TŪ RANGA RANGA

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Rights, responsibilities and global citizenship in Aotearoa New Zealand

Edited by Sharon McLennan, Margaret Forster, Rand Hazou, David Littlewood and Carol Neill

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Kupu Māori / Glossary

Word or phrase	Description
ahikā	keeping the home fires burning
aho	threads that act as a cross-stitch
Aotearoa	generic Māori name for New Zealand
aroha	love
atua	deities
awa	river
hapori	community
hapū	subtribes
harakeke	flax bush
harirū	handshakes
hongi	a greeting involving the pressing together of noses
iho atua	an origin narrative derived from a Māori world view
iwi	tribes
kaimahi	social service workers
kaimoana	seafood
kāinga	settlements
kaitiaki	to care and look after the environment and natural resources
kaitiakitanga	stewardship over the environment
kaupapa Māori services	services designed by Māori for Māori
Kāwanatanga Karauna	state governance
kihi	kiss
mahinga kai	food gathering sites
mana	authority
mana tangata	elevate the human condition
mana whenua	exercise of tribal authority over a specific domain
manaaki	caring for one another
manaaki manuhiri	care of visitors
Māori	the first peoples of Aotearoa
mātauranga/ mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
mauri	life essence
mihimihi	greeting

moana	sea
Ngā ipukarea	ancestral homelands
Ngāi Tahu whānui	the broader Ngāi Tahu tribe
Pākehā	non-Māori
papakāinga	housing developments on Māori land and marae
pā wars	tribal sporting event
poutiriao	to place in the world, guardians
pouwhenua	marking of the land
rāhui	temporary restriction of access to protect the health and wellbeing of people and the environment
rangatahi	youth
rangatira	chiefs
rangatiratanga	Māori authority
raranga	the customary practice of weaving using the harakeke or flax plant
Rātana	a prophetic movement
Ringatū	a prophetic movement
rohe	region
rūnanga	tribal council
Tairāwhiti	Gisborne, East Coast of Aotearoa
takiwā	area
tangata	people
tangata tiriti	non-Māori with rights to citizenship established through te Tiriti o Waitangi
tangata whenua	Māori, Indigenous people of Aotearoa
taonga/taonga tuku iho	treasures handed down
taunahanaha	naming of the land
te ao Māori	the Māori world, Māori world views
te pō	the darkness
te puawai	the flowers of the flax bush
te reo	the Māori language
te rito	the central shoot of the flax bush
te take	the base of the flax bush
te Tiriti o Waitangi	the Treaty of Waitangi
tikanga	customs

tino rangatiratanga	absolute tribal authority
tupuna/tūpuna	ancestor/ancestors
tūrangawaewae	an affiliation and authority associated with tribal territory, tribal base
uha	earthly female element
urupā	burial grounds
wāhi tapu	sacred places
waiora	health and wellbeing
waka hourua	double-hulled sailing vessels
Whai Rawa	a Ngāi Tahi savings and investment scheme
whakapapa	genealogical sequences
whakataukī	proverb
whānau	family
whānau ora	state policy
Whanganui iwi	Whanganui tribe/people
whenua	land

PART ONE:
TE TAKE, THE BASE

01.

Tuia te here tangata
The threads that connect us

Margaret Forster & Sharon McLennan

E koekoe te tūī, Ketekete te kākā, Kūkū te kererū.
Iere mai nei ngā manu, he reo karanga ki ngā iwi o te ao.

The tūī chatters, the parrot gabbles, the wood pigeon coos.
The birds sing a welcoming call to all peoples.

This is a book about global encounters as told from the context of Aotearoa new Zealand. We open with a mihimihi or greeting composed by our colleague Hone Morris (Ngāti Kahungunu, Rangitāne) that uses the metaphor of birds and birdsong to introduce key themes explored in this book. The forest represents the interconnected world where various birds live and interact — the tūī, the kākā and the kererū. Our collective wealth is linked to recognising and celebrating the distinctiveness of each bird. Myriad encounters are possible in this world, and this is revealed by birdsongs that range from harmonious compositions to a cacophony of sound. These metaphors illustrate encounters that make visible both our obligations to each other and the dynamic, evolving and interconnected nature of global issues. This intent is reflected by the book's title, *Tū Rangaranga*, literally meaning 'to weave together' or establish connections.

