagement in the political. She understands that societies have built a culture of modernity, and

that modernity prioritises individual subjectivity and scientific explanation, and, consequently, balance has been lost for Indigenous people. In response to the conditions of modernity she seeks to enact a balance of the vā, that centres an Samoan Indigenous Reference as proposed by Tui Atua (2007). Tamasailau recognises that previously Māori had utu, and in Samoa, ifoga; these acts restored balance in the vā between people. The individualism that permeates modern beliefs reduces the collective and has separated us (Moana peoples) from our spirituality. Tamasailau speaks of a spirituality that enables her to acquiesce to te ao wairua/the spirit world as a lived experience in her own life. This openness positions Tamasailau well to appreciate epistemological similarities and differences between Māori and Pacific peoples/Samoans in her work and daily life. To seek balance or mālie/harmony requires a sense of justice implicit in the vā, both ethical, what is right and just, and political, about visibility and representation.

Lili tells us through her pūrākau that we must disrupt the vā to relocate values. Early on, Lili's Samoan-ness provided a level of certainty about being Samoan and being brown. When her certainty and sheltered view of life was disrupted, Lili came to a conscientisation (Freire, 1972) about the politics of being brown in Aotearoa-New Zealand. This new consciousness about the perception and visibility of brown people in society becomes an integral part of her leadership style and daily life. Lili understands that as a principal, the decisions made today impact the lives of those tomorrow. When her mokopuna 'walk backwards into the future with their eyes on their brave tupuna,' they will be called to act in similar ways. Lili believes in a disruption of the vā to ensure we can relocate our values to enact our responsibility to the Other (Māhina, 2010; Refiti, 2015, 2017. She believes a big enough rift in the vā can cause a discursive repositioning (Painting-Davis, 2013) that in turn has the capacity to heal. The moving of the wharenui at Western Springs College was a relocation and prioritisation of values that indelibly changed that community forever. Lili learns that we must act bravely in the small and large decisions in our life to support Māori to bridge the colonial structures that separate us [Moana peoples] from each other or from the majority. She draws on Pacific metaphors in her current work to encourage Pacific peoples to make connections to iwi Māori as their whānau/family and through an empathy for the inequity Māori experience here in Aotearoa-New Zealand, their home.

Holding and sharing space are key themes in Maima's pūrākau. Her identity is shaped by the knowledge of a homeland that is different to her place of birth (Anae, 2010; Tiatia, 2003), which raises questions for her

about her status in Aotearoa-New Zealand. She calls herself manuhiri and would never think of herself as tangata whenua, but she wonders about what other relationship might exist between all Moana peoples. This wondering is amplified in her work at the university where she calls for spaces and places so all Moana peoples might talanoa about the structures they live complicitly within and the perceived certainties of their tuakana–teina status. Hau'ofa (2008) challenges the people of Oceania to navigate their own boundaries, futures, and partnerships. In Maima's academic work, as well as her daily life, her advocacy for Māori is resolute and instilled in her through an emotive encounter, a touching of her wairua/spirit, that politicises and cements her actions with and for Māori. Maima speaks of holding space for Māori in all the work she is called to do and enacts the principle of partnership by encouraging Māori and Moana peoples to look at things together.

Tafa's pūrākau illuminates us with the struggles she has encountered supporting Māori. At the outset, her identity blended with that of mana whenua as she sought things Māori to fill an identity void. Her constant challenge of "not being Samoan, or Palagi or Māori enough" (Mila-Schaaf, 2013) became a hallmark of her early experiences at Teachers College, teaching and in her family. Lessons from Matua Brian inform Tafa's character and assist her to think about the value of whanaungatanga and how service to others plays a part in a bigger cause. From these and other lessons from her prophets, Tafa develops an attention to the attitudes of others, noticing onasa'i/patience and tautua/service as characteristics she wants to embody in her work. Tafa embodies these two notions by realising her own agency to challenge and disrupt education spaces (Freire, 1972). Challenge as service to the wider kaupapa of Indigenising education, and disruption through onasa'i by having the patience to stay engaged in work that potentially takes years for transformation to embed in schools. She speaks about coming to understand and value her afakasi identity which allows her leverage in multiple environments, and a negotiation of self to understand her own place and the space she can affect.

