

## **Exploring Maori Knowledge Paradigms Using Picture Books**

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### **Introduction and Rationale**

This paper arises out of the new regulations instituted by LIANZA for registration of professional library and information managers in New Zealand. These regulations include a requirement that professional librarians and information managers develop an awareness of the knowledge paradigms of the indigenous people.

When I worked as a librarian at Hamilton Teachers' College in the 1980s and 1990s, Pakeha staff were given firmly to understand that the development of our knowledge of Treaty obligations, and of what was then often called Maoritanga, was essential to our employment, but that this was our own responsibility, not the responsibility of our Maori colleagues, who already had a full workload. Together with other Pakeha colleagues I attended Treaty workshops run by Pakeha for Pakeha, and, in the absence of Maori library staff, accepted that it was the duty of all staff to fit themselves to assist Maori students and staff in their studies and their teaching. It may be the case, as some say, that only Maori staff can truly help Maori students. However, I believe that it is the responsibility of every professional to equip themselves to work with all library users as best they can.

I sought to not only understand but deepen and amplify what I knew of matakura Maori, and turned to the areas about which I knew most - education and children's literature. Perhaps I could combine these

particular interests to extend my own knowledge of Maori ways of knowing.

The task proved, of course, much more difficult than I had initially thought. The sheer complexity of Maori knowledge, the multiple meanings of words and concepts in te reo, and the mix of spiritual and material in all aspects of life, meant that this was bound to be the case. As Ngoi Pewhairangi has said, “There is so much tapu connected with the whole culture that I don’t think Pakehas can absorb it” (Manihera, Pewhairangi & Rangihau, 1992, p. 11). Still, this does not release Pakeha from the obligation to try.

### **Methodology**

There are a number of sources on Maori life and culture written by Maori that are well known and readily available. A significant collection of Maori viewpoints is presented in *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (King, 1992). I recall listening to an inspiring address from Rangimarie Rose Pere at a New Zealand Reading Association conference some years ago (Pere, 2002), and I found her *Ako: Concepts and Learning in the Maori Tradition* (Pere, 1982) a valuable resource. I re-read *Maori Pedagogies* by Hemara (2000). In addition, I found *Exploring Maori Values*, a work by Pakeha philosopher John Patterson (1992) quite useful, particularly as he is coming from a similar position from me, as a Pakeha endeavouring to understand Maori ways of thinking. I also used *Tangata: The Human Person*, by Michael Shirres (1997).

In a very influential statement, John Rangihau (1992) establishes the importance of the background of the researcher in relation to Maori knowledge. He says his feelings are “Tuhoetanga rather than Maoritanga.

My being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person as against being a Maori person.” I understand about being Tuhoe, rather than undifferentiated Maori, because I am an immigrant from Yorkshire, rather than being simply English. Moreover, I am from Whitby on the North Yorkshire coast, not from one of those south west Yorkshire cities like Huddersfield or Leeds. Rangihau echoes Rose Pere’s (1982) caution that it is always necessary when discussing Maori knowledge to remember that there are tribal knowledges rather than one single Maori knowledge. This sits easily with my own academic understanding that there are histories, rather than one history.

Armed with *Te Ao Hurihuri* (King, 1992), Rose Pere’s (1982) *Ako*, and Hemara’s (2000) *Pedagogies*, together with the works by Patterson (1992), and Shirres (1997), I investigated the New Zealand children’s literature that I knew. As well, on the recommendation of Pere, Walker (1992; 2004), and Ka’ai, Moorfield, Reilly and Mosley (2004), and following up on suggestions by Patterson, I also read or re-read many of the published versions of Maori myth for children. I considered how these books presented a mātāuranga Maori to Pākehā. The picture books I selected for analysis are written by Maori authors and nearly all are illustrated by Maori. They are largely published for a non-Maori readership.

There are a number of concepts that are especially important to a pākehā in seeking to understand Maori knowledge. Below, I discuss some of these concepts, and suggest how certain English language picture books exemplify these concepts or can add to our understanding of them. Patterson (1992) talks about “exploring” Maori concepts

to convey the idea of an outsider, who is in a position of relative ignorance, approaching unfamiliar territory. Realising that one has little or no understanding is an important first step. Another important step is to realise that understanding is a matter of degree – that however well a Pakeha may come to understand Maori values, there will always be room for improvement, for further fruitful exploration (p. 9).