Connections are also visualised through the metaphor associated with raranga or the customary practice of weaving using the harakeke or flax plant. Raranga is synonymous with unity, togetherness and strength, as reflected by the following whakataukī or proverb:

E kore e taea e te whenu kotahi ki te raranga i te whāriki, kia mohio tātau kia tātou, mā te mahi o ngā whenu, mā te mahi o ngā kairaranga, ka oti tēnei whāriki i te otinga, me titiro ki ngā mea pai ka puta mai ā tana wā, me titiro hoki ki ngā raranga i makere, mā te mea, he kōrero kei reira.

A strand of flax is nothing in itself but woven together it is strong and enduring. Let us look at the good that comes from it and, in time, we should also look at those stitches that have been dropped, because they also have a message.

This whakataukī is a reminder that collective efforts often result in more meaningful and enduring outcomes. How can multiple strands be brought together to create enduring connections that shape our rights and responsibilities as global citizens? And what about those stitches that have been dropped? Not all encounters are positive or enduring — many are violent and disruptive.

Implicit in this challenge is the importance of manaaki, a Māori concept that encapsulates the notion of caring for one another. This intent is also reflected in the raranga metaphor, as the harakeke plant represents the family unit and the key roles and functions of family. For example, the leaves of this plant are organised in a fan structure. In the middle is the newest growth or youngest members of the family, the children. The children are surrounded by the adult leaves, and on the outer edges of the fan are the grandparent leaves. This visual imagery emphasises the importance of protecting and looking after members of the family. The various parts of the harakeke provide the structure of this book.

In this chapter we provide the context and foundations of the book and explain the harakeke and weaving structure and metaphors. The first section explains the foundations of this book and its roots in Aotearoa, the way in which different knowledges are woven into the book, and the use of Māori perspectives through (iho atua (origin narratives). The chapter then introduces the key themes of global citizenship, rights and responsibilities, before giving an overview of the organisation of the book.

The foundations

In this section we set out the foundational basis of the book, the underlying priorities that guide its design, and the narrative threads that run through it. This includes acknowledging our tūrangawaewae, the place from where we stand and start this journey, in Aotearoa, and the presence of Māori as tangata

whenua, and explains why we have chosen the various voices represented in the book.

Situating the encounter in Aotearoa

In Aotearoa, the presence of Māori as first peoples of this land and our collective colonial history shape any local framing of the concept of citizenship and our responses to the wider world. Situating this book on global citizenship in Aotearoa means we need to acknowledge and make visible the contemporary relevance of Indigenous ways of knowing that have been subjugated through colonial hierarchies of power.

To ensure this book is rooted in the place it is taught, and to centre Māori perspectives on global encounters and citizenship, we began this introduction with a mihimihi and whakataukī, and foregrounded the notion of manaaki as a platform for ethical behaviour. This centring continues throughout the book, with each chapter beginning with an iho atua, an origin narrative derived from a Māori world view that provides a Māori knowledge-based or disciplinary reflection on the various issues addressed. These commentaries are derived from customary narratives that encapsulate core cultural values and practices as set by the ancestors. Iho atua, therefore, provide a guide to contemporary responsibilities and actions that are grounded in Māori culture, and are a way to localise the global and globalise the local. The iho atua are a deliberate strategy to ensure a plurality of voices is present in this book.

We also signal the centrality of Indigenous peoples and the importance of the history of Aotearoa at the beginning of Chapter 2, through a focus on Indigenous voyaging in the Pacific. Some tribal histories trace their presence in Aotearoa to migration from the Pacific beginning in 1200 CE (Anderson et al., 2014), while other histories show tribes originating in this land. Consequently, there are still very strong connections between Māori and Pacific Island communities, alongside many similarities in world views, social organisation and language. By exploring these connections, Indigenous globalisation is rendered visible and becomes the first strand in the book, as indicated in the opening whakataukī. Māori perspectives are also highlighted throughout the book, particularly Māori approaches to citizenship (Chapter 4), rights (Chapter 5) and responsibilities (Chapter 6), as well as responses to climate change (Chapter 9) and to the Covid-19 pandemic (Chapter 17).

Weaving Indigenous and marginalised voices and perspectives

The metaphors of weaving and braiding invoked in the whakataukī at the beginning of this chapter are often used in educational contexts where Indigenous world views

and knowledges are woven into courses and curriculum (see Jimmy & Andreotti, 2019; Kimmerer, 2013; Sockbeson, 2009; Synot et al., 2020). As Snively and Williams (2018) discuss, in weaving and braiding there is reciprocity and tension among the strands in a braid, but each strand remains a separate entity, coming together to form the whole. Braiding Indigenous knowledge with Western knowledge affirms both ways of knowing as legitimate, and the metaphor reflects our approach to this book in promoting a range of voices on global encounters and citizenship.

