

## **The Creative Potential Paradigm emerging in iwi/Māori communities<sup>1</sup>**

Te Ahukaramū

Charles Royal

Presented Draft

Thank you for inviting me to address you today.

For the past century and longer, iwi/Māori communities have been dominated by the quest for social justice and the desire for cultural revitalisation. These two themes have arisen in response to the well known Māori experience of colonisation and they will continue to be important in iwi/Māori communities for some time yet.

In the past decade or so, however, new voices have arisen, new ideas have been expressed and new ways of thinking have begun to emerge in our communities. These ideas and voices have largely concerned creativity and opportunity and I call this emerging theme 'creative potential'. Perhaps the settlement of Treaty of Waitangi claims is the best example of processes and movements which have taken our people from social justice and cultural revitalisation to creativity and innovation.

Today, I would like to discuss this general cultural movement to 'creative potential' and how this might relate to New Zealand's libraries and archives. I would like to introduce my discussion by describing some personal history and experiences. I hope you don't find me too immodest to do so. The movement toward creativity and innovation which embraces cultural revitalisation, restoration and social justice reflects something of my own journey.

### **Some Personal History**

In 1987 I was given my first real research job – as an assistant researcher to Mānuka Henare, Ted Douglas and Mason Durie at the then Royal Commission on Social Policy. Our job was to prepare papers on aspects of historical and contemporary Māori society and culture as potential contributions to the Royal Commission's report. In 1998 I worked as a researcher at Ministry for the Environment during which time I worked with Shane Jones, Morrie Love, Hera Douglas, Tom Mikaere, Tim Fraser and Rev. Māori Marsden. Our task here was to research historical and contemporary Māori views on the environment, views

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<sup>1</sup> A keynote address delivered to Tranzform: Te Tinihanga, A Conference of the Library and Information Association of New Zealand, Rotorua, 10 September 2007.

which could help inform a policy position for the Resource Management Law Reform.

For approximately 18 months in 1989 and 1990, it was my great fortune to be employed as a researcher at Alexander Turnbull Library. I was lucky enough to work with Wharehuia Hemara, Carol O'Biso and Mīria Simpson. I also met Margaret Calder and Jim Traue. We worked on a treaty exhibition called 'Ngā Tohu o te Tiriti: The Treaty Speaks'. I greatly enjoyed my time at the Turnbull as it gave me an excellent introduction to historical and humanities research in New Zealand. Whilst my particular interest was Māori history, my time at the Turnbull exposed me to a range of important thinkers, writers, research, librarians and archivists in New Zealand. During this time I met numerous library professionals such as Chris Szekely who, of course, now heads the Turnbull.

In 1990, I was fortunate to be approached by Jock Phillips, then Chief Historian, Department of Internal Affairs, to write a small guide for researching iwi histories and traditions. The resulting book was called *Te Haurapa-An Introduction to Researching Tribal Histories and Traditions* and was published in 1992. The book was one of a number of research guides, written under Jock's auspices, which were designed primarily to assist researchers of New Zealand's history. Other guides were written by Gavin McLean and Megan Hutching.

After that time, I was fortunate to receive the Fellowship in Māori History, at the Department of Internal Affairs, again through Jock's intercession, where I researched and wrote a text on *mōteatea* or traditional Māori song poetry. Entitled *Kāti au i konei: He Kohikohinga i ngā Waiata a Ngāti Toarangatira, a Ngāti Raukawa*, the book was published in 1994. Also at this time I worked on various environmental projects as well claims research for Te Rūnanga-o-Raukawa, Ōtaki. During this time Wharehuia Milroy was tremendously important as he assisted my Fellowship and also acted as external examiner for masters dissertation (and later my doctoral dissertation as well).

My purpose in mentioning these projects is to let you know a little of my entry into the world of historical and humanities research and writing. It was during this period that I first came to know about research in libraries and archives and it was on this basis that I was subsequently able to prepare contributions to a range of publications such as the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, the *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, the *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature* and, more recently, *Te Ara-the Online New Zealand Encyclopaedia*. There have been

numerous other projects as well in which New Zealand libraries and archives have been invaluable – my doctoral study, further publications and more.

My overall assessment is that New Zealand libraries and archives have improved greatly in their handling of Māori materials and with interacting with the Māori community. Whilst much remains to be done – particularly with Māori language material – New Zealand's libraries and archives are to be congratulated for the developments that have taken place with Māori materials in recent years. I see further and exciting developments and improvements taking place with digitisation projects and with connections and relationships with our communities. I'll return to this theme of future possibilities later.

