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FREEING OURSELVES FROM NEOCOLONIAL DOMINATION IN RESEARCH

A Kaupapa Māori Approach to Creating Knowledge[1]

Russell Bishop

One of the challenges for Māori researchers . . . has been to retrieve some space—first, some space to convince Māori people of the value of research for Māori; second, to convince the various, fragmented but powerful research communities of the need for greater Māori involvement in research; and third, to develop approaches and ways of carrying out research which take into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research, and the parameters of both previous and current approaches. What is now referred to as Kaupapa Māori approaches to research . . . is an attempt to retrieve that space and to achieve those general aims.

—L. T. Smith (1999, p. 183)

This chapter seeks to identify how issues of power, including initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation, and accountability, are addressed in practice within an indigenous Kaupapa Māori approach in such a way as to promote the self-determination of the research participants. In addition, this chapter questions how such considerations may affect Western-trained and -positioned researchers.

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Māori people, along with many other minoritized peoples, are concerned that educational researchers have been slow to acknowledge the importance of culture and cultural differences as key components in successful research practice and understandings. As a result, key research issues of power relations, initiation, benefits, representation, legitimization, and accountability continue to be addressed in terms of the researchers' own cultural agendas, concerns, and interests. This chapter seeks to identify how such domination can be addressed by both Māori and non-Māori educational researchers through their conscious participation within the cultural aspirations, preferences, and practices of the research participants.

It is important to position this chapter within the growing body of literature that questions traditional approaches to researching on/for/with minoritized peoples by placing the culture of "an ethnic group at the center of the inquiry" (Tillman, 2002, p. 4). Notable among these authors are: Frances Rains, Jo-Ann Archibald, and Donna Deyhle (2000), who, in editing and introducing a special edition of the *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* (*QSE*) titled *Through Our Eyes and in Our Own Words—The Voices of Indigenous Scholars*, featured examples of "American-Indian/Native American intellectualism, culture, culture-based curriculum, and indigenous epistemologies and paradigms" (Tillman, 2002, p. 5). K. Tsianina Lomawaima's (2000) analysis of the history of power struggles between academic researchers and those whom they study identified how the history of scholarly research (including education) in Native America "has been deeply implicated in the larger history of the domination and oppression of Native American communities" (p. 14). On a positive note, however, she identified how the development of new research protocols by various tribes shows the way toward more respectful and responsible scholarship. Similarly, Verna Kirkness, Carl Urion, and Jo-Anne Archibald in Canada and their work with the *Canadian Journal of Native Education* have brought issues of researching with respect to the fore. In addition, Donna Deyhle and Karen Swisher (1997) have examined the growth of self-determination approaches among indigenous

peoples of North America. Others involved in such scholarship include African American scholars (Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2000; Stanfield, 1994; Tillman, 2002) and Chicana and Chicano scholars (González, 2001; Moll, 1992; Reyes, Scribner, & Scribner, 1999; Villegas & Lucas, 2002) who are calling for greater attention to power relations and the role of culture in the research process.

While drawing on the work of these scholars and others to illustrate some of the arguments in this chapter, however, this discussion of culturally responsive research will focus on Māori people's experiences of research as an example of the wider argument.

■ MĀORI PEOPLE'S CONCERNS ABOUT RESEARCH: ISSUES OF POWER

Despite the guarantees of the Treaty of Waitangi,[2] the colonization of Aotearoa/NewZealand and the subsequent neocolonial dominance of majority interests in social and educational research have continued. The result has been the development of a tradition of research[3] into Māori people's lives that addresses concerns and interests of the predominantly non-Māori researchers' own making, as defined and made accountable in terms of the researchers' own cultural worldview(s).

Researchers in Aotearoa/New Zealand have developed a tradition of research that has perpetuated colonial power imbalances, thereby undervaluing and belittling Māori knowledge and learning practices and processes in order to enhance those of the colonizers and adherents of colonial paradigms. A social pathology research approach has developed in Aotearoa/New Zealand that has become implied in all phases of the research process: the "inability" of Māori culture to cope with human problems and propositions that Māori culture was and is inferior to that of the colonizers in human terms. Furthermore, such practices have perpetuated an ideology of cultural superiority that precludes the development of power-sharing processes and the legitimization of diverse cultural epistemologies and cosmologies.

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Furthermore, traditional research has misrepresented Māori understandings and ways of knowing by simplifying, conglomerating, and commodifying Māori knowledge for "consumption" by the colonizers. These processes have consequently misrepresented Māori experiences, thereby denying Māori authenticity and voice. Such research has displaced Māori lived experiences and the meanings that these experiences have with the "authoritative" voice of the methodological "expert," appropriating Māori lived experience in terms defined and determined by the "expert." Moreover, many misconstrued Māori cultural practices and meanings are now part of our everyday myths of Aotearoa/New Zealand, believed by Māori and non-Māori alike, and traditional social and educational research has contributed to this situation. As a result, Māori people are deeply concerned about the issue of to whom researchers are accountable. Who has control over the initiation, procedures, evaluations, construction, and distribution of newly defined knowledge? Analyses by myself (Bishop, 1996, 1998b) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) have concluded that control over legitimization and representation is maintained within the domain of the colonial and neocolonial paradigms and that locales of initiation and accountability are situated within Western cultural frameworks, thus precluding Māori cultural forms and processes of initiation and accountability.

Traditional research epistemologies have developed methods of initiating research and accessing research participants that are located within the cultural preferences and practices of the Western world, as opposed to the cultural preferences and practices of Māori people themselves. For example, the preoccupation with neutrality, objectivity, and distance by educational researchers has emphasized these concepts as criteria for authority, representation, and accountability and, thus, has distanced Māori people from participation in the construction, validation, and legitimization of knowledge. As a result, Māori people are increasingly becoming concerned about who will directly gain from the research. Traditionally, research has established an approach in which the research has served to advance the interests, concerns, and methods of the researcher and to locate the benefits of the research at least in part with the researcher, other benefits being of lesser concern.

Table 5.1 summarizes these concerns, noting that this analysis of Māori people's concerns about research reveals five crises that affect indigenous peoples.

■ INSIDERS/OUTSIDERS: WHO CAN CONDUCT RESEARCH IN INDIGENOUS SETTINGS?

The concerns about initiation, benefits, representation, legitimacy, and accountability raise a number of questions about how research with Māori and indigenous peoples should be conducted, but perhaps initially it is important to consider by whom that research should be conducted.

One answer to this question might well be to take an essentializing position and suggest that cultural "insiders" might well undertake research in a more sensitive and responsive manner than "outsiders." As Merriam et al. (2001) suggest, it has "commonly been assumed that being an insider means easy access, the ability to ask more meaningful questions and read non-verbal cues, and most importantly be able to project a more truthful, authentic understanding of the culture under study" (p. 411). On the other hand, of course, there are concerns that insiders are inherently biased, or that they are too close to the culture to ask critical questions.

Whatever the case, such understandings assume a homogeneity that is far from the reality of the diversity and complexity that characterizes indigenous peoples' lives and that ignores the impacts that age, class, gender, education, and color, among other variables, might have upon the research relationship. Such understandings might arise even among researchers who might consider themselves to be "insiders." A number of studies by researchers who had initially considered themselves to be "insiders" (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000;

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Table 5.1. Māori People's Concerns About Research Focuses on the Locus of Power Over Issues of Initiation, Benefits, Representation, Legitimacy, and Accountability Being With the Researcher

Initiation	This concern focuses on how the research process begins and whose concerns, interests, and methods of approach determine/define the outcomes. Traditional research has developed methods of initiating research and accessing research participants that are located within the cultural concerns, preferences, and practices of the Western world.
Benefits	The question of benefits concerns who will directly gain from the research, and whether anyone actually will be disadvantaged. Māori people are increasingly becoming concerned about this important political aspect because traditional research has established an approach to research in which the benefits of the research serve to advance the interests, concerns, and methods of the researcher and that locates the benefits of the research at least in part with the researcher, others being of lesser concern.
Representation	Whose research constitutes an adequate depiction of social reality? Traditional research has misrepresented, that is, simplified/conglomerated and commodified, Māori knowledge for "consumption" by the colonizers and denied the authenticity of Māori experiences and voice. Such research has displaced Māori lived experiences with the "authoritative" voice of the "expert" voiced in terms defined/determined by the "expert." Furthermore, many misconstrued Māori cultural practices and meanings are now part of our everyday myths of Aotearoa/New Zealand, believed by Māori and non-Māori alike.
Legitimacy	This issue concerns what authority we claim for our texts. Traditional research has undervalued and belittled Māori knowledge and learning practices and processes in order to enhance those of the colonizers, and adherents of neocolonial paradigms. Such research has developed a social pathology research approach that has focused on the "inability" of Māori culture to cope with human problems, and it has proposed that Māori culture was inferior to that of the colonizers in human terms. Such practices have perpetuated an ideology of cultural superiority that precludes the development of power-sharing processes and the legitimation of diverse cultural epistemologies and cosmologies.
Accountability	This concern questions researchers' accountability. Who has control over the initiation, procedures, evaluations, text constructions, and distribution of newly defined knowledge? Traditional research has claimed that all people have an inalienable right to utilize all knowledge and has maintained that research findings be expressed in term of criteria located within the epistemological framework of traditional research, thus creating locales of accountability that are situated within Western cultural frameworks.

Johnson-Bailey, 1999; Merriam et al., 2001; L. T. Smith, 1999) attest to this problem. Further, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) argues, even Western-trained indigenous researchers who are intimately involved with community members typically will employ research techniques and methodologies that will likely marginalize the communities' contribution to the investigation. This suggests that indigenous researchers will not automatically conduct research in a culturally appropriate manner even when researching their own communities.

However, as Native American scholar Karen Swisher (1998) argues, the dilemma remains, for despite developments in research that attempt to listen to the voices and the stories of the people under study and present them in ways "to encourage readers to see through a different lens ... much research still is presented from an outsider's perspective" (p. 191). Nevertheless, despite the problems that indigenous researchers might well face, she argues that American Indian scholars need to become involved in leading research

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rather than being the subjects or consumers of research. She suggests that this involvement will assist in keeping control over the research in the hands of those involved. She cites (among other sources) a 1989 report of regional dialogues, *Our Voices, Our Vision: American Indians Speak Out for Educational Excellence,* as an example of research that addressed the self-determination of the people involved because from the "conception of the dialogue format to formulation of data and publication, Indian people were in charge of and guided the project; and the voices and concerns of the people were clearly evident" (p. 192).