Importantly, the content in this book was curated to highlight the voice and agency of the speakers. Much of the discourse around global challenges focus on victimhood, with Indigenous and marginalised groups spoken for, and portrayed as in need of help. As Macfarlane (2019) asks:

> is it appropriate to seek solutions to the impact of climate change, poverty, inequality, and human rights violations that threaten peace and sustainability worldwide, solely from a Western approach? Or are there lessons to be learnt from Indigenous perspectives of 'place' and 'authority'? (p. 99)

In our view as editors the answer to Macfarlane's second question is an unequivocal 'Yes'. Indeed, and to restate the centrality to this book of the metaphor of weaving, throughout the book we highlight and share the voices of those directly affected by the challenges and concerns we discuss. This not only enables us to see the problems as defined by those affected, but also to become aware of the myriad solutions and responses missed by mainstream media and scholarship, enabling much more positive, hopeful and mana-enhancing or empowering conversations about responsibility.

Encounters from a Māori perspective

The global encounters explored in this book are complex, multifaceted and represent a diverse range of perspectives. A Māori perspective of these encounters can be derived from Māori origin narratives. Encounters feature in many of these narratives as a reminder of the challenges and triumphs of the atua or deities and deeds of the ancestors as they shaped the world. Origin narratives are instructional and aspiring. They are a blueprint for understanding our world, our roles, and our rights and responsibilities. These narratives emphasise that identity, belonging and ethical behaviour are a useful foundation for global citizenship. Furthermore, a Māori perspective draws attention to the continued impacts of colonisation and, therefore, becomes a tangible expression of Māori resistance, self-determination and hope. The first iho atua is provided here.

IHO ATUA

Margaret Forster (Rongomaiwāhine, Ngāti Kahungunu)

According to a Māori perspective the first global encounter is revealed through origin narratives about the world created by the first parents — Ranginui, Skyfather, and Papatūānuku, Earth Mother.

> Te Pō
>
> The darkness is a womb, it has nurtured us but we cannot stay within its confines forever.
>
> A line from the prologue for *Pūrākau: Māori myths retold by Māori writers* by Whiti Hereaka, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Te Arawa (Ihimaera & Hereaka, 2019, p. 23).

Ranginui and Papaptūānuku were bound together in a loving embrace. Their children were born into the space between them, a world of darkness that protected and sheltered. Their world was confining and cramped — a necessary condition at the onset to nurture and establish life. In one origin narrative, some of the children escaped from their parents' embrace through the menstrual flow of Papatūānuku (Whatahoro, 1913). In another, the children peeked out of her armpits (Best, 1924). Both encounters exposed the children to a world beyond their own, and the unknown sparked a curiosity that inspired within our people the potential for change, transformation and expansion. These ideals are encapsulated within a well-known origin narrative about how Ranginui and Papatūānuku as sky and earth were separated so that the natural world could evolve and create the conditions for humans to flourish and prosper.

> Te Pō
>
> The darkness, O the darkness that has nurtured us, that has oppressed us and defined us. The darkness that is us, must inevitably arc into light.
>
> Ki te whaiao, ki te ao mārama.
>
> Line from the prologue for *Pūrākau: Māori myths retold by Māori writers* by Whiti Hereaka, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Te Arawa (Ihimaera & Hereaka, 2019, p. 23).

Encounters, therefore, provide opportunities for growth and expansion, and inevitably involve navigating new terrain and dealing with uncertainty. Overcoming adversity and responding to contests and conflicts are reoccurring themes in the pursuit of new opportunities that sustain and strengthen the family and amplify the interconnectedness of the world. Māori have a long legacy of engaging with new ideas, commodities, economies and people from around the globe (see, for example, Petrie, 2006). Some of these global encounters have been mutually beneficial; others have threatened Māori sovereignty or authority and Māori culture. A contemporary challenge, therefore, is engaging in global encounters that advance Māori priorities, that actively promote Māori interests and political agendas, that allow Māori to realise their full potential in the constant arc that reaches from absence, exclusion and 'darkness' into attendance, inclusion and 'light'. This includes revisiting the past to re-evaluate contemporary notions of citizenship, rights and responsibilities, to better reflect present-day Māori notions of identity, belonging and ethical behaviour.

Citizenship and global citizenship

This book explores our connections, impacts and roles in the world, and how we might respond to global issues. How should we respond to the climate crisis, conflict or inequality? What are our responsibilities to those who live beyond our national borders? And how will we connect and work with others to address issues of social justice and weave a better world? These are complicated and complex issues that are difficult to address, but at the heart of these responses is the need to develop an ethical awareness, to encourage rights and responsibilities that are globally informed, collective in orientation, and that strive for social justice.