During this period, 1987-1994, my interests lay primarily with cultural restoration and social justice and, looking back now, I think most Māori researchers were of a similar mind. These themes consciously and unconsciously influenced our research and the way in which we interacted with libraries and archives. On the whole, we learnt that our libraries and archives contained much material of great importance to the 'Māori renaissance' and, importantly, we learnt ways and means to access this material and make it available to our communities and to our projects.

### **The Move to Creativity – Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa**

Following this early period of research, in 1996, I was offered the position of Director of Graduate Studies and Research at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, Ōtaki. My chief responsibility was to convene a masters programme in mātauranga Māori and I maintained this role till 2002. It is fair to say that at the beginning I was quite unclear about what we were trying to achieve with this programme and I relied quite heavily upon my personal research experiences prior to that time. After a while, however, I found that this masters programme, and Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa as a whole, was trying to achieve something quite different with Māori knowledge than what I had understood to that point.

The establishment of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa was inspired by a number of key ideas such as the importance of the Māori language, the desire for autonomy and independence in iwi affairs, the revitalisation of marae and more. These ideas are expressed in *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano-Generation 2000*, the tribal development programme under which Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa was established. As these ideas began to take hold, an important theme emerged concerning Māori culture as a living culture, capable of creating new things, new ideas, new possibilities.

This was Māori culture not as an historical phenomenon, but rather Māori culture as alive, modern and vitalised. The difference is deeply significant.

Prior to this time, my interest lay primarily with the reconstruction of Māori identity, and feelings of being Māori. This entailed restoring pre-existing Māori knowledge to Māori people. For example, whilst my small research guide, *Te Haurapa*, concerns research and iwi histories and traditions, its real motivation lay with the construction of Māori identity and feelings of being Māori.

My role at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, however, challenged me to do something else with Māori knowledge. It catalysed me to look beyond the repatriation of Māori culture to Māori people. I came to see that my role was ultimately about equipping our students to become creative with mātauranga Māori. As I was training researchers, and as research is ultimately concerned with the creation of new knowledge, I saw that our real purpose was to develop inspired and creative individuals within the mātauranga Māori tradition. I see this as a movement from a preoccupation with mātauranga to the development of the faculties, skills and abilities of *wānanga* in an individual person and in a community. I will discuss this again shortly.

When I left Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa at the end of 2003, I made a personal commitment to creativity and innovation and have dedicated my research efforts since then to the theme of 'the creative potential of mātauranga Māori'. Just recently I completed a new research project entitled 'Te Kaimānga: Towards a New Vision for mātauranga Māori'. This was funded by the Foundation of Research, Science and Technology 2004-2007. One of the key goals of this research was to explore and describe the creative potential of mātauranga Māori as well as the general creative potential paradigm.

Since 2003, I have also been involved in the development of *Vision Mātauranga*, a policy framework developed for the Ministry for Research, Science and Technology<sup>2</sup>. It gives expression to the creative potential paradigm and seeks the development of distinctive contributions to economic development, to environmental sustainability, to health and wellbeing, contributions fashioned from the 'materials' of the Māori world. This is an example of the creative potential paradigm in a policy setting.