Swisher (1998) argues that what is missing from the plethora of books, journals, and articles produced by non-Indians about Indians is "the passion from within and the authority to ask new and different questions based on histories and experiences as indigenous people" (p. 193). Furthermore, she argues that the difference involves more than just diverse ways of knowing; it concerns "knowing that what we think is grounded in principles of sovereignty and self-determination; and that it has credibility" (p. 193). In this way, Swisher is clear that "Indian people also believe that they have the answers for improving Indian education and feel they must speak for themselves" (p. 192). If we were to extrapolate this argument to other indigenous settings, we could see this as a call for the power of definition over issues of research, with initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation, and accountability being with indigenous peoples. Swisher (1998) identifies an attitude of "we can and must do it ourselves," yet it is also clear that nonindigenous people must help, but not in the impositional ways of the past. Of course, this raises the question of just what are the new positions on offer to nonindigenous researchers— and to indigenous researchers, for that matter.

Tillman (2002), when considering who should conduct research in African American communities, suggests that it is not simply a matter of saying that the researcher must be African American, but "[r]ather it is important to consider whether the researcher has the cultural knowledge to accurately interpret and validate the experiences of African-Americans within the context of the phenomenon under study" (p. 4). Margie Maaka, at the 2003 joint conference of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education and Australian Association for Research in Education, extended this understanding of where nonindigenous peoples should be positioned by stating that Māori must be in control of the research agenda and must be the ones who set the parameters; however, others can participate at the invitation of the indigenous people. In other words, it is Māori research by Māori, for Māori with the help of invited others.

For native scholars, Jacobs-Huey (2002) and L. T. Smith (1999) emphasize the power of critical reflexivity. The former states that "critical reflexivity in both writing and identification as a native researcher may act to resist charges of having played the 'native card' via a non-critical privileging of one's insider status" (Jacobs-Huey, 2002, p. 799). Smith emphasizes that "at a general level insider researchers have to have ways of thinking critically about their processes, their relationships and the quality and richness of their data and analysis. So too do outsiders . . ." (Smith, 1999, p. 137).

Researchers such as Narayan (1993), Griffiths (1998), and Bridges (2001) explain that it is no longer useful to think of researchers as insiders or outsiders; instead, researchers might be positioned "in terms of shifting identifications amid a field of interpenetrating communities and power relations" (Narayan, 1993, p. 671). Narayan proposes that instead of trying to define insider or outsider status,

> what we must focus our attention on is the quality of relations with the people we seek to represent in our texts: are they viewed as mere fodder for professionally self-serving statements about a generalized Other, or are they accepted as subjects with voices, views, and dilemmas—people to whom we are bonded through ties of reciprocity . . . ? (1993, p. 672)

This chapter suggests how these concerns and aspirations might be met by invoking a discursive repositioning of all researchers into those positions that operationalize self-determination for indigenous peoples.

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◘ KAUPAPA[4] MĀORI RESEARCH

Out of the discontent with traditional research and its disruption of Māori life, an indigenous approach to research has emerged in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This approach, termed Kaupapa Māori research, is challenging the dominance of the Pâkehâ worldview in research. Kaupapa Māori research emerged from within the wider ethnic revitalization movement that developed in New Zealand following the rapid Māori urbanization of the post–World War II period. This revitalization movement blossomed in the 1970s and 1980s with the intensifying of a political consciousness among Māori communities. More recently, in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, this consciousness has featured the revitalization of Māori cultural aspirations, preferences, and practices as a philosophical and productive educational stance, along with a resistance to the hegemony[5] of the dominant discourse.[6] In effect, therefore, Kaupapa Māori presupposes positions that are committed to a critical analysis of the existing unequal power relations within the wider New Zealand society that were created with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, those structures that work to oppress Māori people. These include rejection of hegemonic, belittling "Māori can't cope" discourses, together with a commitment to the power of conscientization and politicization through struggle for wider community and social freedoms (G. H. Smith, 1997).

A number of significant dimensions to Kaupapa Māori research serve to set it apart from traditional research. One main focus of a Kaupapa Māori approach to research is the operationalization of self-determination (*tino rangatiratanga*) by Māori people (Bishop, 1996; Durie, 1994, 1995,1998; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999). Self-determination in Durie's (1995) terms "captures a sense of Māori ownership and active control over the future" (p. 16). Such a position is consistent with the Treaty of Waitangi, in which Māori people are able "to determine their own policies, to actively participate in the development and interpretation of the law, to assume responsibility for their own affairs and to plan for the needs of future generations" (Durie, 1995, p. 16). In addition, the promotion of self-determination has benefits beyond these aspects. A 10-year study of Māori households conducted by Durie (1998) shows that the development of a secure identity offers Māori people advantages that may

> afford some protection against poor health; it is more likely to be associated with active educational participation and with positive employment profiles. The corollary is that reduced access to the Māori resources, and the wider Māori world, may be associated with cultural, social and economic disadvantage. (pp. 58–59)

Such an approach challenges the locus of power and control over the research issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation, and accountability as outlined above, being located in another cultural frame of reference/worldview. Kaupapa Māori is, therefore, challenging the dominance of traditional, individualistic research that primarily, at least in its present form, benefits the researchers and their agenda. In contrast, Kaupapa Māori research is collectivistic and is oriented toward benefiting all the research participants and their collectively determined agendas, defining and acknowledging Māori aspirations for research, while developing and implementing Māori theoretical and methodological preferences and practices for research.

Kaupapa Māori is a discourse that has emerged from and is legitimized from within the Māori community. Māori educationalist Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1992) describes Kaupapa Māori as "the philosophy and practice of being and acting Māori" (p. 1). It assumes the taken-for-granted social, political, historical, intellectual, and cultural legitimacy of Māori people, in that it is an orientation in which "Māori language, culture, knowledge and values are accepted in their own right" (p. 13). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), another leading Māori exponent of this approach, argues that such naming provides a means whereby communities of the researched and the

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researchers can "engage in a dialogue about setting directions for the priorities, policies, and practices of research for, by, and with Māori" (p. 183).

One fundamental understanding of a Kaupapa Māori approach to research is that it is the discursive practice that is Kaupapa Māori that positions researchers in such a way as to operationalize self-determination in terms of agentic positioning and behavior for research participants. This understanding challenges the essentializing dichotomization of the insider/outsider debate by offering a discursive position for researchers, irrespective of ethnicity. This positioning occurs because the cultural aspirations, understandings, and practices of Māori people are used both literally and figuratively to implement and organize the research process. Furthermore, the associated research issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimization, and accountability are addressed and understood in practice by practitioners of Kaupapa Māori research within the cultural context of the research participants.

Such understandings challenge traditional ways of defining, accessing, and constructing knowledge about indigenous peoples and the process of self-critique, sometimes termed "paradigm shifting," that is used by Western scholars as a means of "cleansing" thought and attaining what becomes their version of the "truth." Indigenous peoples are challenging this process because it maintains control over the research agenda within the cultural domain of the researchers or their institutions.

A Kaupapa Māori position is predicated on the understanding that Māori means of accessing, defining, and protecting knowledge existed before European arrival in New Zealand. Such Māori cultural processes were protected by the Treaty of Waitangi then subsequently marginalized; however, they have always been legitimate within Māori cultural discourses. As with other Kaupapa Māori initiatives in education, health, and welfare, Kaupapa Māori research practice is, as Irwin (1994) explains, epistemologically based within Māori cultural specificities, preferences, and

practices.[7] In Olssen' s (1993) terms, Māori initiatives are "epistemologically productive where in constructing a vision of the world and positioning people in relation to its classifications, it takes its shape from its interrelations with an infinitely proliferating series of other elements within a particular social field" (p. 4).

However, this is not to suggest that such an analysis promotes an essentialist view of Māori in which all Māori must act in prescribed ways, for Māori are just as diverse a people as any other. One of the main outcomes of Durie's (1998) longitudinal study of Māori families, Te Hoe Nuku Roa, is the identification of this very diversity within Māori peoples. To Pihama et al. (2002), this means that Kaupapa Māori analysis must take this diversity of Māori peoples into account. They argue that Kaupapa Māori analysis is for all Māori, "not for select groups or individuals. Kaupapa Māori is not owned by any group, nor can it be defined in ways that deny Māori people access to its articulation" (p. 8). In other words, Kaupapa Māori analysis must benefit Māori people in principle and in practice in such a way that the current realities of marginalization and the heritage of colonialism and neocolonialism are addressed.

▣ EXAMPLES OF CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE RESEARCH PRACTICES

This analysis is based on a number of studies conducted by the author using Kaupapa Māori research. The first study, Collaborative Research Stories: Whakawhanaungatanga (1996; also see Bishop, 1998b), was a collaborative meta-study of five projects that addressed Māori agendas in research in order to ascertain the ways in which a group of researchers were addressing Māori people's concerns about research and what the researchers' experiences of these projects meant to them individually. The experiences of the various researchers and their understandings of their experiences were investigated by co-constructing collaborative research stories. The objective was

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to engage in a process of critical reflection and build a discourse based on the formal and informal meetings that were part of each of the projects in order to connect epistemological questions to indigenous ways of knowing by way of descriptions of actual research projects. The meta-study examined how a group of researchers addressed the importance of devolving power and control in the research exercise in order to promote tino Rangatiratanga of Māori people—that is, to act as educational professionals in ways consistent with Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi.[8] I talked with other researchers who had accepted the challenge of being repositioned by and within the discursive practice that is Kaupapa Māori.

The meta-study in effect sought to investigate my own position as a researcher within a conjoint reflection on shared experiences and conjoint construction of meanings about these experiences, a position where the stories of the other research participants merged with my own to create new stories. Such *collaborative stories* go beyond an approach that simply focuses on the cooperative sharing of experiences and focuses on connectedness, engagement, and involvement with the other research participants within the cultural worldview/discursive practice within which they function. This study sought to identify what constitutes this engagement and what implications this constitution has for promoting self-determination/agency/voice in the research participants by examining concepts of *participatory and cultural consciousness* and *connectedness* within Māori discursive practice.