Rae's pūrākau speaks to the reader of numerous intersections of cultural-ethics and politics. She sets the scene and establishes for us her Māori-Fijian identity, a position slightly different to the other Tūmoana. The vā Rae shares with Māori acknowledges her whakapapa Māori as a cornerstone to her identity as tagata o le moana. She brings visibility to the term mana whenua in her pūrākau and associates this with the notion of a whakapapa that calls us into a responsibility to others. Rae speaks of privileging your past to enact

your present (Hau'ofa, 2008) and encourages us to understand that our actions in the present have repercussions in the future, a reciprocity in all our actions. There is a lived experience that Rae brings to negotiating space for Māori and for others to know Māori. She sees the structural impacts of organisations and policy that segregate instead of encouraging learning from, with and about each other. Rae believes that politically there are opportunities for all Moana peoples to come together of their own volition (Hau'ofa, 2008), to address their own agenda and work collectively for productive outcomes for each other.

This study seeks to bring about mutual benefits that encourage respectful risk taking in Māori–Moana relationships that are focused on producing productive outcomes for the benefit of tangata whenua and tagata o le moana. The intercultural dialogue curated through this research are presented in ways to continue to offer critique through rereading and reimagining new ways to care for and nurture the vā between Māori and Moana peoples. Samoan academic, and Tūmoana in this research, Tamasailau Suaalii-Sauni (2017) explains that Māori and Pacific people have yet to formally "develop mutual practical and theoretical insights and interests." (p. 172). In this work, Tūmoana offer observations of daily interactions with Māori in their work and private lives with the intent to engage in an ongoing and productive manner and philosophise with each other more regularly and deeply.

Before we suspend this vā, I propose that the critical potential of the vā offers a reappreciation of cultural-ethics in everyday practices between all Moana peoples. In examining the vā further, we might dissolve boundaries across Indigenous knowledges, postcolonial literature, and intercultural relations (Thaman, 2008). The reading of the vā (Chapter 11) assists us, you and me, Māori–Moana peoples, and scholars and practitioners, to see the efforts of the Tūmoana at a macrolevel and more intimately as ethical face-to-face encounters. I propose that it is the daily attitudes, intentional acts emboldened with love, that hold the most audacious hope for a productive vā for all Moana peoples.

Appendices

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Project title: Ngā Manuhiri, The Visitors

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Researcher Introduction:

Ko Tūmoana te tangata

Ko Tinana te waka

Ko Whangatauatia te maunga

Ko Karirikura te awa

Ko Korou Kore te marae

Ko Ngāti Moroki te hapū

No Te Rarawa ahau

Ko Whetuu Nathan toku ingoa

My name is Whetuu Nathan, and I am currently undertaking Doctoral studies at The University of Auckland. I am writing to invite you to participate in a research project that will be the basis of my doctoral thesis. You are invited to participate in this research because you have been identified by your peers as an exceptional teacher of Pasifika heritage who has fostered productive educational relationships with Māori.

I have worked as a secondary school teacher for over fifteen years in Auckland and have been influenced heavily by my Māori whakapapa and the Pasifika links my children share with Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji. I have also spent time as a policy analyst with the Ministry of Education in Group Māori forwarding Māori educational aspirations.

The aim of my research project is to understand how exceptional individual Pasifika education practitioners have come to value maintaining cross-cultural relationships with Māori communities connected to their education sites. The wider aim of the research is to begin a conversation and develop a new body of knowledge on the role of Pasifika in fostering cross-cultural relationships with Māori in education. This research may not benefit you directly. However, we expect that the stories from this project will provide valuable learning and have the potential to be a rich resource for anyone with an interest in both Pasifika and Māori education.

The study will explore.

- what life experiences have been important for the participants in shaping their awareness of cultural groups different to their own,
- how the participants understand their willingness, based on those life experiences, to engage in cross-cultural relationships with specific reference to Māori,
- how the participants perceive the influence of these life experiences on their profession,
- how the participants define "working bi-culturally/cross-culturally,"
- what they perceive to be the issues, tensions and benefits associated with working bi-culturally/cross-culturally.

I will be analysing the information gathered and reporting on the common themes and issues that emerge. In my analysis I will also be making connections with the wider social, political, and historical context in New Zealand and throughout the Pacific around Māori and Pasifika relations. My research design draws on the Pūrākau and Talanoa methods which have an emphasis on what

can be learned through people's own narratives or conversations and storytelling about their experiences.

Your participation is voluntary, and you may decline this invitation to participate. If you do agree to be involved in the study, your participation will involve one initial interview that will take at least one hour. Any consequent interviews will be at the request of the participant to conclude their story if required, I am happy to meet as many times as is necessary.

I would like to audio tape the interviews. You can request that the tape recorder be turned off at any time, or that certain information remain confidential between you as participant and myself as the researcher. The tapes will be transcribed, and the transcriber will be asked to sign a confidentiality agreement. You may like a support person with you during the interviews, but they must also sign a confidentiality agreement.