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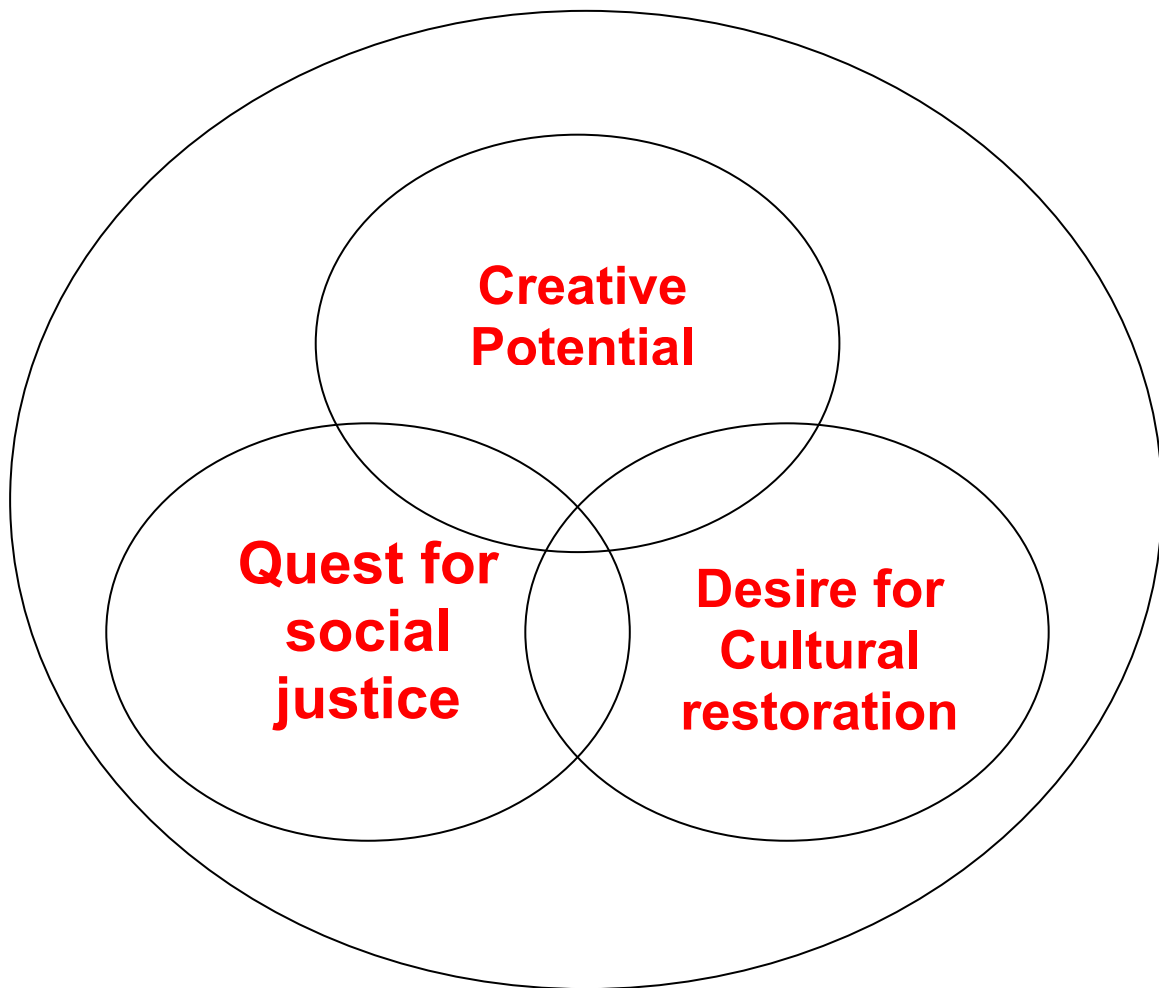
<sup>2</sup> <http://www.morst.govt.nz/current-work/vision-matauranga/>

### **Creative Potential, Social Justice, Cultural Restoration/Revitalisation**

As I have mentioned, our communities have been dominated by the themes of:

- The quest for social justice
- The desire for cultural restoration

In more recent times, a new language of creative potential has emerged. This does not mean that iwi/Māori communities have not been creative in the past – indeed on occasions Māori have been ingenious with their developments and the adoption of introduced ideas, technologies and worldview. However, the creative potential paradigm is now coming to *conscious articulation*. Furthermore, creative potential is seen as a way by which matters of social justice and cultural restoration might be addressed. Hence, creative potential does not mean an abandonment of social justice and cultural restoration but rather a positioning of these themes within a larger paradigm of creativity and innovation:



### **Aspects of the new 'Creative Potential' paradigm**

Creativity, innovation, opportunity and enterprise are being articulated in explicit ways by Māori leaders, creators and thinkers. I would like to describe three themes within the creative potential paradigm:

- a source of national pride
- an interleaved distinctiveness
- mana as creativity

I stress that these interpretations are mine and there are other ways by which these ideas are being expressed.

#### *A Source of National Pride*

A key aspect of the paradigm is the assertion that the Māori world – through its knowledge, people and resources – are able to make distinctive and important contributions to our nation overall. For a very long time, Māori enterprises and activities have been isolated within the national consciousness. Often Māori activities take place far away from the attention of the general population and culture – sometimes completely separate and disconnected. This is not surprising to those who are familiar with New Zealand history. The widespread colonisation and disenfranchisement of Māori communities resulted in a turning inward and away from so-called 'Pākehā' society and culture. In turning inward and away, the grievances held by many iwi communities continued to fester throughout the lifetimes of several generations.