The second study, *Te Toi Huarewa: Teaching and Learning in Total Immersion Māori Language Educational Settings* (Bishop, Berryman, & Richardson, 2002), sought to identify effective teaching and learning strategies, effective teaching and learning materials, and the ways in which teachers assess and monitor the effectiveness of their teaching in Māori-medium reading and writing programs for students aged 5 to 9 years. Following a period of establishing relationships and developing a joint agenda for the research to identify what effective teachers do in their classrooms and why they teach in a particular manner,

the researchers sought to operationalize Kaupapa Māori concerns that the self-determination of the research participants over issues of representation and legitimation be paramount. The strategy consisted of conducting interviews and directed observations, followed by facilitated teacher reflections on what had been observed by using stimulated recall interviews (Calderhead, 1981). The stimulated recall interviews that followed the observation sessions focused on specific interactions observed in the classrooms. In the stimulated recall interviews, the teachers were encouraged to reflect upon what had been observed and to bring their own sense-making processes to the discussions in order to co-construct a "rich" descriptive picture of their classroom practices. In other words, they were encouraged to reflect upon and explain why they did what they did, in their own terms. Through the use of this process, they explained for us that they all placed the culture of the child at the center of learning relationships by developing in their classrooms what we later termed (after Gay, 2000; Villegas & Lucas, 2002) a *culturally appropriate and responsive context for learning*.

The third study, *Te Kotahitanga: The Experiences of Year 9 and 10 Māori Students in Mainstream Classrooms* (Bishop, Berryman, & Richardson, 2003), is a work-in-progress, a research/professional development project that is now entering its third phase of implementation in 12 schools with some 360 teachers. The project commenced in 2001, seeking to address the self-determination of Māori secondary school students by talking with them and other participants in their education about just what is involved in limiting and/or improving their educational achievement. The project commenced with the gathering of a number of narratives of students' classroom experience from a range of engaged and non-engaged Māori students (as defined by their schools), in five non–structurally modified mainstream secondary schools using the process of collaborative storying. This approach is very similar to that termed *testimonio*, in that it is the intention of the direct narrator (research participant) to use an interlocutor (the researcher) to

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bring their situation to the attention of an audience "to which he or she would normally not have access because of their very condition of subalternity to which the *testimonio* bears witness" (Beverley, 2000, p. 556). In this research project, the students were able to share their narratives about their experiences of schooling, so that teachers who otherwise might not have had access to the narratives could reflect upon them in terms of their own experiences and understandings.

It was from these amazing stories that the rest of this project developed. In their narratives, the students clearly identified the main influences on their educational achievement by articulating the impacts and consequences of their living in a marginalized space. That is, they explained how they were perceived in pathological terms by their teachers and how this perception has had negative effects on their lives. In addition, the students told the research team how teachers, in changing how they related to and interacted with Māori students in their classrooms, could create a context for learning wherein Māori students' educational achievement could improve, again by placing the self-determination of Māori students at the center of classroom relationships.

Such an approach is consistent with Ryan (1999), who suggests that a solution to the one-sidedness of representations that are promoted by the dominance of the powerful—in this case, pathologizing discourses—is to portray events as was done in the collaborative stories of the Māori students, in terms of "competing discourses rather than as simply the projection of inappropriate images" (p. 187). He suggests that this approach, rather than seeking the truth or "real pictures," allows for previously marginalized discourses "to emerge and compete on equal terms with previously dominant discourses" (p. 187).

On the basis of the suggestions from Year 9 and Year 10 (ages 14–16) Māori students, the research team developed an "Effective Teaching Profile." Together with other information from narratives of experiences from those parenting the students, from their principals and their teachers, and from the literature, this Effective Teaching Profile has formed the basis of a professional development

program that, when implemented with a group of teachers in four schools, was associated with improved learning, behavior, and attendance outcomes for Māori students in the classrooms of those teachers who had been able to participate fully in the professional development program (Bishop, Berryman, et al., 2003).

■ ADDRESSING ISSUES OF SELF-DETERMINATION

Western approaches to operationalizing self-determination (agentic positioning and behavior) in others are, according to Noddings (1986) and B. Davies (1990), best addressed by those who position themselves within empowering relationships. Authors such as Oakley (1981), Tripp (1983), Burgess (1984), Lather (1986, 1991), Patton (1990), Delamont (1992), Eisner (1991), Reinharz (1992), and Sprague and Hayes (2000) suggest that an "empowering" relationship could be attained by developing what could be termed an "enhanced research relationship," in which there occurs a long-term development of mutual purpose and intent between the researcher and the researched. To facilitate this development of mutuality, the research must recognize the need for personal investment in the form of self-disclosure and openness. Sprague and Hayes (2000) explain that such relationships are mutual

> [to] the degree to which each party negotiates a balance between commitment to the other's and to one's own journey of self-determination. In mutual relationships each strives to recognize the other's unique and changing needs and abilities, [and] takes the other's perspectives and interests into account. (p. 684)

In the practice of Kaupapa Māori research, however, there develops a degree of involvement on the part of the researcher, constituted as a way of knowing, that is fundamentally different from the concepts of personal investment and collaboration suggested by the above authors. Although it appears that "personal investment" is essential,

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this personal investment is not on terms determined by the "investor." Instead, the investment is made on terms of mutual understanding and control by all participants, so that the investment is reciprocal and could not be otherwise. In other words, the "personal investment" by the researcher is not an act by an individual agent but instead emerges out of the context within which the research is constituted.

Traditional conceptualizations of knowing do not adequately explain this understanding. Elbow (1986, as cited in Connelly & Clandinin, 1990) identifies a different form of reciprocity, one he terms "connected knowing," in which the "knower is attached to the known" (p. 4). In other words, there is common understanding and a common basis for such an understanding, where the concerns, interests, and agendas of the researcher become the concerns, interests, and agendas of the researched and vice versa. Hogan (as cited in Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 4) refers to this as a "feeling of connectedness." Heshusius (1994, 2002) transforms this notion by suggesting the need to move from an alienated mode of consciousness that sees the knower as separate from the known to a *participatory mode of consciousness*. Such a mode of consciousness addresses a fundamental reordering of understandings of the relationship "between self and other (and therefore of reality), and indeed between self and the world, in a manner where such a reordering not only includes connectedness but necessitates letting go of the focus on self" (Heshusius, 1994, p. 15).

Heshusius (1994) identifies this form of knowing as involving, that which Polanyi (1966) calls "tacit knowing," which Harman calls "compassionate consciousness" (as cited in Heshusius, 1994), and which Berman calls "somatic" or "bodily" knowing (as cited in Heshusius, 1994). Barbara Thayer-Bacon (1997) describes a relational epistemology that views "knowledge as something that is socially constructed by embedded, embodied people who are in relation with each other" (p. 245). Each of these authors is referring to an embodied way of being and of a knowing that is a nonaccountable, nondescribable way

of knowing. Heshusius (1994) suggests that "the act of coming to know is not a subjectivity that one can explicitly account for," but rather it is of a "direct participatory nature one cannot account for" (p. 17). Heshusius (1996) also suggests that

> In a participatory mode of consciousness the *quality* of attentiveness is characterised by an absence of the need to separate, distance and to insert predetermined thought patterns, methods and formulas between self and other. It is characterised by an absence of the need to be in charge. (p. 627)

Heshusius (1994) identifies the ground from which a participatory mode of knowing emerges as "the recognition of the deeper kinship between ourselves and other" (p. 17). This form of knowing speaks in a very real sense to Māori ways of knowing, for the Māori term for connectedness and engagement by kinship is *whanaungatanga*. This concept is one of the most fundamental ideas within Māori culture, both as a value and as a social process.[9] Whanaungatanga literally consists of kin relationships between ourselves and others, and it is constituted in ways determined by the Māori cultural context.

◘ WHAKAWHANAUNGATANGA AS A KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH APPROACH

Whakawhanaungatanga is the process of establishing *whānau* (extended family) relationships, literally by means of identifying, through culturally appropriate means, your bodily linkage, your engagement, your connectedness, and, therefore, an unspoken but implicit commitment to other people. For example, a *mihimihi* (formal ritualized introduction) at a *hui* (Māori ceremonial gathering) involves stating your own *whakapapa* in order to establish relationships with the hosts/others/visitors. A mihimihi does not identify you in terms of your work, in terms of your academic rank or title, for example. Rather, a mihimihi is a statement of where you are from and of how you can be related and connected to these other people and the land, in both the past and the present.

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For Māori people, the process of whaka-whanaungatanga identifies how our identity comes from our whakapapa and how our whaka-papa and its associated *raranga kōrero* (those stories that explain the people and events of a whakapapa) link us to all other living and inanimate creatures and to the very earth we inhabit. Our mountain, our river, our island are us. We are part of them, and they are part of us. We know this in a bodily way, more than in a recitation of names. More than in the actual linking of names, we know it because we are related by blood and body. We are of the same bones (*iwi*) and of the same people (iwi). We are from the same pregnancies (*hapū*) and of the same subtribe (hapū). We are of the same family (*whānau*), the family into which we were born (whānau). We were nurtured by the same land (*whenua*), by the same placenta (whenua). In this way, the language reminds us that we are part of each other.

So when Māori people introduce ourselves as *whanaunga* (relatives), whether it be to engage in research or not, we are introducing part of one to another part of the same oneness. Knowing who we are is a somatic acknowledgment of our connectedness with and commitment to our surroundings, human and nonhuman. For example, from this positioning it would be very difficult to undertake research in a "nonsomatic," distanced manner. To invoke "distance" in a Māori research project would be to deny that it is a Māori project. It would have different goals, not Māori goals.

Establishing and maintaining whānau relationships, which can be either literal or metaphoric within the discursive practice that is Kaupapa Māori, is an integral and ongoing constitutive element of a Kaupapa Māori approach to research. Establishing a research group as if it were an extended family is one form of embodying the process of whakawhanaungatanga as a research strategy.

In a Kaupapa Māori approach to research, research groups constituted as whānau attempt to develop relationships and organizations based on similar principles to those that order a traditional or literal whānau. Metge (1990) explains that to use the term *whānau* is to identify a series of

rights and responsibilities, commitments and obligations, and supports that are fundamental to the collectivity. These are the *tikanga* (customs) of the whānau: warm interpersonal interactions, group solidarity, shared responsibility for one another, cheerful cooperation for group ends, corporate responsibility for group property, and material or nonmaterial (e.g., knowledge) items and issues. These attributes can be summed up in the words *aroha* (love in the broadest sense, also mutuality), *awhi* (helpfulness), *manaaki* (hospitality), and *tiaki* (guidance).

