Rangatiratanga: Narratives of Racism, Resistance, and Well-being

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Legislated to die, land alienation, marginalisation
Separation from things held dear
Our social norms eroded
Our economy in despair
Whānau [extended family], communal living untenable
Kūmara [sweet potato] patches gone
Tangaroa [god of the ocean and fish] fenced
Traditional pathways owned
No longer by us, no longer by us

Legislation made to thwart again and again, again . . . and again To save? To support? It's legislation again

Rangatira [chiefs], what's that?

Now left to be

Once were chiefs

Over what, over what?

Our water, our whenua [land], ourselves?

Ko tēnei te wā o te kawa o te wai! [now our water is polluted]
Ko tēnei te wā o te mamae o te whenua! [now our land is hurting]
Ko tēnei te wā o te mate o ngā tāngata! [now our people are being killed]
Ko ēnei ngā impacts i tēnei wa! [these are the impacts of today]
Anei rā! i ā ha ha! [Here it is! Alas!]

Once were maunga [mountains] climbed in the rain Once were awa [rivers] strode in the wind Once were waka [canoes] carved in the shade Once were pepeha [tribal sayings] known...

Lived in and within!

... Not now, not now...

Once all children gathered pipi [an edible bivalve] in the sun

Are our current structures fit for chiefs?

Do our current systems work in the streets?

Will our processes give children a feed?

Not fit for purpose, not open to view

Not hearing the stories, not talking the reo [Māori language] . . . always knowing best!

Imposed . . . supposed . . . erode . . . implode . . .

No work, no dollars, only blue collar

If you're lucky, if you're lucky!

... Got 20 cents in my pocket, doo di di doo ditty doo ...

Always past tense, never in the now

Once was, once was . . . it's all history now!

"Her grandmother was a Māori [Indigenous people of New Zealand] princess" this is the current state

Keep up with the play, play by the rules

Don't need to listen to what? . . . What you say?!

We hold the pitch, we make da rules! It's all passé,

Eroded away . . .

The constructs of independence eroded away . . .

Ko tēnei te rā o te pakanga roa . . . [the war is now]

Eroded away, eroded away, te ranga o te tira [the weaving of the people] eroded away

Our rā ranga tira [day of weaving the people] ... woven away ... woven away ... woven away ... woven away ...

Stephanie Turner

The Whakatika Research Project is a four-year project, undertaken by Independent Māori Research Institute, Te Atawhai o Te Ao, that investigates everyday experiences of racism faced by Māori. The research builds on over 40 years of existing work from Māori researchers who have examined the impacts of racism in health (Crengle et al., 2012; Harris et al., 2018), justice (Brittain & Tuffin, 2017; Jackson, 1987; Jackson, 2018), socio-economic areas (Department of Social Welfare, 1988), media (Nairn et al., 2006), business (Harris et al., 2018; Statistics New Zealand, 2012), housing (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015), psychology, and, as in this study, everyday experiences (Harris et al., 2006).

Early discussions with the NZ Human Rights Commission and others, highlighted a lack in adequate consideration, including that by the state, of the full spectrum of Māori experiences and perceptions of racism when determining its definition. As such, the research team and its advisory group¹, narrowed the project scope to experiences of racism through a Māori lens. The construction of the 2,000+ participant survey was carefully considered and deliberate in how it attempted to study racism as deeply-embedded in colonisation and the creation of a colonial state (Jackson, 2018), and centred on understandings and experiences of Māori communities.

Well-being for Māori requires an understanding of the ways Māori history has been forged, and why consistent work is needed to create and maintain spaces where Māori can fully

¹ The research team would particularly like to acknowledge the valuable contributions of Makareta Tawaroa, kuia from Kaiwhaiki on the Whanganui River, whose input was critical in steering us on the path of undertaking this survey on rangatiratanga.

express and live their culture. These are defended spaces; colonisation follows a process of creating a lesser 'other' in order to justify disinheriting Indigenous lands and cultures. While the historical belief in the 'inferior other' remains, racism continues to be a challenge daily. These beliefs are deep-seated and embedded in systems, including how history is retold. Māori well-being is linked to the struggle for survival of Māori lands, mountains, rivers, and Māori 'world-being' is linked to that of other Indigenous relations. While Māori can immerse themselves in cultural norms, Māori will always be challenged by external discourse that seeks to render Māori inferior. Racism works two-fold; fighting for superiority while simultaneously furthering inferiority in others. This is evident in our systems, our institutions, and our everyday lives.