### **Matauranga Maori**

Pere (1982) says that *matauranga* was the word chosen by the New Zealand Department (now Ministry) of Education to depict and interpret the English term, “education”. It can mean, she says, any of the following: “to know something, to learn or acquire skills, to be acquainted with, to have some understanding, or to be certain of. But whatever the context”, Pere adds, “matauranga is not seen as something that is static or isolated” (p. 73). Thus, multiple meanings and layers of meaning are very common in te reo Maori.

Pere (1982) writes of the four generations that she slept, ate, worked and learnt alongside as she grew up (p. 3). From these *whanaunga*, or relatives, she learnt what she needed to know to participate in adult life (p. 4). Such intergenerational learning is depicted in the picture book *Kimi and the Watermelon* (Smith, 1978), and in *The Kuia and the Spider* (Grace, 1981). Kimi belongs to and contributes to the land, alongside her grandmother and uncle. She has feelings of wellbeing when her whanau are around; she communicates these feelings, and also her sadness when her uncle’s absence is prolonged.

In their accounts of Maori culture, both Pere (1982) and Hemara (2000) place students and teachers at the centre of the educative process, and they claim lifelong learning as an expectation of Maori. Both say intergenerational learning was normal, and that students undertook gradual learning from familiar starting points. Educators may identify concepts similar to Vygotsky's scaffolding, and constructivism. Other aspects Hemara (2000, p. 5) suggests are important to Maori learning are mixed and complementary curricula, recognition and encouragement of giftedness, learning and teaching conducted from students' strengths, small student numbers and considerable one-to-one interaction (*kanohi ki te kanohi*).

The New Zealand early childhood education curriculum, *Te Whariki* (Ministry of Education, 1996; Hemara, 2000, p. 67), acknowledges Maori theories of learning, identifying five strands:

- Mana Atua, or wellbeing;
- Mana Whenua, belonging;
- Mana Tangata, contribution;
- Mana Reo, communication;
- Mana Aoturoa, exploration.

These strands can often be identified in New Zealand picture books with Maori themes.

### **The Three Baskets of Knowledge**

Most New Zealand librarians and educators have heard of the three baskets of knowledge. These, along with two small stones, were brought back by Tane when he returned from his climb to the highest heaven after his parents were separated. The names of the baskets vary, but they are often referred to as *te kete aronui*, *te kete tauri*, and *te kete tuatea*.

The first, *te kete aronui*, contains the knowledge of our senses: what we experience in the world before us, the natural world apprehended by our senses.

The second basket, *te kete tauri*, provides our understanding of what lies beyond our sensory experiences, the complex patterns of energy which operate behind our sense perceptions, the realities behind the colours, shapes, smells and sounds we perceive. It is the knowledge of “the real world”, but a world of cosmic processes and rhythmic patterns of energy which uphold and sustain life. Shirres (1997) gives as an example the way in which the world is both bigger and smaller than the one we knew in childhood. The material world and the spiritual world are intimately connected in the Maori world view (Shirres, 1997, p. 17). We can be nothing and do nothing without *mana*, or power (Shirres, 1997, p. 18). It may come from whenua, the land, tangata, our bond with people, or atua, our bond with spiritual powers. Many Maori stories, including the Maui stories, involve mana. Patterson (1992) shows how Maui’s trickery and deceit is legitimised by its success in increasing his mana. As a youngest son, his mana can only be increased by achieving such success.

The third basket, *te kete tuatea*, is the experience we have of our connections with one another and with the past, the knowledge of our spiritual realities, realities beyond space and time, and the world we experience through ritual.

In *Haere: Farewell, Jack, Farewell*, sensitively illustrated by Huhana Smith, Tim Tipene (2005) demonstrates certain aspects of the baskets of knowledge. The first part of the book depicts the death of Koro Jack. The

spirits are illustrated in the sky, manifesting themselves near what looks like an old Maori Affairs house in the country; “state houses” of that time are readily identifiable. The shadows of ancestors are to be seen inside the house. Ancestors provide protection, as Tilly Reedy comments:

“My ancestors are always there as part of the environment of this spiritual force, yet quite separate and identifiable” (Reedy, 1979, p. 43, cited in Patterson, 1992, p. 80).

One scholar has noted that “there is true continuity in the concept of the *tipuna*, for this word unites in it all the generations which have set up and still set up the standards by which the kinship group lives” (Johansen, 1954, p. 172, cited in Patterson, 1992, p. 80).

