Tātou o tagata folau. Pacific development through learning traditional voyaging on the waka hourua, Haunui.

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Abstract

Pacific development is happening in Aotearoa New Zealand through learning traditional voyaging on Haunui, a waka hourua or double-hulled sailing canoe. This study examines the experiences of nine Haunui crew members who self-identify as Pacific which were shared over a series of talanoa sessions. It proposes six key elements of Pacific development and compares them with the crew members' experiences. It employs Pacific research methods and methodologies and introduces a new data analysis tool, Mālolo. The results show a strong alignment between the crew members' experiences of learning on Haunui with the key elements of Pacific development. They also demonstrate the essential role of culture and identity, the relevance of Pacific ancestors' knowledge, science, and beliefs in solving modern issues, and the importance of honouring relationships between social, spiritual, and environmental realms. They prove the value of a Pacific-centric approach to Pacific development that facilitates Pacific people developing themselves and each other across colonial borders while honouring Pacific people's deep connection to the ocean as tagata folau.

This research has decolonisation aspirations and builds on the pan-Pacific identity by acknowledging Aotearoa New Zealand as part of the Pacific and by acknowledging Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand as the same but different from their island counterparts. Traditional voyaging on Haunui delivers on Pacific development and can inform other development initiatives in the Pacific, including those for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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List of Abbreviations

AUT, Auckland University of Technology

NGO, non-government organisation

P.A.C.I.F.I.C.A. Inc, Pacific Allied (Women's) Council Inspires Faith in Ideals Concerning All Incorporated

PIANGO, Pacific Island Association of Non-Government Organisations

PVS, Polynesian Voyaging Society

SDG, Sustainable Development Goal

TTVT, Te Toki Voyaging Trust

TTWH, Te Toki Waka Hourua

UN, United Nations

UNDP, United Nations Development Program

WIBDI, Women in Business Development Incorporated

Glossary

alava'a *(Sāmoan),* path of the canoe

alofa *(Sāmoan),* love

aoga amata *(Sāmoan),* Sāmoan language pre-school

Aotearoa *(Te Reo Māori),* New Zealand

aroha *(Te Reo Māori),* love

aso anamua *(Samoan)*, ancient times

atua *(Te Reo Māori, Sāmoan),* god, gods

diflopmen *(Kwara'ae),* development

Fa'aSāmoa *(Sāmoan),* the Sāmoan way

fale *(Sāmoan),* house

foe *(Sāmoan),* steering paddle

folau *(Sāmoan),* voyage

hapū *(Te Reo Māori),* clan

hau kāinga *(Te Reo Māori),* local people of a marae

hoe *(Te Reo Māori),* steering paddle

iwi *(Te Reo Māori),* tribe

kai *(Te Reo Māori),* food

kai karanga *(Te Reo Māori)*, caller, woman (or women) who calls or responds at the start of a pōwhiri

kakala *(Tongan),* floral garland

karakia *(Te Reo Māori),* prayer

karakia mo te kai *(Te Reo Māori),* grace

kaumatua *(Te Reo Māori),* elder

kaupapa *(Te Reo Māori),* topic, initiative

kawa *(Te Reo Māori),* ceremony, customs

kōtuku *(Te Reo Māori),* white heron

luva *(Tongan),* gift

mafana *(Tongan),* warm

malie *(Tongan),* bravo

mālolo *(Sāmoan),* flying fish

mana *(Te Reo Māori, Sāmoan),* prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma

manākitanga *(Te Reo Māori),* hospitality, care for others

manuhiri *(Te Reo Māori),* visitors

marae *(Te Reo Māori),* courtyard in front of the *wharenui*, where formal greetings and discussions take place

maramataka *(Te Reo Māori),* Māori lunar calendar, almanac

mātauranga *(Te Reo Māori),* knowledge

matuku *(Te Reo Māori),* heron

mauri *(Te Reo Māori),* life force

mōteatea *(Te Reo Māori),* traditional chant

ngā atua *(Te Reo Māori),* gods

Pākeha *(Te Reo Māori),* New Zealander of European descent

Pālagi *(Sāmoan),* a white or non-Sāmoan person

Papa'a *(Cook Island Māori),* foreigner

Patupaiarehe *(Te Reo Maori),* a supernatural being, like a fairy

pou *(Sāmoan),* post of a house

poukai *(Te Reo Māori),* King Movement gathering

pōwhiri *(Te Reo Māori),* to welcome

pūtatara *(Te Reo Māori),* conch shell

rangatahi *(Te Reo Māori),* youth

rohe *(Te Reo Māori),* district, territory

soli le vā *(Sāmoan),* to damage the relationship

solo *(Sāmoan),* chant

tagata *(Sāmoan),* people

talanoa *(Tongan, Sāmoan),* discussion, talk

Tāmaki Makaurau *(Te Reo Māori),* Auckland

tangata whenua (*Te Reo Māori),* indigenous people

tātou *(Te Reo Māori),* we, us

tausi le vā *(Sāmoan),* nurture the relationship

Te Ao Māori *(Te Reo Māori),* Māoridom

Te Reo Māori *(Te Reo Māori),* Māori language

teina *(Te Reo Māori),* younger brother or sister

teu *(Tongan),* to prepare

teu le vā *(Sāmoan),* to take care of the relationship

tipairua *(Tahitian),* large sailing canoe

tohu *(Te Reo Māori),* sign

toli *(Tongan),* to pick, to choose

toroa *(Te Reo Māori),* albatross

tuakana *(Te Reo Māori),* older brother or sister

tui *(Tongan),* to string a garland

tupuna (*(Te Reo Māori),* ancestor(s)

tūrangawaewae *(Te Reo Māori),* place where one has kinship rights to belong

upoko *(Te Reo Māori),* head

vā *(Sāmoan),* space that connects, relationship

vā tapuia *(Sāmoan),* sacred space or sacred relationships

va'a *(Sāmoan),* canoe

vaka *(Cook Islands Māori),* canoe

wāhine *(Te Reo Māori),* woman

wairua *(Te Reo Māori),* spirit

waka *(Te Reo Māori),* canoe

waka hourua *(Te Reo Māori),* double-hulled, sailing canoe

waka taua *(Te Reo Māori),* war canoe

wānanga *(Te Reo Māori),* to meet and discuss, educational seminar

whakapapa *(Te Reo Māori),* genealogy

whakawhānaunga *(Te Reo Māori),* to get to know one another

whānau *(Te Reo Māori),* family, group of people

whare *(Te Reo Maori*), house, cabin

whare nui *(Te Reo Māori),* meeting house

whare wānanga *(Te Reo Māori),* tertiary education institute

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed

Dated: 31 May 2020

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

An important aspect of traditional Pacific voyaging is its contribution to Pacific development. Understanding the key elements of Pacific development is central to valuing this contribution. While some research has been carried out on culture and sustainable development in the Pacific, no studies have been found which identify the key elements of Pacific development.

It is now well established that for centuries Pacific peoples voyaged across the Pacific on waka hourua. In the past 50 years, traditional Pacific voyaging has flourished across the Pacific, including in Aotearoa New Zealand. Research into learning traditional Pacific voyaging has focused primarily on the science of wayfinding. Although it has identified beneficial outcomes such as reclaiming of cultural pride and identity, these have not been addressed in the context of Pacific development.

Some studies on Pacific development have identified how Pacific peoples might develop themselves. However, far too little attention has been paid to how Pacific peoples can help each other across cultures and borders, including Aotearoa New Zealand. This study presents traditional voyaging as an exemplar for Pacific development.

My story / My motivation

I am keen to explore Pacific development for Pacific peoples in the Pacific by Pacific peoples, rather than by development experts who are not Pacific. I share three personal stories that inform my desire to undertake this study: learning the Sāmoan language through Māori, irrelevance of international best practice in the Pacific, and language interpreting in the Pacific.

When I wanted to learn Sāmoan in the 1980s, there were no Sāmoan classes at my university or anywhere in the city where I lived. So, I studied Te Reo Māori because it was the closest substitute I could find at university. Years later I noticed something similar happening. Pacific peoples in Auckland were seeking to learn more about their Pacific heritage through Haunui, a Māori portal back to the Pacific.

In the 2000s, I worked for Women in Business Development Incorporated in Sāmoa. Various Pacific non-government organisations (NGOs) sponsored me to study the Graduate Diploma in Not-for-Profit Management, a course commissioned for Pacific NGO leaders by Pacific Islands Association of Non-Government Organisations

(PIANGO). PIANGO engaged Unitec to deliver their programme as part of its drive to build capacity within Pacific NGOs. PIANGO's ultimate aim was for the Pacific graduates of the diploma to teach what they had learned to the next cohorts of learners.

The lecturers would travel to a PIANGO member country for a 3-5-day period and teach a whole course to a dozen CEOs or managers from PIANGO member organisations. I studied in Sāmoa, Fiji and Aotearoa New Zealand. None of the Unitec lecturers self-identified as Pacific, or even as Māori. My classmates came from Cook Islands, Fiji, French Polynesia, New Caledonia, Sāmoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu. The Pākeha lecturers came bearing readings about best practice in Australia, England and the United States of America and laughed at the suggestion that best practice in the Pacific could have any relevance in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The following excerpt indicates my frustration in the face of perceived double-standards and resentment that Pacific ways were deemed useless in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is from a paper that I wrote on Pacific conflict resolution for the Small Team Leadership and Conflict Resolution module held in Apia, Sāmoa in 2005.

> *'The Pacific Island participants hungrily learned about conflict resolution in America and wondered how they could turn all their NGO colleagues into Pākeha so they could apply their wonderful new learning at the office. The participants were invited to give their own model of conflict resolution in the Pacific. The participants were warned at the outset that their models would only be applicable in the Pacific and would be of absolutely no use in, say, Point Chevalier.'*

Two years later, I was in charge of English and French language services for the South Pacific Games in Apia, Sāmoa. While interpreting for delegates from Sāmoa and Wallis and Futuna, it occurred to me that neither was speaking his own first language. The Sāmoan was speaking in faltering English, the man from Wallis and Futuna in faltering French. I paused the interpreting and suggested they speak in their own indigenous languages rather than the colonial ones. They both resisted until I repeated the suggestion in Sāmoan. The man from Wallis and Futuna looked surprised that he could understand me. They started to talk to each other in their own languages. Everything changed. Both men relaxed, were less formal and stand-offish, started laughing and made physical contact.

These stories remind me that Pacific peoples once communicated with each other in Pacific ways on Pacific matters. The idea of bringing in Western worldviews, attitudes, languages, and behaviours may speak more about the need of those promoting those Western things rather than the needs of the people receiving them.

Research purpose

This research has been carried out to address the challenges noted above.

The primary objective of this study was to explore how Pacific development may be happening through traditional voyaging on Haunui, a waka hourua in Aotearoa New Zealand. That objective necessitated a secondary one, to identify, propose, and explore important elements of Pacific development.

The importance and originality of this study are four-fold. Firstly, it puts forward six key elements of Pacific development. Secondly, it uses a qualitative case study approach to explore and compare those elements with the experiences of Pacific waka hourua crew in Aotearoa New Zealand. Thirdly, it introduces and tests a new data analysis tool, Mālolo. Most importantly, it presents a case for Pacific development through partnerships and collaboration between Pacific peoples and including Māori.

It is intended that the findings benefit people ranging from the research participants and other crew members, to Te Toki Voyaging Trust, to organisations working in Pacific development and the people they aim to serve. For the participants and other crew members, the research will raise their awareness of their own development on Haunui and provide new insights into their mastery of their learning. For Te Toki Voyaging Trust (TTVT), it will contribute to a deeper understanding of the value and impact of its work through Te Toki Waka Hourua (TTWH). Te Toki Waka Hourua is the waka hourua arm of the trust operating the trust's four waka hourua, Pumaiterangi, Aotearoa One, Hinemoana and Haunui. Other aspects of TTVT include a waka ama club and a training fleet of small sailing canoes (TTWH, 2018a). As a member of the Te Toki whānau, I have agreed to gift a copy of this thesis to the TTVT library. This is in alignment with the aim of TTVT (1999) to collect, collate, and store data pertaining to all aspects of waka hourua and to honour my promise to Turanga Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr who is rangatira of TTVT and was a participant in this study. The findings should contribute to the field of Pacific development, both in the Pacific islands and in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is intended that this knowledge be shared with the Pacific development community through conference presentations and at least one journal article with the intention that it inform Pacific development practice. Ultimately, this study should serve those whom Pacific development targets, Pacific people, so they can achieve their own goals using ways that honour their ways of life, their values, their strengths.

While this is a limited case study, it is expected that the findings may be applicable to other Pacific development initiatives and provide valuable learnings that may provide wider understandings about this type of engagement.

Research questions

The research question is 'Tātou o tagata folau. How is Pacific development happening through traditional voyaging on the waka hourua, Haunui?'

In order to answer the question, Pacific research methodology and methods were used so that the research would be meaningful, relevant and applicable to the very Pacific people it aims to serve. Using the Kakala research methodology, participants informed every stage of the research process. As insider-research and using the Talanoa research method, it delved deeply into participants' experiences. During this study, I developed and implemented a new data analysis tool, Mālolo, to ensure that participants could actively participate in the analysis of their own data.

The study explores Pacific crew members' motivations, experiences, and outcomes, as well as what is known about Pacific development, about voyaging and about Haunui.

Pacific / Polynesian / Māori

This study is about Pacific development and Pacific voyaging and is founded on the standpoint that Pacific peoples are peoples of the Pacific, including those categorised as Micronesian, Melanesian, and Polynesian. Although I acknowledge decolonising research should not impose upon all Pacific communities the dominant Sāmoan and Tongan concepts (Tunufa'i, 2016), this study does have a strong Polynesian point of view for several reasons.

I have drawn heavily from Sāmoan and Tongan writers because there is strong Sāmoan and Tongan representation within the Pacific diaspora in Aotearoa New Zealand (Salesa, 2017, p. 21; Stats NZ, 2018). I also draw on authors from Fiji, Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, and Aotearoa New Zealand. In addition, all participants in this study self-identified as belonging to cultures deemed Polynesian. No participants identified Melanesian or Micronesian roots. Furthermore, Te Toki Voyaging Trust is a Māori organisation that is part of the current voyaging renaissance which was led by the Hawaiians of the Polynesian Voyaging Society in the 1970s and Haunui is constructed according to a Tahitian model.

I chose to use the term 'Polynesia' because geographically Polynesia forms a coherent region for the study in the sense that, compared with Melanesia and Micronesia,

Polynesia is made up of islands that become more and more remote towards the East. While there are local differences, 'people within the geographic region of Polynesia have elements of biological, cultural and especially linguistic commonality, since they derived from a common and recent location around Fiji, Sāmoa and Tonga' (Howe, 2008).

At the same time, I mark a clear demarcation between the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa and other people of the Pacific. I chose to separate Māori from non-Māori Polynesians for the purpose of this study because it focuses on Haunui, a Māori waka in Aotearoa, and its non-Māori Polynesian crew. Although Māori are Polynesians and share common heritage and culture with other Polynesians, only Māori can call Aotearoa their homeland. Māori people hold the status of tangata whenua of Aotearoa, they are indigenous. Many of Haunui's Pacific crew were born in New Zealand, yet they self-identify as Cook Islander, Sāmoan, Tahitian. They could all identify when they, their parents or their grandparents settled in Aotearoa. They identified with a homeland that is in Polynesia but is not Aotearoa, they identified with cultures that are Polynesian but not Māori. Therefore, it was logical to focus on non-Maori Polynesians at the outset. Findings revealed another point of view (see Chapter 5).

Although this research focuses on the experiences of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa, the Pacific development elements have pan-Pacific origins.

Structure of thesis

This thesis is made up of seven chapters, including this introduction chapter. The contents of the remaining six chapters are:

Chapter 2: Pacific development. What is Pacific development and who defines it? In this chapter I propose six key elements of Pacific development to address a paucity of literature defining Pacific development. In keeping with privileging Pacific voices, the six key elements of Pacific development have been distilled from Pacific peoples' discussions on culture and sustainable development in the Pacific.

Chapter 3: Literature Review. The third chapter contains a critical review of literature under four headings: Pacific peoples in Aotearoa, Pacific development, traditional voyaging, Haunui. Knowledge about traditional voyaging in particular comes from three different sources, indigenous traditions, Western ideas and modern Pacific voyaging practice.

Chapter 4: Research Methods and Methodology. The fourth chapter outlines the qualitative research methodology of Kakala, the Talanoa method used, and introduces

Mālolo, a new data analysis tool. It demonstrates the depth of the participants' involvement in the study's design, delivery, and data analysis.

Chapter 5: Findings. The fifth chapter presents the voices of eight participants who self-identify as Pacific and who crew on Haunui. It draws on the data gathered using the Talanoa and Mālolo tools. The format of this chapter honours the participants' input as it uses the Mālolo headings.

Chapter 6: Discussion of the findings. The sixth chapter addresses the thesis question by aligning the participants' responses to the six elements of Pacific development. It also compares and contrasts the participants' responses with what is already known about Pacific peoples in Aotearoa, traditional voyaging, the aims of Te Toki Waka Hourua, and international development.

Chapter 7: Conclusion. The final chapter presents a summary of the main findings and implications of this research. It provides a review of this study's contributions and limitations as well as suggestions for further research.

Summary

This introduction has set the scene by presenting the purpose of the study, the research question it aims to answer and experiences that have motivated it. It has also introduced Te Toki Voyaging Trust, Te Toki Waka Hourua and Haunui. It has explained the use of terminology such as Pacific, Polynesian and Māori. It has presented a brief outline of the research process.

The following chapter is a critical review of what is known about Pacific development.

Chapter 2: Pacific development

Introduction

My thesis explores how Pacific development is happening through traditional voyaging on the waka hourua, Haunui. In order to establish whether Pacific development was happening on Haunui, it is helpful to know what Pacific development is, and who defines it

I sought first to define what Pacific development is but I found there was a paucity of literature defining Pacific development, and no definition of Pacific development by Pacific people. Even development agencies working in the Pacific could not provide me their definition. Readings lists on indigenous development were predominantly focused on either the New Zealand context for Māori or New Zealand's education policies in the Pacific.

There are two different perspectives of Pacific development, one viewed from within, the other from outside. The Pacific view focuses on the needs of the people it aims to serve, reaching beyond borders, and connecting Pacific peoples through their ocean. International development does not.

International development in the Pacific

International development goals are problematic in the Pacific. They are top-down, determined by partnerships between governments. These partnerships include, but are not specific to, the Pacific. The seventeen Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations Development Programme are universal (UNDP, 2019). The Small Island Developing States Accelerated Modalities of Action (SAMOA) Pathways is an international framework addressing sustainable development of small island developing states (UN, 2019). Although developed in Sāmoa, it included small island states that were not part of the Pacific. The top-down, universal approach is problematic for Pacific peoples because it erases their lived realities.

Sometimes, the Pacific is not even on its own map! UNDP's Asia-Pacific Regional Knowledge Conference may have 'brought together more than 150 delegates and development experts from 36 countries in Asia and the Pacific' (UNDP, 2019, p. 1) but it would have been hard for any of the Pacific delegates to feel included. The promotional material cut most of the Pacific off the map.

Figure 1: Promotion for 2016 UNDP Asia-Pacific Regional Knowledge Exchange (UNDP, 2016)

The United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) dominate development work in the Pacific and funding accountabilities. The seventeen SDGs are 'a call for action by all countries to promote prosperity while protecting the planet' which recognises that 'ending poverty must go hand-in-hand with strategies that build economic growth and address a range of social needs including education, health, social protection, and job opportunities, while tackling climate change and environmental protection' (UNDP, 2019).

Similarly, New Zealand's development priorities in the Pacific are defined by NZ Aid (MFAT, 2015), not by the Pacific states themselves. Hau'ofa put it more clearly stating, 'underlying the concern by Australia and New Zealand for the development of the islands are strategic considerations for their own security' (Hau'ofa, 2008, p. 18). The Pacific Reset was New Zealand Government's response to 'challenges facing the Pacific Islands region' such as 'heightened strategic competition, climate change, economic fragility and pressing human development issues' (Cabinet External Relations and Security Committee, 2018, p. 1). It could be argued that 'heightened strategic competition' represented a challenge for New Zealand but an opportunity for the Pacific states. A government report deemed the first year of The Pacific Reset successful, stating 'It has built a foundation from which to secure and advance our interests' (Cabinet External Relations and Security Committee, 2018, p. 1). Let us be clear that those interests are New Zealand's.