The 'creative potential' paradigm seeks to overcome these kinds of perceptions and experiences by urging iwi/Māori to create distinctive creative enterprises of quality, prowess and ability. The paradigm challenges Māori to undertake activities which although inspired by something deep within their own iwi backgrounds, culture and experience, are nonetheless activities to which many people may connect with and be inspired by.

#### *An Interleaved Distinctiveness*

On the whole, however, Māori today recognise that their enterprises, activities and organisations exist and operate in a diverse economy and society. Consequently, they have to relate to and connect with a range of entities and their attendant expectations and culture. For example, a *rūnanga* is a distinctive kind of organisation. It represents a distinctive community, addresses distinctive issues and addresses these issues and acts in distinctive ways (tikanga Māori). A modern *rūnanga* can also draw upon the historical *rūnanga*, an institution of iwi

culture stretching back many generations in iwi history. This lends to the modern rūnanga a distinctive history and culture.

A modern rūnanga, however, is often a legal entity – such as an incorporated society – and so that it may participate in the wider economy. A modern rūnanga is a often key legal mechanism which enables capital to flow into an iwi community and also by which the resources of that community may be dispensed in appropriate ways. Hence, a modern rūnanga is both a traditional institution as well as a modern legal entity. For this reason, ‘interleaved’ (or perhaps interweaved) is used to signal the sense that a Māori enterprise is woven into the economy, is an element of the economy, whilst remaining distinctive within it.

### *Mana as creativity*

A third feature of this paradigm, as I see it, is mana as creativity. On many occasions mana is popularly translated as power. In my view this is unfortunate for whilst there are similarities, in the context of impoverished and colonised communities, the view that mana means power serves to strengthen the desire by those communities for a view of power similar to that expressed by Government, the law, the state and so on. The desire by disempowered communities to acquire power which they perceive to reside in others is a common feature of impoverished communities worldwide. In the Māori setting, this has led to ideologically driven thinking which seeks for Māori an amount of Crown power. Now whilst power is a tremendously important issue for the powerless – and I do not want to diminish in any way the importance of power for the disempowered – for Māori communities this way of thinking about power (and mana) has led us into endless and unwinnable contests with so-called Crown/Government power.

An alternative is available to us in the form of mana, which is an entirely and deeply different idea about being, one which we can find in our traditions. I encourage our people out of the view that mana means ‘the power to hold accountable’ to one in which mana is expressed as creativity. This view of mana is derived primarily through an interpretation of mana whenua.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> There are three kinds of mana – *mana atua*, or mana derived from divine sources; *mana tupuna* or mana derived from one’s heritage and inheritance; and *mana whenua*, mana derived from the land of one’s authority. I interpret *mana atua* to be mana derived from one’s deepest, most fervently held commitments; *mana tupuna* as mana derived from one’s inheritance including the heritage of the natural world; and *mana whenua* as mana derived from one’s creativity, from one’s ability to

### **The new paradigm viewed from within mātauranga Māori**

There are other ways too in which to think about the 'creative potential' paradigm. These ways are expressed in mātauranga Māori in the following themes:

- moving through *tangata Māori* to *tangata whenua*
- moving through *Te Ao Māori* to *Te Ao Mārama*
- moving through *mātauranga* to *wānanga*

As in the previous discussion relating to the positioning of the quest for social justice and cultural restoration within a larger paradigm of creative potential, this discussion positions the former categories within the larger themes relating to the world as a whole. For example, the movement from Te Ao Māori to Te Ao Mārama entails a movement *through* Te Ao Māori into Te Ao Mārama. One achieves the latter by moving through the former. Similarly with tangata Māori to tangata whenua and mātauranga to wānanga.

#### ***Moving through tangata Māori to tangata whenua***

Cultural restoration has been a dominant theme in Māori attitudes to mātauranga Māori for a century or more. Māori have been motivated by a clear desire to restore Māori culture to Māori people and to uphold Māori identity. In this paradigm, the idea of 'being Māori' is of greatest importance. This is reflected in emphases placed upon tikanga *Māori*, Te Ao *Māori*, Te Reo *Māori* and, of course, mātauranga *Māori*. This understandable emphasis and conscious labelling arises from a troubled encounter with non-Māori which resulted in deculturation.