I will be interviewing up to six (6) participants. Aspects of the "life stories" shared with me will appear as part of my final thesis and some extracts will be quoted verbatim where relevant and appropriate. This may also occur if any articles I write based on the research findings are published. I will do all I can to preserve participants' anonymity through careful use of the interview transcripts and use of pseudonyms and fictionalized place names in the final research report. However, as New Zealand is a small country, and as high-profile Pasifika educators in your communities, local regions, and sometimes nationally, I cannot completely guarantee that identification of those taking part will not occur. This is all outlined in the Consent Form that I will ask you to sign before your involvement in the research can commence.

A transcript of the interview will be sent to you as soon after the interview as possible so that you can verify that it is an accurate record, and for you to make changes, and add or delete material, should you so desire. You have the right to withdraw from this study at any time or withdraw information you have provided up until the data analysis commences, October 12, 2017. Interview transcripts and Consent Forms will be stored separately and securely for six years in my supervisor's office at the Auckland University's Epsom Campus and then destroyed.

We recognised that a risk associated with this research may be sadness from reflecting on stories from the past. If you become concerned about sad feelings after talking about your life, please contact us so we can put you in touch with appropriate support services. Alternatively, you can make direct contact with a community organisation such as Lifeline 0800 543 354. Should you require more information, contact details for those involved in the research from the University of Auckland are outlined below.

Contact Details

Researcher
Whetuu Nathan
258 West Tamaki Road
Mobile: 021 1559947
Email: wnat001@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Alternatively contact can be made with the Supervisor

Supervisor
Professor Alison Jones
Email: a.jones@auckland.ac.nz
Phone: +64 9 923 8117

Head of School
Dr Te Kawehau Hoskins
Email: tk.hoskins@auckland.ac.nz
Phone: +64 9 923 4213

For any queries regarding ethical concerns, you may contact
The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee.
Address: The University of Auckland,
Research Office, Private Bag 92019,
Auckland 1142
Telephone: +64 9 373 7599 ext. 83711
Email: ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on the 15/01/2018 for a period of 3 years. Reference number: 0202192

Appendix B: Participant Consent Form

Ngā Manuhiri; The Visitors

This form will be kept for a period of 6 years

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
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Auckland 1150, New Zealand

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

There are two parts to this consent form.
Part 1: relates to Participation
Part 2: relates to the Individual interview/s

Part 1: Participation

□ I understand that I will be audio taped the initial interview and any consequent interviews.
□ I understand that a support person can be used during this research.
□ I wish / do not wish to view the transcript of my interview.
□ I wish / do not wish to receive the summary of findings.
□ I understand that a third party who has signed a confidentiality agreement may be used to transcribe the tapes.
□ I understand that data will be kept safely for 6 years, after which all data will be destroyed.
□ I understand that any support person I use will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement.

Part 2: Individual Interview/s

□ I voluntarily agree to take part in the Individual Interview/s.
□ I understand that I am free to withdraw participation from the individual interviews at any time, and to withdraw any data traceable to me up to a specified date, that being October 12, 2017.

Name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 15/01/2018 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 020192

If you wish to view your transcript or receive a summary of the findings from the research, please complete the contact details below. This is optional.

Email: _____
Postal Address: _____

Appendix C: Indicative Questions

Ngā Manuhiri; The Visitors

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW INDICATIVE QUESTIONS & INDICATIVE FORMAT

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Karakia
Mihi
Introductions: Allow time for introductions to occur, these take different forms depending on the participant.
Reasons for Research: Researcher to establish reasons for conducting the research. Address any questions from the participants.
Have copies of the Guiding questions for the participants to use during the interview.
Guiding Questions:

- How would you describe your own cultural heritage and background?
- While growing up how did you first come into contact with Māori?
- What were your thoughts and feelings about these early encounters?
- As an adult, before becoming a teacher/educator, what were the key experiences that made you aware of the history and/or dynamics of Māori relations in New Zealand?
- How did these experiences impact upon your thinking at the time?
- Looking back over your teaching career, what were some of the key experiences that changed/increased/ influenced your understanding of cross-cultural relationships between Pasifika and Māori?
- What aspects of your work bring you into contact with Māori?
- How does your understanding of cultural differences and beliefs about cross-cultural relationships influence your practice and philosophy?
- Since becoming a teacher/educator what has been your greatest learning experience regarding Māori/Pasifika interaction?
- Describe your moments of greatest personal and professional satisfaction regarding your school's/organisation's engagement with Māori?
- What does the term "bicultural" mean to you? Where do Pasifika fit in this term?
- What have been the rewards for you of working cross-culturally?
- What are the most demanding aspects (tensions? difficulties?)?
- What is the most important advice you would give another Pasifika practitioner about working with Māori?

Review of interview
Last questions from Participants
Karakia whakamutunga

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