It is easy for international development ideals to dismiss the Pacific as irrelevant and insignificant and, in doing so, waste thousands of years of relevant wisdom from across one third the surface area of the planet. The SDGs' call to promote prosperity frames the international view of the Pacific as tiny, isolated, poor, resource-less and dependent on donor countries (Hau'ofa, 2008). In their critique of the SDGs, Yap and Watene (2019) explained the opportunity missed when indigenous perspectives were excluded in the development of the SDGs, especially when those very indigenous cultures were built on sustainable relationships and practices.

The activities of external actors such as United Nations bodies, development aid institutions and non-government organisations can shape local activities which may not be centred on humans and which may not respond to real needs expressed by the communities (Beboko-Beccalossi, 2017; Gegeo & Gegeo, 2002; Hau'ofa, 2008; Pigliasco, 2017). Salesa sounded a warning about applying international models to Pacific peoples. He pointed out that 'many efforts to improve the lives of Pacific people have in fact had the opposite effect' and warned that if such efforts continued with their North American, Asian and European ways of doing, the future of the Pacific would 'look very much like the recent Pacific past: which is to say, it will too often consist of stories of unrealised potential' (Salesa, 2017, p. 233).

One of the core challenges in defining Pacific development has clearly lain in the dominance of international development efforts in the Pacific as part of global agendas. International development in the Pacific prioritises economic, environmental, education and health goals as well as gender equity and climate change (MFAT, 2015; UN, 2019; UNDP, 2019). Its universal and decontextualised approach ignores key elements of Pacific development such as spirituality, self-determination, communal relationships, indigenous science, and existing subsistence economies.

Pacific development

In keeping with the Pacific methodological approach of this research to privilege Pacific voices, I sought a definition of Pacific development as defined by Pacific people. The book, *Culture and Sustainable Development in the Pacific* (Hooper, 2000), provided rich initial source material. It is a collection of papers presented at a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) conference in Suva, Fiji in 1997. The conference was part of the 1990s Vaka Moana programme that attempted to address poor outcomes of international development in the Pacific. Vaka Moana sought to 'demonstrate the importance and practicality of taking account of the cultural dimensions in development' (Hooper, 2000, p. xiii) and to provide an antidote to the

cultural homogenisation of international development (Ayala, 2000). Most of the conference presenters were Pacific people.

Six key elements of Pacific development

I identified key elements of Pacific development that emerged from the conference papers of those who 'explored culture and development in the Pacific, [and who would] not relate the World Commission's recommendations and policies to the region' (Hooper, 2000, p. xv). In other words, the writings focused on Pacific aspirations rather than an international ideal.

The elements were developed in recognition that there are multiple, interrelated understandings of Pacific development. The key elements I put forward are:

- Acknowledging environmental, social, and spiritual realms
- Honouring communal relationships over individual benefit
- Mana, self-determination, self-reliance
- Knowledge of own history, identity, and Pacific interconnectedness
- Promotion of traditional knowledge and science, and indigenising modernity
- Strong subsistence economy

These key elements of Pacific development build on the Pacific values of communal relationships, reciprocity, holism and respect (HRCNZ, 2014) but also incorporate economics, modernisation, science and international relations. They extend beyond the international development goals by promoting self-determination, acknowledging spirituality, and elevating the importance of subsistence economy.

Acknowledging environmental, social, and spiritual realms

Pacific development operates in the environmental, social and spiritual realms and acknowledges their interconnectedness (Crawley, Pulotu-Endemann, & Stanley-Findlay, 1995; Thaman, 2017). Pacific and Māori worldviews of deep consciousness of connectedness with our environment and ourselves are seen as the key to addressing modern humanitarian issues including the 'homogenising force of the global juggernaut' (Hau'ofa, 2000, p. 33) and the effects of the market economy (Barclay-Kerr, 2016). The environment is an ancestral legacy to sustain and pass on to future generations, not a resource to exploit (Jones, 2000; Smith, 2020). Given Pacific peoples' dependence on the ocean and the land (Voi, 2000), its kaitiaki or guardianship is founded in the spiritual with its vision toward serving future society. UNDP's Sustainable Development Goals include the environment but omit spirituality and the social elements of family, tradition, and culture (Yap & Watene, 2019).

Honouring communal relationships over individual benefit

Development in the Pacific depends on the stable society of village and extended family (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2000). It seeks to benefit the community rather than just the one person receiving the development opportunity (Jones, 2000). 'Individualization for its own sake is abhorred' (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 44). Such is the importance of communal relationships, the economies of Sāmoa and Tonga rely on remittances sent from overseas Sāmoans and Tongans to reinforce their connections to family and villages (Salesa, 2017, p. 92). The vision of Women in Business Development Incorporated (n.d.-a), one of Sāmoa's established NGOs, was that vulnerable people contribute to the development of themselves as well as their families and their country.

Communal relationships can extend between nations. In Fonofale, Fuimaono Karl Pulotu-Endemann's 1995 Pacific model of health, family was represented as the floor of the fale metaphor (Crawley et al., 1995). This family relationship already exists at organisational levels beyond borders. Sāmoa's Women in Business Development Incorporated shared its huge Body Shop coconut oil contract with growers in other islands such as Tonga. The founder of Tahiti's Hiti Tau travelled the Pacific sharing how to grow high value Tahitian vanilla using ancient Tahitian agricultural practices.

All the objectives of pan-Pacific programme, Vaka Moana, identified the collective beneficiaries as 'the people of the Pacific', 'the peoples of the region', 'all peoples of the various island countries of the Pacific, including those from non-independent countries' (Voi, 2000, p. 218). Family forms the foundation of Pacific social organisation. These examples demonstrate why Pacific development must be based on and reinforce communal relationships.

Mana, self-determination, self-reliance

Pacific development seeks to restore and enhance mana of the people it serves. It promotes self-determination, self-governance and self-reliance, it does not perpetuate dependency (Jones, 2000; Meleisea, 2000). Pacific development is when the people it aims to serve contribute fully to their own development. Women in Business Development Incorporated aimed to increase self-reliance and independence for youth and people with disabilities and their families through their programmes focused on income generation, job creation and participation in the village economy (WIBIDI, n.d.-a).

The self-determination is reflected in Gegeo and Gegeo-Watson's claim that the most important distinguishing characteristic of *diflopmen*, was that it 'emerges out of one's own hands' (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2002, p. 389). It is like the animal growing in an

egg from the inside out. According to *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, the word 'development' is borrowed from the French 'développer' which used to mean 'to unwrap'. The word acquired its modern meaning from the 17th-century belief that an egg contains the animal in miniature and matures by growing larger and shedding its envelopes' (Kleinedler, n.d.) which, interestingly, aligns well with the modern understanding of DNA. Growing from the inside out aligns well with Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo's concept of development emerging from one's own hands (Gegeo & Gegeo, 2002).

Also important to increasing self-reliance, independence and mana is the dispelling of myths through the knowledge of history, as well as challenging the welfare economy through a strong subsistence economy (Barclay-Kerr, 2017; Jones, 2000; WIBDI, n.d.-b). These are discussed in elements to follow.

Knowledge of own history, identity, and Pacific interconnectedness

Pacific development raises a regional Pacific identity that acknowledges interconnectedness between the islands, taps into a common heritage, and promotes strong cultural identity and knowing one's history (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2000; Hau'ofa, 2000; Voi, 2000). Hau'ofa bemoaned our shrunken view of the world, where 'we have lost our relatives and they have lost us. We are all lost relatives' (Hau'ofa, 2008, p. xiv). Even Cook recognised the interconnections stating, 'It is extraordinary that the same Nation should have spread themselves over all the isles in this Vast Ocean… which is almost a fourth part of the circumference of the Globe' (Beaglehole, 1961, p. 354). Smith (2012) noted that the knowledge of history and interconnectedness is important as a part of healing, decolonisation, and spiritual recovery.

To know where you come from so you know where you are going is especially relevant for Pacific peoples who have grown up outside of Pacific culture (Kavaliku, 2000). Jones (2000) explained the Waitangi Tribunal development model where resources ensured members learned their tribal history in addition to receiving assistance for education and business development recovery. Hau'ofa (2000) argued that Pacific development should contribute to raising a consciousness that would help free Pacific people from externally generated definitions of Pacific past, present and future. WIBDI focused on Sāmoa while reaching out to its Pacific neighbours. Better knowledge of the common historical links and dependence on the ocean and land reinforce the links between Pacific peoples (Voi, 2000).

Promotion of traditional knowledge and science, and indigenising modernity

Pacific development acknowledges cultural innovation and transformation through the adoption and adaptation of elements of modernity (Babadzan, 2009; Kavaliku, 2000; Sahlins, 2000; Voi, 2000). Progress through indigenising modernity means adapting the new to fit the indigenous ways of doing. It is modernisation of cultural ways (Kavaliku, 2000). Technology, for example, was indigenised when WIBDI coconut oil producers used mechanical coconut scrapers in the process of making hand-pressed coconut oil, where my grandma's *fale kuka* or traditional cooking hut was made from materials from the land with an imported corrugated iron ridge on its roof. The WIBDI (n.d.-b) logo identified the organisation's pillars as tradition, trade and technology. It recognises that technology should serve the people and not be a goal in itself.

Development must be built on knowledge resources that Pacific peoples already have because, as Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2002) warned, modernisation disguised as community development continued to fail rural villages in Solomon Islands. Hoturoa[1] agreed saying, 'We were so engaged in the pursuit of Western knowledge that we didn't value our own traditional knowledge' (personal communication, April 26, 2018). So in the case of Vaka Moana's goal for the promotion and dissemination of all forms of knowledge, both traditional and scientific, the scientific should bring value to the traditional (Voi, 2000).

Strong subsistence economy

Pacific development also depends on strengthening its large subsistence sector. (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2000). Subsistence is about looking after one's self as well as one's contribution to the family and village.

The economic mode of Pacific traditional sector goes far beyond mere subsistence. It is a wide variety of reciprocal exchanges and redistributions that integrate whole districts in networks of mutual obligation and concern (Hooper, 2000, pp. 2-3). In 2000, the traditional sector accounted for 50 percent or more of Pacific GDP (Hooper, 2000). Salesa described Pacific economies:

> *While many indicators suggest that life is hard, and often of a 'Third World' standard, people in the Pacific, and most people in Polynesia, live in relative abundance. Basing their own lives on a complex mix of sustainable small-scale farming, some producing to sell, some wage earning, the ocean, family networks and communal living,*

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[1] . I reference Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr in two different ways in this research. When I reference his published work, I use Barclay-Kerr. When I reference his contribution as a collaborator, I use his first name just as for all the other collaborators

Polynesians have crafted sustainable and adaptable economic lives (Salesa, 2017, p. 92).

Economic development models need to capture the full range of Pacific ambitions. (James, 2000; Jones, 2000). Macroeconomic analyses cannot adequately describe what motivates people or reflect what they are doing with their lives (Hooper, 2000, p. 3). For example, WIBDI (n.d.-b) declared it was dedicated to strengthening village economies in Sāmoa in ways that honoured indigenous tradition, used traditional and modern technology, and promoted fair trade. In their critique of SDG measures, Yap and Watene (2019, p. 463) cited the following survey question about fishing and hunting, 'In the last month, did you share fish, catch or bushfood with family and other members of the community?'. The question presupposed subsistence culture that honoured the communal, culture that was more likely to support sustainability than the short-term selfish pursuit of increased gross domestic product.

Pacific economies already rely on overseas aid and remittances (Gounder, 2009; Salesa, 2017) and mirror Jones' claim that in Aotearoa New Zealand rural subsistence has been overtaken by welfare dependency (Jones, 2000). The international economic imperative of getting people out of the subsistence economy and into a dynamic monetary economy is short-sighted and, on its own, will fail (Hooper, 2000; Sahlins, 2000). Salesa (2017) asserted that international high-level focus ignored the possibility that the most prevalent model of international development may not even be decided between governments but within families and villages through migration and remittances.

Conclusion

This chapter has proposed six key elements of Pacific development to address a paucity of Pacific literature defining Pacific development. It has shown how international development approaches have been problematic and how they differ from these six key elements. Where international development in the Pacific 'promotes prosperity while protecting the planet' (UNDP, 2019), Pacific development is founded on respect for the connection between the environment, people and the spiritual. The environment is more than a resource to exploit for financial gain, it is a partner. Prosperity and scientific advancement are not sought as ends in themselves, they are merely avenues to honour communal relationships by sourcing and sharing sustainably.

TTVT's efforts reflect the elements of Pacific development in its objectives, waiata and in the build of its waka hourua. The environmental, social, and spiritual realms are

honoured in Haunui's waiata which names winds, stars and constellations, mana wahine, mana tupuna, ancestral lands, and knowledge from the gods (TTWH, 2018a). The fibreglass hulls of its traditionally shaped waka hourua attest to the indigenisation of traditional knowledge. TTVT's objectives explicitly identify restoration of mana and the promotion of aspects of Māori culture essential to the identity of iwi. Set up to serve its hapū, honouring communal relationships is central to TTVT's objectives and yet they also include reaching out to other voyaging societies, thus demonstrating TTVT's subsistence aim of being able to look after one's self as well as contribute to the family and village. In the case of TTVT, its wider family is the voyaging whānau and its village reaches across the Pacific Ocean.

The choice to privilege Pacific voice in discussing Pacific development served to reinforce the research purpose and Pacific research methodology and methods used which are discussed in Chapter 4.

There is an opportunity to decolonise our way of thinking about Pacific development, to centre it on Pacific people and their development. Business development, village development, environmental development, and cultural development, for example, are named as if they are separate and disconnected from each other. However in a television interview on *Tagata Pasifika*, Adimaimalaga Tafuna'i of WIBDI explained how developing the person provides means for them to contribute most strongly to developing their family, their village and their country (Pulu, 2014). When considering Pacific development, it is helpful to take a holistic view of development with Pacific peoples at the centre. Because this study focuses on the experiences of nine crew members, their talanoa illuminate personal development, the building block of all other forms of development.

CHAPTER 3: Critical review of literature

Introduction

We have centred Pacific development on Pacific peoples. As we explore how Pacific development is happening for Pacific crew through traditional voyaging on Haunui, it is helpful to bring together highlights from different bodies of work about Pacific peoples in Aotearoa, about traditional voyaging and about the waka hourua, Haunui.

This work contributes to Pacific indigenous knowledge and the ongoing dialogue based on Pacific peoples seeking self-determination, empowerment, and transformation. It proposes six key elements of Pacific development which are the distillation of the works of Pacific scholars. It introduces a Pacific data analysis tool, Mālolo. It intentionally uses Pacific methodology, methods, and knowledge sources. It is about the experiences of Pacific peoples and produced by a Pacific researcher. In keeping with the goals of this research, the literature is mainly focused on what can be told from the Pacific perspective. Where non-Pacific voices appear in this work, especially in the literature review of traditional navigation, they are included because they address gaps in written Pacific works. It is hoped that this study and others in the future will contribute Pacific voices that address such gaps.

Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand

My thesis explores the experiences of Pacific people who crew on the waka hourua, Haunui. Two thirds of them were born in Aotearoa New Zealand. Who are Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand?

According to Stats NZ (2018) census data, Pacific peoples in New Zealand formed more than eight percent of the population of Aotearoa New Zealand in 2018. Almost half identified as Sāmoan at 47.9 percent, followed by Tongan at 21.6 percent, Cook Islands Māori at 21.1 percent, and Niuean at 8.1 percent. Others captured in the Pacific population identified as Tokelauan, Fijian, Hawaiian, iKiribati, Nauruan, Pitcairn Islander, Rotuman, Tahitian, Solomon Islander, Tuvaluan, and Ni Vanuatu. Pacific census data excluded Māori (Stats NZ, 2018). The Pacific population in Aotearoa New Zealand includes Pacific migrants as well as those born in New Zealand (Anae, 2010). Almost two thirds were born in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2019). There is no homogenous Pacific population. It can divided up along ethnicity, gender, age, birthplace and socio-economic status (Anae, 2010; Mila, 2014).

In spite of their various differences, Pacific peoples share a Pan-Pacific belonging that is marked by a sense of connection with other Pacific people (Manuela & Sibley, 2013). They retain a shared set of values and ethics which have cultural, social and economic dimensions with family as a foundation (Crawley et al., 1995; Salesa, 2017, pp. 171-172). They express their Pacific identity through language, media, fashion and cultural events such as the flourishing Polyfest and Pasifika Festival (Mackley-Crump, 2014; Manuela & Sibley, 2013).

In relation to others in Aotearoa New Zealand, Pacific peoples face 'an awareness of belittling social attitudes' (Vaioleti, 2013, p. 207). The Family Violence Death Review Committee (2020), situated those belittling social attitudes within the colonial context, identifying them as part of the mainstream or coloniser's response to the impact of colonisation on indigenous peoples. In other words, colonisation has negatively impacted indigenous peoples. For those of the mainstream or of the culture of the coloniser, it is more comfortable to blame indigenous people for those negative impacts than to examine colonisation's role. Indeed, colonisation is predicated on deficit thinking about indigenous peoples. For Pacific peoples in Aotearoa, that impact is evident in high Pacific unemployment, low and falling home ownership rates, and very poor Pacific health and education outcomes (Salesa, 2017). Those attitudes deem indigenous people to be responsible for their failure to adapt to the mainstream, use negative stigma to justify further discrimination against indigenous people, and continue to impose Western solutions to indigenous issues (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2020, p. 26). The impact of colonisation is also evident in Pacific people's sense of shame regarding 'the supposedly uncivilised times of darkness and ignorance before Christianity and colonial capitalism arrived' (Eshrāghi & Aubin, 2019).

Having greater access to healthcare and financial means than those in their island homelands, Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand are well-placed to carry out their family obligations back in the islands (Vaioleti, 2013). That there appears to be no slackening of their remittances indicates that they are continuing to honour these obligations and keeping their island connections current (Salesa, 2017).

New Zealand-born Pacific people share many similar experiences that differ from the experience of their island-born compatriots. They grew up in Aotearoa New Zealand so their formative experiences are more likely to be of 'kiwi' mainstream rather than their Pacific Island homelands (Tunufa'i, 2016). Accordingly, compared with parents and other elders or peers who were born in the Pacific Islands, they are less likely to speak a Pacific language and to have English as their first language. They are also less likely to be partnered with someone of their same ethnic group, to own their own home, or to

go to church regularly (Mila, 2014; Salesa, 2017, p. 15). They will experience higher rates of mental illness than those New Zealanders born in the islands (Foliaki et al., 2006).

In general, Pacific peoples in Aotearoa hold a permanent attachment to the sea. This sentiment was beautifully voiced by the late Teresia Teaiwa, 'We sweat and cry salt water, so we know that the ocean is really in our blood' (Teaiwa cited in Hau'ofa, 2008, p. 41). Other scholars commented on Pacific peoples' sense of connection with Māori and a residual pride in the discovery of the Pacific and in their long past of navigation and voyaging (Goetzfridt, 1992; Vaioleti, 2013). Salesa explained Pacific peoples' attachment to the sea, 'their genealogies carry across thousands of years of this great water, and for much of human history they have been the world's only ocean peoples' (Salesa, 2017, p. 336)

Pacific Indigenous Knowledge

Pacific thought informs Pacific knowledge and the making of Pacific knowledge. Pacific scholars have contributed to the decolonising of academic discourse on Pacific matters by intentionally centring their inquiries on what matters to Pacific peoples. They privilege Pacific thought, worldview, lived experience, and shed light on how to respond to some of the challenges in our contemporary world.

The works of Epeli Hau'ofa (2000) (Tongan) and Teresia Teaiwa (cited in Hau'ofa, 2008, p. 41) (i-Kiribati) claimed the Pacific Ocean as our great connector and common ancestor across island nations. In doing so they opened the opportunity to restore inter-island links that had been severed by colonial lines on a map, and for a pan-Pacific identity to emerge.

Fuimaono Karl Pulotu-Endemann (Samoan) had already visually articulated Pacific worldview by illustrating Pacific values and beliefs in the *Fonofale Model of Health* (Crawley et al., 1995). It is an enduring work that continues to inform work beyond health.

Explorations of Pacific indigenous knowledge flourished in the ground broken by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) (Ngāti Awa,Ngāti Porou) in her book entitled *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* which looked into non-Western research practices and called out racist and ethnocentric research practice.