The body of Koro Jack is shown surrounded by a thick veil, demonstrating cosmic presences in the real world, and his departing spirit. The spirit is a divine spark, or *mauri ora*, “which represent’s man’s true vitality” (Patterson, 1992, p. 84). The concept of *hau*, or breath, is involved here, too. *Tapu* must be observed; and *tikanga*, or protocols, require things to be done in the proper order and at the proper time. *Haere* demonstrates in graphic form the connections between the present and the past; spiritual realities are represented and experienced. Amongst those present at the tangi is the young storyteller’s sister, who is *hapu*, or pregnant. Koro Jack’s friends talk about his past, bringing it into the present. The stories make people laugh and cry. Then he is buried: “With his *tupuna* now”, says Nana.

The scene in the book changes to spring, and baby Jack is born. The whanau gather around once more, this time to celebrate a new beginning.

Now only the natural world is depicted; the stars shine where before the spirits moved. What we see depicted echoes the Christian nativity scene. Then experiences of birth and death are connected by the visit of the women to the *urupa*, and they show baby Jack where Koro Jack is buried. The whole story is very moving, and it incorporates many aspects of Maori knowledge and wisdom.

Pere (1982) says “*Mauri* can pertain to the life principle and the ethos of animate and inanimate things” and to

the talisman, the physical symbol of the hidden principle that protects vitality, fruitfulness, the psyche, etcetera, of people, lands, forests, buildings and so on. It might refer to a person, *mauri o te tangata*, a house, *mauri o te whare*, the *marae-atea*, a summons, *mauri o te karanga*, speechmaking (*mauri o te whaikorero*, or special food, *mauri o te kumera*. (Pere, p. 32)

People’s self esteem relates to their *mauri*. Maori self esteem may relate to the group, or *whanau*, as well as to an individual. In *Haere*, these matters are clearly visible; we see a powerful *mauri*.

### **Wairua: Spirituality**

Rose Pere (1982) has summarised some important Maori perceptions of *wairua*, or spirituality. She says that Maori “saw the physical realm as being immersed and integrated with the spiritual realm” (p. 13). In addition, says Pere, “A powerful belief in supernatural forces governed and influenced the way one interacted with other people and related to the environment” (p. 14). She adds that “Maori recognised ‘Atua’ (spiritual beings with supernatural influences)”, what Pakeha call gods.



*Tangihanga-hahunga* deals with the ceremonial surrounding the physical death of a person. Sometimes people give instructions and prepare for their death. They may pass on the mana pertaining to spiritual power that has come through the descent line (Pere, 1982, p. 36). *Kaitiaki* or guardians, either physical or spiritual, and *tohu*, omens, were present as well as atua. These presences are made explicit in *Haere: Farewell, Jack, Farewell*.

*Waiora* refers to health and total well-being. The *wairua* (spirit) is implanted in the embryo from the time it begins to assume form. Spirituality was inherent in the development of a new life (Pere, p. 59). *Waiora*, Pere comments, “included the intellectual, physical, emotional and psychic development of a child” (Pere, p. 60). The presence of a new life in *Haere* is significant. We see this again in a picture book which is designed for even younger children, *Kehua* by Robyn Kahukiwa (1996).

*Kehua* explores a young child’s fear of *kehua*, or ghosts. She sees a *kehua* in the passage of her house when it is dark. She cannot see it when the light is on, or in the daytime, and wonders where it goes. Most of the family is too busy to help, but although Nanny is also busy, she finds time to talk with her mokopuna, and to go with her to the passageway. When Nanny turns the light off, the *kehua* appears on the wall behind the pot plant. Nanny helps the child turn the light on again, so that she can herself make the *kehua* disappear. The next day Nanny calls in the relatives and they “*karakia* to make that old *kehua* leave”. Then Nanny puts a stool under the light switch so that the child can turn the light on herself. The child’s fears are taken seriously, and steps are taken to eliminate the fear. The steps taken are both spiritual and practical – the summoning of the whanau for *karakia*, and the placement of the stool so

that the child can turn on the light. Again, knowledge from the first and second baskets is combined for a successful outcome.

*Kehua* demonstrates how children develop an appreciation of their inherent spirituality through being exposed to *karakia*, or to people talking about their own spiritual experiences as part of everyday living (Pere, p. 60).