Māori researchers and academics are charged with the responsibility to provide other Māori with the knowledge to revive what was lost and challenge the foreign 'norms' imposed on stories told about Māori. Māori well-being researchers have many facets: those that fight for the well-being of Māori spaces; those that focus on the well-being of lands, waters, and skies; those that watch, observe, and study 'the war of position' or the multiple inequities and actions that accrue from racism; and, those that take what is given as 'new' and transform it into our world-being. For Māori, these different roles can all be sourced back to ancestral knowledge and tūpuna [ancestorial] roles.

Measuring Racism Against Māori Understandings of Racism

Racism is a network of ideologies and has multiple expressions and impacts, depending on particular contexts, periods in history, and social relations (Grosfoguel, 2016). The particular forms and ideologies experienced by Māori are intimately linked to colonisation and are rooted in the dispossession of lands and rights, and the devaluing of Māori ways of knowing, spiritualities, systems, and practices. However, definitions of racism in research do not always account for the particular ways that racism worked together with colonialism of Indigenous peoples.

As a result, the research team drew on the term rangatiratanga as the shorthand term for describing the state of well-being Māori had prior to colonisation, as well as an aspirational state guaranteed under Te Tiriti o Waitangi [The Treaty of Waitangi].

Why was Rangatiratanga chosen as a term for Well-being?

Rangatira is an old term that is understood prior to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the arrival of colonial populations in Aotearoa [New Zealand]. Rangatira connects to whakapapa [genealogy] across Te Moana-nui-a- Kiwa [Pacific Ocean]:

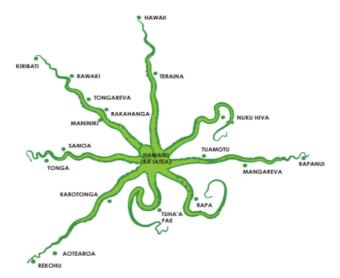


Image: Te Anau Tuiono, 2019 (as cited in Buck, 1964)

Rangatiratanga is a term understood and used among all Māori. There are three aspects to rangatiratanga:

- 1. A system of Māori leadership, extending through the many generations in Aotearoa, and understood in other Pacific nations. The rangatira system is connected to hapū [cluster of extended families] and mana [power] over specific areas of land and sea. At times, rangatira can exercise mana over large hapū collectives with affiliation to a single waka or iwi [tribe].
- 2. It is a term used in the Declaration of Independence in 1835 and Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, and is discussed as 'tino rangatiratanga', the translation of the English phrase 'a most-high form of chieftainship'.
- 3. Rangatiratanga is a term that encapsulates the political struggle fought by Māori to uphold sovereignty and self-determination as whānau, hapū, iwi, and as a nation. It is commonly understood as the rights that Māori 'should' have received under Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

From this, a preliminary survey was conducted to identify the key themes of racism, as defined by Māori. The preliminary survey explored manifestations of colonisation to broaden understandings of racism and take into account its historical, ongoing, and more immediate forms. Rangatiratanga became the term to cover all levels of well-being.

The Rangatiratanga Survey

Sixty-five Māori men and women participated in the survey. Potential participants were identified by the research team as individuals who had publicly spoken or written about rangatiratanga in publications, theses, speeches, presentations, or seminars. The individuals all had public profiles and came from a diverse range of iwi spanning across Aotearoa/New Zealand. Although the survey participants represent a diverse range of occupations,

including iwi and urban Māori governance, mental health, academia, whānau ora [familial well-being], iwi services, District Health Boards, health services and agencies, law and justice, environmentalism, advocacy, and artists, a significant majority came from the health and education sectors.

Research Process

After identifying potential participants, the survey, composed of two questions, was sent via email along with a request for response within four weeks. The survey questions were:

Q1: What does rangatiratanga mean to you?

Q2: Since European arrival, what has impacted on rangatiratanga and how?