The term 'citizenship' is commonly used in a narrow, legal sense to refer to membership of a nation-state or a particular geographical or political context, or, in a broader sense, to refer to membership of any community (Brown, 2017; Kahu, 2022). This may be a workplace, educational institution or family. Membership in a community brings a range of obligations, including fostering a sense of identity and belonging, and legitimising participation and voice. We broaden our conceptualisation of citizenship even further, taking into account the way globalisation has changed the way we live and how we connect with others (and who we can connect with). Many of us now have connections and allegiances well beyond our national borders and beyond the communities in which we live and work, and we utilise products and services that connect us daily with communities and individuals across the globe. Contemporary globalisation provides new opportunities to make societies richer and more connected, but it also links us to global concerns, from environmental degradation and climate change to conflict, inequality and injustice. These global connections complicate notions of citizenship, as explored in Chapters 3 and 4, and have significant implications for how we understand the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and the tension between individual and collective rights and responsibilities.

Complicating rights and responsibilities

This book explores global citizenship as a means to examine how we think, act, relate and respond to global issues. The topics we introduce are examples of global issues that make claims and require a response that goes beyond narrow state and locally based conceptions of citizenship. Throughout the book, we present the rights concerns related to each topic and explore any corresponding responsibilities. You might disagree with some of these, or approach things differently. Regardless, our challenge to you is to think about the implications of the global changes and connections discussed in this book, and what this

means in terms of rights and responsibilities — for Aotearoa as a nation, for our communities and for ourselves as individuals.

The concepts of rights and responsibilities are introduced in Chapters 5 and 6 and are woven throughout the book. The concept of rights is a difficult one from an Indigenous standpoint. Discourses of rights are considered to be one way in which patriarchal white sovereignty exercises its power, enabling the law and government to intervene in the lives of Indigenous people (Moreton-Robinson, 2009). The very concept of universal rights is derived from 'state-centric forums while "Indigenous nations" responsibilities to the natural world originate from their long-standing relationships with their homelands — relationships that have existed long before the development of the state system' (Corntassel, 2012, p. 92).

To acknowledge this, and to complicate and trouble the concept of rights, discussions of human rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in this book occur in tandem with discussions of collective rights, which are deliberately embedded in Māori conceptions of rights as derived from their status as tangata whenua or people of the land as expressed through tūrangawaewae — an affiliation and authority associated with tribal territory. Then there is the issue of non-human rights. How do we acknowledge and respond to the rights of the environment or animals or birds? They are an important part of the global world and global encounters, as well as being affected by human activity related to climate change, conflict and inequality.

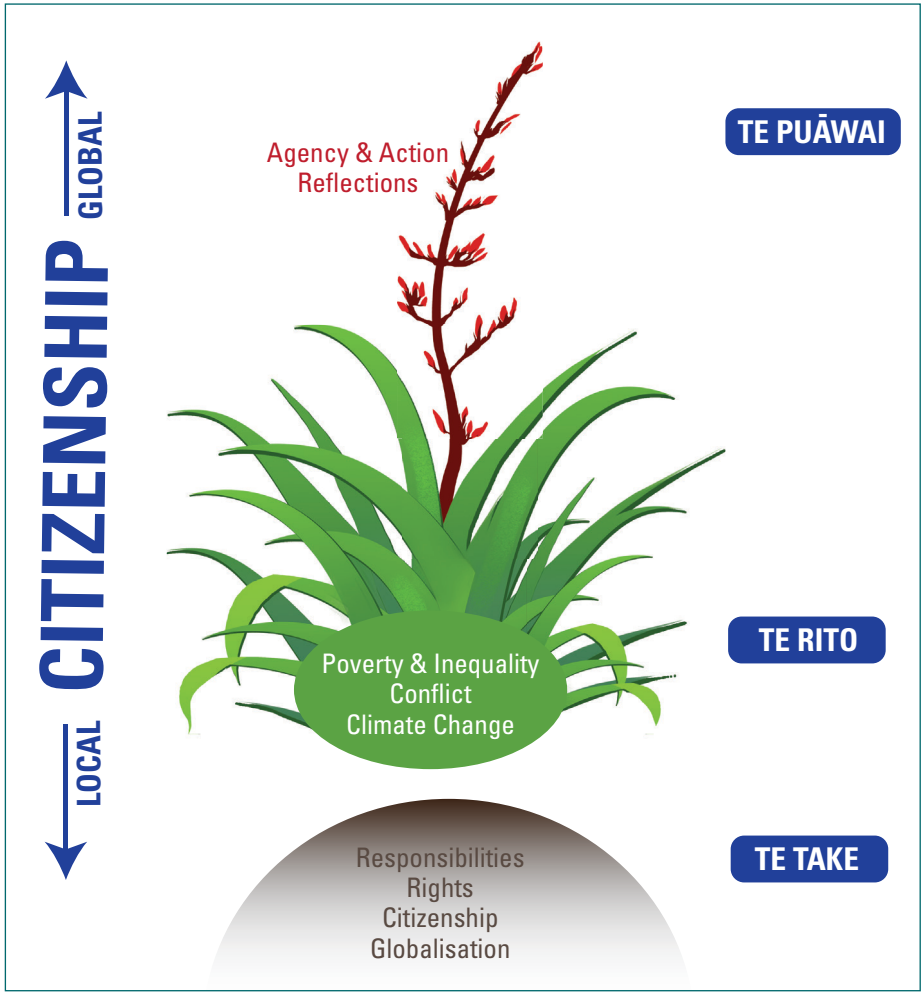
The question of responsibility is also fraught. A key critique of global citizenship is that it positions a global elite as being endowed with superior knowledge, a superior world view, and a responsibility to 'improve' the lives of others (Shultz, 2018, p. 253). As Pashby (2011), notes, transforming notions of responsibility and agency is key. Throughout the book, we aim to shift from forms of thinking that emphasise rights as individualistic, and responsibilities as something the privileged do for others within or outside our borders, to a more critical understanding of collective responsibility towards the planet and all forms of life.