### **Whakapapa: Connections from the beginning**

Pakeha New Zealanders generally know of the importance of *whanau* in Maori culture. This sense of family, of belonging to a group, also relates to the significance of *whakapapa* (Orbell, 1996, p. 120). Whakapapa involves emphasising “Papatuanuku, and the reciting of things in order, including genealogy” (Pere, 1982, p. 8). It is often particularly the first-born of each generation who is expected to know the whakapapa and be familiar with the names of tribal meeting houses (Pere, p. 27). Various authorities (Pere, 1982; Orbell, 1997) relate the creation myth, “the early history of the world”, to the establishment of “natural and proper behaviour, the *tikanga* of all ... beings” (Orbell, p. 120). All beings, because “all *tikanga* have a common origin in history”; no distinction is made between people and other living things. The interconnectedness of all life is emphasized in another picture book, *The Kuia and the Spider*, written by Patricia Grace (1981) and illustrated by Robyn Kahukiwa. All beings have a common origin, a kinship that creates an “underlying harmony in the world” (Orbell, p. 120). Inevitably “there is conflict as well, and the myths explain the reason for this” (p. 120).

Rose Pere (1982) suggests that the importance of being close to relatives originates in the story of Papatuanuku and Rangi-nui-e-tuihi-nei, who, in

their “natural beautiful relationship” kept their children close to them (Pere, pp. 8-9). The children resented “being so confined and restricted within the closeness and the darkness of the parental union” (p. 9) and, as all children inevitably do, they sought independence. I considered several picture book versions of the creation story, such as those by Gossage (2001) and Hyland (1998), and found Gavin Bishop’s (2009) version in *Counting the Stars* to be the most comprehensive in terms of telling readers about the meaning behind what happened.

Shirres (1997), in his book *Tangata: The Human Person*, relates the traditional Maori belief

that the whole of creation is a dynamic movement *i te kore, ki te po, ki te marama*, ‘out of nothingness, into the night, into the world of light’ (p. 16).

In “Mother Earth and Father Sky”, the first story in *Counting the Stars*, Gavin Bishop (2009) puts it simply as a progression from nothingness, to darkness, to light (p. 4), but the light is “blotted out” by the growth of Papatuanuku and Ranginui, “who spent all of their time cuddled up together” (p. 5).

Some scholars have stressed how this story indicates the importance of children growing up, and growing away from their parents. In Maori knowledge, there is a tension between respect for elders, particularly respect for the mana of elders, and the need to grow up and acquire your own mana.

People identify themselves with the different spiritual powers as they participate in the movement of the universe. It is from these spiritual

powers that we receive our worth, our intrinsic *tapu*, and our power, or *mana*, to carry out our role as a human being (Shirres, 1997, p. 28).

When the children of Rangi and Papa see a flash of daylight under Ranginui's armpit, they yearn to separate their parents and live in the sunlight. Tawhirimatea, the god of winds and storms, resists because his parents are happy together, but the other children say this is because he already has freedom to blow where he wishes. They long, as all growing children do, for freedom to be themselves.

Each son acts according to his temperament, and these roles say something about what was important to Maori. Tumatauenga, who becomes the god of war and of man, wants to attack and kill their parents. Patterson discusses the importance of the concept of balance in Maori knowledge, which results in Tu being the representative of both war and man. Tanemahuta says no, they "need Mother Earth for somewhere to live" (p. 8). He consequently becomes the guardian of the forest, the god of the forest and the birds.

Rongomatane became the personification and origin of agriculture, gardens and peaceful pursuits. He promoted peace, hospitality, growth, and things beneficial to humanity. Tangaroa became guardian of the sea and the fruits of the ocean. Sometimes creatures such as whales, sharks, and octopus are seen as kaitiaki, guardians or protectors (Pere, 1982, p. 16). Haumiatiketike became guardian of wild and uncultivated food. He stands for fern roots, vegetables, and the provision of food, and also for peace and life-giving pursuits.

Except for Tawhirimatea, all of them try to separate their parents, but it is Tane who is successful in separating them and letting in the light.