Pacific people have documented, named and refined their own research practices, some of which have guided this research. Tongans, Professor Konai Helu Thaman and then Seu'ula Johansson-Fua developed the Kakala Research Methodology (Johansson

Fua, 2014; Thaman, 1997). Kabini Sanga (2004) presented a strategy for conceptualising indigenous Pacific research. The Talanoa Research Method was developed by Tongan Timote Vaioleti and then by Samoan Leulua'iali'i Dr Laumua Tunufa'i (2016), Dr Trisia Farrelly and Professor Unaisi Nabobo-Baba (Fijian) (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014); Nabobo-Baba (2006). Dr Sereana Naepi (Fiji) addressed the insider-outside power dynamic by repositioning of the research participant as collaborator, honouring the relationship between researcher and participant by democratising it. This is an example of 'Teu le va' or 'Tausi le va', nurturing relationships within academic practice.

Pacific researchers have produced Pacific research telling Pacific stories. In the case of Pacific development, this research draws on the works of Solomon Islander David Gegeo and his wife Karen Gegeo-Watson (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2001, 2002) as well as Pacific people who presented on the topic of culture and sustainable development in the Pacific (Hooper, 2000). They include Tagaloatele Professor Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop (Samoa), Shane Jones (Te Aupōuri, Ngāi Takoto), Langi Kavaliku (Tonga), Malama Meleisea (Samoa), Mali Voi (Papua New Guinea). I intentionally chose to define Pacific development from the scholarly work of Pacific people in order to produce a Pacific, decolonised definition. The discussion of traditional voyaging that follows takes a Pacific perspective. Two thirds of the discussion concerns indigenous knowledge, past and present and privileges indigenous voices such as Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr, Te Rangi Hiroa Sir Peter Buck (Ngāti Mutunga), Rawiri Taonui (Te Hikutū and Ngāti Korokoro, Te Kapotai and Ngāti Paeahi, Ngāti Rora, Ngāti Whēru, Ngāti Te Taonui), Ngahuia Mita (Ngāti Wāhia). Its discussion of Western ideas of Pacific voyaging critiques their often racist genesis and attributes Cook's discoveries to their rightful source, that of Tupaia of the Marquesian Islands.

Pacific researchers define Pacific peoples. The above overview of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand intentionally draws on the works of Pacific scholars such as Toeolesulusulu Dr Damon Salesa (Samoa), Siale A Foliaki (Tongan) , Jesse Kokaua (Cook Islands), David Schaaf (Tonga), Colin Tukuitonga (Niue), Sam Manuela (Cook Islands), Karlo Mila (Tonga, Samoa), This is important part of decolonisation. Non-Pacific definitions of Pacific peoples is deafening and often grounded in colonial ignorance and arrogance (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2020). It is important to amplify Pacific indigenous knowledge.

Traditional voyaging

Ole tele o sulu e mau ai figota. The more lights, the better the fishing.

Tangata o te Moana-Nui-a-Kiwa, Pacific Islanders, Pacific peoples, Pasefika, Pacifica, Pasifika, all names for Pacific peoples refer to the ocean that connects them. What do we know about their discovery of the Pacific and their long past of navigation and voyaging? Understandings about traditional voyaging in the Pacific have been shaped by three different sources: indigenous traditions, Western ideas, modern Pacific voyaging practice. Indigenous oral and migration traditions provide insight into a common voyaging heritage and culture. Variations and interpretations reveal the various local versions of history. The same is true for outsiders' speculation. Western ideas searched for clues in various places which, at times, revealed more about the enquirers' preoccupations and ways of thinking than about the origins of Pacific peoples. Recent practical explorations have tested indigenous and Western theories and have, in turn, sparked a rediscovery of Pacific voyaging knowledge and technology which may provide even more light upon how and whence Pacific peoples came.

The Polynesian essence that runs through the selected literature reflects the heritage of my participants and of Haunui and is by no means an attempt to promote Polynesians before any other Pacific peoples.

Western historical knowledge about traditional voyaging

The last 400 years, Western ideas about how Polynesians arrived in the islands have come full circle twice, believing in turn that they arrived by accident or purposefully, by drift or deliberately.

Seminal Western scholars in the origins and voyaging of Polynesian people include Captain James Cook, Professor Kerry Howe, David Lewis, and Ben Finney. In his journals from his voyages in the late 18th century, Cook (1893) recognised the cultural and linguistic similarities of the islands he visited and concluded that they indicated a single nation, the pre-cursor to the concept of Polynesia. Nicohlas J Goetzfridtz (1992) compiled a reference guide that summarised journal articles and books on indigenous navigation and voyaging in the Pacific. Professor Kerry Howe (2006, 2008), a New Zealand scholar of Pacific history, investigated and presented a history of Western ideas about Pacific peoples' origins and showed how each theory was a product of its time that tended to reflect more about the speculators than the subjects of the speculation. New Zealand explorer David Lewis and Ben Finney, an American anthropologist and co-founder of the Polynesian Voyaging Society (PVS), took the discussion from theoretical to practical by applying rediscovered indigenous Pacific construction, navigation, and voyaging knowledge. They confirmed some Western theories, debunked others, and, most importantly, opened opportunities for indigenous Pacific peoples to apply an indigenous lens to the discussion.

Polynesian ancestors came from Southeast Asia, and before that south China according to the findings of archaeologists, linguists, physical biologists and ethnobotanists (Howe, 2008). Archaeological and linguistic studies trace the origins of Polynesians back to the Lapita, a group of people who arrived in the western Pacific about 3500 years ago (Adds, 2012). They spread south to Vanuatu and New Caledonia, and east to Fiji, Sāmoa, Tonga, Wallis and Futuna. Then they ventured to French Polynesia, Cook Islands, Hawaii, Rapanui and Aotearoa. Polynesians became Polynesian in Polynesia, that they did not arrive 'culturally ready-made out of the west' (Howe, 2008, p. 280).

Cook's speculation in the late 1700s aligns well with current thinking. Cook and his scientists believed that Polynesians had migrated from Southeast Asia, observed that islanders had effective sailing craft and that they could navigate purposefully over long distances (Finney, 2006a). Two hundred years of speculation would pass before Cook's initial belief and observations would be corroborated.

Western fascination with Polynesians' origins threw up strange and wonderful conjecture which ignored evidence of Polynesian technology, science, and navigational achievement. It appears that it was not acceptable to some Western minds even to consider Polynesians' navigational achievements similar or superior to their own. Howe explained,

> *So long and difficult was it for seafarers of Europe to find the Pacific Ocean (only 400 years ago), and their way around it (200 years ago), that it was a source of amazement to discover that the world's most geographically remote islands were already inhabited, and by allegedly primitive peoples (Howe, 2008, p. 8).*

That tendency to underestimate Polynesians provided fertile ground for a great variety of suppositions and trials based upon them.

The earliest European explorers believed that Pacific people arrived by accident or by mysterious and miraculous means. In 1595, Spaniard Pedro Fernandez de Quiros assumed the inhabitants of Marquesas Islands had arrived from the as-yet-undiscovered Terra Australis, via some chain of islands, accidentally drifted there, or arrived by some miracle (Howe, 2006). In 1722, Dutch Jacob Roggeveen decided that the inhabitants of Easter Island had been created there or brought there 'although the ability of human understanding is powerless to comprehend by what means they could have been transported' (cited in Howe, 2006, p. 274).

Later explorers believed that Pacific peoples' settlement of the islands was purposeful and that they migrated from the Southeast Asian region (Ben Finney, 2006a). In 1616,

Dutch voyagers Schouten and Le Maire sketched a sailing canoe in West Polynesia. In 1643, Dutch explorer Abel Tasman saw the same kind of canoes off Tongatapu, Tonga (Ben Finney, 2006a). In the late 1700s, Cook observed that islanders had effective sailing craft and could navigate purposefully over long distances. He and his scientists believed that people migrated from Southeast Asia.

In the twentieth century, Westerners put opposing migration theories to the test. Frenchman Eric de Bisschop and Norwegian Thor Heyerdahl separately made voyages to Polynesia from opposite sides of the Pacific. Neither de Bisschop nor Heyerdahl used Polynesian voyaging canoes.

Believing that Polynesians had migrated east into the Pacific against the trade wind by using the counter-equatorial current, de Bisschop sailed a Chinese junk in 1932 from China to the Philippines to the Marshall Islands then Hawai'i (Finney, 2006a). In 1956 de Bisschop set out to demonstrate Polynesian return-trip voyages, rather than a one-way drift. He sailed his bamboo raft *Tahiti Nui I* from Tahiti to Chile but could not complete the return voyage on any of his four subsequent rafts (Finney, 2006a)*.*

Thor Heyerdahl, however, believed that Pacific people did not have the capability of sailing directly against the prevailing winds across the Pacific to come from Southeast Asia. To prove they drifted from South America, he drifted his balsa wood craft *Kon-Tiki* from Peru only to crash land on the Tuamotu Islands in 1947 (Adds, 2012; Howe, 2006). He did not know that Pacific sailors were well-aware that the trade winds were not permanent and used the wind shifts to sail to the east (Finney, 2003).

Echoing Heyerdahl's drift theory, Andrew Sharp (1963) asserted that Polynesians had been castaways who had strayed or been blown off course and that settlement had been by accidental drift. He judged that the ancient Polynesians' canoes and navigation were too crude for planned voyages of exploration and settlement (Finney, 2003; Sharp, 1963). More recent writers argued that this hypothesis was problematic because it would be nearly impossible to settle every habitable land in the Pacific by accident, the prevailing winds and currents move westward so the accidental drifters would have drifted west rather than the known easterly direction of settlement, and successful accidental colonisers would have needed both sexes. Accidental colonisation would be an unlikely scenario as fishing was mostly the domain of men while women tended the gardens and collected shellfish (Adds, 2012).

Howe argued that Western speculation about Pacific peoples' origins revealed the context of the time. Neo-classical styles of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, presented Pacific peoples as noble savages and compared them with the ancient

Greeks (Howe, 2006). Some matched seeming similarities between Pacific and other known peoples 'leading to the suggestion of homelands as diverse as China, Egypt, the Euphrates Valley, America, India, Israel and even Scandinavia' (Adds, 2012). During Cook's second voyage to the Pacific 1772-75, German naturalist and explorer, Johann Forster's theories revealed a belief that skin colour indicated intellectual, moral, and physical worth. He believed that Melanesian people first settled the Pacific, then were displaced by Polynesians whom Forster believed superior.

The Western speculation noted above was motivated more by Western concerns for its own past and future than for Pacific peoples, according to Howe (2006). This is supported by Goetzfridt's earlier conclusion that the lack of references in literature to actual navigational methods used by Polynesians and Micronesians seemed to indicate the ethnocentricity of the European explorers of the 17th and 18th and early 19th centuries (Goetzfridt, 1992). Their belief that Pacific explorers accomplished their voyages not thanks to but in spite of their navigational methods underpinned Sharp's and Heyerdahl's theories and ignored evidence that would credit Pacific people for their navigational and voyaging expertise and technology (Finney, 2003; Howe, 2006).

Despite the Eurocentricity of their migration theories, de Bisschop and Heyerdahl's hands-on approach opened 'the door wide for building voyaging canoes and sailing them over the legendary seaways of Polynesia' (Finney, 2006a). Current knowledge about voyaging has been informed greatly by indigenous knowledge as well as practical exploration which continues today and of which Haunui forms a part.

Indigenous knowledge about traditional voyaging

Indigenous knowledge about traditional voyaging in the Pacific is coded in stories, whakapapa, oratory, songs, chants, patterns in weaving, tattoos, building, and star charts. Researchers are currently attempting to decode these. 'Every branch of Polynesian mythology has voyaging stories – tales of heroes and heroines who set out on journeys to discover new lands or revisit old homelands, or to seek adventure or procure valuable goods' (Thompson, 2019, p. 161). These voyaging stories form a continuum from oral traditions about cosmological origins to migration traditions about ancestors.

Oral traditions and what they tell us about traditional voyaging

Oral traditions of creation explain the origins of all things. Polynesian oral traditions indicate the fundamental cultural connection between the people of the islands. They also explain why Pacific people feel an affinity to the ocean itself.

Sir Peter Buck, also known as Te Rangi Hiroa (Ngāti Mutunga), whom Rt Hon Peter Fraser lauded as the greatest authority on the whole of Polynesia and its people (Buck, 1950), recounted a story he found repeated throughout the Pacific in various forms, the story of the creation of the gods as offspring from Rangi (the sky) and Papa (the earth). One of those gods is Tangaroa (Buck, 1950, p. 439).

Tangaroa is widely known across Polynesia and is associated with the sea, heavens, and creation. Spelling variations reflect dialects and the different writing conventions used to transcribe oral languages. Tangaroa is also known as Takaroa for Ngāi Tahu (Mita, 2016), in Tahiti as Ta'aroa and in Sāmoa as Tagaloa (Adds, 2012). He had different roles in different parts of Polynesia, according to Sir Peter. In Te Ao Māori, Tangaroa was the god of seafarers and fishermen (Buck, 1950), or the god of the sea and the progenitor of fish, canoes and carving (Rāwiri Taonui, 2006). In Sāmoa and Tonga, he was the creator of the islands (Buck, 1950, p. 458). In Sāmoa, Tagaloa threw stones to the sea to form the Sāmoan islands and founded a dynasty of chiefs. In Tonga, Tangaloa was the originator of the art of carving, carpentry and invention (Rāwiri Taonui, 2006).

Some Polynesian oral traditions traced lineage to Tangaroa. One account about the first arrival on Manu'a, Sāmoa was that the first settler was the Tu'i Manu'a, a descendant of the god Tagaloa-a-lagi (Rāwiri Taonui, 2006). Tangaloa fished up the Tongan islands from the sea, and his son became an ancestor of the Tongan people (Rāwiri Taonui, 2006). Herb Kane (1976) referred to those who sailed to settle Hawai'i more than 1,300 years ago as Children of Tangaroa, God of the Sea. In her Master's thesis on Māori connection to *Te Ao Takaroa* (the world of Tangaroa), Ngahuia Mita asserted that

> *Whakapapa underpins discussions of Tangaroa both within Aotearoa New Zealand and across the Pacific (Whitcombe, 1898). Papers from the Grey collection, an archival source rich in material pertaining to Māori and Polynesia, discuss the presence of Tangaroa throughout the Pacific, which is an example of this common inheritance or whakapapa connection to the ocean (Mita, 2016, p. 7).*

Whether Tangaroa was a god or a man, or the name of several different men, through Tangaroa Polynesian cosmology connects its people to the very ocean itself.

Migratory traditions and what they tell us about voyaging

Pacific peoples' migratory traditions recount historical deeds of ancestors and place them on a continuum from creation right through to the present. According to Rāwiri Taonui (2006), New Zealand's first Professor of Indigenous Studies (Rawiri Taonui,

n.d.), migratory traditions tell of the departure from islands of origin and the arrival, exploration and settlement in new ones. Taonui collated and cross-referenced traditions from various island cultures and built a strong picture of interisland voyaging with frequent voyaging between close-by islands up to 500 km across open ocean. He found that longer voyages were remembered but were generally the exception rather than the rule. West Polynesian traditions indicated a central contact region around Fiji, Tonga and Sāmoa, describing frequent voyaging for trade, warfare, intermarriage and alliance (Taonui, 2006). The traditions of Tahiti, Tuamotu, the Marquesas, and Hawai'i spoke of Tahiti as a centre of voyaging with the great marae of Taputapuatea on Ra'iatea becoming a main cultural and political centre (Finney, 2003; Taonui, 2006).

Tupaia shared a remarkable first-hand account of these migratory traditions with Captain Cook on his first voyage around the world. Tupaia was a learned man who was taken from the Society Islands to New Zealand on Cook's first voyage. During that voyage, Tupaia drew a chart locating and naming widely dispersed islands. In his journal, Cook (1893) listed the names 'taken from a Chart of the Islands drawn by Tupaia's own hands. He at one time gave us an account of near 130 Islands, but in his Chart he laid down only 74' (Cook, 1893, p. 230). Of the islands he charted, Tupaia had travelled to some and his father had travelled to others. The chart and the accuracy of his navigation with Cook attested to the voyaging abilities and navigational knowledge of his people (Cook, 1893) and may have contributed to Cook's belief that Polynesians could navigate purposefully over long distances.

Taonui explained that 'when identifying themselves on a marae, Māori mention their waka first and foremost' (Taonui, 2005, p. 1) and that Māori tribal traditions name over 300 canoes bringing 'first arrivals' (Taonui, 2006, p. 48). Sir Peter honoured different migration traditions about Kupe's voyage from Hawaiki to discover Aotearoa New Zealand (Buck, 1950, pp. 5-8). Taonui explained how whakapapa (genealogical links) back to the crew of founding canoes served to establish the origins of tribes, and defined relationships with other tribes. For example, a number of tribes traced their origin to the Tainui canoe, while others such as Te Arawa took their name from a founding canoe. Canoe traditions did not only explain origins, they also expressed authority and identity. They defined tribal boundaries and relationships. They merged poetry and politics, history and myth, fact and legend (Taonui, 2005).

The depth and consistency of migration traditions from across the Pacific makes it hard to deny that Pacific people voyaged deliberately and purposefully between the islands. Although real homelands and ancestors faded from memory or were changed, their importance remained. To illustrate this, Adds (2012) quoted a Māori proverb which

connects Māori to both a physical homeland as well as to other Polynesian peoples, 'E kore au e ngaro. He kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea' which translates as 'I can never be lost. I am a seed from Rangiatea' (Adds, 2012, p. 17). Rangiatea is known from oral histories to be the name of a legendary marae in Hawaiki, the Māori mythological homeland (Adds, 2012). It could refer to the site of Ra'iatea in the Society Islands the old name of which was Hawaiki (Lewis, 1972), also the name of the place to which souls migrate to enter the underworld after death (Adds, 2012). Either way, it affirms that a person can never be lost regardless of the identity or location (Adds, 2012), while also affirming Māori and Pacific peoples' voyaging and migration history.

Why the ancestors voyaged and why we voyage now paints a different story. Once the islands were colonised, many ancient voyages were launched by a thirst for adventure, raids for plunder or revenge, or voyages of conquest. Some were made to avoid punishment or shame. Peaceful excursions were made to exchange gifts, to visit kinsmen, to be tattooed, to gain status, to relieve boredom, or simply to have a look at the girls of another island (Kane, 1976). Modern voyages aim to retrieve and grow voyaging knowledge and to restore dignity.

Current knowledge about voyaging – practical exploration

In the late twentieth century, Pacific navigation and voyaging abilities were recognised again. Accidental drift theories were discredited after the successful recovery and application of ancient navigation techniques and the construction and long-distance sailing of indigenous-style waka.

In the 1960s, New Zealand explorer David Lewis demonstrated that deliberate long-distance voyaging had been possible using indigenous navigation. Lewis was granted a research fellowship to visit and sail with surviving indigenous navigators in the Pacific. His journey covered 13,000 miles of the western Pacific, 1,680 of them open-sea sailing without instruments under the instruction of island navigators such as the Polynesian navigator Tevake of the Santa Cruz Outer Reef Islands, the navigator Hipour from the atoll of Puluwat, and Iotebata in the Gilbert islands (Lewis, 1972).

The Polynesian Voyaging Society (PVS) was founded in 1973 by Ben Finney, Herb Kawainui Kāne, and Tommy Holmes to build the canoe *Hōkūle'a* and sail the route between Hawai'i and Tahiti. Seeking a Polynesian navigator for the historic voyage, they took Lewis' advice, and looked beyond Polynesia to the Caroline Islands where they found Pius 'Mau' Piailug, a master navigator from Satawal, Micronesia. Mau was one of the last Pacific navigators trained in his ancestors' ancient navigational skill

(Adds, 2012). Mau guided the voyage using navigation methods similar to those once used in Polynesia, even though Mau had never sailed the 4,000km route before.

For members of the PVS, correcting history through that voyage was personal as Western theories had underrated their Polynesian ancestors' sea-faring skills and technology for centuries. For Finney, Hokule'a's 1976 voyage from Hawaii to Tahiti undermined Sharp and his accidental drift theories, and went a long way toward re-establishing the reputation of ancient Polynesian canoe and ways of navigating (Finney, 2003). Another PVS member, Nainoa Thompson repressed his rage in order to prove his ancestors were not inferior (Finney, 2003). For PVS, voyaging was more than just correcting history, it was restoring mana.

Mau remained central to this renaissance until he died in 2010 (Adds, 2012; Finney, 2003). Finney explained Mau's motivation to teach navigation outside his own culture.