The organisation of this book

Building on the notion of weaving that is inherent in the book's title, the various parts of the harakeke are used to organise the content. Part One is Te Take or the base, where key concepts are introduced associated with encounters, engagements, citizenship, rights and responsibilities. Part Two is Te Rito or the central shoot of the harakeke. This section introduces key global issues with a focus on implications for rights and responsibilities. The final part of the harakeke

is called Te Puāwai, the flowers, and focuses on aspects of agency and action, exploring a range of collective responses to particular global issues.

In Te Take, we introduce key concepts and explore the notion of global encounters and how the ideas, processes and events associated with colonialism and globalisation shape our understanding of citizenship, rights and responsibilities in the context of Aotearoa. In Chapter 2, 'Global encounters', David Littlewood and Carol Neill explore global encounters through a historical lens. This chapter sets the scene for understanding globalisation by examining the intersections of the global and the local in the human history of Aotearoa. It proceeds from



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first settlement by Māori as part of a chain of Pacific migration, through waves of European exploration and engagement, to modern networks of communication, interaction and trade.

In Chapter 3, 'Encountering globalisation', Sharon McLennan explores the various ways that globalisation has been defined, and makes explicit the links between processes of globalisation, particularly neoliberalism, and the local challenges we face. Throughout the chapter, she introduces some key questions about the inequitable impacts of globalisation and the implications of these for rights and responsibilities.

In Chapter 4, 'Encountering global citizenship', Sharon McLennan, Margaret Forster and Rand Hazou introduce various understandings of global citizenship. One of the key arguments underscoring conceptions of global citizenship is that nation-state citizenship is limited and insufficient for accommodating the multiple expressions of identity and belonging that globalisation brings. They introduce the concept of global citizenship as a way of moving beyond these limitations and creating a more inclusive and socially just world.

In Chapter 5, 'Rights', Shine Choi, Margaret Forster and Beth Greener explore the notion of human rights from a politics, international relations and Māori policy disciplinary lens. This chapter explores the various ways that human rights can be conceptualised, and how power and politics interplay to determine whose rights are recognised.

The final chapter in Te Take, Chapter 6, 'Responsibilities', by Tracey Hepi, Carol Neill and Krushil Watene, asks how constructions of identity, belonging and citizenship in a global world shape the nature and extent of our relationships and, more importantly, our responsibilities to one another. Together, the chapters in Te Take provide a grounding or a base from which to encounter and explore various rights issues from around the globe. Te Take also provides a shared vocabulary of key concepts that will deepen your engagement with the various global issues that are presented.

In Te Rito, or the central shoots, we introduce some key challenges facing the world and explore these in relation to rights and responsibilities. The chapters in Te Rito are subdivided into three main areas covering climate change, conflict, and poverty and inequality. These are each introduced by summary chapters that highlight some of the key strands that run through the accompanying chapters. The first of these is climate change. In Chapter 7, 'Encountering climate change', Sharon McLennan and Axel Malecki provide an overview of climate change and its consequences, particularly for people in vulnerable places and for those already marginalised. The chapters in this section focus on responses to the environmental

crisis, namely Pacific Island responses (Movono & McLennan, Chapter 8), Māori responses (Kaiser & Kenney, Chapter 9), and creative responses (Horrocks & Doig, Chapter 10).