The whānau is a location for communication, for sharing outcomes, and for constructing shared common understandings and meanings. Individuals have responsibilities to care for and to nurture other members of the group, while still adhering to the kaupapa of the group. The group will operate to avoid singling out particular individuals for comment and attention and to avoid embarrassing individuals who are not yet succeeding within the group. Group products and achievement frequently take the form of group performances, not individual performances.[10] The group typically will begin and end each session with prayer and also will typically share food together. The group will make major decisions as a group and then refer those decisions to kaumā-tua (respected elders of either gender) for approval, and the group will seek to operate with the support and encouragement of kaumātua. This feature acknowledges the multigenerational constitution of a whānau with associated hierarchically determined rights, responsibilities, and obligations.[11]

Determining Benefits: Identifying Lines of Accountability Using Māori Metaphor

Determining who benefits from the research and to whom the researchers are accountable also can be understood in terms of Māori discursive practices. What non-Māori people would refer to as management or control mechanisms are traditionally constituted in a whānau as *taonga tuku iho*—literally, those treasures passed down to us from the ancestors, those customs that guide our

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behavior. In this manner, the structure and function of a whānau describes and constitutes the relationship among research participants—in traditional research terminology, between the researcher and the researched—within Kaupapa Māori research practice. Research thus cannot proceed unless whānau support is obtained, unless kaumātua provide guidance, and unless there is aroha between the participants, evidenced by an overriding feeling of tolerance, hospitality, and respect for others, their aspirations, and their preferences and practices. The research process is participatory as well as *participant driven* in the sense that the concerns, interests, and preferences of the whānau are what guide and drive the research processes. The research itself is driven by the participants in terms of setting the research questions, ascertaining the likely benefits, outlining the design of the work, undertaking the work that had to be done, distributing rewards, providing access to research findings, controlling the distribution of the knowledge, and deciding to whom the researcher is accountable.

This approach has much in common with that described by Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) as participatory and collaborative action research, which emerged "more or less deliberately as forms of resistance to conventional research practices that were perceived by particular kinds of participants as acts of colonization" (p. 572). To Esposito and Murphy (2000), participatory action research emphasizes the political nature of knowledge production and places a premium on self-emancipation (p. 180), where

> [s]uch research groups are typically comprised of both professionals and ordinary people, all of whom are regarded as authoritative sources of knowledge. By making minorities the authorized representatives of the knowledge produced, their experiences and concerns are brought to the forefront of the research. The resulting information is applied to resolving the problems they define collectively as significant. As a result, the integrity of distinct racial groups is not annihilated or subsumed within dominant narratives that portray them as peripheral members of society. (p. 181)

For researchers, this approach means that they are not information gatherers, data processors, and sense-makers of other people's lives; rather, they are expected to be able to communicate with individuals and groups, to participate in appropriate cultural processes and practices, and to interact in a dialogic manner with the research participants. Esposito and Murphy (2000) explain that research "methods are geared to offer opportunities for discussion. After all, information is not transmitted between researchers and individuals; instead, information is cocreated, . . . data are coproduced intersubjectively in a manner that preserves the existential nature of the information" (p. 182).

Esposito and Murphy (2000) also suggest that such an approach may facilitate the development of the kind of research that Lomawaima (2000) and Fine and Weis (1996) describe, a type in which investigators are more attuned to "locally meaningful expectations and concerns" (Lomawaima, 2000, p. 15). In addition, they suggest that researchers become actively involved in the solutions and promote the well-being of communities, instead of merely using locations as sites for data collection. As Lomawaima (2000) suggests, researchers should thus open up the "possibilities for directly meaningful research—research that is as informative and useful to tribes as it is to academic professionals and disciplinary theories" (p. 15).

What is crucial to an understanding of what it means to be a researcher in a Kaupapa Māori approach is that it is through the development of a participatory mode of consciousness that a researcher becomes part of this process. He or she does not start from a position outside the group and then choose to invest or reposition himself or herself. Rather, the (re)positioning is part of participation. The researcher cannot "position" himself or herself or "empower" the other. Instead, through entering a participatory mode of consciousness, the individual agent of the "I" of the researcher is released in order to enter a consciousness larger than the self.

One example of how whānau processes in action affect the position of the researcher is the

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way in which different individuals take on differing discursive positionings within the collective. These positionings fulfill different functions oriented toward the collaborative concerns, interests, and benefits of the whânau as a group, rather than toward the benefit of any one member—a member with a distanced research agenda, for example. Such positionings are constituted in ways that are generated by Māori cultural practices and preferences. For example, the leader of a research whânau, here termed a *whânau of interest* to identify it as a metaphoric whânau, will not necessarily be the researcher. Kaumâtua, which is a Māori-defined and -apportioned position (which can be singular or plural), will be the leader. Leadership in a whânau of interest, however, is not in the sense of making all the decisions, but instead in the sense of being a guide to *kawa* (culturally appropriate procedures) for decision making and a listener to the voices of all members of the whânau. The kaumâtua are the consensus seekers for the collective and are the producers of the collaborative voice of the members. By developing research within such existing culturally constituted practices, concerns about voice and agency can be addressed.

This emphasis on positionings within a group constituted as a whânau also addresses concerns about accountability, authority, and control. A Māori collective whânau contains a variety of discursively determined positions, some of which are open to the researcher and some of which are not. The extent to which researchers can be positioned within a whânau of interest is therefore tied very closely to *who* they are, often more so than to *what* they are. Therefore, positioning is not simply a matter of the researchers' choice, because this would further researcher imposition. That is, researchers are not free to assume any position that they think the whânau of interest needs in order for the whânau to function. The researchers' choice of positions is generated by the structure of the whânau and the customary ways of behaving constituted within the whânau. The clear implication is that researchers are required to locate themselves within new "story lines" that address the contradictory nature of the traditional researcher/researched relationship.

The language used by researchers working in Kaupapa Māori contexts in research reported by Bishop (1996, 1998b), for example, contains the key to the new story lines. The metaphors and imagery these researchers used to explain their participation in the research were those located within the research participants' domains, and the researchers either were moved or needed to move to become part of this domain. Researchers were positioned within the discursive practices of Kaupapa Māori by the use of contextually constituted metaphor within the domain where others constituted themselves as agentic. Furthermore, within this domain existed discursive practices that provided the researchers with positions that enabled them to carry through their negotiated lines of action whether they were insiders or outsiders. As a result of these negotiations, they had differing positions and expectations/tasks offered to them.

From this analysis, it can be seen that through developing a research group by using Māori customary sociopolitical processes, the research participants become members of a research whânau of interest, which, as a metaphoric whânau, is a group constituted in terms understandable and controllable by Māori cultural practices. These whânau of interest determine the research questions and the methods of research, and they use Māori cultural processes for addressing and acknowledging the construction and validation/legitimization of knowledge. Furthermore, the whânau of interest develops a collaborative approach to processing and constructing meaning/theorizing about the information, again by culturally constituted means. It is also important to recognize that whânau of interest are not isolated groups but rather are constituted and conduct their endeavors in terms of the wider cultural aspirations, preferences, and practices of Māori cultural revitalization within which their projects are composed.

Spiral Discourse

Whanâu of interest are developed by and use a Māori cultural process in both its literal and its

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metaphoric senses. This process is termed here *spiral discourse*, a culturally constituted discursive practice found in many Māori cultural practices associated, for example, with hui. A hui generally commences with a *pôwhiri* (formal welcome), a welcome rich in cultural meaning, imagery, and practices that fulfill the enormously important task of recognizing the relative *tapu* (specialness; being with potentiality for power) and *mana* (power) of the two sides, the hosts and the visitors (Salmond, 1975; Shirres, 1982). Once the formal welcome is complete and once the participants have been ritually joined together by the process of the welcoming ceremony, hui participants move on to the discussion of the matter under consideration (the kaupapa of the hui). This usually takes place within the meeting house, a place designated for this very purpose, free of distractions and interruptions. This house is symbolically the embodiment of an ancestor, which further emphasizes the normality of a somatic approach to knowing in such a setting and within these processes.

The participants address the matters under consideration, under the guidance of respected and authoritative elders (kaumâtua), whose primary function is to provide and monitor the correct spiritual and procedural framework within which the participants can discuss the issues before them. People get a chance to address the issue without fear of being interrupted. Generally, the procedure is for people to speak one after another, in sequence of left to right. People get a chance to state and restate their meanings, to revisit their meanings, and to modify, delete, and adapt their meanings according to tikanga (customary practices).

The discourse spirals, in that the flow of talk may seem circuitous and opinions may vary and waver, but the seeking of a collaboratively constructed story is central. The controls over proceedings are temporal and spiritual, as in all Māori cultural practices. The procedures are steeped in metaphoric meanings, richly abstract allusions being made constantly to cultural messages, stories, events of the past, and aspirations for the future. Such procedures are time proven

and to the participants are highly effective in dealing with contemporary issues and concerns of all kinds.[12] The aim of a hui is to reach a consensus, to arrive at a jointly constructed meaning. This takes time, days if need be, or sometimes a series of hui will be held in order that the elders monitoring proceedings can tell when a constructed "voice" has been found.

■ INITIATING RESEARCH USING MĀORI METAPHOR: REJECTING EMPOWERMENT

Addressing the self-determination of participants is embedded within many Māori cultural practices and understandings. For example, during the proceedings of a hui, one visible manifestation of this reality is seen in the ways that visitors make contributions toward the cost of the meeting. This contribution is termed a *koha*. In the past, this koha was often a gift of food to contribute to the running of the hui; nowadays, it is usually money that is laid down on the ground, by the last speaker of the visitors' side, between the two groups of people who are coming together at the welcoming ceremony. The koha remains an important ritualized part of a ceremony that generally proceeds without too much trouble. What must not be forgotten, however, is that the reception of the koha is up to the hosts. The koha, as a gift or an offering of assistance toward the cost of running the hui, goes with the full mana of the group so offering. It is placed in a position, such as laying it on the ground between the two groups coming together, so as to be able to be considered by the hosts. It is not often given into the hands of the hosts, but whatever the specific details of the protocol, the process of " laying down" is a very powerful recognition of the right of others to self-determination, that is, to choose whether to pick it up or not.