Responses to Q1 were generally brief, at just one sentence long. The short responses suggest the question was not considered in-depth, by most participants, or past its English translation. Q2, was broader in focus as it considered Aotearoa/New Zealand colonisation, and this was reflected in the responses which, in comparison to Q1, showed a significant increased depth and much more thought to the impacts of colonisation on rangatiratanga.

The difference in responses was telling, as it suggests that Māori ability to picture and imagine the state of rangatiratanga is not something that people have necessarily considered or articulated. There is a sense of feeling overwhelmed by the barriers and obstacles in the participants. This highlights the need for more community discussion about what rangatiratanga looks like across the many spaces Māori engage in. A clear vision and imagination are important to identify what a state of rangatiratanga is for the country, iwi, hapū, and whānau and how it can be achieved.

Common Themes of Rangatiratanga and Racism (Connecting and Breaking)

If rangatiratanga is how Māori can identify well-being, how did Māori see this state of well-being? The responses show an awareness of the forces acting upon Māori (racism), and the ways Māori are constantly reframing, pushing back, and reclaiming and strengthening Māori spaces (asserting rangatiratanga). In this sense, the responses were not just narratives of racism, but also of resistance. The research team argues that a state of well-being is also having the will and strength to assert, stand up, and fight for Māori space. In talking about rangatiratanga and how it had been impacted since colonisation, respondents identified several key themes, namely: Weaving Together: Whakakotahitanga; Mana; Tuku Iho, Tuku Iho: Intergenerational Responsibility; Mana Whakahaere: Self-Determination; and, Leadership to Rangatiratanga.

Weaving Together: Whakakotahitanga

The most common definition of rangatiratanga given by respondents was the process of weaving people and groups together for a collective effort. Consequently, it is the work of a rangatira or leader to keep the people woven together. Participants talked about the elements of the word and how that spoke to the deeper meaning of the concept of rangatiratanga:

"Ranga-tira – raranga to weave, tira is an ope or ensemble of people. A chief is someone that weaves people together to common purpose and goals" (T28);

and,

"In its literal sense, to me, it means exercising (tanga) my ability to weave (ra/ranga) people together (tira). To put in context or perhaps to add the word ultimate (tino) to it, would mean the ability to do that on my own terms, in my own way, without negative or controlling influences in a manner that is determined by me" (T3).

One respondent referred to the need for weaving, and the importance of being able to 'vision' collective futures and to support good relationships:

"Whanaungatanga and māramatanga'. Knowing and understanding people and relationships and the complexities of those is required in order to successfully lead people, to successfully bring people together" (T52).

However, what was also clear from this response is that the word 'relationships' is underpinned by very clear principles of knowing and understanding of people in different ways. Relationships are also underpinned by the actions of deliberately building together with common goals:

"If we consider the metaphor of 'weaving' in relation to leadership, weavers require vision – to know what the finished product might look like and in the case of leadership, vision to see and encourage others who will participate in the 'weaving' to see and co-create the collective goals" (T52).

Rangatiratanga is not only the ability to connect people through leadership, but it also places responsibilities on the group to act in the interests of the collective by fostering togetherness:

"Rangatiratanga as a whole is about remaining connected and making decisions for ourselves, together" (T35).

Rangatiratanga was also referred to as a code of practice that is dynamic and flexible and underpinned by Māori values and understandings:

"It is a code and practise that has, as its centre, the collective well-being of a people. It is dynamic and responsive in adapting to material and environmental changes with a strong tikanga [Māori customs], values, and ethical base" (T23).

Respondent 11 approached the term rangatiratanga with a note of caution. They noted that rangatiratanga has been impacted by Western epistemology, reconstructing the meaning to be about humans as the centre of knowledge and knowing. The term itself needs to be understood within the context of colonial beliefs, beliefs that run counter to Māori knowledge:

"Māori have been taught to believe they are superior to the rest of the world, to fit in line with Western expectations. Consequently, words such as 'rangatiratanga' have become primarily about human autonomy, but it's possible that the word could refer to the weaving of the human self into the world via the autonomy of the universe/world. This would fit with the philosophy of the universe/world having its own method of arranging things. . . . And where we used to weave ourselves into the fabric of the world, now there is a danger we weave ourselves onto its fabric – the primary pattern" (T11).