The second section focuses on conflict. In Chapter 11, 'Encountering conflict', David Littlewood examines the repercussions of conflict for Aotearoa and describes the frequency of, and most persistent causes for, conflict in the early twenty-first century. Chapters in this section explore the multifaceted links between conflict and human rights violations and responses to these, including the Responsibility to Protect concept (Rogers, Chapter 12), conflict commodities (Bramwell et al., Chapter 13), and finally artistic and creative responses (Hazou, Chapter 14).

The final section of Te Rito explores poverty and inequality. Chapter 15, 'Encountering inequality and poverty', by Carol Neill and Samantha Gardyne, examines how socio-economic or material inequality can be problematised through understandings of, and responses to, poverty. The chapters in this section explore global and local responses to inequality. Chapter 16 (Gardyne & Malecki) explores the Sustainable Development Goals as a global response, while Chapters 17 and 18 examine responses here in Aotearoa. Chapter 17, by Margaret Forster, Sharon McLennan and Catherine Rivera, examines Māori responses to Covid-19 and inequality, while Chapter 18, by Siautu Alefaio-Tugia and colleagues, explores Pasifika perspectives on income inequality and sustainable livelihoods. Each of the chapters in Te Rito deploys disciplinary perspectives from across the humanities and social sciences and offers very different considerations, but they are all structured in similar ways, introducing an issue of global relevance, highlighting the issue in relation to a consideration of rights, and then offering some thoughts or provocations on what our responsibilities might be as individuals and collectives.

Throughout all of Te Take and Te Rito chapters, we provide a series of aho or threads. Some of these aho are short, focused, stand-alone commentaries responding to or deepening the content in each chapter, while others provide links to videos and websites that provide access to other voices and perspectives on the issues presented. The aho ensure a multidisciplinary lens and remind us that there are many ways to view, understand and respond to complex global issues.

Two final chapters comprise the puāwai or flowers of the harakeke. Chapter 19 by Margaret Forster and David Belgrave focuses on agency and action and the potential for transformation that can emerge when we engage collectively with messy and complicated global issues. In the final chapter, Sharon McLennan reviews the concepts introduced in Te Take and the global challenges discussed in Te Rito in a reflection on the dropped stitches, tangled threads and unfinished edges of global citizenship as a concept and practice.

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02.
Global encounters

David Littlewood & Carol Neill

Introduction

Movement and contact between places and peoples have been ongoing for millennia. Indeed, global connections existed between Indigenous groups long before European colonialism. But while flows of people, goods, capital and information have a long history, the roots of modern globalisation are commonly dated to the 1950s or attributed to mass air travel and advances in telecommunications technology. Such interconnections — both old and new — have had profound implications in Aotearoa. Here, political, economic, social and cultural trends have long been influenced by outside factors, while migration, trade and the dissemination of ideas in the opposite direction have also produced lasting impacts.

This chapter sets the historical scene for understanding globalisation as we encounter it today, by examining how the global has been localised and the local globalised throughout the human history of Aotearoa. It proceeds from first settlement by Māori as part of a chain of Pacific migration, through waves of European exploration and engagement, to modern networks of communication, interaction and trade. A recurring theme is that although global interconnectedness has confronted the peoples of this country with significant challenges, it has also brought them a range of opportunities.

IHO ATUA

Margaret Forster (Rongomaiwāhine, Ngāti Kahungunu)

The origin narrative about Hine-ahu-one, the woman fashioned from clay, is useful for understanding encounters within an Aotearoa context.

> I sneezed and therefore I lived . . . It was Papatūānuku, the earth mother, who kept me hidden, keeping secret the hiding place of the uha [earthly female element] . . . Then, when all was ready on earth for mortal being, she told Tāne to form woman from the clay at Kurawaka . . . Within my human shape, I, Hine-ahu-one, held first human life (Grace, 2019, pp. 53–54).