The koha generally precedes the final coming together of the two sides. The placing of the koha comes at a crucial stage in the ceremony, at which the hosts can refuse to accept the mana of the visitors, the hosts can display their ultimate control over events, and the hosts can choose whether

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they want to become one with the *manuhiri* (visitors) by the process of the *hôngi* and *haruru* (pressing noses and shaking hånds). Symbolically, with the koha, the hosts are taking on the kaupapa of the guests by accepting that which the manuhiri are bringing for debate and mediation. Overall, however, it is important that the kaupapa the guests laid down at the hui is now the "property" of the whole whânau. It is now the task of the whole whânau to deliberate the issues and to own the problems, concerns, and ideas in a way that is real and meaningful, the way of *whakakotahitanga* (developing unity), where all will work for the betterment of the idea.

By invoking these processes in their metaphoric sense, Kaupapa Māori research is conducted within the discursive practices of Māori culture. Figuratively, laying down a koha as a means of initiating research, for example, or of offering solutions to a problem challenges notions of empowerment, which is a major concern within contemporary Western-defined research. It also challenges what constitutes "self" and "other" in Western thought. Rather than figuratively saying "I am giving you power" or "I intend to empower you," the laying down of a koha and stepping away for the others to consider your gift means that your mana is intact, as is theirs, and that you are acknowledging their power of self-determination. The three research projects referred to above all saw the researchers either laying out their potential contributions as researchers, or asking research participants to explain what has been observed in their classrooms or seeking the meaning that participants construct about their experiences as young people in secondary schools. In each of these cases, the researchers indicated that they did not have the power to make sense of the events or experiences alone and, indeed, did not want anything from the relationship that was not a product of the relationship. In this way, it is up to the others to exert agency, to decide if they wish to "pick it up," to explain the meanings of their own experiences on their own terms. Whatever they do, both sides have power throughout the process. Both sides have tapu that is being acknowledged.

In this sense, researchers in Kaupapa Māori contexts are repositioned in such a way that they no longer need to seek to *give voice to others*, to *empower* others, to *emancipate* others, or to refer to others as *subjugated voices*. Instead, they are able to listen to and participate with those traditionally "othered" as constructors of meanings of their own experiences and agents of knowledge. Not wanting anything from the experience for one's "self" is characteristic of what Schachtel (as cited in Heshusius, 1994) calls "allocentric knowing." It is only when nothing is desired for the self, not even the desire to empower someone, that complete attention and participation in "kinship" terms is possible.

In such ways, researchers can participate in a process that facilitates the development in people of a sense of themselves as agentic and of having an authoritative voice. This is not a result of the researcher "allowing" this to happen or "empowering" participants; it is the function of the cultural context within which the research participants are positioned, negotiate, and conduct the research.[13] In effect, the cultural context positions the participants by constructing the story lines, and with them the cultural metaphors and images, as well as the "thinking as usual," the talk/language through which research participants are constituted and researcher/researched relationships are organized. Thus, the joint development of new story lines is a collaborative effort. The researcher and the researched together rewrite the constitutive metaphors of the relationship. What makes it Māori is that it is done using Māori metaphor within a Māori cultural context.[14]

Such approaches are essential to move the power dynamics of research relationships because, as was mentioned earlier, differential power relations among participants, while construed and understood as collaborative by the researcher, may still enable researcher concerns and interests to dominate how understandings are constructed. This can happen even within relations constructed as reciprocal, if the research outcome remains one determined by the researcher as a data-gathering exercise (Goldstein, 2000; Tripp,

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1983). When attempts at developing dialogue move beyond efforts to gather "data" and move toward mutual, symmetrical, dialogic construction of meaning within appropriate culturally constituted contexts, as is illustrated in the three examples introduced earlier, then the voice of the research participants is heard and their agency is facilitated.

Such understandings seeks to address the self/other relationship by examining how researchers shift themselves from a "speaking for" position to a situation that Michelle Fine (1994) describes as *taking place* "when we construct texts collaboratively, self-consciously examining our relations with/for/despite those who have been contained as Others, we move against, we enable resistance *to*, Othering" (p. 74). Fine (1994) attempts to

> unravel, critically, the blurred boundaries in our relation, and in our texts; to understand the political work of our narratives; to decipher how the traditions of social science serve to inscribe; and to imagine how our practice can be transformed to resist, self-consciously, acts of othering. (p. 57)

Fine and her colleagues Lois Weis, Susan Weseen, and Loonmun Wong (2000) stress "that questions of responsibility-for-whom will, and should, forever be paramount" (p. 125). Reciprocity in indigenous research, however, is not just a political understanding, an individual act, or a matter of refining and/or challenging the paradigms within which researchers work. Instead, every worldview within which the researcher becomes immersed holds the key to knowing. For example, establishing relationships and developing research whânau by invoking the processes of whakawhanaungatanga establishes interconnectedness, commitment, and engagement, within culturally constituted research practices, by means of constitutive metaphor from within the discursive practice of Kaupapa Māori. It is the use of such metaphor that reorders the relationship of the researcher/researched from within, from one focused on the researcher as "self" and on the researched as "other" to one of a common consciousness of all research participants.

Similarly, a Kaupapa Māori approach suggests that concepts of "distance," "detachment," and "separation," epistemological and methodological concerns on which researchers have spent much time in the recent past (Acker, Barry, & Esseveld, 1991; Stacey, 1991; Troyna, 1992, personal communication), do not characterize these research relationships in any way. Rather, Kaupapa Māori research experiences insist that the focus on "self" is blurred and that the focus turns to what Heshusius (1994) describes as a situation where "reality is no longer understood as truth to be interpreted but as mutually evolving" (p. 18). In an operational sense, it is suggested that researchers address the concerns and issues of the participants in ways that are understandable and able to be controlled by the research participants so that these concerns and issues also are, or become, those of the researchers. In other words, spiral discourse provides a means of effecting a qualitative shift in how participants relate to one another. •

Sidorkin (2002) suggests that such understandings have major implications for how we understand the "self" and "invites us to think about the possibilities of a relational self" (p. 96), one in which "only analysis of specific relations in their interaction can provide a glimpse of the meaning of the self" (p. 97). To this end, Fitzsimons and Smith (2000) describe Kaupapa Māori philosophy as that which is "call[ing] for a relational identity through an interpretation of kinship and genealogy and current day events, but not a de-contextualised retreat to a romantic past" (p. 39).

This reordering of what constitutes the research relationship, with its implications and challenges to the essential enlightenment-generated self, is not on terms or within understandings constructed by the researcher, however well-intentioned contemporary impulses to "empower" the "other" might be. From an indigenous perspective, such impulses are misguided and perpetuate neocolonial sentiments. In other words, rather than using researcher-determined criteria for participation in a research process, whakawhanaungatanga uses Māori cultural

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practices, such as those found in hui, to set the pattern for research relationships, collaborative storying being but one example of this principle in practice. Whakawhanaungatanga as a research process uses methods and principles similar to those used to establish relationships among Māori people. These principles are invoked to address the means of research initiation, to establish the research questions, to facilitate participation in the work of the project, to address issues of representation and accountability, and to legitimate the ownership of knowledge that is defined and created.

Kincheloe and McLaren (2000) demonstrate how developments in critical ethnography, as one example, have benefited from such new understandings of culture and cultural practices and processes, used in both literal and figurative senses, to identify "possibilities for cultural critique, that have been opened up by the current blurring and mixing of disciplinary genres—those that emphasize experience, subjectivity, reflexivity and dialogical understanding" (p. 302). One major benefit from such analysis is that social life is "not viewed as preontologically available for the researcher to study" (p. 302). Kincheloe and McLaren suggest that this is a major breakthrough in the domain of critical theory, which previously remained rooted in the Western-based dialectic of binary analysis of oppositional pairings that viewed emancipation in terms of emancipating "others" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000) and, in many cases, conflated economic marginalization with ethnicity and gender and other axes of domination (see Bishop & Glynn, 1999, Chap. 2, for a detailed critique of this approach in New Zealand).

◼ ADDRESSING ISSUES OF
REPRESENTATION AND LEGITIMATION:
A NARRATIVE APPROACH

Interviewing as collaborative storying (Bishop, 1997), as used in the three studies identified earlier, addresses what Lincoln and Denzin (1994) identify as the twin crises of qualitative research—representation and legitimation. It does so by suggesting that rather than there being distinct stages in the research, from gaining access to data gathering to data processing, there is a process of continually revisiting the agenda and the sense-making processes of the research participants within the interview. In this way, meanings are negotiated and co-constructed between the research participants within the cultural frameworks of the discourses within which they are positioned. This process is captured by the image of a spiral. The concept of the spiral not only speaks in culturally preferred terms, the fern or koru,[15] but also indicates that the accumulation is always reflexive. This means that the discourse always returns to the original initiators, where control lies.

Mishler (1986) and Ryan (1999) explain these ideas further by suggesting that in order to construct meaning, it is necessary to appreciate how meaning is grounded in, and constructed through, discourse. Discursive practice is contextually, culturally, and individually related. Meanings in discourse are neither singular nor fixed. Terms take on "specific and contextually grounded meanings within and through the discourse as it develops and is shaped by speakers" (Mishler, 1986, p. 65). To put it another way, "meaning is constructed in the dialogue between individuals and the images and symbols they perceive" (Ryan, 1999, p. 11). A "community of interest" between researchers and participants (call them what you will) cannot be created unless the interview, as one example, is constructed so that interviewers and respondents strive to arrive together at meanings that both can understand. The relevance and appropriateness of questions and responses emerge through and are realized in the discourse itself. The standard process of analysis of interviews abstracts both questions and responses from this process. By suppressing the discourse and by assuming shared and standard meanings, this approach short-circuits the problem of obtaining meaning (Mishler, 1986).

This analysis suggests that when interviewing—one of the most commonly used qualitative methods—there needs to be a trade-off between

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two extremes. The first position claims "the words of an interview are the most accurate data and that the transcript of those words carries that accuracy with negligible loss" (Tripp, 1983, p. 40). In other words, what people say should be presented unaltered and not analyzed in any way beyond that which the respondent undertook. The second position maximizes researcher interpretation, editorial control, and ownership by introducing researcher coding and analysis in the form often referred to as "grounded theory" (after Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This chapter suggests there is a third position, in which the "coding" procedure is established and developed by the research participants as a process of storying and restorying, that is the co-joint construction of further meaning within a sequence of interviews. In other words, there is an attempt within the interview, or rather, within a series of in-depth, semistructured interviews as "conversations" (see Bishop, 1996, 1997), to actually co-construct a mutual understanding by means of sharing experiences and meanings.