During the early period of my 'Māori' learning, I was very much concerned with coming to an experience and understanding my 'Māori' identity. What was driving me was a desire to feel and be 'Māori'. Overall, I was concerned to reclaim *pre-existing* knowledge and to construct in my consciousness an experience of 'being Māori'.

Now that I have acquired an amount of knowledge about my iwi, hapū and whānau backgrounds, I find myself less urgent and anxious concerning my 'Māori' identity. This is because I have completed an amount of learning about

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give birth to things in the world. All these kinds of mana come together to inform *te mana o te tangata*, a person's mana.

my own iwi/Māori history and identity. Whilst there is so much more to learn, I can say that I have a modicum of experience with 'being Māori'. Hence, the idea of 'being Māori' is not so forceful in my thinking and experience now. My motivation now – and I am a little older now – lies with a desire to see the world as it actually is, and to embrace the world of my actual experience. With respect to *identity*, I conceptualise this as a move through tangata Māori to *tangata whenua*.

The move through tangata Māori to tangata whenua is challenging for it asks to us to understand what meant by 'tangata whenua' today. Are we truly 'people of the land' now?

A key aspect of the difference between tangata Māori and tangata whenua is that the first (tangata Māori) draws a boundary between one group of people (Māori) and humanity overall through the use of an ethnic prescriptor. The second boundary is drawn along philosophical and worldview lines. That is, *tangata whenua* is a way of thinking and being in the world. Importantly, this movement does not propose an abandonment of 'tangata Māori' in favour of 'tangata whenua'. Rather it prescribes a *movement through* tangata Māori to tangata whenua. Hence, we begin to see an identity category beyond 'Māori'.

### ***Moving through Te Ao Māori to Te Ao Mārama***

A second way of thinking about the transition I am referring to is through the use of the terms Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Mārama. As with the terms 'tangata Māori', 'Te Ao Māori' points to a 'world' prescribed primarily with an ethnic prescriptor called 'Māori'. Here what is important is knowledge, experience and action designed to uphold, and sometimes, defend a 'world' called Te Ao Māori, however, vaguely defined that may be. On the whole, Te Ao Māori is both a real and an imagined world (one we see in our mind's eye) which is bounded by the term 'Māori'.

Te Ao Mārama, on the other hand, is a traditional set of terms (found in many iwi creation traditions) concerning the world of our actual experience, one could say the 'real' world. The movement through Te Ao Māori to Te Ao Mārama entails moving from consciously upholding or defending a world to embracing the world as it is and utilising mātauranga Māori in our engagement with it. I see this as a creative task – utilising our indigenous knowledge to make sense of our contemporary world. In a way, one can consider this as a move from an 'artificial' world called 'Te Ao Māori' to the 'real' world of Te Ao Mārama.

One of the interesting aspects of this movement into Te Ao Mārama is recognition of the loss of meaningfulness of the term 'Māori' (and by extension Pākehā). Moving into Te Ao Mārama shows us how much of mātauranga Māori is really about universal human experiences understood in distinctive ways within mātauranga Māori. Here the motivation of 'being Māori' is less of a concern and one opens up to our collective humanity, engaged in the universal drama of life.

Secondly, one comes to see that the term Māori is an unnecessary boundary. It is what Edward Said calls a 'reductive formulae'<sup>4</sup>, a term which undermines and misrepresents the vast diversity in the peoples and cultures to which the term is customarily applied.

Now let me be clear. I am not saying that the identity called Māori is not meaningful, for it is. However, I am suggesting that 'being Māori' in and of itself is not an endpoint but rather a starting point into which one may move toward and participate in a collective humanity, which I have now labelled *tangata whenua*. I see this as vitally important as it helps us Māori move into the world at large whilst at the same time as maintaining a distinctive identity. It also offers something distinctive for us to take to the world – namely, the challenge of indigeneity, of tangata whenuatanga, a challenge that is vital and relevant to all peoples all over the world, the challenge of re-establishing a balanced and perhaps kinship based relationship with the natural world, a matter of tremendous urgency. Indigenous knowledge and mātauranga Māori have contributions to make in this direction.