> *[Mau feared] that one day traditional navigation would disappear in his islands just as it had in Hawaii. The young men of Satawal [...] were too busy with school and too attracted to Western ways to undertake the rigorous course of study and apprenticeship necessary to become a navigator, and that, furthermore, they did not seem to care or even realize that traditional navigation was dying and could be lost forever (Finney, 1994, p. 78).*

Polynesian peoples benefited from Mau's dedication to preserve navigational knowledge. Eventually his own people did too for 'his sons are among a new generation of navigators' (Metzgar, 2008, p. 330). Mau also trained and mentored Nainoa Thompson, a native Hawaiian who would become a master navigator himself (Finney, 1994).

Nainoa added to traditional navigation knowledge by pioneering a new star compass, a fusion of Mau's Carolinian knowledge, modern astronomical information, and his own innovations. Mau used a navigation system known as *etak*, 'a concept of dividing up a voyage into stages or segments by the star bearings of a reference or *etak* island' (Lewis, 1972, p. 133). The *etak* system proved difficult even for Lewis and Nainoa as it used a completely different worldview and geographic reference system (Thompson, 2019). Instead, Nainoa developed the star compass and taught it across the Pacific. It is taught on Haunui.

Waka are once more sailing over the Pacific, thanks to determined efforts to revive canoe voyaging where it had died out in Polynesia, and to reinvigorate it among islands of Micronesia and Melanesia where it had faltered (Finney, 2006b). There is now an international traditional voyaging family with Tahitians sailing with Sāmoans and

Tongans, Hawaiians sailing with Māori and Fijians. The culture of native voyaging has grown, with about 25 native voyaging canoes along with more than 2,000 sailors in the Pacific (Kubota, 2017). Haunui is one of those voyaging canoes and his crew contribute to that number of sailors.

Te Toki Waka Hourua is helping grow knowledge about traditional voyaging. Its part in the recent proliferation of experimental voyaging contributes to answering 'how difficult it was, what routes they took, whether they returned to their homelands, what time of the year was most suitable for particular routes' (Adds, 2012, p. 28).

How traditional voyaging waka hourua have informed Pacific thinking in Aotearoa New Zealand

As a symbol of the ocean and of Pacific voyaging, sailing waka have informed thinking and provided a metaphor for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand across disciplines of health, education, leadership, and politics. This section examines a selection of Aotearoa New Zealand frameworks, models and logos based on sailing waka. Each model focuses on a different aspect of the waka such as parts of the waka, its crew and environment to represent different elements.

The frameworks, models and logos are mostly from the health sector. They are:

- Te Vaka Atafaga, a Tokelauan model of mental health (Kupa, 2009)
- Waka Hourua, a national suicide prevention programme for Māori and Pasifika communities (Te Rau Matatini, 2017)
- Vaka Tautua, a national health and social service provider aiming to help improve the health and well-being of Pacific people in New Zealand (Vaka Tautua, n.d.)
- Wayfinding Leadership, a leadership model (Spiller, Barclay-Kerr, & Panoho, 2015)
- Va'a o Tautai, a group providing Pacific health leadership at the University of Otago (Va'a o Tautai, 2018)
- PACIFICA Inc, a national Pasifika women's group (P.A.C.I.F.I.C.A. Inc, 2004)

Types of waka in logos or models

Table 1: Organisations and models that use waka in their logos

Figure 2: Wayfinding Leadership cover image (Spiller et al., 2015)
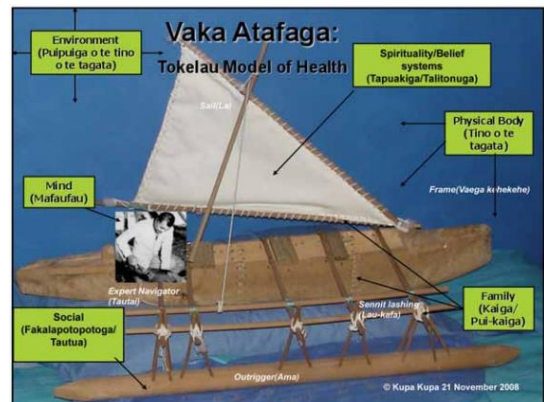
Figure 3: Vaka Atafaga Tokelau Model of Health (Kupa, 2009)

Figure 4: Waka Hourua (Te Rau Matatini, 2017)

Figure 5: Vaka Tautua logo (Vaka Tautua, n.d.)

Figure 6: Va'a o Tautai logo (Va'a o Tautai, 2018)

Figure 7: P.A.C.I.F.I.C.A. Inc logo (P.A.C.I.F.I.C.A. Inc, 2020)

Why choose waka hourua as a metaphor?

The waka is a symbol of Pacific in general and of a shared heritage (P. Dunlop, personal communication, November 5, 2018; Te Rau Matatini, 2017). It is the vessel that can connect cultures and acknowledge common ancestry within a single island

community, between all Pacific peoples, or between Māori and Pacific (A. Bamber, personal communication, October 30, 2018; Te Rau Matatini, 2017). Kupa Kupa (2009) chose the waka as it was 'an image that Tokelau people could easily relate to' (Kupa, 2009, p. 158). A member of the first national executive of PACIFICA Inc in 1977, Diane Mara explained, 'Even in 1977 the vaka was acceptable to all of the Pacific communities represented in P.A.C.I.F.I.C.A.' (personal communication, November 5, 2018). Waka is relatable across different cultures as well as within distinct cultures.

The choice of language to name the models may also indicate the intention or cultural perspective of each initiative. The Waka Hourua model used a Te Reo Māori name for its partnership between Māori and Pasifika. Vaka Tautua, a national service for Pasifika peoples, used a name that juxtaposed the Tongan word for waka, vaka, with Sāmoan word for service, tautua. Va'a o Tautai used a name that is only Sāmoan. Te Vaka Atafaga, the model targeting Tokelauans in Aotearoa New Zealand used a Tokelauan name.

Future-focus of the metaphors drew from the concept that navigation implies a common pursuit of progress. For Te Rau Matatini, it represented a shared journey toward more resilient and flourishing Māori and Pasifika families. It was an opportunity to strengthen relationships towards the achievement of common goals (Te Rau Matatini, 2017). Vaka Tautua's communications coordinator, Anele Bamber (personal communication, October 30, 2018) explained that the vaka metaphor referred to the service's role as a vessel to navigate and help guide service users on their journey and path of wellness and recovery. Mara recalled that Eleitino Paddy Walker, PACIFICA Inc's first 'national president explained that the logo of 'the vaka going forward depicted all of the Pacific women who are travelling into the future in our shared vaka' (D. Mara, personal communication, November 5, 2018). Forty years later, Dr Rose Richards, Director of the Centre for Pacific Health and Associate Dean Pacific for the Dunedin School of Medicine at Otago University, explained that Va'a o Tautai used the va'a as a metaphor for hopes and aspirations for Pacific in the university and health sector as well as for individuals' personal and professional journeys (personal communication, November 5, 2018). For PACIFICA Inc, the waka on its logo 'is purposely in full sail and the sail is pointing forward depicting forward thinking and planning in our destinies within Aotearoa' (D. Mara, personal communication, November 2018). Va'a o Tautai incorporated the idea of navigating 'the way forward successfully' (Va'a o Tautai, 2018). The metaphors universally referred to pursuit of the future.

The waka metaphor was used to explain the concept of teamwork and collaboration. It called people to work together and learn from each other (Te Rau Matatini, 2017) and required each person to contribute to the collective their own areas of expertise and together (Va'a o Tautai, 2018). Va'a o Tautai used the va'a to illustrate agreed team values.

Two models acknowledged the duality of indigenous and non-indigenous knowledge. Te Rau Matatini (2017), for example, claimed that

> *we know that traditional and modern advice can clash - but by listening to our elders, and our traditional stories, with the compelling drive to make a difference to our people, [we can] respect the knowledge of our ancestors and understand the benefits to future generations (Te Rau Matatini, 2017, para. 8).*

Va'a o Tautai presented a different duality as it acknowledged ancient indigenous knowledge as well as the more recent Christian faith. Richards explained that 'the name "Va'a o Tautai" incorporated ideas that navigating the way forward successfully requires us to have faith in our God to guide us, leaning also on our elders and traditional knowledge to enable us as we set sail' (R. Richards, personal communications, November 5, 2018).

Breaking down the meanings behind each part of the metaphor

All the models and frameworks use parts of the waka to represent different elements.

The hulls were the most commonly used element in these metaphors and could represent complementary opposites, two similar yet distinct peoples, the same thing, or completely different concepts. For Va'a o Tautai and Haunui, the hulls represented opposites. They represented Pacific and non-Pacific in Va'a o Tautai (R. Richards, personal communications, November 5, 2018). For Haunui, the port-side was feminine and the starboard masculine (TTVT, 2018a). For Waka Hourua, the hulls represented partnership between Māori and Pasifika (Te Rau Matatini, 2017). Regarding Wayfinding Leadership, Spiller et al (2015) did not assign different attributes to the hulls, they both represented guiding values. Due to Kupa's choice of waka where the main hull was quite different from its outrigger, the concepts they represented were neither opposites, complementary, nor equal. In Vaka Atafaga the main hull represented a person's body, and the outrigger represented social support systems (Kupa, 2009).

Two models allocated various meanings to different parts of the waka. In the wayfinding leadership metaphor, Spiller et al. (2015) identified the hulls as values, the hoe (rudder) as self-knowledge, tiratū (mast) as alignment of the team, rā (sails) as

collective will, and toka mauri (mauri stones) as nurturing life energy (Spiller et al. 2015, pp. 85, 93). Te Vaka Atafaga used other parts of the vaka as metaphors to demonstrate components of wellbeing for a Tokelauan person. The wooden structure of the vaka represented the person's physical body, the lashings represented the family, the sails represented spirituality, and the outrigger represented social support systems (Kupa, 2009, p. 159). The only common element between these two models was the sail yet even then they assigned different meanings. For one, the sail represented collective will, for the other it was spirituality.

Three models included the navigator in their metaphors. In Te Vaka Atafaga, the navigator represented the mind (Kupa, 2009, p. 159). In Va'a o Tautai, 'Tautai' referred both to skilled navigators who use traditional knowledge and skills passed down through generations to guide them as well as Jesus, 'the Master of our journeys in life' (Va'a o Tautai, 2018, p. 1). For Vaka Tautua, some members of their mental health team were called Pacific Mental Health Navigators. Coming from backgrounds with relevant or lived experience in the health or community support sector, they guide service users within the health system ('Mental Health Navigation Team", n.d.).

The environment also featured as part of the waka metaphors. In Te Vaka Atafaga, the environment around the vaka represented the environment around the person (Kupa, 2009). For Va'a o Tautai, the metaphor of navigational stars was used for planning, 'to first learn your stars then set sail' (R. Richards, personal communication, November 5, 2018). Va'a o Tautai also used the calendar or compass as a visual representation of work and rest periods throughout the year (R. Richards, personal communication, November 5, 2018). It was unclear if the calendar was a lunar calendar such as the maramataka or the university calendar, or if the compass was the star compass or the Western compass.

In this small selection, the reasons for choosing waka as the metaphor were similar. Breaking down the metaphor into individual parts, however, revealed different depths and specificity of assigned meanings with negligible alignment between the models. What is clear, however, is the usefulness of waka hourua in conveying concepts in Māori and Pacific initiatives in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Waka hourua, Haunui

Haunui is a replica of a waka hourua, traditional double-hulled voyaging canoe and is one of an original fleet of seven formed for the *Te Mana o Te Moana* project. The mission of *Te Mana o Te Moana* was to voyage the Pacific spreading awareness of climate change and its effects on our oceans. Okeanos Foundation of the Sea funded

the building of the fleet at Salthouse Boat Builders in Auckland in 2009. The fleet was designed and modelled on the waka hourua, Te Ao o Tonga, which now resides in the Cook Islands. Moulds of Te Ao o Tonga informed the fleet's fibreglass hulls. The fleet was built with a combination of natural and modern materials (TTWH, 2018a).

Va'atele was Haunui's first name as he was originally destined for American Sāmoa. Before his maiden voyage in Sāmoa, Va'atele was damaged by a tsunami. When Okeanos shipped Va'atele back to New Zealand to be salvaged for parts, Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr of Te Toki Voyaging Trust stepped in and the trust purchased the waka. In keeping with Pacific traditions of renaming waka, Va'atele was renamed Haunui after John Haunui, a famous orator of Waikato Tainui (TTWH, 2018b).

Te Toki Waka Hourua, the waka hourua arm of Te Toki Voyaging Trust, is 'dedicated to revitalising and celebrating traditional Pacific voyaging culture' (TTWH, 2018b). According to the deed of trust held online at New Zealand Companies Office, the trust was formed in 1999 with one of its objects

> *to promote the conditions of life of the persons involved by promoting and encouraging Maori language, Maori customs and tradition, Maori arts and handicrafts and other aspects of Maori culture essential to the identity of iwi within the rohe of Te Tai Hauauru, namely, Whaingaroa, Aotea, Kawhia, and Waikato (TTVT, 1999, p. 3).*

In order to achieve that iwi-specific object, the trust set out aims that were far from iwi-specific. They centred around waka hourua knowledge, skills, and traditions and their maintenance. They included the restoration of mana through waka hourua, especially for young people. Their aims extended to assistance for all overseas waka expeditions and visits, that is, for their own voyages throughout the Pacific Ocean as well as those of visiting societies (TTVT, 1999).

The trust has a Māori development focus that it brings to life through waka hourua in Aotearoa and the Pacific. Although its development focus is its own people, it is open to all, including the Pacific crew who were participants of this study.

Summary

This review of literature has provided insights into Pacific peoples living in Aotearoa New Zealand, where they come from, their connections through shared identity, their challenges, and their connection to the ocean. It has presented an overview of what is known about Pacific voyaging from three perspectives: indigenous traditions, Western ideas, and modern Pacific voyaging practice. It has provided examples of how waka

hourua have informed thinking in Aotearoa New Zealand. Finally, it has also introduced TTVT, TTWH, and Haunui.

TTVT continues to add new knowledge to what is known about traditional voyaging through TTWH's practical application of new and recovered knowledge. TTVT's work aligns well with organisations working in Māori and Pacific development in Aotearoa New Zealand which choose waka as a metaphor for their work across non-voyaging disciplines of health, education, leadership, and politics.

Chapter 6 will present how traditional voyaging is delivering Pacific development already and how it can influence other Pacific development initiatives.

Chapter 4: Research Method and Methodology

Introduction

Pacific research methodology and methods were used for this study to give credibility to research of and with Pacific peoples in their experiences of traditional Pacific voyaging. I chose Kakala as the research methodology, Talanoa research method for data collection, and created Mālolo as a data analysis tool which would honour Pacific worldview, Pacific values, and the insider nature of the study. This research used Pacific research methodology and methods for three reasons.

Firstly, they are culturally appropriate for my participants. This research explored the experiences of waka hourua crew members who, together with the researcher, self-identified as Pacific, so it needed to use Pacific research methodology and methods with which they would feel comfortable.

Secondly, for this research to be meaningful, relevant, and applicable to Pacific people, it had to promote Pacific people defining and reclaiming their own worldviews, ways of making and sharing knowledge, values and ethics (Du Plessis & Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2009; Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014). The research had to avoid privileging the dominant culture and 'the imperialistic might of western research methodologies and practices' (Williams, 2004, p. 160).

Thirdly, Pacific development and policy initiatives affecting Pacific peoples must be influenced by Pacific thought (Sanga, 2004; Tunufa'i, 2016). As one of the intended applications of this research is to inform Pacific development, both strategically and in its practice, this research had to privilege Pacific thought and did so by using Pacific methodology and methods.

This chapter is in two main parts: research design and the research method. The first section covers indigenous critical praxis, Pacific ontology and insider research as well as the Kakala Methodology. The second section covers the research method, collection and analysis of the data, and ethical considerations. The chapter concludes with reflections.

Research design

Pacific ontology

Pacific worldview is holistic. Pulotu-Endemann's Fonofale Pacific model of health presented Pacific worldview in the form of a fale (house). Its pou (pillars) represented physical, spiritual, mental and other dimensions (Crawley et al., 1995). Family was the foundation and culture was the protective roof. The fale was surrounded by the

influences of time, context, and environment. Although created for health workers, Fonofale was useful to this study as it identified the elements of the holistic Pacific worldview. Of the four worldviews of postpositivism, constructivism, transformative and pragmatism (Creswell, 2014), I believe the Pacific worldview aligns best with a transformative worldview that seeks to redress power inequity by focusing on the lives and experiences of marginalised peoples.

Indigenous critical praxis

Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2001) wrote of indigenous critical praxis, of the value of people's own critical reflection on culture, history, knowledge, politics, economics, and then acting on those reflections (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2001, p. 58). This research was grounded in the worldview of its collaborators and engaged its collaborators in this indigenous critical praxis with the intention that it transformed not only the reader but especially the collaborators and me as the researcher.

Insider Research

I have multiple identities which place me at various points on a continuum between insider and outsider. I am a crew member of Haunui, a member of the Coconut Crew, Sāmoan, Pālagi, born in Aotearoa-New Zealand (not Sāmoa), speaker of Sāmoan (without accuracy or fluency), resident of Aotearoa New Zealand (not Sāmoa), fair-skinned, of slender build, a post-graduate researcher, full-time salaried professional, mother of two, a woman. All my collaborators have multiple identities which converge with and diverge from mine along that same continuum.

This research was insider research because the collaborators and I shared a geographic location, demographic characteristics, and life experience (Kerstetter, 2012). We all lived in Auckland, identified as Pacific, and crewed on Haunui. I chose Kerstetter's definition of insider research as it did not require the unravelling and quantifying of the complicated loops, bends, and knots of our various identities.

As an insider, I had epistemic privilege, and personal experience of being part of and witness to participants' experiences. Unluer (2012) identified six advantages of insider research. They were:

- A greater understanding of the culture under research
- The natural flow of social interaction
- Established intimacy which, in its telling and judging, promotes truth
- Knowing the internal politics and how it 'really works'
- Knowing how best to approach people

- A depth of knowledge that takes a long time for an outsider to acquire (Unluer, 2012, p. 1).

There is a power dynamic embedded in the research process that challenges how 'insider' insider research can be (Smith, 2012). In fact, Passells (2010) would challenge that, although I was a member of the Coconut Crew before starting this research, my newer status as researcher now identified me as 'outsider' because I am a 'privileged recipient of knowledge' (Passells, 2010, p. 36). Insider research risks a loss of objectivity due to greater familiarity and making wrong assumptions unconsciously (Unluer, 2012). Naepi (2019) went some way to addressing this power dynamic by referring to the women who took part in her research as 'collaborators, not participants, indicating to readers of the research that these women offered something beyond traditional understandings of research participants' (Naepi, 2019, p. 238). Collaboration was more empowering for the collaborators than mere participation or being the subject of data mining. It could benefit the researcher, who still held the final say, by validating the truth of the findings. This view was important for grounding my understanding of my own position in this research, and my relationship with the participants. I came to view my participants as collaborators, and they will be referred to as such from here on.

It was therefore important for me to choose a research methodology that would maintain my position within the crew as well as allow me to be researcher. If relationships were to change due to the research, they should be enhanced and not unduly alter the existing dynamics of respect and friendship because 'insiders have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis forever more' (Smith, 2012, p. 137). At the beginning of this research process, I agreed to Hoturoa's condition that I gift a copy of this thesis to the TTVT library. It was my wish that this study earned its place there.

Kakala Research Framework

Kakala, which is Tongan for flower garland, is a culturally informed research framework which draws on a Tongan cultural practice as a metaphor for teaching, learning and, by extension, social research. Kakala making is a special activity that is attentive to factors such as the occasion for which the kakala is constructed, the status of the receiver and the skills of the person crafting it. Tongan researcher, Professor Konai Helu Thaman, developed the Kakala research framework in response to a perceived need for an appropriate methodology for Tonga because 'researchers reinforce the cultural values that are embedded in the research frameworks they use' (Thaman, 2013, p. 101).

There are three key stages of the Kakala framework – toli, tui, and luva, three logical steps in the making of kakala. Toli is the stage of preparation and gathering of

materials. It equates to the mainstream research elements of the research question, literature view, study design and data collection. Tui is the weaving and making of the kakala. This is where the flowers are assessed, arranged, and woven together. This stage aligns to the data analysis phase in Eurocentric research traditions. Luva is the act of presenting or gifting the kakala. This stage is not complete unless the kakala is accepted and acknowledged. It equates to the stage where the research's final product, usually in the form of a thesis, a report, or similar, is disseminated for public use (Thaman, 2017).