The three examples of research outlined at the start of this chapter all used research approaches associated with the process of collaborative storying so that the research participants were able to recollect, to reflect on, and to make sense of their experiences within their own cultural context and, in particular, in their own language, hence being able to position themselves within those discourses wherein explanations/meanings lie. In such ways, their interpretations and analyses became "normal" and "accepted," as opposed to those of the researcher being what is legitimate.

Indeed, when indigenous cultural ways of knowing and aspirations—in this case, for self-determination—are central to the creation of the research context, then the situation goes beyond empowerment to one in which sense making, decision making, and theorizing take place in situations that are "normal" to the research participants rather than constructed by the researcher. Of course, the major implication for researchers is that they should be able to participate in these sense-making contexts rather than expecting the research participants to engage in theirs, emphasizing, as

Tillman (2002, p. 3) suggests, the centrality of culture to the research process and "the multi-dimensional aspects of African-American cultures(s) and the possibilities for the resonance of the cultural knowledge of African-Americans in educational research" (p. 4).

This is not to suggest that only interviews as collaborative stories are able to address Māori concerns and aspirations for self-determination. Indeed, Sleeter (2001) has even argued that "quantitative research can be used for liberatory as well as oppressive ends" (p. 240). My own experiences when researching within secondary schools demonstrate that when spiral discourse occurs "with full regard for local complexities, power relations and previously ignored life experiences" (Sleeter, 2001, p. 241), then powerful outcomes are possible using a variety of research approaches. What is fundamental is not the approach per se, but rather establishing and maintaining relationships that address the power of the participants for self-determination.

The considerations above demonstrate the usefulness of the notion of collaborative storying as a generic approach, not just as a research method that speaks of a reordering of the relationships between researchers and research participants. Sidorkin (2002) suggests that this understanding addresses power imbalances because "[r]elations cannot belong to one thing: they are the joint property of at least two things" (p. 94). Scheurich and Young (1997) describe this as deconstructing research practices that arise out of the "social history and culture of the dominant race" and that "reflect and reinforce that social history and the controlling position of that racial group" (p. 13). Such practices are, as a result, epistemologically racist in that they deny the relational constructedness of the world in order to promote and maintain the hegemony of one of the supposed partners.

Approaches to Authority and Validity

Many of the problems identified above arise from researchers positioning themselves within modernist discourses. It is essential to challenge

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modernist discourses, with their concomitant concerns regarding validity that are addressed by such strategies as objectivity/subjectivity, replicability, and external measures for validity. These discourses are so pervasive that Māori/indigenous researchers may automatically revert to using such means of establishing validity for their texts, but problematically so because these measures of validity are all positioned/defined within another worldview. As bell hooks (1993) explains, the Black Power movement in the United States in the 1960s was influenced by the modernist discourses on race, gender, and class that were current at the time. As a result of not addressing these discourses and the ways they affected the condition of black people, issues such as patriarchy were left unaddressed within the Black Liberation movement. Unless black people address these issues themselves, hooks insists, others will do so for them, in ways determined by the concerns and interests of others rather than those that "women of color" would prefer.[16] Indeed, Linda Tillman (2002) promotes a culturally sensitive research approach for African Americans that focuses on "how African Americans understand and experience the world" (p. 4) and that advocates the use of an approach to qualitative research wherein "interpretative paradigms offer greater possibilities for the use of alternative frameworks, co-construction of multiple realities and experiences, and knowledge that can lead to improved educational opportunities for African Americans" (p. 5).

Yet historically, traditional forms of nonreflective research conducted within what Lincoln and Denzin (1994) term as positivist and post-positivist frames of reference perpetuate problems of outsiders determining what is valid for Māori. This occurs by the very process of employing non-Māori methodological frameworks and conventions for writing about such research processes and outcomes. For example, Lincoln and Denzin (1994) argue that terms such as "logical, construct, internal, ethnographic, and external validity, text-based data, triangulation, trustworthiness, credibility, grounding, naturalistic indicators, fit, coherence, comprehensiveness, plausibility, truth and relevance . . . [are] all

attempts to reauthorize a text's authority in the post-positivist moment" (Lincoln & Denzin, 1994, p. 579).

These concepts, and the methodological frameworks within which they exist, represent attempts to contextualize the grounding of a text in the external, empirical world. "They represent efforts to develop a set of transcendent rules and procedures that lie outside any specific research project" (Lincoln & Denzin, 1994, p. 579). These externalized rules are the criteria by which the validity of a text is then judged. The author of the text is thus able to present the text to the reader as valid, replacing the sense making, meaning construction, and voice of the researched person with that of the researcher by representing the text as an authoritative re-presentation of the experiences of others by using a system of researcher-determined and -dominated coding and analytical tools.

Ballard (1994), referring to Donmoyer's work, suggests that formulaic research procedures are rarely in fact useful as "prescriptions for practice" because people use their own knowledge, experience, feelings, and intuitions "when putting new ideas into practice or when working in new settings" (pp. 301–302). Furthermore, personal knowledge and personal experience can be seen as crucial in the application of new knowledge and/or working in new settings. This means that the application of research findings is filtered through the prior knowledge, feelings, and intuitions we already have. Donmoyer (as cited in Ballard, 1994) proposes that experience compounds, and this compounded knowledge/experience, when brought to a new task, provides for the occurrence of an even more complex process of understandings. Experience builds on and compounds experience, and, as Ballard suggests, this is why there is such value placed on colleagues with experience in the Pākehā world and on kaumātua (elders) in the Māori world.

A related, and somewhat more complex, danger of referring to an existing methodology of participation is that there may be a tendency to construct a set of rules and procedures that lie outside any one research project. In doing so, researchers might take control over what constitutes

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legitimacy and validity, that is, what authority is claimed for the text will be removed from the participants. With such recipes comes the danger of outsiders controlling what constitutes reality for other people.

It is important to note, though, that the Kaupapa Māori approach does not suggest that all knowledge is completely relative. Instead, as Heshusius (1996) states:

> the self of the knower and the larger self of the community of inquiry are, from the very starting point, intimately woven into the very fabric of that which we claim as knowledge and of what we agree to be the proper ways by which we make knowledge claims. It is to say that the knower and the known are one movement. Moreover, any inquiry is an expression of a particular other-self relatedness. (p. 658)

Kaupapa Māori research, based in a different worldview from that of the dominant discourse, makes this political statement while at the same time rejecting a meaningless relativism by acknowledging the need to recognize and address the ongoing effects of racism and colonialism in the wider society.

Kaupapa Māori rejects outside control over what constitutes the text's call for authority and truth. A Kaupapa Māori position promotes what Lincoln and Denzin (1994) term an epistemological version of validity, one in which the authority of the text is "established through recourse to a set of rules concerning knowledge, its production and representation" (p. 578). Such an approach to validity locates the power within Māori cultural practices, where what are acceptable and what are not acceptable research, text, and/or processes is determined and defined by the research community itself in reference to the cultural context within which it operates.

As was explained above, Māori people have always had criteria for evaluating whether a process or a product is valid for them. *Taonga tuku iho* are literally the treasures from the ancestors. These treasures are the collected wisdom of ages, the means that have been established over a long period of time that guide and monitor

people's very lives, today and in the future. Within these treasures are the messages of kawa,[17] those principles that, for example, guide the process of establishing relationships. Whakawhanaungatanga is not a haphazard process, decided on an ad hoc basis, but rather is based on time-honored and proven principles. How each of these principles is addressed in particular circumstances varies from tribe to tribe and hapu to hapu. Nevertheless, it is important that these principles are addressed.

For example, as described earlier, the meeting of two groups of people at a hui on a marae (ceremonial meeting place) involves acknowledgment of the tapu of each individual and of each group, by means of addressing and acknowledging the sacredness, specialness, genealogy, and connectedness of the guests with the hosts. Much time will be spent establishing this linkage, a connectedness between the people involved. How this actually is done is the subject of local customs, which are the correct ways to address these principles of kawa. *Tikanga* are an ongoing fertile ground for debate, but all participants know that if the kawa is not observed, then the event is "invalid": It does not have authority.

Just as Māori practices are epistemologically validated within Māori cultural contexts, so are Kaupapa Māori research practices and texts. Research conducted within a Kaupapa Māori framework has rules established as taonga tuku iho that are protected and maintained by the tapu of Māori cultural practices, such as the multiplicity of rituals within the hui and within the central cultural processes of whanaungatanga. Furthermore, the use of these concepts as constitutive research metaphors is subject to the same culturally determined processes of validation, and the same rules concerning knowledge, its production, and its representation, as are the literal phenomena. Therefore, the verification of a text, the authority of a text, and the quality of its representation of the experiences and its perspective of the participants are judged by criteria constructed and constituted within the culture.

By using such Māori concepts as *whānau, hui,* and *whakawhanaungatanga* as metaphors for the

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research process itself, Kaupapa Māori research invokes and claims authority for the processes and for the texts that are produced in terms of the principles, processes, and practices that govern such events in their literal sense. Metaphoric whānau are governed by the same principles and processes that govern a literal whānau and, as such, are understandable to and controllable by Māori people. Literal whānau have means of addressing contentious issues, resolving conflicts, constructing narratives, telling stories, raising children, and addressing economic and political issues, and, contrary to popular non-Māori opinion, such practices change over time to reflect changes going on in the wider world. Research whānau-of-interest also conduct their deliberations in a whānau style. Kaumātua preside, others get their say according to who they are, and positions are defined in terms of how the definitions will benefit the whānau.

Subjectivities/Objectivities

As was discussed above, an indigenous Kaupapa Māori approach to research challenges colonial and neocolonial discourses that inscribe " otherness." Much quantitative research has dismissed, marginalized, or maintained control over the voice of others by insistence on the imposition of researcher-determined positivist and neopositivist evaluative criteria, internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity. Nonetheless, a paradigm shift to qualitative research does not necessarily obviate this problem. Much qualitative research has also maintained a colonizing discourse of the "other" by seeking to hide the researcher/writer under a veil of neutrality or of objectivity or subjectivity, a situation in which the interests, concerns, and power of the researcher to determine the outcome of the research remain hidden in the text (B. Davies & Harré, 1990).