### *Moving through Mātauranga to Wānanga*

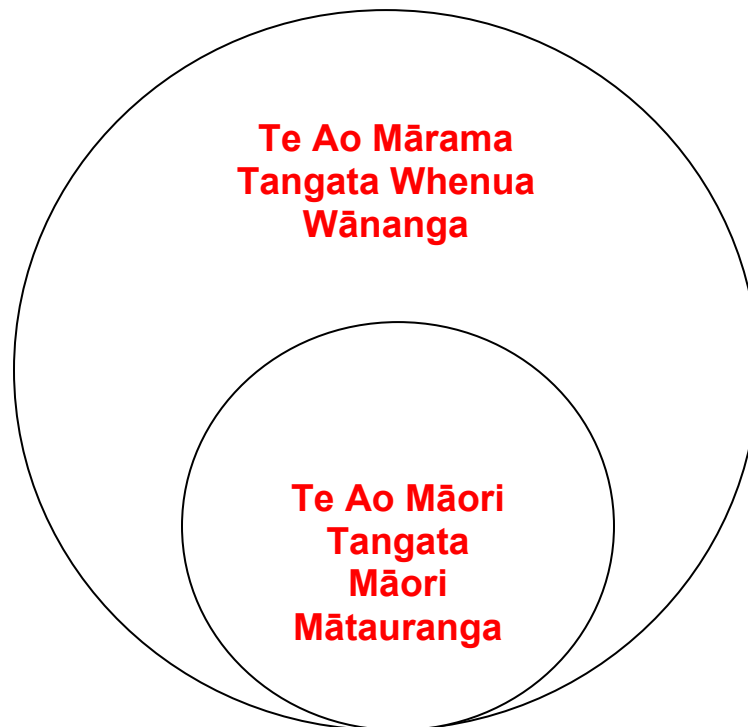
One final way of thinking about this transition is by considering the move from mātauranga to wānanga. That is moving from the acquisition of pre-existing knowledge as an end point to supplementing the acquisition of knowledge with the creation of new knowledge. Again, during the early part of my learning, I was singularly determined and focused upon acquiring as much mātauranga Māori as possible – waiata, karakia, whakapapa and so on. When I look back, I am astounded by how much effort I, and others like me, put into learning iwi histories and traditions. Overall, this effort concerned the acquisition of pre-existing knowledge leading to an experience and a feeling of 'being Māori'.

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<sup>4</sup> *Orientalism*, The 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition, by Edward Said, p. xxviii. Vintage Books, 2003.

My attitude to the knowledge created by my ancestors was reverential in tone. Singularly focused as I was upon acquiring mātauranga Māori, my mind seldom turned to critically analysing what I was learning. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, when one is in the grip of a tremendous motivation, the journey is intoxicating and one is swept into a passion of learning. I was happy to receive uncritically the knowledge that my elders shared with me.

This movement is somewhat akin to the natural maturation of the learning individual who after a period of having acquired a certain amount of knowledge comes to the understanding that the quantity of knowledge one holds is not the goal, but rather the quality of their thinking when encountering life. In Māori we can say that this is moving from mātauranga to wānanga and ultimately, *māramatanga* (confer Te Ao Mārama), understanding, illumination and wisdom.



A key realisation in my exploration of mātauranga Māori was to discover that much of this knowledge – like knowledge from cultures throughout the world – is a response to universal human experiences – birth, marriage, pain, happiness, hunger, longing, need, death and so on – and so to a certain degree it is a misnomer to say these are *Māori* experiences as all peoples everywhere undergo these experiences. What is distinctive about mātauranga Māori are its responses to these things. Its perspectives on life and death, on right and wrong, on

happiness and sadness are what is distinctive (although again, some of these perspectives are shared with other cultures) to mātauranga Māori. Further, that distinctive aspects of mātauranga Māori responding to universal human experiences arise from:

- a distinctive and unique set of environmental conditions (islands in the middle of the vast Pacific Ocean)
- a society and culture organised along genealogical lines
- an oral culture
- a limited technological base
- a certain cultural attitude toward the natural world (indigenuity)

There is much more to be said here. The key idea is that the move to mātauranga Māori inspired creativity is suggested by mātauranga Māori itself. The preceding passages offered ideas concerning the development of creative cultures utilising mātauranga Māori. This is because real advances in mātauranga Māori will take place when iwi communities (who rightfully see themselves as owners of the knowledge) are heavily involved and are happy with the direction. Advances in mātauranga Māori go hand in hand with the development of the communities who own the knowledge.

### **Some Thoughts for New Zealand Libraries and Archives**

What might this mean for libraries and archives? Here are some thoughts. New Zealand librarians and archivists are well aware of the desire by Māori for knowledge to support particularly Waitangi Tribunal claims and the restoration of Māori culture to Māori people. Our libraries and archives have put a lot of time and effort into assisting our people in the realisation of these goals.