Ranginui's tears fall as rain, and Papatunuku's mist rises as they separate. The sun comes out, and all the brothers rejoice except for Tawhirimatea, who, in his outrage, calls up the winds, becomes a hurricane, and roars "through Tanemahuta's forest, tearing up trees and tossing them to the ground" (p. 14). "He churned the sea into whirlpools," frightening the sea creatures. "Some went onto the land and became reptiles. Some stayed in the sea and became fish" (p. 15). Tangaroa reacts by attacking the land, causing erosion of cliffs and clefts in beaches. Tawhirimatea went on to attack Tumatauenga, "but the god of war was too strong" (p. 15).

"Tumatauenga wanted to punish his brothers for not helping him" (p. 16). Although Tu gained mastery over Tangaroa, Haumea, Rongo and Tane, eating the fish, fern root, kumara and birds, he was not able to master the winds and the storms. By eating them, he ate his brothers, in revenge for their allowing him to fight alone against Tawhiri and Papa (Shirres, 1997, p. 34).

Later, when everything had calmed down, "Tanemahuta threw a cloak of trees over his mother's body" and made homes in their branches for birds. He spun a cloak of stars for his father, so many "that the children of Ranginui and Papatuanuku could not count them all" (p. 19). And those children, in the way of myths, are all of us, not just their direct sons. Pere (1998) suggests that we think of these "gods" as personifications of the things they represent, and this may help people with definite religious views of their own to understand the story that is being told.

Bishop's (2009) version of this story shows the parts played by each of the brothers in opening up the world so that it could be used by nature and by humanity. The natural world is apprehended by our senses, as in *te kete aronui*. It shows the stress that is caused by change, and the different ways in which people react to change in their condition, as in *te kete tauri*. The changes are cosmic in nature, but because of the personifications, we get the sense that it is the feelings or emotions of people that are being talked about as well. The story displays family rivalries as well as family cooperation, and it demonstrates compassion. There is also *te kete tuatea*, our knowledge of the spiritual, our awareness of life's forces and cosmic forces around us.

### **Gender roles**

There were male and female spiritual presences, reflecting both similar and complementary roles. For example, Hine-te-iwaiwa presided over childbirth and the art forms involved in weaving (p. 15). She is also associated with other personifications from both the land and the ocean (p. 15).

Maori did not make the differentiation between practical and intellectual matters that is made in many other societies. Patterson (1992) writes in a chapter entitled "Respect, Balance and Survival" (pp. 17-45) about weaving as an example of the Maori philosophy of respect for the natural world, respect for materials, respect for doing things correctly and following proper procedures, and respect for beauty.

A book that presents very clearly these aspects of Maori knowledge is Gavin Bishop's *Hinepau* (1993). Hinepau, a woman with sunset hair and pounamu eyes, lived alone, sometimes speaking "only to the wind". She

had been cast out by her whanau: because of her strange appearance and her distinctively inside-out weaving they thought she was a witch. She did not do her weaving as it ought to be done, so she was cast out, lest she bring disaster upon the tribe. But she always said *karakia* as she folded the patterns of the environment into her weaving. As Ngoi Pewhairangi (1992) states, preparing things correctly involves the laws of *tapu*, which teach you to respect the whole of nature (p. 10). Hinepau breaks some of these rules, and although it is her disobedience of the laws that allows her to rectify someone else's wrong, she still has to suffer the consequences.

When some young men come by to cut *totara* for a new *wharenuī*, she asks where the *tohunga* is who will say proper *karakia*. The young men are arrogant, and think *karakia* unnecessary. When the *wharenuī* is finished, an old woman warns that the gods are not pleased: the *wharenuī* has been built without the blessing of Tane Mahuta. That night the old volcano, Maungariri, shakes in anger, and throws a cloak of deadly ash over the forests, lakes, and rivers. The people inside the *wharenuī* are spared, but the still arrogant young men are sent out to look for *kai* and water. There is none, but they find Hinepau in her flax hut. She offers to help. She sorts through the piles of weaving she has completed over the years, saying *karakia*. A huge white owl comes to her and flies her to the sea. As they go, Hinepau “chanted *karakia* and cast her woven patterns of nature onto the silent landscape below”. As the inside-out patterns land face down on the ash, the flax takes root, forests begin to grow, and the rivers run clean again. But, as she throws out each woven pattern, Hinepau's *mauri* leaves her, and she grows thin, like a mist, and finally vanishes. The people rejoice, and the *kuia* says they must bring Hinepau back to live with them. They cannot find her, but then they hear a *waiata*,

the sound of Hinepau singing in the wind. They see her face in the sky, lit by the setting sun, and the next day, go down to the sea to give thanks.