Thaman opened up Kakala for other Tongan researchers to develop the framework where necessary. Researchers such as Seu'ula Johansson Fua (2014) took up the invitation to develop Kakala further and consequently proposed three additional components: teu, malie, and mafana. So, in terms of the Tonga craft of kakala making, teu refers to the preparation and planning phase, which also includes considering why one needs to make a kakala and who the intended recipient will be. Malie refers to the state of appreciation and satisfaction after the presentation (luva) of the kakala which, when received and accepted by the recipient, completes the experience of a reciprocal and shared understanding (Johansson Fua, 2014). Mafana is the experience of transformation that confirms a unique connection between the presenter(s) and recipient(s). If the recipient was dancing, the presenter is now dancing with them (Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014). Together the six stages of Kakala research methodology are teu, toli, tui, luva, malie, and mafana, in this order.

For this research, I chose to use Johansson Fua's (2014) additional elements of teu, malie and mafana in addition to the three original Kakala elements to honour my collaborators' input from the inception to the completion of this work. This decision, I believe, honours Thaman's (2017) intention to use the Kakala framework in accordance with the needs and requirements of the researcher's work. Teu, being the stage of preparation, includes conceptualisation, confirming and identifying reasons why this research is worth conducting, and planning the research structure I needed to follow (Johansson Fua, 2014). This is where the research question, literature review and study design occur. In a sense, Talanoa begins at this stage and continues through the process. Toli is the stage of data collection and the purposeful gathering of materials (Johansson Fua, 2014). Just as not all flowers will be useful or appropriate for the garland, data collection is carefully considered and carried out through group and individual talanoa. Tui is the stage of analysis (Johansson Fua, 2014). The data gathered is examined and discussed in detail at this stage, it is arranged, negotiated, rearranged, renegotiated, and arranged again. Luva is the stage of gifting (Johansson Fua, 2014). The garland is given from the heart without an expectation of anything in

return. This is the stage where the research is disseminated. Malie is the point where the research and its process can be evaluated. 'Was it useful? Was it worthwhile? Who was it useful for? Who benefited from the research process? Were the Talanoa sessions meaningful?' (Johansson Fua, 2014, p. 55). Mafana is the stage of transformation. Both the researcher and the recipients of the research are transformed, empowered, and enriched (Johansson Fua, 2014).

Kakala combines several elements of the holistic Pacific worldview: environmental, social and spiritual (Thaman, 2017). Kakala honours Pacific epistemology because it relates to the communal, uses imagery rather than writing, and it aligns with a deeply traditional and cultural process. Kakala was chosen as it honours the values of communal relationships and respect by intentional attention to relationships throughout the process. Reciprocity is represented in Kakala by toli and luva, where the researcher takes data from the collaborator and later returns to present their interpretation of that data. In this study, the collaborators helped develop the research questions, the data collection method, interpretation of the data and how to share it back. Indeed, I developed a data analysis tool, Mālolo, to enhance the process of tui. As the researcher, I know why and for whom I am making the kakala or conducting the research.

As Johansson Fua (2014) put it, 'The Kakala research framework was a space that would allow us to be who we are, with all of our insights, knowledge, experiences, and inherited gifts and to position ourselves where we belong without shame or pretence' (Johansson Fua, 2014, p. 51). This concept of a culturally safe space was particularly important in this study as the collaborators and the researcher spoke openly about belonging to two worlds and their positioning within them.

While Kakala provided an elegant allegory of methodology for Pacific research, the Talanoa Research Method provided a tool to activate it. Kakala also inspired the creation of a new data analysis tool, Mālolo.

Research Method

Teu – preparation and planning

During the year preceding my research, I participated in weekly Saturday morning trainings, day sails on the Waitemata Harbour, and was part of Haunui's education programme at marae in Coromandel, Maraetai, and Waiheke Island. During those times, I discussed with Pacific crew members the potential of conducting research into their experience. They contributed advice that helped me conceptualise, design and plan the study (Johansson Fua, 2014). They put forward their thoughts on what to

study, how to conduct the study, and whom and how to invite. They also put themselves forward as potential collaborators.

Toli – data collection

Toli is the data collection stage which, in this study, used the Talanoa Research Method. In addition to the talanoa sessions, it covered the sample, recruitment, and ethical considerations.

Talanoa Research Method

The Talanoa Research Method (TRM) directly references the Tonga cultural and social practice of talanoa or relating freely (Vaioleti 2006), speaking from the heart without preconceptions and it requires a deep interpersonal relationship and emotional sharing between parties (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014). Vaioleti (2006) described TRM as a type of phenomenological research. Tunufa'i (2016) noted that TRM has been compared with mainstream methods such as in-depth interviewing, oral history, focus group analysis and content analysis. Talanoa represents a type of oral communication that is common to Tokelau, Fiji, Tonga and Sāmoa (Tunufa'i, 2016). The practice of talanoa is a cultural method of creation and transfer of knowledge (Vaioleti, 2013).

TRM compels the researcher to invest in establishing relationships with their participants, to prioritise the awareness of their participants' needs, aspirations and motivations, and ideally to lead the collaborators through an empathetic apprenticeship as partners in the research, not merely participants (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014). As a member of the crew before becoming the researcher, I invested in maintaining relationships rather than establishing them. As a crewmate, I already had access to finding out their needs, aspirations and motivations but as a researcher, that access took on a different dynamic because it was formal, and it was for my own academic benefit. It was important for me to create an environment where the research interactions were accessible and appropriate to my collaborators and to ensure that my collaborators also benefitted; that they would be enriched with new knowledge about themselves, each other, and even the research process. In doing so, the application of TRM aligned with the Pacific values of communal relationships and respect as, due to the strength of the relationship and value of reciprocity, I did not want to let the participants down (Vaioleti, 2006). This is particularly true of insider research.

The role boundary between researcher and research participant is the vā which sanctions people's interpersonal relationships (Thaman, 2017). In TRM the boundary appears to dissolve through a process of attunement which involves sharing of emotions, transformation, co-creation and recognition (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014).

This theme of the collaborators' learning through and about the research process was particularly strong during this research and became a research finding in itself with the collaborators informing all stages of the research.

Sample

This research was an exploratory study into the experience of nine people. The sample size was small due, not only to the limited number of potential collaborators but to enable an in-depth exploration of their experiences. The small sample cannot be generalised across all Aotearoa-based Pacific peoples but may provide a useful case study.

There were two criteria used to choose who to invite as collaborators. Firstly, they had to be an active member of the Haunui crew at the time of the study. Secondly, they had to self-identify as Pacific. All collaborators were adults.

Nobody who fit the criteria was excluded from the study, however, not all Pacific crew members were able to be part of this study because of their own circumstances.

Recruitment

During the study, I was an active member of the Haunui crew who also self-identified as Pacific. I already had access to potential collaborators through my personal networks and through regular crew training sessions. My recruitment process followed three steps over several months. The process was drawn out due to severe weather events which impacted sail plans which, in turn, impacted the availability of the collaborators and the researcher to meet.

Step 1: Raising awareness

During the whakawhānaunga stage of every crew training session when all introduced themselves to whomever had turned up that morning, I would mention my study. In this way, my intentions were transparent to all captains and crew in attendance, Pacific or not, so potential collaborators could be assured that the study had appropriate approval from their superiors and they could ask me for more information if they wished. I could also keep potential collaborators up to date with changing windows of opportunity for our talanoa sessions. Initially planned for March or April, the group talanoa was delayed by two months as two collaborators and I sailed to Sāmoa on Haunui's sister waka, Gaualofa. Standing-by for extreme weather events to pass took one month. The voyage and related events took up the second.

Potential collaborators were a mix of people aged from their twenties to their sixties, people with high paid jobs through to those who were unemployed or retired, those

who were completing their post-graduate degrees or teaching at university to those who shied away from formal Western education.

Potential collaborators indicated their preferred medium of communication was the Coconut Crew group chat on Facebook Messenger. The Coconut Crew group chat had 31 members. Most of the members had sailed for Te Toki Waka Hourua in the month or two before the group chat was created and self-identified as Pacific. All members of the group were 'administrators' and so could invite and add new members. The group aligned well with the criteria but not perfectly as some members were either not regular crew or did not self-identify as Pacific. Furthermore, it was not an exhaustive collection of Haunui's Pacific crew, past and present.

Step 2: Invitation to group talanoa

When I was assured that there were no big sails planned for at least a whole month, I sent a group talanoa invitation as well as the Participant Information Sheet to all 31 members of the Coconut Crew group chat on Facebook Messenger.

The invitation specified my interest in the experiences of Pacific crew on Haunui and Aotearoa One. In accordance with their request on the Coconut Crew group chat, the group talanoa was scheduled to be held aboard Aotearoa One straight after a regular Saturday morning training session. The captains granted permission to hold the group talanoa aboard Aotearoa One.

Seven people participated in the group talanoa. Six of them had already known about my study for several weeks. For one, however, it was our first time to meet. Two people who had registered interest contacted me on the day of the group talanoa to send their apologies. They all self-identified as Pacific and as members of Haunui crew and they were members of the Coconut Crew chat group.

Figure 8: Five of the collaborators with the researcher aboard Aotearoa One in Tāmaki Makaurau after the Group Talanoa, 23 June 2018. From left to right: Sonny, Therese, Bonni, Nātia, Mama Liz, Liss. Haunui is the red double-hulled waka hourua in the background. Photo credit: Leina Tucker-Masters.

Step three: Invitation to individual talanoa

I invited nine individual talanoa collaborators via face-to-face, telephone, text, or Messenger. The nine included each of the seven group talanoa collaborators as well as two others who had not been part of the group talanoa.

All gave consent to be identified by name and photograph. (See Appendix 3: Consent Form [Group Talanoa])

At the suggestion of one of the group talanoa collaborators, I invited the two added collaborators to add depth to the research and to safeguard its integrity. Unlike the original seven collaborators, both held distinguished leadership positions within Te Toki Waka Hourua. Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr (Tainui) is the chair of Te Toki Voyaging Trust, the trust which owns Haunui and Aotearoa One, and he is a living legend within the waka hourua world. He is Māori and self-identifies as Pacific. I had not expected this definition because my definition of Pacific did not include Māori. Lilomaiapolima Ema Siope was a captain and skilled boat builder of Sāmoan origin. Neither Hoturoa nor Ema were members of the Coconut Crew Messenger group chat, nor were they regularly present at Saturday morning trainings. The involvement of these two great

chiefs provided authority to the research. Their active support of my study demonstrated to me and, more importantly, to others their approval of it.

The nine individual talanoa were conducted over six weeks at dates, times, and venues around Auckland to suit the collaborators. Two were held at the National Maritime Museum, two at the collaborators' place of work or study, two at cafés, and two at the waka crew house. Ema consented to be interviewed at her home. She was very ill. A year later, she passed away. I truly feel grateful and blessed that she contributed to this work. With the consent of the other collaborators, I was honoured that her sister agreed to review the initial findings in Ema's place after all other collaborators had reviewed them.

Table 2: Background of the nine collaborators

Collaborator	Gender	Island affiliation
Albert	Male	Sāmoan
Bonni	Female	Sāmoan
Ema	Female	Sāmoan
Hoturoa	Male	Tainui
Liss	Female	Sāmoan
Mama Liz	Female	Cook Island
Shane	Male	Cook Island, Pitcairn Islander, Tahitian
Sonny	Male	Sāmoan
Therese	Female	Cook Island

Data collection

Data collection occurred during one group talanoa session and nine individual talanoa sessions.

Group talanoa

The group talanoa was held aboard the waka hourua Aotearoa One berthed at the National Maritime Museum on 23 June 2018, immediately after a regular Saturday training aboard Haunui. From the opening prayer to the closing prayer, the group talanoa took about two and a half hours.

I joined the training on Haunui at the end and participated in the closing prayer. After farewelling the other crew, six of the collaborators and I walked from Haunui to Aotearoa One where we talked on the deck, went over the participant information

sheet, opened in prayer, and signed consent forms. When it began to rain, we moved into the whare and sat around the large cabin table.

I began recording on a voice recorder which was placed in the middle of the table. Entering into whakawhānaungatanga, I asked collaborators to share their name, the culture(s) they identified with and the values they wanted to guide the talanoa. I wrote the values on a large sheet. When all had contributed, I read out the list of values, checked with the collaborators that these would be the values to guide our talanoa, and kept the sheet visible to all throughout. Once the values were agreed, I said grace and we shared the kai that my daughter and I had already laid out on the table. We had also prepared a similar kai for crew members who had participated in the earlier crew training but who were not part of the group talanoa.

During the whakawhānaungatanga and kai, I explained that my daughter was at hand to take care of manākitanga, the hosting duties of preparing, serving, and clearing food and drinks. Although my daughter was also member of the Coconut Crew and signed the consent form, she chose not to be a research collaborator. Over their meal, the collaborators caught up with each other about recent sails, gardening, family, work, and post-graduate studies, including this research. They asked about my motivation to do this research and the identity of my supervisors. They included my daughter in their conversation. The seventh collaborator arrived during the kai, signed the consent form, and agreed to the values.

Throughout the talanoa, I posed the following questions.

- What was your motivation? Why did you get involved with Haunui? What made you stay?
- Thinking about your experiences on Haunui, what's been the best experience?
- I'm really interested in the impact of being involved and what you, your family and your community have got out of you being involved in Haunui. What's changed for you, your family?

Collaborators took turns to answer the questions in three rounds. Sometimes they volunteered to speak, sometimes one of us invited the next person to share. At first, everyone seemed a little nervous. Perhaps it was the formality of the research process such as consent forms and the voice recorder. Perhaps it was the unfamiliarity of being part of a research focus group. Perhaps it was a reflection of the nervousness that I was feeling due to the importance of the group talanoa to my research but also to my relationships with my crewmates. Luckily, one of the collaborators was a jovial sort who told great stories and had a gift for drawing stories out of others. He was also a PhD candidate at the time. It was good when he drew people out. It seemed more natural to

me for a collaborator to draw out other collaborators than for me, as the researcher, to delve deeper. It felt like what I thought a talanoa should be.

After all had answered the three questions, I let them know the next steps would be that I would transcribe the talanoa, share with them the transcription of their contribution to the group talanoa for their feedback, and invite them to an individual talanoa. I also invited them to share anything that they wanted to add to the group talanoa.

They blessed my studies and I closed in prayer. Everyone helped my daughter tidy up, then we took a photo. Unfortunately, Albert and Shane had left before the photo was taken.

Afterwards, I cried all the way down the Southern Motorway out of gratitude, relief, and joy. The gratitude was to my crewmates who had sacrificed a sail on Ted Ashby and opened their hearts to support me. They had shared about broken relationships, the death of a mother, the death of a cousin, their dreams for their children, discovery, and acceptance of self. There was gratitude to the captains who had provided permission to hold the session on Aotearoa One, and to my daughter and my tāne who supported with manākitanga. The relief was that the talanoa was over and that all the planning had come together well. The joy came from seeing that my crewmates had enjoyed the experience, the food, the fellowship and learning about each other, that they had stayed and stayed to keep talking, to help clean up, and to keep talking some more. They loved the opportunity to connect and keep connecting about something new and exciting, their own learning journeys on Haunui.

Individual talanoa

Individual talanoa were conducted with nine collaborators - all seven of the group talanoa collaborators and two others whom the group talanoa collaborators had identified as important to my research, as described above.

I contacted all nine collaborators individually by telephone, text, or Messenger to invite them to an individual talanoa at a mutually convenient date, time, and venue. All the individual talanoa were conducted over two months after the group talanoa. Two were held at the National Maritime Museum after a regular training session, two were held at the collaborators' place of work or study, two were held at the waka whare (crew house) in Māngere, one at a library, one at a museum, and one at a collaborator's home. I provided refreshments. They lasted between one and two hours. I presented a gift card to each individual talanoa collaborator after the talanoa. On some occasions, I

forgot to bring the card to the individual talanoa so I dropped it off to them at the next training or sent it by post.

For those who had participated in the group talanoa, I presented a printed copy of the transcription of their contribution to the group talanoa. They read through and made corrections or comments which mostly served to confirm the findings. Further discussion only developed in relation to the enquiry about 'Maori are Pacific?'.

At all individual talanoa, I shared my initial findings from the group talanoa as well as my work to define elements of Pacific development. During the individual talanoa, I handwrote notes to capture collaborators' comments, suggestions, and feedback.

Ethical considerations

TRM proposes five Tongan concepts as Pacific research ethics (Vaioleti 2006). They are faka'apa'apa - being respectful, humble, and considerate; anga lelei - being tolerant, generous, kind, helpful, calm and dignified; mateuteu - being well prepared, hardworking, culturally versed, professional, and responsive; poto he anga - knowing what to do and doing it well, or cultured; and 'ofa fe'unga - showing appropriate compassion, empathy, aroha, love for the context. These aligned well with the values that my group talanoa collaborators independently identified to guide their talanoa session which were love, respect, generosity, forgiveness, acceptance, truth, openness, and sharing of one's own experience.

Respect or Faka'apa'apa was demonstrated when we waited for all collaborators to arrive before we started the group talanoa and when collaborators took turns and drew out the quiet ones.

Generosity, forgiveness, and acceptance aligned well with anga lelei and demonstrations of reciprocity. The collaborators' generosity of time and story was reciprocated with food at the group talanoa. There was no mention of monetary koha for the group talanoa as I did not want to introduce a perception of buying information. After the individual talanoa sessions, however, I presented each collaborator with a voucher which was received with gratitude. Most kept their vouchers, however, one gifted his to feed the crew. Truth, openness, and forgiveness fit with anga lelei because the collaborators wanted to be able to share freely in the knowledge that they would be forgiven if their truth was hard for some to hear, which I did not notice occurring.

Love and sharing of one's own experience aligned well with 'Ofa fe'unga and was demonstrated throughout the group talanoa.

Although their stated values for the group talanoa did not address Mateuteu or Poto he anga, it was important that I demonstrate my professionalism and cultural

preparedness in order to put my collaborators at ease. I noticed them relax after I had opened in prayer. They could enjoy their food without embarrassment because they knew I had provided food for crew who were not participating in my study. They accepted as normal that my daughter would take care of hospitality by serving the food and running errands. They did not insist that she join the table, as my Pālagi friends might have.

The collaborators defined their own values to guide their group talanoa. Those values aligned well with TRM's Pacific research ethics and were demonstrated throughout the group talanoa.

Tui - data analysis

Kakala emphases participant input at the toli and luva stages with the researcher performing most of the tui stage of data analysis. I created Mālolo, a new data analysis tool, to facilitate my collaborators' input to the sorting, sifting and analysis of their own data.

Mālolo data analysis tool

This section explains the story behind the Mālolo data analysis tool, the reason it was needed, its structure and use in this study and within Kakala. It also covers a discussion about collaborators having agency over their data and conclusions regarding its effectiveness as a data analysis tool.

Mālolo uses a flying fish metaphor because of an experience when I was sailing with two of the collaborators from Aotearoa to Sāmoa. One night when we were sailing up Rangitāhua (the Tongan Trench / Kermadecs), we heard a slap on the deck. We raced to the spot where we had heard it and shone our torches. It was a flying fish. It soon became sashimi. Then more fish flew onto the deck, attracted to our lights. In the morning, we had collected 32 flying fish - two each for breakfast for our crew of 16. Scales littered the deck and it was hard to remove them when they had dried onto the wood. Luckily, none of the fish got trapped under the deck or there would have been a terrible stench.

Figure 9: Thirty-two mālolo (flying fish) caught on Gaualofa's 2018 voyage from Aotearoa to Sāmoa. Photo credit: Anna Bertram

I had intended to use the Fonofale model for thematic analysis. However, although Fonofale has credibility I found it too restrictive. I wanted themes to reveal themselves from the collaborators' words rather than fit into a preconceived framework. I conducted the first sorting and sifting during the transcription process of listening and relistening, recognising and typing the collaborators' words - which spanned four different languages - and reading those words while relistening to them. In this regard, the first step in data analysis was a form of grounded theory.

The Mālolo data analysis tool presented the major themes of the initial findings on posters in the form of a mālolo, a flying fish. Mālolo is the Sāmoan word for flying fish. I chose the flying fish metaphor because we did not really catch the fish on Gaualofa, they gave themselves up just as, it seemed, the initial findings and their major themes gave themselves up.

Each major theme formed the head of the mālolo. Sub-themes on large Post-It notes formed the gills. Paragraphs and main points flow like scales behind each relevant sub-theme on smaller Post-It notes. The Post-It notes were cut to look like scales. Collaborators were invited to interact with the mālolo by reorganising their scales, transferring them from one mālolo to another or removing scales completely. This happened at a gathering of collaborators at one of their homes, at a marae during a

quiet moment during a Tuia250 waka gathering, and at my home when one collaborator stayed the night. Together we examined and challenged the initial findings' integrity and resorted the Post It notes. Taking the metaphor beyond my initial intention, they even identified how one mālolo could incorporate or 'consume' a smaller one. When my collaborators were satisfied, it was my responsibility as the researcher to make the changes final.