Māori people, through genealogical connections to Hine-ahu-one, are of the land, as signified by the expression tangata whenua. Consequently, Māori culture, values and practices are grounded in whenua. This is a reminder of the immutable and intimate connection to the local that established a series of binding cultural obligations and responsibilities. Manaaki is one such obligation. The hongi or greeting act that involves the pressing of noses is a constant reminder of the shared breath of life that first awoke Hine-ahu-one. It is a physical expression of manaaki that provides a blueprint for appropriate relations and interactions. Manaaki involves elevating the mana or authority and presence of others. It is associated with acts of love and generosity, promoting relations that are welcoming, protective and purposeful; these are referred to as mana-enhancing relations and are synonymous with respect, good health and wellbeing. Māori encounters with the global are grounded in manaaki, as exemplified by Bishop Manu Bennett when he described the constitutional basis of Aotearoa as 'a promise of two peoples [Māori and Pākehā/non-Māori] to take the best possible care of each other' (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 8).

Pacific voyaging

Global encounters in an Aotearoa context were initially led by Pacific peoples, whose advances in seafaring vessels and navigation technology enabled long-distance voyaging after 1050CE. The first arrivals to Aotearoa were part of the 'burst of Polynesian exploration that, over a few hundred years, reached the Kermadec Islands, Norfolk Island and the sub-Antarctic Auckland Islands' (Davidson, 2019, p. 37). Migration to Aotearoa from Hawaiki, an island(s) located to the east or north-east, is dated around 1200CE (Anderson, 2014). The permanent habitation of Aotearoa has varying understandings in different iwi histories, but there was certainly longstanding and widespread settlement by the seventeenth century. While connections to the Pacific were essentially lost following the era of great Māori/Polynesian travel (O'Malley, 2015), there is evidence that early Polynesian settlers passed down their navigational knowledge and maintained their ties with Pacific relatives through return voyaging (Anderson, 2014). This was particularly apparent with Tupaia, who guided Cook and the HMS *Endeavour* from Tahiti to Aotearoa in 1769.

European exploration and colonialism

European nations began exploring the globe after 1400CE during a period of rapid economic development. Population growth and technological advances combined to generate significant increases in agricultural and industrial production, which in turn stimulated the beginnings of a commercial middle class with capital to invest in overseas ventures. Technological innovations also facilitated improvements in shipbuilding and navigation, while the influence wielded by the Christian churches fed a widespread missionary zeal. What better way for the rulers of European nations to demonstrate their power, gain resources and win converts to Christianity than by finding new lands (Abernathy, 2000)?

The 'Age of Discovery' quickly developed a momentum of its own. In 1492 Christopher Columbus sailed into Central America, before Vasco De Gama rounded the bottom of Africa and established a sea route to India. Ferdinand Magellan then led the first known circumnavigation of the globe between 1519 and 1522 (Thomas, 2003). Returning explorers added to knowledge about ocean currents and helped draw up more reliable maps. They also spread tales of the riches and wonders to be found. With Spain, Portugal, Britain, France and the Netherlands locked in competition for supremacy, they all poured resources into trying to locate new lands before their rivals.

The achievements of European exploration also came with devastating

consequences. There were many instances of exploitation and violence, particularly because the Europeans tended to regard the peoples they encountered as racially inferior. The desire for gold and silver caused them to carve a bloody path through South America, while they also instigated the dreadful suffering of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Less deliberate, but no less deadly, was the spread of European diseases among Indigenous populations who lacked any built-up immunity (Crosby, 1972).

The Enlightenment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prompted certain changes in emphasis, but slight change in outcomes. A growing belief that all humans were endowed with natural rights led some people to criticise outrages like the slave trade, and to maintain that Europeans should engage with Indigenous peoples via negotiation, rather than by force. However, this 'humanitarianism' was still based on a particular set of beliefs. Convinced they were at the forefront of scientific and intellectual reasoning, Europeans held that the resources of the world were properly theirs and that they had a right, even a duty, to dominate racially different peoples. Whether they set out to exploit or to 'civilise', Europeans invariably proceeded from an assumption that they were superior and that other peoples should move aside or assimilate (Skinner & Lester, 2012).

Māori encounters with Europeans

Māori first encountered Europeans during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first to arrive off Aotearoa was an expedition led by Dutchman Abel Tasman in 1642, although this never made landfall after a violent incident with Ngāti Tūmatakōkiri. Contact between Māori and Europeans then lapsed until 1769, after which a series of expeditions visited on a quest for riches and scientific knowledge. The most famous were those led by British Captain James Cook, but there were others by French, Spanish, American and Russian explorers. When these expeditions returned to their homelands, they spread tales of the resources available — timber, flax, whales and seals — alongside the prospect of converting Māori to Christianity.