Objectivity, "that pathology of cognition that entails silence about the speaker, about [his or her] interests and [his or her] desires, and how these are socially situated and structurally maintained" (Gouldner, as cited in Tripp, 1983, p. 32), is a denial of identity. Just as identity to Māori

people is tied up with being part of a whānau, a hapu, and an iwi, in the research relationship, membership in a metaphoric whānau of interest also provides its members with identity and hence the ability to participate. In Thayer-Bacon's (1997) view, "we develop a sense of 'self' through our relationships with others" (p. 241). For Māori researchers to stand aside from involvement in such a sociopolitical organization is to stand aside from their identity. This would signal the ultimate victory of colonization. For non-Māori researchers, denial of membership of the research whānau of interest is, similarly, to deny them a means of identification and hence participation within the projects. Furthermore, for non-Māori researchers to stand aside from participation in these terms is to promote colonization, albeit participation in ways defined by indigenous peoples may well pose difficulties for them. What is certain is that merely shifting one's position within the Western-dominated research domain need not address questions of interest to Māori people, because paradigm shifting is really a concern from another worldview. Non-Māori researchers need to seek inclusion on Māori terms, in terms of kin/metaphoric kin relationships and obligations—that is, within Māori-constituted practices and understandings—in order to establish their identity within research projects.

This does not mean, however, that researchers need to try to control their subjectivities. Heshusius (1994) suggests that managing subjectivity is just as problematic for qualitative researchers as managing objectivity is for the positivists. Esposito and Murphy (2000) similarly raise this problem of the preoccupation of many researchers who, while ostensibly locating themselves within critical race theory, for example, remain focused "strictly on subjectivity" and employ analytic tools "to interpret the discursive exchanges that, in the end, silence the study participants ... [because] the investigator's subjectivity replaces the co-produced knowledge her research presumably represents" (p. 180).

This problem is epistemic in that the development of objectivity, through borrowing methodology from the natural sciences, introduced the

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concept of distance into the research relationship. Heshusius (1994) argues that the displacement of "objective positivism" by qualitative concerns about managing and controlling subjectivities perpetuates the fundamental notion that knowing is possible through constructing and regulating distance, a belief that presumes that the knower is separable from the known, a belief that is anathema to many indigenous people's ways of knowing. Heshusius (1994) suggests that the preoccupation with "managing subjectivity" is a "subtle form of empiricist thought" (p. 16) in that it assumes that if one can know subjectivity, then one can control it. Intellectualizing "the other's impact on self" perpetuates the notion of distance; validates the notions of "false consciousness" in others, emancipation as a project, and "othering" as a process; and reduces the self-other relationship to one that is mechanistic and methodological.

Operationally, Heshusius (1994) questions what we as researchers do after being confronted with "subjectivities": "Does one evaluate them and try to manage and to restrain them? And then believe one has the research process once again under control?" (p. 15). Both these positions address "meaningful" epistemological and methodological questions of the researcher's own choosing. Instead, Heshusius suggests that researchers need to address those questions that would address moral issues, such as "what kind of society do we have or are we constructing?" (p. 20). For example, how can racism be addressed unless those who perpetuate it become aware, through a participatory consciousness, of the lived reality of those who suffer? How can researchers become aware of the meaning of Māori schooling experiences if they perpetuate an artificial "distance" and objectify the "subject," dealing with issues in a manner that is of interest to the researchers rather than of concern to the subjects? The message is that you have to "live" the context in which schooling experiences occur. For example, the third study referred to before, *Te Kotahitanga* (Bishop, Berryman, et al., 2003), commenced by providing teachers with *testimonios* of students' experiences as a means of critically reflecting on the teachers' positioning in respect to deficit thinking and racism.

Preoccupations with managing and controlling one's subjectivities also stand in contrast with Berman's historical analysis, which suggests that "before the scientific revolution (and presumably the enlightenment) the act of knowing had always been understood as a form of participation and enchantment" (cited in Heshusius, 1994, p. 16). Berman states that "for most of human history, man [*sic*] saw himself as an integral part of it" (cited in Heshusius, 1994, p. 16). The very act of participation was knowing. Participation was direct, somatic (bodily), psychic, spiritual, and emotional involvement. "The belief that one can actually distance oneself, and then regulate that distance in order to come to know [has] left us alienated from each other, from nature and from ourselves" (Heshusius, 1994, p. 16).

Heshusius (1994) suggests that instead of addressing distance, researchers need to acknowledge their participation and attempt to develop a "participatory consciousness." This means becoming involved in a "somatic, non-verbal quality of attention that necessitates letting go of the focus of self" (p. 15). The three examples of Kaupapa Māori research projects identified earlier demonstrate that the researchers understand themselves to be involved somatically in a group process, a process whereby the researcher becomes part of a research whânau, limiting the development of insider/outsider dualisms. To be involved somatically means to be involved bodily—that is, physically, ethically, morally, and spiritually, not just in one's capacity as a "researcher" concerned with methodology. Such involvement is constituted as a way of knowing that is fundamentally different from the concepts of personal investment and collaboration that are suggested in traditional approaches to research. Although it appears that "personal investment" is essential, this personal investment is not on terms determined by the "investor." Instead, the investment is on terms mutually understandable and controllable by all participants, so that the investment is reciprocal and could not be otherwise. The "personal investment" by the researcher is not an act by an individual agent but instead emerges out of the context within which the research is constituted.

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The process of colonization developed an alienated and alienating mode of consciousness and, thus, has tried to take a fundamental principle of life away from Māori people—that we do not objectify nature, nor do we subjectify nature. As we learn our whakapapa, we learn of our total integration, connectedness, and commitment to the world and the need to let go of the focus on self. We know that there is a way of knowing that is different from that which was taught to those colonized into the Western way of thought. We know about a way that is born of time, connectedness, kinship, commitment, and participation.

▣ EPILOGUE: A MEANS OF EVALUATING RESEARCHER POSITIONING

This chapter has concluded that researchers and research participants need a means whereby they can critically reflect upon the five issues of power that are identified in Figure 5.1. Figure 5.1 provides a series of critical questions that can be used by researchers and research participants to evaluate power relations prior to and during research activity. The outer circle shows some of the metaphors that might constitute a discursive position within which researchers can be positioned.
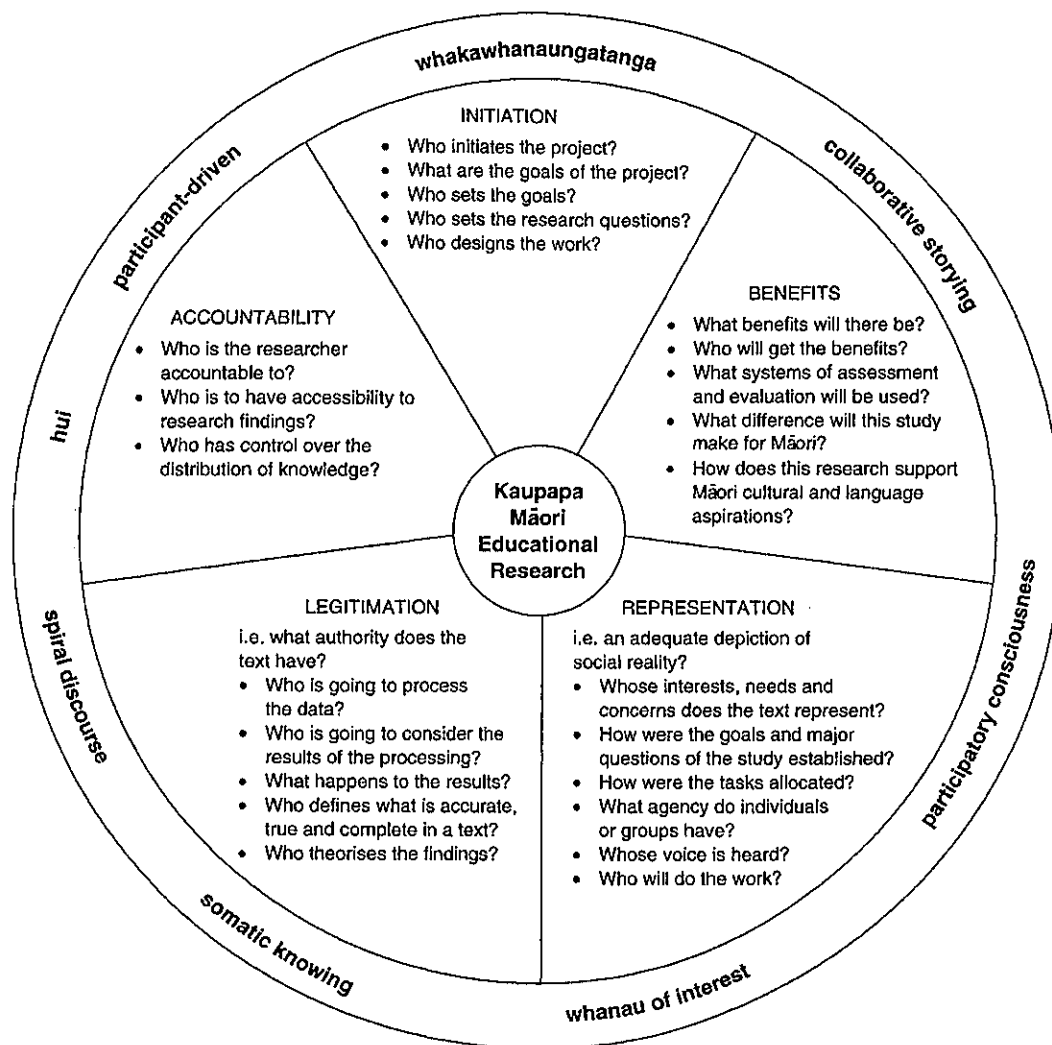

Figure 5.1.   A Means of Evaluating Researcher Positioning

Source: Reproduced with permission from Bishop and Glynn (1999, p. 129).