The findings and themes emerged during my first sifting and sorting. Their revelation was initially chaotic, with the major themes (mālolo) identifiable but with some findings (scales) coming loose during the process. During the second sorting and sifting, the collaborators reattached or moved scales (findings) between fish (themes).

The playful nature of the presentation as well as the moveable nature of Post-It notes licenced the collaborators to engage actively in the research process, change and challenge my findings. They did not write on any Post-It notes or move any themselves, instead I captured their comments on new Post-It notes. The collaborators then advised me where to place the new Post-It notes and where to transfer others. The theme of 'Island ideal / back to basics' changed into 'Identity'. 'Haunui' theme was absorbed into the themes of 'How we're learning', 'Identity', 'Spiritual connections', 'Māori are Pacific'. One whole fish got 'eaten' by others when all its scales were transferred. We avoided trapping a stinky fish when the Haunui Mālolo was consumed by the mālolo of spirituality, alava'a, and Hoturoa and whakapapa.

I decided to develop and use Mālolo within Kakala for two reasons. Firstly, it was in keeping with the mafana and malie spirit of Kakala that I created a way to present 40 dry pages' worth of initial findings to my participants that would be engaging, relevant, understandable, visual, and interactive and that would ultimately facilitate their making and sharing of knowledge about themselves. Secondly, like Kakala, Mālolo used a Pacific metaphor, in this case a flying fish. I decided the floral garland metaphor of Kakala and the flying fish metaphor of Mālolo were appropriate for my collaborators who were all Pacific sailors. Many had seen flying fish while sailing in the islands and had received floral garlands upon arrival at those island destinations. Incidentally, waka hourua also receive floral garlands, as illustrated below.

Figure 10: Mama Liz wearing floral garlands during Gaualofa's arrival ceremony in Apia, Sāmoa. Photo credit: Anna Bertram.

Figure 11: Gaualofa adorned with a floral garland in Apia, Sāmoa. Left to right: Daisy and Alice Siaosi (my cousins), Mama Liz, Manō Nātia Tautua (my grandmother), me.

Some elements of information felt important, but I did not know where they belonged, like scales on the deck that needed attention and to be tidied up.

The Mālolo method connected the collaborators with their knowledge, as it deliberately involved the collaborators in the analysis of their own data. It emphasised oral and visual over written (Capstick et al., 2009). This was important because 'research methodologies must reflect the knowledge making and knowledge sharing of our participants, not the other way around' (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014, p. 328).

The presentation of information in fish-shaped organisation of the themes and sub-themes made the information accessible and easy to understand. One collaborator said, 'You're such a nerd. You made it so simple. When you explained how every scale is a paragraph, I could understand the whole structure clearly'. In contrast, my daughter Sophia seemed not to appreciate the colourful scales' careful order, observing that 'it looks like a unicorn just threw up on the wall'.

Table 3: Photographs of the findings in the form of Mālolo
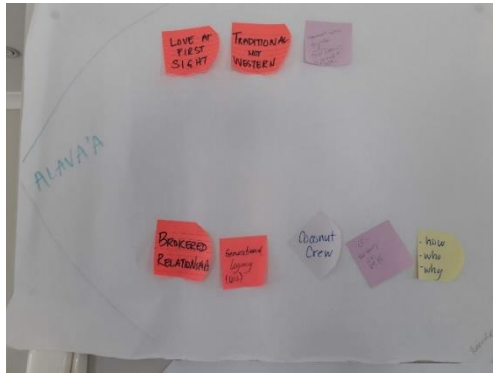
Figure 12: Alava'a Mālolo
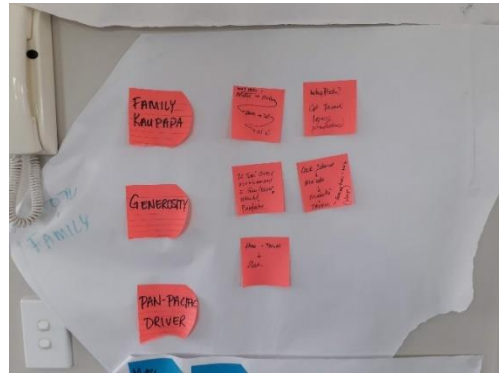
Figure 13: Whakapapa Mālolo

Figure 14: How We're Learning Mālolo
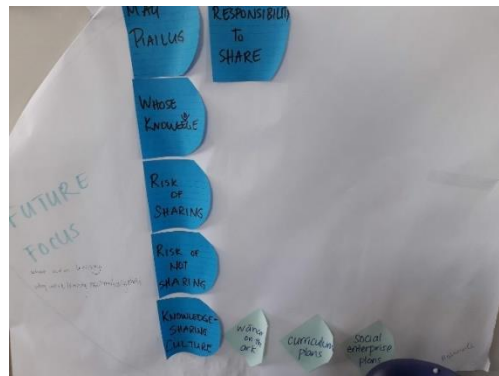
Figure 15: Learning and Sharing Mālolo

Figure 16: What We're Learning Mālolo

Figure 17: Identity Mālolo

Figure 18: Spiritual Connections Mālolo

Figure 19: 'Māori are Pacific?' Mālolo

'*O le tele o sulu e maua ai se figota*' is a Sāmoan saying which means 'My strength does not come from me alone, but from many'. It translates literally as 'the more the lights, the better the fishing'. In the case of refining my findings, the collaborators' understanding and analysis cast new and different light which provided depth, made new conceptual connections and challenged my assumptions.

Using Mālolo, the collaborators could clearly see each finding and how I had classified it. They could see the broad themes and finer details at a glance. Collaborators affirmed the findings and seemed amazed to see their discussions presented back to them with the analysis of the depth of their discussions. They also commented on my interpretation of findings and advised on the relocation of Post-It notes, renaming of themes, and the incorporation of a whole theme into another. Although they did not physically interact with the Mālolo, I carried out the writing and relocation according to their input in front of them. I believe that the presentation's unrefined, unfinished, and temporary look assured the collaborators that their changes were not only invited but welcomed. I wonder if they chose not to move the Post It notes themselves out of respect for my work. On the waka, we often talk about different ways to approach a task but would only redo someone's work if we knew they had done it wrong or if we were directed by a superior to correct it. Perhaps they were just comfy in their seats.

I took photos of the Mālolo before and after the collaborators' input so I could track and reassess any changes.

I shared the Mālolo with five of the nine collaborators. Out of the remaining four, two were overseas, one cancelled at the last minute due to family matters, and Ema had died. Four sessions took place. Three attended the first session at the home of one of the collaborators. The second session occurred on a marae while another collaborator and I had a break from waka duties during Tuia 250. The third session occurred at my home when the fifth collaborator was visiting Auckland from her new home in Central Hawkes Bay. After sharing with the collaborators, I also shared with Ema's sister. When I had come to pay respects to Ema's family and to view her body, I acknowledged Ema's contribution to my studies and asked Fetaui Iosefo, one of Ema's sisters, if she would be willing to review my work in the place of her sister. She agreed wholeheartedly. Several weeks later I held the fourth session with Fetaui. I captured her feedback on different coloured Post It notes to differentiate them from the collaborators' notes. Fetaui's aligned well with the others' feedback.

Luva – presentation

The stage of reporting and disseminating the findings and of returning the gift of knowledge to the collaborators was delayed when the whole nation went into lockdown

during the global COVID19 pandemic. I had planned to present the findings in a summative format to the collaborators, Te Toki Waka Hourua trust and crew just before submitting the study to the academic examiners. That face-to-face presentation over food will occur later. Additionally, I will gift a copy of this thesis to the Te Toki Voyaging Trust library to honour my promise to Hoturoa. During this research, I received requests for presentations of my findings from representatives of international aid agencies, Pacific academics, community development workers, and my work unit, the Community Empowerment Unit of Auckland Council. I was also invited to present at an international indigenous conference in Australia. I declined these invitations and requests as, in keeping with Kakala, I needed to present my findings to my collaborators and TTVT before anyone else. I look forward to sharing my findings with other people and other organisations whose work is in development in the Pacific or in the development of Pacific peoples. I am curious about how all recipients will respond and if they will accept or reject my findings. I wonder how the findings might inform their Pacific development strategies.

Malie – appreciation

Even though the formal luva stage was not complete at the time of writing, I am satisfied that malie has been present from the outset. Collaborators monitored and evaluated the research process from its conception to data collection and analysis. They assessed and fed back on the talanoa sessions, the initial findings, and the Mālolo. Even during those engagement opportunities, they told me what was useful, worthwhile, how they benefitted and for whom else they thought the research would be useful. Not only did they share that the talanoa sessions had been meaningful, honest, exciting and worthwhile (Johansson Fua, 2014), they identified why and provided examples. In addition, outside of those research stages, they regularly checked in on my progress, reminded me of the utility, applicability and relevancy of this research (Johansson Fua, 2014), and provided ongoing support and encouragement.

Mafana - transformation

Mafana is the stage where transformation occurs, the moment when the research and the knowledge givers are both transformed, having created a new solution or new understanding (Johansson Fua, 2014). It is best assessed during the Luva phase, however, as explained above, at the time of writing, the luva had not been completed. Nevertheless, I am satisfied that mafana occurred during the teu stage when collaborators helped me define the research scope and methods. Mafana was present during toli stage of talanoa where collaborators thanked each other for sharing during the talanoa and me for doing the study. One collaborator was even moved to tears

upon hearing the initial findings. Mafana ran strong through the tui stage. After the collaborators had questioned and refined the mālolo, they stood back and admired them, even identifying how they had found the findings and the research process validating and empowering.

Both malie and mafana are more about satisfaction, emotion, and the spirit of the research rather than being research phases. It would have been desirable to write about malie and mafana after presenting the luva however I am satisfied that they have been honoured throughout the research process to date and that they will continue to strengthen after the luva has eventually taken place.

Reflections

Can research methodologies and methods by Tongans serve Pacific people who are not Tongan?

Kakala and Talanoa Research Method were developed by Tongan academics however they have both been widely adopted as Pacific. They both emerge from a Pacific worldview, reference current Pacific practices, are based on Pacific values, and involve Pacific people as learners, not just as collaborators. Although none of my collaborators self-identified as Tongan, all identified as Pacific. During discussions about how I should collect data, potential collaborators individually and independently identified talanoa as their preferred way to share their lived experience with me. They did not specify Talanoa Research Methodology. They did not even identify it as a Tongan or even Pacific research method. They did not have to. They just wanted to talanoa, to talk freely. Should we be surprised that a group of Pacific people happened to opt for 'arguably the most prominent research methodology applied across the Pacific' (Vaioleti, 2013, p. 191), and that it just happens to have been developed by a Tongan? Or does it simply illustrate that Pacific methods and methodologies are appropriate for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand, too?

Is a pan-Pacific approach relevant?

Tunufa'i (2016) argued that a generic Pacific approach contradicts decolonisation's emphasis on relevancy. This may be true of island-specific research however my study involved people who self-identified with five different island groups. Their request for a generic Pacific approach was relevant not only because of their pan-Pacific heritage but also because *they* asked for it. I would not wish to marginalise these Pacific people from their own knowledge systems by the power of non-Pacific or mainstream research (Smith, 2012)? They had the options of Pacific or Western approaches, and yet they nominated a Pacific approach. Pacific methodologies should not be denied to Pacific people who have been born and raised in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Benefits of insider research

This research benefited greatly from the strength of the relationships between the collaborators and the researcher. The collaborators shared freely, sometimes on deeply personal matters and invested in every stage of research process. When questioned about the strength of our relationships, they explained that when we sail, we entrust our lives to each other.

Risk of insider research

Conversely, I worried about what to do if my studies clashed with my relationships with the crew. Would I sacrifice relationships to benefit the research? Would I compromise the research to maintain relationships? This dilemma presented itself when Ema, a distinguished leader within TTWH, challenged the premise of my research. This was distressing because her challenge was made openly and had the potential to set off a disastrous chain reaction that could have damaged my relationships with captains, crewmates, and eventually my research. Unknowingly I had trampled on our relationship, ua soli le vā, and needed to repair and nurture that relationship, tausi le vā. After consultation with my supervisors, I stepped up and leaned into the challenge. I contacted the challenger, apologised, and offered to explain the intent of my research which seemed to have affronted her. She agreed. Even though she was extremely unwell, we met, we talked, she agreed to be a collaborator and we held an individual talanoa. In the end, I had to swallow my fear and ego, nurture the relationship, and submit the research to critique. Both my relationship and my research benefited immensely. Had I defended my research at the expense of our relationship, both would have suffered greatly. During the course of this research, she died. I am even more grateful to her for her challenge, her sharing, and her grace. As Vaioleti put it, 'Truth is good. Respect for human dignity is better' (Vaioleti, 2013, p. 9).

Conclusion

The decision to use Pacific research methodology and methods was intentional. The intention was to be culturally appropriate to the collaborators, to the generation of Pacific knowledge, and to Pacific development.   As an insider, I developed a new data analysis tool to protect and enhance the integrity of the research and of my relationships. The Mālolo data analysis tool was put to the test during the research. The results of the test are the eight Mālolo that landed and which are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Findings:

Introduction

To understand how Pacific development may be happening through traditional voyaging on Haunui, this research sought to understand the experiences of his Pacific crew. This chapter presents eight Mālolo that landed on the deck, the findings that represent the outcomes of the research process. It is organised according to the Mālolo data analysis tool where each major theme was represented by a flying fish whose scales collaborators had analysed, sorted, and rearranged. I will deal with each mālolo separately. They are Values, What We're Learning, Learning and Sharing Knowledge, Spiritual Connections, Identity, Māori are Pacific?, Alava'a, and Hoturoa and Whakapapa.

Values Mālolo

The Values Mālolo covers the values of the waka, and how those values have spilled over into the collaborators' worldview, especially their appreciation or yearning for a back-to-basics life, and their rejection or recoiling from modern life and its pressures, expectations, and pretences. Waka 'is what our people need to bring them back to basics and what really matters in life' (Liss). What really matters in life is a matter of what one values.

Values of the waka

Collaborators identified the foundational waka values of whakawhānaungatanga, manākitanga and aroha, and explained why it was important to activate those values. Additional or complementary values they identified as underpinning their learning experience on Haunui were respect and acceptance (Albert, Bonni, Liss, Mama Liz, Shane, Therese), sustainability (Shane, Therese), and teu le vā or caring for relationships (Albert).

The demonstration of waka values was seen as powerful because it 'makes people feel safe' (Hoturoa) and because values are 'a universal language that all respond to' (Ema). When Hoturoa said, 'there's free reign within the values of the whānau,' he referred to safety based on foundational values - safety to experiment and learn. It was the same safety that the group talanoa collaborators referenced for their talanoa as well as waka life in general.

This research benefitted greatly from the collaborators stating and demonstrating their values. At the beginning of the group talanoa, collaborators determined the values of

the talanoa as 'love, valuing your own experience, respect, forgiveness, acceptance, truth, openness, sharing and generosity'. During the follow-up individual talanoa sessions, collaborators acknowledged the identification of those values at the outset as being one of the reasons the group felt safe to share deeply during the group talanoa.

Conversely, collaborators gave non-waka examples of how, when values were stated but not demonstrated, they lost their power. When talking about research practice, Albert observed, 'if you turn up, get stuff, never come back, no more cooperation'. Raised 'staunchly Christian', Ema struggled with Christian values not aligning with the Christian rules she had been taught, 'Only the "love" part made sense'. She could not reconcile the Christian 'rules and regulations' with 'the love part' whereas 'waka appealed to every part of me and validated my belief system'.

Back to basics rejection of modernity

Sometimes the collaborators talked about material back-to-basics. Bonni broke down the practicalities of back-to-basics waka life, 'All that mattered was cleaning the waka, making the kai, making sure the toilets were clean. That was it'. Shane's appreciation of back-to-basics life happened after experiencing material tragedy. Losing properties in double mortgagee sales led his family to live in the Cook Islands where they 'felt free because we were swimming in the lagoon, tending our gardens, going to school events'. Learning on Haunui helped Shane reconnect with a back-to-basics lifestyle in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Other times, back-to-basics referred to collaborators' questioning or rejection of modernity. Shane compared the back-to-basics of waka life to his family's Cook Island life which had challenged their perception of modernity, 'We kept and killed a pig for the kids to experience. They understand what you eat doesn't come like magic from supermarkets'. Haunui provided a similar reverse culture shock for Bonni which led to her rejection of elements of modern life. She said that upon landing in Tāmaki Makaurau after a month-long voyage on Haunui, 'I tripped out coming back. Walking down the road not wearing the latest kicks. The smells, the sounds. It was all so assaulting'. Their stories illustrated their experience of reverse culture shock where previously familiar New Zealand norms became unfamiliar after life on waka or in the islands. They were then able to identify, question and decide whether to accept or reject those norms.

Waka life presented a refuge from modern life's pressures, conditioning and 'distractions of New Zealand' (Shane). Therese explained that waka life helps people to 'heal' as it allows people to 'unplug' from modern life and 'reconnect with themselves

and others'. Bonni's reverse culture shock included a realisation that years of prejudice and discrimination based on gender, ethnicity and physique were 'conditioning' which she could then reject.

The concept of unplugging could be taken literally as crew members were expected to surrender their cellphones to the captain when underway. Crew were also expected to focus on the tasks and relationships on the waka, having already settled family and work obligations.

Through waka people were released from external pressures for a moment, could focus on what was important, then recalibrate their attentions on what mattered to them. That could be a realignment of values which lead them to rediscovering and revaluing their indigenous knowledge, or it could be a new desire to learn about their whakapapa.

What We're Learning Mālolo

This mālolo looks at what collaborators said they were learning on Haunui. Their responses revealed that in addition to learning knowledge and skills directly related to voyaging, they were learning about other fields of knowledge, about themselves and other people, and applying those learnings to life outside waka.

> *'Every time I learn more. Just being here part of the talanoa I'm learning so much more too. I'm in this thirst for knowing, wanting to learn, also wanting to know how to adapt that into our daily practice because I very much see the vaka life as what we should be doing in our lives. Transforming that knowledge' (Therese).*

Knowledge and skills

Through learning voyaging on Haunui, collaborators were learning how to sail and maintain the waka and how to navigate using modern and traditional methods. They were also learning complementary skills ranging from gardening to reading the maramataka or the night sky, from public speaking and marae etiquette to stand-up paddle boarding and surfing.

Collaborators learned a variety of 'basic maritime skills' (Hoturoa). 'It all starts with knots' (Albert) and learning 'ropes and maritime rules' (Liss). They learned how to 'make the waka go' (Therese) when 'you use the foe, adjust the sails' (Therese). In order to reach the shore when at anchor, Bonni and Therese were introduced to paddle-boarding. Sonny learned safety skills through man-overboard drills. Additionally, some had achieved formal Boatmasters and Day Skipper certification during their learning on waka hourua. While they acknowledged the necessity of knowing these

things, learning on Haunui opened a world of learning beyond the basic maritime skills, knots, and rules.

Learning to read the stars and other signs of nature was particularly rewarding for collaborators. Bonni found a sense of accomplishment in knowing and sharing celestial knowledge, 'Standing outside and you're like, "Oh, I know something about that constellation. I know the name of that star and it's not actually a star, it's a planet'. Shane was enthusiastic.

> *'Wow! This is it! This is everything I want, all in that little package there in this chant that teaches all the stars. We had this song and it pointed out where all the stars were. Then that night we looked at all the constellations and we went through [the chant,] Te Waka o Tamarēreti' (Shane).*

A negative experience long ago had put Shane's wife off sailing but recently 'she did the celestial navigation wānanga and she's so pumped'. Her desire to learn more about the stars had spurred her to 'want to get out on the waka and start sailing' (Shane). Collaborators learned about other navigational indicators in nature. Sonny noted that he had 'to forget Sāmoan celestial navigation and learn to read waves and currents in New Zealand because fewer stars are visible'. Bonni summed up the fascination and satisfaction of learning to read nature's signs, 'It's cool to be able to know more about what's been around you your whole life'.

Maramataka was another body of knowledge based on observations of the world around us to which collaborators were introduced through their experiences Haunui. 'Haunui was first. From there we wanted to learn about maramataka and then we went and did Kai Oranga' (Shane). Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi (2018)'s Certificate in Kai Oranga is a one-year, level 3 programme that aims to rebuild whānau, hapū and iwi knowledge of traditional and contemporary food, sustainable practices, food production and management. It includes theory and practical application of maramataka. Indeed, soon after the group talanoa, TTWH set up a Kai Oranga cohort in which four other group talanoa collaborators and I enrolled.