T11 also pointed out that rangatiratanga should also mean being able to have 'peace of mind'. They argued that disruption to the ways we think about the world now was far away from a Māori idea of being descendants of a living universe with a clear relationship map of that universe; these differences in thinking result in completely different ways of thinking about and acting in the world.

Processes of separation or breaking down of relationships and connections were talked about as examples of how rangatiratanga had been affected since European arrival. The denial of rangatiratanga influenced the ability to work both as a collective, by breaking down relationships, and for the collective, by limiting people's access to the resources they needed to act for people:

The "imposition of colonial mindsets regarding ownership, supremacy, entitlement, the universe, and our place in it, in a way that has dispossessed and disenfranchised Māori on our own whenua, and engaged us in rights struggles that have been a huge distraction from pursuing our own ambitions" (T8);

and,

"Māori society fractured. Loss of te reo me ngā tikanga [the Māori language and customs], no attachment with whānau, hapū, marae [ancestral grounds], iwi. Cultural alienation" (T24).

Rangatiratanga was also seen as something continuously struggled for. The erosion of rangatiratanga through societal organisations, institutions, laws, policies, and practices means that Māori are constantly struggling to stay connected, maintain language and language schooling, and uniquely Māori initiatives:

"In any endeavour of Māori development, we come up against the state institutions trying to close us down or forcing us to become part of mainstream e.g. Kōhanga Reo [Māori immersion early childhood learning centre], Kura Kaupapa Māori [Māori immersion school, generally primary], Wharekura [Māori immersion school, generally secondary] . . . [and] the mainstreaming of Māori services. . . . The Treaty settlement process set down by the perpetrators has split whānau, hapū, and iwi all over the country" (T34).

Racism, which is linked to colonisation, results in the un-weaving of people with each other and the land. It also assumes dominion over environments and requires the imposition of 'boundaries' and the objectification and commodification of nature.

Mana

Many of those surveyed, saw mana as a key aspect of rangatiratanga. Rangatiratanga assumes the recognition of mana – personal, whānau, hapū, iwi, and collective. Mana was described in a number of ways. Firstly, rangatiratanga was described as mana tangata [individual power], mana whakahaere [self-determination] or as autonomy, agency or self-determination, or as T1 points out:

"Agency, mana tangata, chieftainship, exercise of rights" (T1);

"Tū rangatira [stand proudly as chiefs] encapsulates my rights, responsibilities, and obligations to stand. It enables me to make decisions and choices for myself and others. It also relates to mana-enhancing, protecting mine and others" (T32);

"The mana whakahaere/authority for Māori people to simply be Māori and live as Māori" (T46);

and,

"Rangatiratanga means autonomy, the ability to self-determine, the full expression of mana" (T53).

In the above, mana is seen as a state of being, an automatic aspect of being human, a state that originates not from the human world but from whakapapa, atua, and a deep sense of

inherent being. From that state of being, actions would automatically occur, for example, mana requires the recognition and affirmation of others' mana:

"To me it means having control over my own destiny, being able to choose my own pathways to reach or realise my own aspiration" (T26);

"Rangatiratanga also is the act of enhancing others mana and the recognition of one's own and other's mana" (T32);

and,

"Te mana o tētahi mea ki tētahi atu [the power of one thing over another]" (T61).

The recognition of mana was also seen as a key aspect of rangatiratanga. If peoples' mana was being recognised, then people would be treated collectively and individually as rangatira:

"To be treated as the rangatira you are, and to treat others the same" (T21);

and,

"Personal and collective sovereignty" (T23).

Respondents also talked about how mana had been trampled through colonisation and racism:

"Colonisation has decimated structures, systems, mana, tikanga" (T1);

"Our mana has been trampled on. We, as Māori, no longer have a say on what happens to our way of life" (T4);

"Residual & strong hold of the colonial rule, Westminster dominated/informed constructs & legislation, systems & oppressive behaviours that deliberately separate Māori from all that is important to us e.g. whenua, whānau...etc. that continue to negate the mana of Māori" (T12);

and,

"Our rangatira were often not respected by European decision-makers or by European law – the mana of our ariki [paramount chief], our rangatira was diminished to the point where they had little or no rangatiratanga; no way to lead their people through a process of self-determination, that is, by Māori, for Māori" (T63).