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APPENDIX: GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

aroha	love in its broadest sense; mutuality
awhi	helpfulness
hapu	subtribe, usually linked to a common ancestor; pregnant
haruru	greeting others by shaking hands and performing a hôngi
hôngi	greeting another person by pressing noses together, to share the breath of life
hui	ceremonial, ritualized meeting
iwi	tribe; bones
kaumâtua	respected elder
kaupapa	agenda, philosophy
kawa	protocol
koha	gift
mana	power
manaaki	hospitality, caring
manuhiri	guest(s)
Māori	indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand
marae	ceremonial meeting place
mihimihi	ritualized self-introduction
Pâkehâ	New Zealanders of European descent
pôwhiri	formal welcome
raranga kôrero	those stories that explain the people and events of a whakapapa
taonga	treasures, including physical, social, cultural, and intellectual
taonga tuku iho	treasures passed down to the present generation from the ancestors
tapu	sacred, to be treated with respect, a restriction, a being with potentiality for power, integrity, specialness
tiaki	to look after; guidance
tikanga	customs, values, beliefs, and attitudes
tino Rangatiratanga	self-determination
whakakotahitanga	developing unity
whakapapa	genealogy
whakawhanaungatanga	establishing relationships
whânau	extended family; to be born
whanaunga	relatives
whanaungatanga	kin relationships

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◲ NOTES

1. This chapter is based on Bishop (1998a, 1998b).

2. Two peoples created Aotearoa/New Zealand when, in 1840, lieutenant-governor Hobson and the chiefs of New Zealand signed the Treaty of Waitangi on behalf of the British Crown and the Māori descendants of New Zealand. The treaty is seen as a charter for power sharing in the decision-making processes of this country and for Māori determination of their own destiny as the indigenous people of New Zealand (Walker, 1990). The history of Māori and Pākehā relations since the signing of the treaty has not been one of partnership, of two peoples developing a nation, but instead one of domination by Pākehā and marginalization of the Māori people (Bishop, 1991b; Simon, 1990; Walker, 1990). This has created the myth of our nation being "one people" with equal opportunities (Hohepa, 1975; Simon, 1990; Walker, 1990). Results of this domination are evident today in the lack of equitable participation by Māori in all positive and beneficial aspects of life in New Zealand and by their overrepresentation in the negative aspects (Pomare, 1988; Simon, 1990). In education, for example, the central government's sequential policies of assimilation, integration, and multiculturalism (Irwin, 1989; Jones, McCulloch, Marshall, Smith, & Smith, 1990) and Taha Māori (Holmes, Bishop, & Glynn, 1993; G. H. Smith, 1990), while concerned for the welfare of Māori people, effectively stress the need for Māori people to subjugate their destiny to the needs of the nation-state, whose goals are determined by the Pākehā majority.

3. "Traditional" is used here to denote that "tradition" of research that has grown in New Zealand as a result of the dominance of the Western worldview in research institutions. Māori means of accessing, defining, and protecting knowledge, however, existed before European arrival. Such Māori cultural processes were protected by the Treaty of Waitangi, subsequently marginalized, but are today legitimized within Māori cultural discursive practice.

4. Please see the glossary of Māori terms for English translations.

5. The concept of hegemony is used here in the sense defined by Michel Foucault (Smart, 1986), who suggests that hegemony is an insidious process that is acquired most effectively through "practices, techniques, and methods which infiltrate minds and bodies, cultural practices which cultivate behaviors and beliefs, tastes, desires and needs as seemingly naturally occurring qualities and properties embodied in the psychic and physical reality of the human subject" (p. 159).

6. I am using the term "discourse" to mean language in social use or in action.

7. Irwin (1992a) argues that prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the colonization of New Zealand, there existed a "complex, vibrant Māori education system" that had "Māori development [as] its vision, its educational processes and its measurable outcomes" (p. 9). Protection of this education system was guaranteed under Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi, just as Article Three guaranteed Māori people, as citizens of New Zealand, the right to equitable educational outcomes. This promise had been negated by subsequent practice, and the outcome is the present educational crisis (L. Davies & Nicholl, 1993; Jones et al., 1990). The posttreaty education system that developed in New Zealand—the mission schools (Bishop, 1991a), the Native schools (Simon, 1990), and the present mainstream schools (Irwin, 1992a)—has been unable to "successfully validate matauranga Māori, leaving it marginalised and in a precarious state" (Irwin, 1992a, p. 10). Furthermore, while mainstream schooling does not serve Māori people well (L. Davies & Nicholl, 1993), the Māori schooling initiatives of Te Kohanga reo (Māori medium preschools), Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori medium primary schools), Whare Kura (Māori medium secondary schools), and Whare Waananga (Māori tertiary institutions), "which have developed from within Māori communities to intervene in Māori language, cultural, educational, social and economic crises *are successful in the eyes of the Māori people*" (G. H. Smith, 1992, p. 1, emphasis added).

8. Article Two of an English translation of the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi states: "The Queen of England agrees to protect the Chiefs, the subtribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures. But on the other hand the Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs will sell land to the Queen at a price agreed to by the person owning it and by the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent" (Kawharu, as cited in Consedine & Consedine, 2001, p. 236). It is the first part of this article that has relevance to this argument, that is, the promise that Māori people were guaranteed chiefly control over that which they treasured.

9. Whânau is a primary concept (a cultural preference) that underlies narratives of Kaupapa

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Māori research practice. This concept contains both values (cultural aspirations) and social processes (cultural practices). The root word of "whānau" literally means "family" in its broad, "extended" sense. However, the word "whānau" is increasingly being used in a metaphoric sense (Metge, 1990). This generic concept of whānau subsumes other related concepts: whanaunga (relatives), whanaungatanga (relationships), whakawhanaungatanga (the process of establishing relationships), and whakapapa (literally, the means of establishing relationships). (The prefix "whaka" means "to make"; the suffix "tanga" has a naming function.)

10. This poses major challenges for assessment in education settings.

11. It is important to emphasize at this point that the use of Māori cultural practices (literally and/or metaphorically) in research might lead those not familiar with New Zealand to question how relevant such an analysis is to the lived realities of Māori people today. Because Māori people today are a Fourth World nation or nations—that is, within a larger entity—it is more a matter of degree as to who participates and when they participate. Therefore, rather than being able to quantify which portion of the Māori population still acts in this way, it is perhaps more realistic to say that most Māori do at some time. For some, it might be only at funerals or weddings; others, of course, (albeit a small proportion) live this way all the time, but increasingly more and more Māori people are participating in (for example) kaupapa Māori educational initiatives, and these are all run in a Māori manner. Thus, most people do sometimes, some all the time, and others not so often. What is perhaps more critical is that most Māori people are able to understand the processes and are able to participate. Much is said of the impact of urbanization on Māori people and the removal of young people from their tribal roots and the consequent decline in language abilities and cultural understandings. It is a measure of the strength of the whānau (the extended family) and the strength of genealogical linkages, however, that when Māori people gather, the hui (formal meetings) process is usually the one that is used, almost as a "default setting," despite more than a century of colonization. Indeed, it is a measure of the strength of these cultural practices and principles that they have survived the onslaught of the last 150 years. It is to these underlying strengths that I turn also as inspiration for developing an approach to Māori research. My argument, then, is not an attempt to identify "past practices" or reassemble a romantic past, but rather to examine what might constitute the emerging field of Kaupapa Māori research in reference to present Māori cultural practices that are guided by the messages from the past. Māori, along with many other indigenous people, are guided by the principle of guidance from the ancestors. It is not a matter of studying how people did things in the past but more an ongoing dynamic interactive relationship between those of us alive today as the embodiment of all those who have gone before. It seems to me that, in practice, Māori cultural practices are alive and well and that, when used either literally or metaphorically, they enable Māori people to understand and control what is happening.

12. Eminent Māori scholar Rose Pere (1991) describes the key qualities of a hui as

> respect, consideration, patience, and cooperation. People need to feel that they have the right and the time to express their point of view. You may not always agree with the speakers, but it is considered bad form to interrupt their flow of speech while they are standing on their feet; one has to wait to make a comment. People may be as frank as they like about others at the hui, but usually state their case in such a way that the person being criticized can stand up with some dignity in his/her right of reply. Once everything has been fully discussed and the members come to some form of consensus, the hui concludes with a prayer and the partaking of food. (p. 44)

13. This may appear to be somewhat patronizing; however, our experience when conducting Kaupapa Māori research is that research participants are often surprised by our insistence that we wish to enter into a dialogue with them about the meaning they construct from their experiences. Our experience is that the traditional "speaking for" type of research is so pervasive and dominant that participants are initially surprised that they might have an authoritative voice in the process rather than just being a source of data for an outside researcher. What are truly heartening are the positive responses we have had from participants of all ages, once they realized that they were able to engage in a dialogue.

14. For further details of the use of Māori metaphor, see Bishop (1996) and Bishop and Glynn (1999).

15. In New Zealand, the koru represents growth, new beginnings, renewal, and hope for the future.

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16. Donna Awatere (1981) and Kathie Irwin (1992b) are two Māori feminist scholars who have taken up this challenge in Aotearoa/New Zealand, in a way that has clearly delineated their stance as different from white feminisms. In operationalizing Māori feminisms, they have critiqued modernist issues from a Māori worldview in Māori ways. Awatere critiqued white modernist feminists for hegemonically voicing Māori feminist concerns as identical to their own. Kathie Irwin's (1992b) critique addressed a question that is vexatious to non-Māori modernist feminists: "Why don't women speak on a marae?" She responded with other questions, such as "What do you mean by speaking? . . . Is a karanga not speaking?" and "Who is defining what speaking is?" She asserts that rather than taking an essentialist position, the validity of a text written about Māori women "speaking" on a marae is understandable only in terms of the rules established within Māori cultural practices associated with marae protocols. In this, she is not only addressing a Māori issue but also is addressing modernist feminists in poststructural terms of epistemological validity.

17. People often use the term *kawa* to refer to marae protocols. For example, at the time of whaikorero (ritualized speechmaking), some tribes conduct this part of the pôwhiri by a tikanga known as paeke, where all the male speakers of the hosts' side will speak at one time, then turn the marae over to the visitors' speaker, who then follows. Other tribes prefer to follow a tikanga termed utuutu, where hosts and visitors alternate. Some tribes welcome visitors into their meeting house following a hôngi; others keep the hôngi until the end of the welcoming time. It is clear that these various tikanga are practices that are correct in certain tribal or hapu contexts, but underneath is the practice of the kawa being handed down from those who have gone before, concerning the need to recognize the tapu of people, their mana, their wairua, and the mauri of the place and events. See Salmond (1975) for a detailed ethnographic study.

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