Marae protocols were another area for land-based learnings thanks to Haunui, both for crew and for marae. While staying at marae around Aotearoa New Zealand, Bonni learned public speaking, making kai, maintaining the marae, and 'how to connect with people you just don't get on with'. Hoturoa observed that waka provided opportunities for hau kāinga of marae to learn about different ways of doing things, too. He spoke of Ema's funeral. Ema was a female Sāmoan orator and captain of Haunui, and a collaborator on this research. Sadly she died during the course of this research. Haunui

transported her body to Umpuia Marae as part of the funeral rituals. Her Sāmoan family's funeral protocols differed from those of the host iwi, Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki. Their hau kāinga demonstrated understanding, flexibility and generous manākitanga by adjusting their own protocols to accommodate Sāmoan protocols.

Traditional sailing, celestial navigation and maramataka all form part of the mātauranga Māori and mātauranga Pasifika (Hoturoa) which in turn lead to deeper lessons. Sonny contextualised the learning beyond an accumulation of facts and information, 'we're on this journey of being more culturally in tune with how we should be living our lives, experiencing living like our ancestors might have'. Liss concurred, 'Even if we think we're just learning ropes and maritime rules, there's a lot of spiritual lessons in there for me'. Exposure to mātauranga led collaborators to connect with ancestors and spirituality which in turn led to restoration of dignity and mana and to opportunities for personal development.

Personal Development

'The kaupapa grows people' (Ema). Collaborators identified how learning on Haunui contributed to their own personal growth through a sense of identity and belonging, restoration of dignity and mana, reflective learning, developing leadership of themselves and others, addressing their whole person, trusting relationships and providing challenges. Ema explained that some people were there for a year and gone because they had achieved the personal growth they needed at the time.

Dignity/Mana

The restoration of dignity and mana was a recurring theme for collaborators. They identified how Pacific people's dignity and mana was restored by having a place to belong, correcting history, and affirming their ancestors' intelligence. They also identified how waka provided a world where they were released from long-felt discrimination based on gender, race, physical build, or family circumstance.

Correcting knowledge of Pacific peoples' voyaging history was important to restoring dignity and mana to Pacific peoples. Collaborators shared experiences challenging historical misinformation. Bonni described cousins whose family story started 'with a load of migrants coming over to work the factories'. Sonny recalled, 'in history, I was told we paddled about the Pacific'. Restoration of mana started to occur when that historical misinformation was challenged, 'It blew my mind when I heard about sailing and following the stars. We voyaged not just because we're big and strong, but because we're intelligent' (Sonny). Bonni took care to connect her cousins with their ancestral legacy of voyaging greatness.

The dignity and mana of women can be enhanced through waka. Ema was a pioneer for women in waka, becoming a boatbuilder and a captain. On her first encounter with waka hourua, Te Ao o Tonga, she was delighted to find a place for women on waka, 'I asked two questions, "Do you have wāhine on waka? They told me that Teresa Busby sailed from Rarotonga to Aotearoa. "Do you have wānanga?"' From there, Ema became a pioneer in waka and went on to help other women.

> *'In 2005, it was the first time for wāhine to paddle alongside the waka taua at Waitangi Day celebrations. We got requests for waka tete so women could participate. I trained women in Hokianga and taught them to make their own paddles. I taught Aunofo [a Tongan woman captain] and her daughter' (Ema).*

Waka breaks people's restricted ideas on women and on youth 'doing the work safely, accurately, speedily' (Bonni). Collaborators pointed out mana wāhine was built into Haunui with the starboard hull being named Pikikōtuku after Te Ariki Dame Te Ata-i-Rangikaahu, Hoturoa's aunty. The port hull is named Wharetoroa after Hoturoa's father. Ema's achievements and the hulls of Haunui demonstrated the potential to grow mana wāhine on Haunui.

Acceptance of sexuality in Te Toki Waka Hourua provided two collaborators with a place to bring their whole selves. Ema explained how in her early years, her captains placed value on the work rather than sexuality. 'Jacko and Stan didn't restrict me, it didn't matter. My gender and sexuality wasn't an issue, it was the mahi'. Such an environment allowed Ema to flourish, 'All of me was validated in this space, my spirituality, my sexuality'. Therese reported a similar experience, 'Growing up in a Catholic home and being gay, it was very difficult'. For Therese, belonging to Haunui crew was a deliberate choice, 'The fact is family is who you make it'.

Waka gave another collaborator body confidence. Growing up, Bonni had felt 'pushed into entertainment and sport because of my build. I'm not a standard kiwi'. On waka, however, her body became a source of confidence because 'on the waka, my mind and body are capable to serve. I feel like my body works, that my mind works'. Instead of feeling judged and coerced by others' judgement of how Bonni should apply her body, she found an environment where her body served a purpose that aligned with the rest of her being.

During a voyage, physical appearance and presentation became a vanity. Bonni teased the researcher about her appearance after '20 days on the water', Sonny described the act of letting one's vanity go as 'caveman let-go'. Physical appearance did not matter as much as the work.

For those whose family-life had demonstrated little mana and dignity, waka provided a positive alternative.

> 'If people come in from dysfunctional homes – three generations of addiction and abuse – people get treated well, are not sworn at. It's different for them. It's a positive experience so they come back for that because they don't get it at home' (Ema).

These examples of individuals' restoration of dignity and mana were seen as important to the restoration of dignity and mana for Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therese acknowledged the current negative reality for Māori and Pacific peoples in modern Aotearoa New Zealand but held out hope, 'Once we restore our mana of Pacific people living in New Zealand and Māori mana as tuakana/teina of Pacific people, then our future will be fine and all will be well'. She even proposed a waka-based 'mana restoration project'. (See Learning and Sharing Mālolo: Knowledge Sharing Innovations). The restoration of mana and dignity began when the collaborators could appreciate themselves and others with new eyes.

Reflective practice

Collaborators reported that they found they 'have a different lens when on the waka' (Bonni) which enabled clear introspection and self-discovery. Sometimes the self-learning came via a metaphor, other times through empathy and consideration of an alternative perspective.

Waka helped collaborators identify their challenges and deal with them. Therese identified her challenge as 'letting go' and explained how a physical experience on the waka provided an enlightening metaphor to help her address that challenge.

> 'The first time I learned to use the hoe, I was just trying to make the waka go to where I was told to make the waka go. That's not the case, right? We can adjust the sails. It shouldn't be that hard. That's how I feel sometimes through life' (Therese).

For Bonni self-reflection on the waka helped her avoid conflict.

> 'I used to think, "What is my journey [on Haunui]? Why do I do it? Who do I do it for?" Now I think about others. "What's their journey?" It helps me step out of conflict' (Bonni).

Reflective learning was a feature of collaborators' experiences on Haunui with collaborators showing an awareness of their own personal learning development as well as that of others.

Leadership

Collaborators identified how learning on Haunui, they were developing leadership at three levels. They supported their current leaders, they honed their own leadership skills, they taught the next generation of potential leaders.

Collaborators acknowledged their responsibility as crew to support waka leadership, 'Our young captains have huge responsibilities, so I fill gaps and lighten the load. I want them to know they're supported' (Mama Liz).

They also developed their own leadership skills. Bonni acknowledged leadership opportunities had arisen from new-found self-confidence gained through waka life, 'Western culture made me not confident. Waka made me confident'.

Inspired by a sense of obligation to share the knowledge as well as a new-found confidence to be able to share it, collaborators identified that they were stepping up into leadership opportunities, especially through teaching others. 'When I learn something, I try to lock it in my head by teaching it' (Bonni), and 'I want to capture [the learning] so that everyone can experience this experience. I want to continue to learn as a teacher' (Therese). This is further developed in Learning and Sharing Knowledge Mālolo: Knowledge sharing innovations.

Teamwork

Collaborators reported a desire to be part of a team. Before becoming a member of the crew, Bonni sailed on Haunui as a commercial guest. During that sail, Bonni witnessed the crew's teamwork and respectful communal relationships, and wanted to be part of it. 'I was quietly observing you guys hard out and then decided I'd be keen'. Once part of the crew, Bonni felt 'a sense of family' that Ema described as 'a sense of community'.

Collaborators shared a sense of satisfaction in serving the team in various ways. Examples of serving the team ranged from carrying out commands to problem-solving as a team. For Bonni, 'being a trusted member of the crew' depended on being capable to carry out commands. 'I do as I'm told,' said Mama Liz. Therese recognised shared responsibility and experience, 'We're in a watch system. We're all on board and we have to do it'. Mama Liz explained the need for crew members to serve the team in a variety of tasks, 'Not everyone can sail. We need land crew'. Some proactively identified tasks that would alleviate pressure on the team, then volunteered to address them such as washing or gardening (Mama Liz). Some shared special, individual talents such as 'spiritual cleaning using the Self-Identity Through Honohono method' (Mama Liz) or 'being able to cook kai that everyone likes' (Bonni).

Be it an individual's contribution to the whole or the enjoyment of 'shared experiences of the world' such as 'overcoming challenges as a team' (Hoturoa), collaborators' desire to be part of a team was strongly linked to their value of communal relationships.

Overcoming barriers

Learning on waka grew the collaborators by providing challenges to overcome, either as a team or individually. Challenges included barriers to learning, physical discomfort or danger.

While Albert and Shane spoke dreamily of quitting their job to pursue learning waka full-time, two collaborators really did it. 'I quit my job after meeting Te Aurere' then 'went to live up North building waka with Mātua Hector Busby' (Ema). Bonni's story was similar.

> 'I jumped on that coastal tour and sailed from [Manaia] back up to Waiheke. By the time I got back up to Auckland, I was like, "I'm quitting my job. I have to be full-time". I came back, quit my job, sailed over to Waiheke, and that was it' (Bonni).

For others, the barriers to learning were less drastically addressed. Shane drove nearly 100 kilometres each way every Saturday morning to bring his teenage son and nephew to waka training.

> 'It takes me an hour and a quarter to drive here but I was doing it mainly for those boys. I liked bringing them here and I committed myself to it' (Shane).

Therese made direct enquiries into the criteria needed to sail on Marumaru Atua, then methodically took steps to meet each one.

> 'What do I need to do? Day Skipper's training? Sure. Swim 300m? So, I took lessons. Dogpaddle for half an hour? I'll do it' (Therese).

Overcoming barriers to learning was not talked about as a sacrifice or acquittal of a chore but as succeeding in meeting a challenge or a shifting of life's priorities to realign with values.

Other barriers were danger and physical discomfort. Danger featured in the best experiences on Haunui for Bonni, Mama Liz and Sonny. For Mama Liz, the best experience was also 'one of the most exhilarating' because it was dangerous. Mama Liz laughed as she recalled day after day of rough weather at sea.

> *'[With the waka tilted at extreme angles], we couldn't stand up. We were harnessed onto the jack stays. You couldn't sit on the seats because the waves would wash you off' (Mama Liz).*

Bonni recounted observing the delighted reactions of one watch during 8m swells and how she shared their delight.

> *'They'd be chahoo-ing all the way because they'd be riding the waves. That dangerous element was really cool. I'd look out and see these giant waves over everyone's head. They'd be looking at [Captain] John, and John would be looking out the other way going, "Hard to port". I'd be seeing John's perspective, seeing these waves, going "Holy shit!"' (Bonni).*

Not everyone found extreme conditions exhilarating. Bonni observed that 'The other crew would be running around, running into each other. They'd be trying to figure it out'. A potentially terrifying scenario of heightened danger was exhilarating for some and a problem-solving challenge for others.

The same captain's response to different challenging conditions provided Sonny with a metaphor for psychological resilience. He recounted the event.

> *'As soon as we headed out, we got information that the second storm was coming from the East. Instead of hugging the coastline, [Captain] JR goes, 'Let's go out and meet the front of the storm and turn and ride that storm all the way into the gulf.' Sure enough, that's what we did. We went out about 40-50 miles then the front of that storm came, we did the jibe with the winds right behind us, strong winds. We had 5-6m swells right behind us and these guys angled the sails perfectly, even locked down the foe so we didn't have to stand on. The original plan was maybe four to five days. We rode the front of that storm. Took us 36 hours. Less than two days. It was an amazing trip. I learned so much about sailing but the best part of it was for my thesis. That's the metaphor that I'm going to use, a Sāmoan exploration of psychological resilience. When the storms hit, what do you do? How do you cope? You set the sails right, you set the foe right, you have the right people make the right decisions and you can ride the storm' (Sonny).*

The experience taught Sonny how good information, bold planning, clear communication with the crew and expert sail setting could maximise conditions and produce an even better outcome than possible in fair weather. The experience also informed his postgraduate studies in a seemingly unrelated field.

Pushing through physical discomfort in order to get the job done was another theme of the collaborators' best experiences. They laughed as they recounted days of sea sickness or of being wet and cold.

> *'When you got up, you were wet. As soon as you open the hatch, you got a face full of swoosh' (Mama Liz).*

> *'I was sick as hell. I'd have my bucket for spewing and my pot for stirring. I'd hold the pot and go "Weeee!" Then I'd run out, wash the pot, wash the spew. You're a bit cuckoo for liking it but it was mean' (Bonni).*

Collaborators seemed to revel in recounting their stories of high-risk conditions, extreme physical discomfort, or psychological challenges. They reported how confronting danger and overcoming extreme challenges provided a great sense of accomplishment and pride as well as some thrilling experiences and great stories.

Research process

Collaborators identified that they were learning about and interested in the research process. During the group talanoa, collaborators asked about my research. I explained the Kakala research methodology and the Talanoa Research Method and how crew members had helped me hone my research. Bonni said she found 'participating in this research enlightening'.

Later, when I shared back the initial key insights with collaborators during their individual talanoa, they responded that the key insights validated their personal journey and their perception of others' journeys. 'These insights are everyone's journeys,' affirmed Bonni. Therese concurred, 'They ring true, 100 percent. It's really reaffirming'.

Therese identified four elements of the research process that facilitated open sharing: trusted communal relationships, shared values, reciprocity (including manāki), building on other's korero. She also acknowledged that established relationships between collaborators and the researcher played a major part in collaborators' openness.

> *'We all know each other. There's a lot of trust and respect because we're all on this journey together. We have a mutual love of what we do and mutual respect that immediately creates a sacred space' (Therese).*

Collaborators reflected on the 'insider research' nature of the research and how it enabled them to share personal information that they might not have previously shared.

Therese reflected on the effect of co-designing the shared values of the talanoa with the collaborators. 'I acknowledge that you started the talanoa as values-based research so that put people in the right frame of thinking'.

Bonni and Therese both noted the value of hearing others' stories which stimulated and progressed collaborators' own thinking during both the group and individual talanoa. 'When you hear someone else's story, it makes you open up your own story'. Bonni also found the experience of participating in the research positive, 'Thinking about these things is cool. Just being here, part of the talanoa, I'm learning so much more'. They were also enthusiastic about the research, 'I'm excited that you're going into that level of depth'. As part of the Kakala methodology, it was important to keep the collaborators involved throughout all stages of the research. As an insider, that imperative was all the more important.

Therese acknowledged reciprocity as a helpful element of the research. 'We weren't hungry. We had food for the mind and body'. The collaborators provided their time and talanoa, I arranged the venue and food.

Learning and sharing knowledge Mālolo

Waka culture is one of knowledge sharing. 'You can wānanga on the ark, on the waka. The voyaging whānau share their knowledge. The waka guys are willing to share genuinely,' said Albert. While the previous Mālolo covered what the collaborators were learning, this Mālolo covers reasons for sharing knowledge and how that sharing happens. It discusses why knowledge-sharing is part of waka culture, how learning is happening, and compares Pacific with Western frames of reference and learning environments.

Responsibility to share

Collaborators identified a responsibility to share knowledge of voyaging, how it originated from Papa Mau Piailug, and the reasons behind it. 'Our responsibility to share, it's a fundamental kaupapa from Papa Mau' (Bonni). 'That's Mau's condition, to share the knowledge' (Sonny). Papa Mau Piailug's fear that traditional navigation would die in his own culture, just as it had in Hawaii (Lewis, 1978), gave rise to his condition that all who receive his voyaging knowledge receive also the responsibility to pass it on so it will never again be lost. The collaborators' understanding of the condition went beyond mere acknowledgement of its existence and blind obedience. Therese explained why the condition was necessary, 'What's the point of holding onto it and losing it again?' Sonny agreed, 'It's not right to keep this knowledge. That would be arrogant vanity'. Liss identified crewmembers' roles within the condition, 'We are just portals of knowledge'. Bonni spoke of responsibility to honour it, 'Now that I know, I have to do something'.

All the collaborators referred to whose knowledge they were learning and how it came to be shared with them. Many spoke of Papa Mau Piailug. One mentioned Polynesian Voyaging Society, the voyaging society that sought out Papa Mau, re-established the link to ancient Pacific voyaging knowledge, then shared and developed that knowledge across the Pacific with people like Hoturoa, eventually reaching Haunui captains and crew. They identified the modern whakapapa of the knowledge they were learning. See also Whakapapa Mālolo.

Do we risk dishonouring the ancestors by sharing their knowledge beyond a select group of rightful heirs? Or do we risk losing that knowledge by keeping precious ancestral knowledge within a limited and shrinking group of people? This had been Papa Mau's dilemma. Therese offered a modern-day scenario that perhaps provided a glimpse into Papa Mau's decision-making. 'I see it in craft groups. One Niuean mama will say to another, "What are you doing? Don't show the papa'a those things!" The other Niuean mama says she was gifted the knowledge from her mother and her mother was gifted it from God. "So, if people show an interest, we should share."' Therese explained how that sharing with outside people should be managed. 'We need safeguards so that knowledge doesn't get ripped off and commercialised'. To safeguard that intellectual property and prevent its commercialisation, Therese says the knowledge should be 'shared in the correct context. One should tell the whakapapa, ground it in atua'.

Knowledge is still being lost. Sonny recounted a story illustrating modern-day loss of voyaging knowledge that he came across during his PhD research in Sāmoa.

> *'There was a chant the navigators taught their apprentices that records stars you're supposed to observe on your way to a particular place. When I asked the old man, "Do you know the chant?" He goes, "Oh no, my parents talked about it"' (Sonny).*

Sonny went on to explain that the knowledge was not seen as relevant in the modern world so was not retained. 'We've forgotten so much about who we are and about ourselves now that those stories are gone'.

When the knowledge was seen as too important to lose, when it was considered a gift from God, and when it was shared within a strongly values-based context, collaborators felt free to act as knowledge sharers.

How we are taught

When talking about teaching styles, collaborators appreciated both structure and excellence while also enjoying some fun and chances to make decisions. They

contrasted the teaching styles on Haunui and Gaualofa. These contrasts were topical because the summer before the group talanoa, most had sailed on both waka during Gaualofa's 2018 visit.

Haunui's learning style was described as strict and structured learning though doing. It often involved repeated instructions and procedures. Collaborators appreciated Haunui training's formal nature, 'Te Toki is well organised', and the attention to command and excellence, 'On Haunui, you're pulling sheets to instruction. You learn to do what's required really well' (Shane). Conversely, on Gaualofa the teaching style was seen as enjoyable, experiential and participatory, '[Captain] Fani's training [on Gaualofa] is fun and hands-on' (Sonny).

Collaborators enjoyed 'jumping on in and trying things out' (Bonni) and appreciated opportunities to make decisions, 'On Gaualofa, your opportunity to learn is different. [Captain] Fani says, "We're here, we need to get there. Get us there. Come on, tell us when to tack"' (Shane). Opportunities for decision-making and problem-solving were seen as encouraged on Gaualofa more than Haunui however Bonni shared an example from Haunui. '[Captain] John made me quartermaster and I didn't really know what that entailed'. A sense of pride and accomplishment radiated from the collaborators when they shared their stories of experiential learning through real-time decision-making and problem-solving, of feeling trusted.

Collaborators gave examples of how a rigid learning environment sometimes led to negative consequences. Two collaborators observed that the rigidity on Haunui set an environment where deviation from a certain attitude or behaviour would attract derision, ridicule, and shame. One noted that once a crew member could demonstrate that they had mastered a skill, the rest of the crew would 'lay off you'. 'I was crying every second night because it was difficult mentally. The moment I realised I knew what I was doing was such a relief and such a sense of achievement'. Both these collaborators indicated that they endured uncomfortable, and at times distressing, periods of negative attention when they were learning new skills or when other crew members let them know their way of being did not conform. These experiences seem to be at odds with the values described above. I have chosen not to identify these collaborators because what they shared is more important than who shared it, and their relationships on Haunui are even more important. I also acknowledge that there is another side to these stories which I have not captured.