Respondents spoke about mana as a key part of a rangatira system. It was not only an inherent state of being but also a living element – something that was nurtured, affirmed, and strengthened. Both the diminishing of resources and mana were key elements in the diminishing of rangatiratanga. For Māori then, racism resulted in a dual assault, both on the systems that upheld the vital livingness of mana and the erosion of connection to whenua and whānau.

Tuku Iho, Tuku Iho: Intergenerational Responsibility

Rangatiratanga was also discussed as the idea of an enduring legacy. A number of respondents spoke about Māori born into an intergenerational legacy of carrying the hopes and dreams of ancestors into the future:

"When I view the experiences of my tūpuna and the many who have paved a way forward for me and mine, they had a huge expectation both of themselves and of their coming generations to hold fast to the teachings they left us (ngā taonga tuku iho) in the hope that we, the next generation, will be protected and grow our future rangatira of āpōpō [tomorrow]" (T5);

and,

"Freedom for myself and community to live our lives as we see fit, including full and complete access to the legacies left behind for us by our ancestors, for future generations" (T8).

In thinking about carrying the legacy of our tūpuna, we can also think about how we might accumulate the loss and trauma intergenerationally, what this means for generations who are disconnected, and whether the intergenerational legacy is able to be fulfilled. Some respondents talked about this and how it impacted in real and violent ways for Māori over time:

"What many fail to see is that our Māori population have suffered over many, many decades and the after-effects of this are still being felt. The cycle of oppression continues! Auē, taukiri ē! [Alas!]" (T5);

and,

"The systematic oppression of all things Māori (normal) through the imposition of colonial rule in the 1800s and the legacy of inter-generational trauma and violence against our bodies, minds, and souls visited upon whānau, hapū, me iwi" (T14).

One respondent also noted how the loss, trauma and violence of colonisation diverted time and energy away from visioning and working towards collective futures:

"Trauma – causing a shift in time, energy, and focus from collective efforts and intergenerational planning to survival and recovery" (T55).

There was a strong consistency of responses to this idea of being born into an intergenerational legacy. This idea is important for considering how racism and its health impacts are understood and measured, across time.

Mana Whakahaere: Self-Determination

Respondents discussed the importance of self-determination, for individuals as well as for collectives:

"Rangatiratanga, as a whole, is about remaining connected and making decisions for ourselves together" (T35);

and,

"I can live in a Māori way. I can live my tikanga. And none of this puts me in danger of violence/oppression/discrimination" (T46).

This idea of rangatiratanga related to the ability to make decisions and then the ability to chart personal and collective destiny or determine personal and collective futures:

"Rangatiratanga is the right of our people to determine their own future" (T2);

"Then there is our own self-belief; we have been stripped of our belief that we can do things for ourselves" (T2);

"Personal and collective sovereignty; being in control of my own destiny for myself, my whānau, my hapū, my iwi" (T14);

"The way that my whānau and myself determine our own way into honouring our past, standing steadfast in our present, and determining our future" (T17);

and,

"The ability for tāngata Māori, whānau, hapū, and iwi to make decisions about our own destiny" (T34).

Part of realising this intergenerational responsibility was reconnecting to making decisions for oneself, and not having others decide for you. Respondents spoke about rangatiratanga

as being about personal decisions for collective purposes; the individual was never isolated from wider responsibilities:

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"I ask myself, and myself says yes" (T7);
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"[Reclaiming] for future generations" (T8);

and,

"To me it means having control over my own destiny, being about to choose my own pathways to reach, or realise my own aspirations for myself and for my whānau" (T26).

The legacy is to seek and restore self-determination and autonomy, the ability to make collective decisions, and a rejection of the paternalism of the state or the idea that others could make decisions for Māori:

"Being the decision-maker and making decisions for the betterment of my whānau, my hapū, my iwi" (T14).