There are two possible reasons for Hinepau losing her mauri. One is that she has transgressed in not following the right procedures with the flax. The other is that by giving of herself she loses some of her life force (Rangihau, 1992, p. 12). There is a pakeha concept which has some equivalence, that of self-sacrifice.

This story seems similar in many ways to the better known story of the waka that is made without the permission of Tane (found in another of Bishop's *Four Maori Myths* collection, 2007). It is about having proper reverence for and taking care of the environment, not exploiting it. It is also about repairing the damage that human beings have inflicted upon the environment. This is easier to see if you think about Tane as being a personification of the Forest, and by extension, of the environment. Transgression from proper procedure can affect the *mauri* of the group (Pere, 1982, p. 31; Pewhairangi, 1992, pp. 10-11).

The story is also about listening to the words of the wise, your kaumatua, in this case the old kuia who tells them what has gone wrong, and suggests that Hinepau may have a solution. A mistake is a tohu or sign that all is not well and that some disaster or tragedy is imminent (Pewhairangi, 1992, pp. 10-11). And the story is about respecting and accepting those who are different, because sometimes it is their solutions that work. The “strengths, weaknesses and characteristics of human beings” (Pere, 1982, p. 16) are depicted as perennial influences through atua. The story is a powerful one, and it is good to see that it has recently been reissued.



Perhaps the best known story about weaving is *The Kuia and the Spider* by Patricia Grace (1981). It begins and ends like a fairy tale, but it incorporates much about Maori knowledge and values. Both the kuia and the spider are proud of their weaving. It gives them mana. Patterson talks a lot about the importance of mana to the individual and to the community. So the kuia and the spider are not prepared to accept that the other's weaving is better. "Spider, your weaving is koretake, it's only good for catching flies," says the kuia. They argue, and then agree to have a competition. Their grandchildren will say whose weaving is best. The kuia made mats to sit and sleep on, kits for kumara, seafood, shopping, and for giving away to her family and friends (Grace, 1981). The spider made webs for different purposes. Note here that the spider is male – "He made webs for climbing up, and webs for swinging on." The grandchildren, whether human or spiders, show no interest in judging their grandparents' weaving, but use the kits and the webs enthusiastically. The kuia and the spider see this, and each feels triumphant. Each one's weaving is best for the purpose for which it is made. Each has followed the rules for their weaving and has created a good and useful product. Each thinks their own grandchildren are best. "And they argued and argued and argued for the rest of their lives" (Grace, 1981). This is not a negative ending. Rather, it shows the value of *korero*, of *hui*, of stating your case, of being really good at doing what you do. The kuia and the spider have mana amongst their people. But they are never going to think that the other does a better job.

What we may learn from picture books with Maori themes is that Maori knowledge is complex and sophisticated. The spiritual and the secular are closely linked. Everyday life is intrinsically involved in the spiritual. To

recapitulate, the point of this exercise has been to address the issues which arise from the recently-introduced regulations for professional librarians and information managers, and specifically the requirement that librarians and information managers develop an awareness of the indigenous culture. It is too easy for Pakeha to say that these matters should be left to Maori. Maori colleagues already carry a massive load with their professional, whanau, and iwi obligations. Pakeha therefore must take responsibility for increasing their own knowledge to that they can assist students, researchers, and other clients: that was the advice given Pakeha staff at Hamilton Teachers' College back in the 1970s and 1980s, and it applies perhaps to an even greater extent today. What I have presented here is a very small example of how I extended my own personal expertise in children's picture books and in education to develop my awareness of Maori cultural practices, with guidance from the publications of certain Maori authorities, supplemented by scholarly Pakeha sources.

I would urge all professional librarians and information managers to develop their awareness of indigenous culture by extending the expertise they already have. However, there must also be a caution. John Rangihau (1992) once said that he was tired of Pakeha telling Maori how to be Maori. Pakeha must always seek the advice of Maori on indigenous matters, and accept their guidance on what is tika, or correct, for each iwi, and on the purpose and significance of all aspects of indigenous culture. I have found that Maori will generously provide advice and guidance when they are able to do so. When they are busy with other matters, we should not simply sit and wait, but should work to improve our own understanding. This has been only the beginning of an exploration. In it I

have found a lot that I don't know. Maybe that can be the beginning of finding out.

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