My thought, however, is that as the creative potential paradigm takes hold in Māori communities, they will seek something different from our libraries and archives. The 2005 Hui Taumata<sup>5</sup> was an event in which the creative potential paradigm was given prominence. The 2007 Māori Innovation Conference was another example. New policies are emerging in Government – such as *Vision Mātauranga*. All these activities will influence the way in which the Māori community engages libraries and archives. Māori will seek assistance from libraries and archives to assist with these developments. Here are some further ideas:

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<sup>5</sup> See [www.huitaumata.maori.nz](http://www.huitaumata.maori.nz)

- ***Digital rather than oral:*** For some time now, written and digitised sources of mātauranga Māori have eclipsed oral repositories. Today, many young people will receive greater amounts of mātauranga Māori through digital means and through their formal education than in their families and marae. For pre-existing mātauranga Māori, libraries and archives will be seen as the primary source (not necessarily for new mātauranga Māori). This has a deeply significant effect on many things in our communities such as the level of confidence our communities feel about their identity and culture and tensions that arise when young people know more than their elders.
- ***Digital natives still need oral guidance:*** As we know, digitisation will fundamentally change the way in which libraries and archives operate. Furthermore, our children and young people will be digital natives – they will have different ways to pose questions, to find answers, to construct knowledge - ways that are being facilitated by digital processes and repositories. Our children and young people will feast more and more upon digital sources of information and yet the need for mentors, oral guidance and elders will remain and will need to adapt to this changing reality. Libraries and archives may assist in this mentoring of young people as well by bringing elders and mentors into libraries.
- ***Cultural Historians rather than Claims Historians:*** As we know, in recent times much Māori energy has gone into claims research. I suspect that this will decline as the claims process itself begins to slow down and as new possibilities come forth. As explore mātauranga Māori more and more, I see new possibilities coming forth and being acted upon. For example, with respect to the writing of histories, I am greatly looking forward to a history of love in iwi history, or a history of perfumes, or warfare or diplomacy or technology and so on. Rather than utilising libraries to support claims or for cultural restoration, a more diverse range of needs and issues will arise influencing interactions with libraries and archives.
- ***Researchers of mātauranga Māori enabling new creativity:*** I think that an emphasis upon mātauranga Māori will continue to grow as new cultural enterprises are developed. For example, my doctoral research concerned traditional Māori performing arts prior to the modern kapa haka. This research is being used in a new trust called *Ōrotokare: Art, Story, Motion*<sup>6</sup> which is exploring new dance and movement based upon some dance perspectives one can find in mātauranga Māori. Hence, as these kinds of distinctive enterprises take hold in our communities – such as tourism

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<sup>6</sup> [www.orotokare.org.nz](http://www.orotokare.org.nz)

enterprises, educational services, research programmes, art, film, design and so on, our researchers will wish to engage libraries and archives to help assist and deepen their creativity.

I would like to conclude by congratulating the Library and Information Association of New Zealand for a splendid conference. Thank you again for inviting me to speak and to share some thoughts and ideas with you.



Dr. Charles Royal (Te Ahukaramū) is a composer, writer and researcher. He is director of *Mauriora-ki-te-Ao/Living Universe Ltd* and a graduate of Victoria University's School of Music. Charles's research interests lie with indigenous knowledge (including *mātauranga Māori*) and indigenous performing arts (including *te whare tapere*). Charles has written and/or edited five books, all pertaining to *mātauranga Māori* and in 1998 he completed a doctoral dissertation at Victoria University on *te whare tapere*, or traditional 'houses' of entertainment., storytelling and dance. From 1996 to 2002, Charles was Director of Graduate Studies and Research at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa in Ōtaki where he convened a masters programme on *mātauranga Māori*. In 2001, Charles was Fulbright New Zealand Senior Scholar and the recipient of a Winston Churchill Memorial Trust travelling scholarship. This enabled him to travel to the United States and Canada to study indigenous worldviews. Charles is currently researching and writing a text in Māori which will present a theory of knowledge utilising aspects of *mātauranga Māori*. In October 2004 Charles took up a research residency at the Rockefeller Foundation Study and Research Center in Bellagio, Italy, where he began work on an English version of this text. From 2005-2007, Charles is leading a new research project entitled 'Te Kaimānga: Towards a New Vision for *Mātauranga Māori*'. Charles's iwi affiliations are with Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tamaterā an Ngā Puhī.

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