Leadership to Rangatiratanga

Respondents talked about how colonisation reframes the way rangatiratanga is seen today so that today it has become understood as 'leadership', which can reduce the depth or complexity of the concept within Māori ways of knowing. De-colonising, or re-indigenising, the notion of rangatiratanga was seen as an important task to be undertaken:

"Traditionally, leadership occurred within the whānau, hāpu, iwi structure . . . at an individual and collective level, we were clear of our role and responsibility. Today, leadership relates to leadership in Māori health for improvement of the health of Māori." (T24);

"We have assimilated into Western notions of leadership as a matter of survival and with little choice. This has seen our understandings of rangatiratanga eroded to being simply 'leadership and authority' – with a lack of analysis as to what that means from a Māori and/or hapū iwi perspective" (T52);

and,

"Our task now is to dis-engage with colonial imposed notions of rangatiratanga and re-member and re-engage with our own whānau, hapū, and iwi practices of rangatiratanga" (T52).

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the question of what well-being looks like as a people when that group of people live within a state of colonisation. We have examined that question through discussion of our way of understanding leadership and collective well-being using the term rangatiratanga.

Despite the ways in which the term is sometimes used today, rangatiratanga has many layers of meaning, fully explored by the survey participants. They spoke about both a collective leadership and an individual leadership underpinned by political awareness. Rangatiratanga is a style of leadership that is people led. This awareness was that of ensuring that the generational and collective well-being of the people was kept strong through upholding traditional ways of living such as manaakitanga [generosity] and whanaungatanga. Well-being of the collective also requires guarding the teachings and learnings of whakapapa and connections to all of existence. Respondents all felt committed to the legacy they had been given, which was one of intergenerational responsibilities. Rangatiratanga was about being able to 'vision' or imagine self-determined futures for Māori as collectives, with individual rangatira contributing to collective aspirations.

Respondents also identified the many ways colonisation affected rangatiratanga, from its meaning and concepts through to violent and long-standing practices of dispossession at many levels and across generations. Rangatiratanga was understood to have been deeply affected through the racist imposition of imported systems and institutions, including colonial belief systems, and the severing of connections with the land, language, spiritualities, and each other. Realising rangatiratanga then requires a reconnecting. Part of that reconnecting is to the understanding that individuals are part of, and responsible to, wider networks such as whānau, hapū, and iwi. At the heart of Māori leadership was the critical element of being able to weave people together – whakakotahitanga. Rangatira weave people together and maintain connections despite the multiple complex ways that connections are being attacked and broken down. Rangatiratanga also involves stoicism and the ability to go through good times and endure through bad. Whilst there was an understanding of internalised racism and colonisation, this meant that decolonising was ongoing work.

One of the most significant outcomes of the interviews was the uniformity of thought across the 65 participants. Even though they came from different iwi, work situations, experiences, and generations, they often answered in a very similar way. What is clear is that Māori leadership is united in thinking about the legacy they are born into, the need to fight for rangatiratanga, and the consistency of values that underpin rangatiratanga. No matter where they came from, they were clear about their responsibilities and intentions for the future, and if not in this generation, it would have to be the next generation's responsibility to achieve the full expression of rangatiratanga.

Glossary

anei rā!	here it is!
āpōpō	tomorrow
Aotearoa	literally 'land of the long white cloud'; New Zealand
ariki	paramount chief; lord; first-born in a high ranking
	family
atua	divine; god/s
auē, taukiri ē!	Alas!
awa	river
ēnei	these
kawa	polluted
Kōhanga Reo	language nest; Māori immersion early childhood
	learning centre
kūmara	sweet potato; Ipomoea batatas
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori immersion school (generally primary),
	underpinned by Te Aho Matua
hapū	cluster of extended families
i ā ha ha!	Alas!
iwi	tribe or nation, descended from an eponymous
	ancestor
mamae	physical and/or emotional pain
manaakitanga	generosity, good will (particularly to visitors)
mana	power, status, prestige, and the potential to provide
	or remove benefits
mana tangata	individual power or status
mana whakahaere	self-determination
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa
māramatanga	enlightened with understanding
marae	ancestral grounds]
mate	be sick or ill; dead
maunga	mountain
ngā	the (plural)
ngā taonga tuku iho	teachings or gifts, passed down through generations
ope	ensemble of people
pakanga	war; battle
pepeha	tribal saying or proverb
pipi	an edible bivalve with a smooth shell, found below the
	surface of sandy harbour flats; Paphies australis
rā	day
(ra)ranga	to weave together
rangatira	chiefs

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