For the next 50 years, the European presence in Aotearoa consisted of traders and missionaries. Their numbers were small — an estimated 2000 by 1840 — and they remained confined to coastal areas. Many Māori viewed establishing social and economic relationships with the new arrivals as a means of demonstrating their capacity for generous hospitality, of acquiring goods, technologies and innovations, and as an opportunity to enhance their mana (Easton, 2020). They were likewise eager to acquire reading and writing skills that enabled them to expand their existing communication and recording strategies (Walker, 2004).

AHO 2.1 EARLY MĀORI GLOBAL ENCOUNTERS: TE PAHI AND HIS MEDAL

In 1805 Ngāpuhi chief Te Pahi left his home in the Bay of Islands bound for the Australian settlement of Port Jackson (Sydney). He took his four sons with him and for three months they were the guests of the British Governor of New South Wales, Philip King. Te Pahi was one of a growing number of Māori in the early nineteenth century who took the opportunity of boarding European vessels to explore the world beyond Aotearoa. The son of Te Pahi, Matara, had spent time in New South Wales with King previously and had brought back gifts to his father. Te Pahi wanted to establish further opportunities to cement trade and cultural relations that would benefit his tribe (Stocker, 2015).

While there, King presented him with a silver medal, inscribed on both sides and now considered to be one of the earliest examples of Australian silver smithery. Stocker (2015) suggests it was one of the first official trans-Tasman taonga (treasures) to be exchanged, boosting the mana of Te Pahi on his return home due to its metal composition.

The promising trade links established between Te Pahi and King were scuttled by the burning and murder of the crew of the ship *Boyd* in 1809 in Whangaroa Harbour. Te Pahi was unfairly blamed for the incident and his house and village destroyed in a revenge attack by British soldiers.

It is thought that in the attack a soldier took the Te Pahi medal and somehow it made its way back to Australia, where it disappeared until 1899 when it turned up in the will of Edward du Moulin. It appeared again in 2014 at Sotheby's auction house in Sydney. The medal was bought in a joint purchase by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and Auckland War Memorial Museum, and after 200 years it made its way back home to Aotearoa, a symbol of both the peaceful and fiery nature of global encounters.

Reference

Stocker, M. (2015). A silver slice of history: The Te Pahi medal. *Tuhinga, 26*, 31–48.

ABOVE: William Archibald, '[Te Pahi] A New Zealand Chief', 1827, after a drawing by George Prideaux Harris.
ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY, A-092-007

LEFT: Te Pahi Medal.
MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND TE PAPA TONGAREWA, GH024416

Yet the arrival of Europeans also caused significant disruption. Not only did they introduce a range of diseases, but the importation of muskets upset the balance of power between iwi and caused a significant increase in conflict. Iwi with access to more muskets were able to defeat those with fewer, prompting cycles of invasion and forced migration. By the time the Musket Wars of the 1820s and 1830s finally tapered off, an estimated 20,000 Māori had been killed (Ballara, 2003).

The colonisation of Aotearoa

The European presence in Aotearoa changed irrevocably with te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. Around 500 rangatira (Māori chiefs) signed te Tiriti o Waitangi, although many, especially in the central North Island, did not. For those who did, there were multiple motives. Some saw it as a way of implementing a governance system that would control the growing population of Pākehā (non-Māori) settlers — something a petition by Northern rangatira to the King of England had already sought to achieve (Walker, 2004). The signatories also desired to enhance their global connections and strengthen the trading networks that had already begun to develop (Henare, 2011). Māori tended to view te Tiriti o Waitangi as formalising a partnership of equals and offering new opportunities to enhance their mana — as a means of sharing power, rather than giving it away (Williams, 1989). The agreement would cement the right of Europeans as tangata tiriti (non-Māori with rights to citizenship established through te Tiriti o Waitangi) to be in the country and purchase some of its land, but the two peoples would live side by side according to their separate traditions. This would enable Māori self-determination and tino rangatiratanga (absolute tribal authority) to be preserved (Orange, 2011).

From the British perspective, te Tiriti o Waitangi arose from several imperatives. One held that if Britain did not incorporate Aotearoa into its empire, the country would fall under French control. Another stemmed from the concept of humanitarianism, whose adherents were horrified by the impact of the Musket Wars and European diseases, and asserted it was Britain's responsibility to intervene before Māori were wiped out. But the greatest driver of colonisation was a sense that the European dominance of an Indigenous people was necessary and preordained. How could Britons and Māori live side by side as equals when Britons were superior? How could Māori achieve law and order without British oversight? And how could the resources of Aotearoa be properly exploited except under British direction? The answers to these questions resided in the British belief in their 'civilising mission' that also informed their writing of te Tiriti o Waitangi (Belich, 1996).

The following two decades contained several warning signs of challenges to