Knowledge sharing innovations

Some collaborators envisaged new innovative ways to share knowledge, even specifying what type of knowledge and their target audience. The innovations included wānanga with other voyaging societies, social enterprise, and youth development initiatives.

Wānanga with other waka voyaging societies was an initiative that Hoturoa envisaged where crew from different cultures would share and learn from each other. The curriculum would extend beyond waka-specific knowledge to other cultural elements. It would take the form of an extended wananga rather than the regular three-hour Saturday morning training sessions. He talked of 'a week-long wānanga where Sāmoan Crew come and share stories of waka migration or stories about kava or whatever. We need to know different cultures so when we travel, we don't look like idiots'. The benefit would be that learning about other Pacific cultures, crew learn more about their own culture and they can prepare to act in culturally appropriate ways when voyaging to other islands.

Shane dreamed of a social enterprise benefitting family and the crew of Marumaru Atua, Haunui's Cook Island sister waka hourua. His initiative would have paying guests sailing the islands of the Cook Islands and learning about 'the stars, traditional navigation and sailing' as well as visiting local sites of interest. Shane's motivation was to 'share knowledge' while 'interacting with people' and 'generating income' in an 'enjoyable way'. The safeguard against commercialisation was that the proposed venture would be run by members of Marumaru Atua and Haunui crew who would be well versed in the waka values.

Learning voyaging on Haunui was seen as a current and potential platform for youth development, 'to open up young peoples' minds' (Hoturoa). He explained using 'waka as a vehicle for education and leadership for young people'. Other collaborators identified benefits to youth as cultural identity, positive pathways, discipline, spirituality, mātauranga and history.

Young people access mātauranga through learning voyaging on Haunui. Shane described witnessing successful youth engagement during a mātauranga Māori programme that TTVT delivered in 2017 in collaboration with the Society of Māori Astronomy Research and Traditions (SMART) Trust. 'We're sailing around the Coromandel. We come to the marae. We're delivering to the rangatahi, the kids. It's all about the stars, voyaging. Everyone's really rapt and celebrating this programme'.

Hoturoa explained how waka can act as the hook to attract young people to access the ancient mātauranga that may be culturally relevant to them. 'Using waka as a platform can take their thinking beyond going on a ride on a waka but to mātauranga Pasifika'. Waka sparks curiosity in young people and a desire to learn.

Benefits to young people extended to personal development. Bonni talked of a young Māori crew member who had told her, 'If I wasn't here, I'd be doing what every other 18-year-old is doing. Drugs'. Mama Liz recounted the story of a young 'crew member who had been at risk' and who was brought onto the waka to help sort out life and explore career avenues'. Liss noted that waka 'is so good for teaching the younger generation discipline, spirituality, history and respect'. Sonny envisaged that waka could play a part in youth development through the realm of mental health or social service provision. He was already planning 'to use va'a as a floating classroom for community groups, education, social services, mental health'. Therese envisaged a 'mana restoration project' based on waka.

These existing and potential initiatives align with TTVT's objective 'to encourage the promotion of waka hourua as a focus for restoring mana (pride/prestige) to young people through education and involvement with waka hourua' (TTVT, 1999, pp. 3-4).

Involve the whole family

Collaborators talked about how they put into practice their responsibility to share their learnings by attempting to involve their family members. They employed various strategies to enthuse and recruit family members to the kaupapa. Where they succeeded, their familial bonds were strengthened too. Where they did not succeed, they learned how to let go.

Collaborators recounted stories of how they successfully shared with their family members the opportunity to learn - daughters, sons, a wife, nephews who joined a sail or took part in Saturday morning trainings or celestial navigation wānanga. The collaborators demonstrated a sense of pride and delight in leading their family members to the kaupapa.

> *'I feel really fortunate to have my whānau participate' (Bonni).*

> *'I can see my wife developing a love for being on the waka. It's pretty cool' (Shane).*

> *'I'm really enjoying learning about the navigation stuff and involving my son. He's two. He's got this obsession with the moon. We go outside, it's freezing as, he's, "Find moon. Find star". I'm enjoying*

> *knowing I can pass it on to that generation, to the younger ones that actually want to know' (Liss).*

For some, their familial bonds were strengthened through waka. Bonni's relationship with an uncle deepened when she discovered they had waka in common. Whereas in previous meetings they had merely exchanged greetings, Bonni's new-found knowledge of waka sparked a curiosity to know more about her uncle's life as a fisherman, and the uncle found a willing recipient of his lifetime of ocean observations.

> *'When I went back to Sāmoa and met up with my grandfather's brother's son, my uncle, we had something to talk about. He's a fisherman of 40 years and I've always respected him. When we'd go back to Sa[moa] we'd never have anything to talk about. [On my recent visit there] we sat there for hours talking about waka and water and birds. I was raised here [in Aotearoa New Zealand] and our lives were so different, but I think he felt connect to me because I knew a little bit about what he knew. We finally got to connect on a really awesome, fun vibe. Cracking jokes with my old uncle who I would die to see laugh. And he's cracking jokes with me. This is so cool'*
> *(Bonni).*

Sometimes the brokerage was correlated with distant ripples. Mama Liz's granddaughter had sailed once on Haunui and 'hasn't wanted to sail again but next year she's joining the Navy'. Mama Liz did not attribute the Haunui experience directly to her granddaughter's career decision but alluded to a family link that appeared to skip generations, 'The only other person I know that's done any water stuff was my grandad. He was in the French navy'. Although she was careful not to attribute causation, Mama Liz found a common ocean connection between her grandfather, herself, and her granddaughter.

Some young people from crew members' families sought out development opportunities by opting into learning on or about waka. Therese explained, 'My siblings didn't think much of it when I started on the waka but their kids are captivated by the stuff when I talk story. My oldest brother's kids are involved with the va'a now'. Bonni's daughter learned through actively engaging in conversations 'about stuff on the waka quite a lot like how to steer the waka'. Bonni shared how her daughter's enthusiasm inspired her teacher and provided the opportunity for her classmates to learn about waka, too.

> *'Another thing from [my daughter] going on about me being on a waka, her school came down [to the Maritime Museum]. Their teacher is Sāmoan. They're an inner-city school. It was their first visit to the museum. They talk about waka in their classroom now'*
> *(Bonni).*

After two weeks on Haunui for the SMART Trust programme, Shane's son, Jack, asked, 'When's the next one because this is really great?' Then he inspired his sisters, 'When Jack came home from Haunui we were all going through the training manual and the girls were wanting to be part of it'. Bonni's cousins were curious about their history, 'What are you doing on these wakas? Where are we from? So, what did we do?' Young people can be inspired to learn and access waka through their family members' learning.

Conversely, collaborators reported a variety of negative reactions from family members to the waka kaupapa, from limited tolerance to ridicule and active avoidance. Liss's family questioned her voyaging father's state of mind, 'Everyone thought he was going crazy, that it was a mid-life crisis'. His explanations of voyaging to reconnect with the culture and environment were met with mocking and incomprehension. Liss recounted the family reaction, 'You know, it takes 17 days to get from there to there. Why don't you catch a plane and be there in two hours?' Mama Liz's only brother actively avoided waka. He lives in Cook Islands. "I've been [to Cook Islands] twice on a waka and he still doesn't want to come. He doesn't want anything to do with it.' Liss spoke of her family members' ambivalence, 'My family's not really interested'. Three collaborators noted their family's limited tolerance of talk about waka. Mama Liz's brother limited waka conversation to destinations, 'He'll ask me where I've been but that's it'. Bonni's sister set a time limit, 'Every time I see her, she says, "You've got ten minutes to talk about waka stuff. That's all you get"'. Collaborators valued communal relationships and being part of the waka whānau, but sometimes their family back home did not share their same enthusiasm for waka.

All collaborators attempted to engage their families in waka life with varying degrees of success.

Pacific vs Western frames of reference

Through their learning on Haunui, collaborators became aware of Pacific ancestors' and Western belief systems or frames of reference. They provided examples to demonstrate their belief that the ancestors' belief systems were built on balance and that Western belief systems disrupted that balance, often with disastrous consequences for environment, relationships between men and women, interpretations of history and intercultural relations.

When contrasting their ancestors' Māori or Pacific ontology with Western, collaborators invariably favoured the ancestors' ways and lamented where ancient beliefs had been 'swapped out' (Ema) for Western beliefs, including Christianity. Ema lamented that

'when we swap out our belief system, we give up on those things that maintain balance and regulate our desires'. Regarding the environment, Ema explained that the ancient 'belief system set our laws for conservation, for relationships, the vā with every living thing on the planet'. In contrast, she observed that 'Western culture is disconnected from nature' so the balance is disrupted. On relationships between men and women, Ema spoke of the Sāmoan concept of vā tapuia or sacred space or sacred relationships and quoted the Sāmoan proverb, 'O le i'o i mata o le tama o le teine', the pupil of the brother's eye is his sister. In Sāmoan society a brother used to hold his sister in high esteem. With the introduction of Western concepts 'we can see that men don't respect women like the pupil of their eye. The man is now the head of the house and women are submissive' (Ema).

Although no one claimed to know exactly how the ancestors lived and what they believed, engaging in waka gave people the opportunity to replicate parts of the ancestors' world to experience what they may have experienced, and to learn from those experiences. Through learning on waka hourua, we can learn to 'live the world that the ancestors lived and how they operated,' explained Hoturoa.

Experiencing how the ancestors may have lived could even change the interpretation of historical evidence and so-called myths and legends. Referring to Tui Manua's solo, a chant that recounts ancient lineage, Sonny bemoaned a scholar's use of a 'pālagi frame of reference' to interpret the ancient chant. The 'frame of reference was [the theory of] evolution'. Sonny claimed that 'our old ways of thinking' were necessary to interpret the chant because 'we never had those [pālagi] ways of thinking, we never wrote it with that way of thinking. So to interpret it, we can't use foreign ways of thinking. We have to use our old ways of thinking'.

> *'When I reread it from a navigator's perspective, not only did the story make better sense, but it explains a whole lot more about Sāmoa's history and then one of the stories that's in there about Tagaloa. It's not about Tagaloa the creator god, but Tagaloa the chief navigator and then the story's seen from that perspective and talks about these battles and wars. I was so annoyed that he used a palagi frame of reference to try and interpret indigenous ways of thinking' (Sonny).*

Sonny suggested that 'connections to navigation' as a frame of reference provided a more relevant pathway to those 'old ways of thinking' that are 'so absent in our current culture in Sāmoa'. Hoturoa shared how 'stories suddenly make sense' from a voyaging frame of reference. Seen from a traditional voyaging perspective, stories such as Māui fishing up Te Ika-ā-Māui and slowing down the sun are not the stuff of myth and legend, they provide navigational and scientific information.

Hoturoa, Ema and Sonny shared a conviction that valuable lessons found in pre-contact stories were being lost as a result of the predominance of new stories. Ema lamented, 'Sāmoans have adopted Christian stories'. For Sonny, an opportunity to add to the understanding of fa'aSāmoa was missed when the science of evolution usurped the 'more culturally and scientifically appropriate lens of navigation'.

They attributed modern-day problems such as the loss of ancient knowledge and the breakdown of relationships as consequences of 'using a Pālagi frame of reference to interpret indigenous ways of thinking' (Sonny) and of swapping out belief systems. Ema asserted that the Sāmoan belief system 'set our laws for conservation, for relationships, the vā with everything'.

Collaborators also identified that intercultural relations were affected by worldviews, that Māori and Pacific worldviews sought connection whereas Western worldviews promoted separation and categorisation. The building of relationships was seen as key, 'You have to establish, maintain, nurture [relationships]. Teu le vā' (Albert). Albert and Mama Liz noted how crew found connection with each other by sharing their whakapapa, their mountains, and stories, and engaging in whakawhānaungatanga from a Pacific or Māori worldview. In fact, in reference to shared heritage, Ema went so far as to challenge the modern language that separates out Māori from Pacific as 'colonial ways of thinking'. Other Western elements that were identified as 'colonial ways of thinking' were 'transactional relationships' (Albert) and the Treaty of Waitangi which created a legal separation of Māori from their Pacific kin. This became a Mālolo in itself and is further discussed in the Māori are Pacific Mālolo.

Pacific vs Western learning environments

The collaborators observed that Aotearoa New Zealand is a Western country where the mainstream experience is firmly and overwhelmingly grounded in Western culture, not Māori. Haunui provided a learning environment within Te Ao Māori that resonated for Pacific peoples.

Some collaborators indicated a mistrust, aversion, or lack of faith in Western learning institutes and environments and explained how learning on Haunui could address gaps in education in Aotearoa New Zealand. Bonni and Ema dismissed Western learning institutes as being irrelevant or unwelcoming. Ema described a marae-based pilot programme in waka ama at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa as 'familiar, warm and non-threatening' compared to 'AUT which was like going into the fridge'. Talking about 'education for our youth', Bonni opined that 'life experience is your teacher, not Western institutes'. It should be noted that all collaborators knew that they were

contributing to a Master's thesis, that one was a university lecturer and another a PhD candidate. This may be another example of the duality of Pacific people living in a Western country, preferring one world but accepting the realities of the other.

Haunui provided a holistic learning experience similar to being back in the home island country or on the marae. Albert described learning on Haunui as 'a classroom for gestalt, a holistic, total language immersion and experience, a bodily knowledge system'. Although he had sent his children to Aoga Amata (Sāmoan language nest), he reported that 'it's not enough' and that the Haunui experience would 'ground' his children because it was more than mere 'knowledge transfer'. It was 'appreciation for identity, just like when you go home to Sāmoa'.

The environment for learning about voyaging was not always on the waka. To grow knowledge about how the ancestors provisioned their voyages, TTWH ran Kai Oranga, the Māori food sovereignty course by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi during the course of this study. Three collaborators and the researcher completed the course and two participants provided expertise to its delivery. From our first harvest, we provisioned 22kg of kumara for Marumaru Atua's 2019 voyage home from Tāmaki Makaurau to Rarotonga. Later we heard how the crew had prepared the kumara in different ways, including raw, and that they were eaten until the day before landing. In this case, the environment for learning about traditional voyaging was a garden.

There is 'a learning mindset' (Bonni) on Haunui. This is activated by the learning environment itself, the indigenous frame of reference, a variety of teaching styles, and the responsibility to share that same knowledge with others, especially family and young people.

Spiritual Connections Mālolo

This Mālolo brings together the spiritual connections the collaborators shared, who or what they connected with, the factors that promoted those connections, who those connections happened for, and why the collaborators shared such personal information during the talanoa.

When I started thinking about doing this thesis, I assumed Pacific crew members' learning was mainly knots, rules and parts of the waka in English and te reo Māori. I talked it over with a Tongan crewmate who quickly expanded my scope. For him, seeing spirituality in practice was the greatest learning. He had grown up seeing Pacific religious practices but they had seemed to him devoid of spirituality. He told me how waka life put spirituality into practice and that it finally made sense. That changed the

focus of my whole thesis. During the talanoa sessions, every collaborator talked of spirituality.

The spiritual connections

All described a connection or communion with a greater power or intangible beings who are not of this realm, to spiritual forces in geographic features, animals or even the waka himself. Sonny referred to 'that spiritual connection to the va'a and to the sea' as 'timelessness'. Collaborators reported feeling close to god (Liss, Sonny), the presence of ancient navigators (Sonny), or even an ability to communicate with passed loved ones (Sonny) or the waka itself. Spiritual connection was an important theme, be it connection to god, to ancestors, to the environment, or to the waka.

Collaborators spoke of connecting with passed loved ones through Haunui. One collaborator communed with both his late mother and with God on Haunui. Sonny recounted, 'I sat on Haunui for an hour talking to Mum, to God, to the va'a. It was really comforting for me. Even though I was by myself, I wasn't by myself'.

Collaborators offered reasons why people could connect with passed loved ones on Haunui. Passed loved ones are acknowledged on Haunui through carvings and the names of parts of the waka. Two collaborators (Mama Liz, Hoturoa) went further than acknowledging mere representation of passed loved ones, they stated that Hoturoa's passed loved ones were aboard. Mama Liz explained, 'his whole family is on the waka. You're not just coming onto a waka, you're coming into a family'. At a separate talanoa, Hoturoa said the same, 'When I'm not there, my whānau's on the waka'.

Haunui was a sanctuary (Shane) where people came to get what they needed (Ema, Liss), be it rediscovery of self after the death of a parent or a child (Ema, Sonny), sorting out one's career and studies (Ema, Sonny), experiencing a healthy, respectful whānau after growing up in a home with three generations of addiction and abuse (Ema) or after traumatic experiences on a different waka (Liss). As a Haunui captain, Ema used to receive messages from crew who had had 'a long as talk on Haunui' including a Sāmoan woman who 'would go and talk about stuff to Haunui'. Indeed, when needing to make a big decision, Bonni would arrive at the marina early 'so I could get a little minute with Haunui, "Ok, I've got to make this epic decision. What should I do?" And the answers would come to me'. People came to deal with crises. Haunui was a place where 'whānau who need to make a decision, come karakia' (Ema).

Spiritual connection with ancestors was experienced as visions or the appearance of specific seabirds. Sonny explained the experience of touching the foe for the first time, 'I saw all these ancient navigators come up alongside me. The hair on my arms are

standing up. Goosebumps everywhere. Teary eyed'. Mama Liz said that sightings of toroa (albatross) or kōtuku (white heron) were also indicators. These birds were significant as they were referenced in the names of Haunui's hulls, Pikikōtuku and Te Wharetoroa. Mama Liz noted that 'tōroa are often seen from Haunui'. Bonni had mentioned to Hoturoa her sightings of 'kōtuku or matuku, the cousin of kōtuku' around Haunui or the waka whare (crew house). Hoturoa's response to her had been, 'Ancestors are watching over you'.

Spiritual connection was sometimes felt with a physical element such as the waka, the ocean, mountains which, according to Western thought, are inanimate, without a life force. Sonny acknowledged a 'spiritual connection to the va'a, to the sea'. Liss felt a 'connection with the water' and Hoturoa felt 'like the waka was speaking to me'. For Shane, sailing on Haunui provided an opportunity to commune with land from a new vantage point, 'From the Mercury Islands all through the East Coast was spiritually and energetically magic for me. I was experiencing all sorts of connections to different mountains'.

Haunui is a spiritual place

All the collaborators recognised Haunui as a spiritual place. Collaborators identified four ways that learning voyaging on Haunui created opportunities for spiritual connection: protocols, parts of the waka, being on the waka, being in on the sea.

Firstly, spirituality is built into waka protocols such as karakia and learning tools such as mōteatea. Karakia establish and encourage spiritual connection between crew members, even when their cultures are different, 'We encourage different karakia. We understand how karakia unites people and gets people on the same wavelength. These are the basic operational fundamentals of all cultures' (Ema). She explained some karakia procedures.

> 'Every time we came together, we held hands and did our karakia. I
> learned the importance of our connecting, our upoko, our wairua
> going up. That's why we take our hats off, so there's no interruption
> to that connecting to the higher realms' (Ema).

Hoturoa challenged crew during a coastal voyage to question how we engage with spirituality and indeed our own abilities through karakia.

> 'Karakia, what's it for? How does it affect you? How much do you
> think about it? Do you just recite it? Think about the words, what
> they're calling upon. Are we just saying these things or are we
> creating a space for positive energy, to shield ourselves from
> negative energy? You can do great things. You can do stuff that's

super-human, like Marama staying up late and working early' (H. Barclay-Kerr, personal communication, October 24, 2017).

Mōteatea hold ancient navigational knowledge which is inseparable from spirituality. Bonni observed, 'we have mōteatea for voyages. Our ancestors worked it all out'. Even land-based ceremonies provided opportunities for spiritual connection. Sonny 'could see in my mind that our ancestors must be so happy' during a ceremonial presentation from the Gaualofa crew to King Tūheitia during a pōwhiri at Maketu Marae, Kāwhia in 2018. Haunui and Gaualofa were anchored barely 200m from the paepae.

Secondly parts of the waka have spiritual significance. Mama Liz pointed out the spiritual significance of the names of different parts of Haunui,

> *'Our port hull is named Pikikōtuku after Hoturoa's aunty. Our starboard hull is named after his late dad. And the hoe's named after his oldest grandson that passed away. Our carvings on our whare are from the whare nui from Turangawaewae. The carving behind the hoe underneath the solar panels, that's a carving about his [late] mum. His whole family is on the waka'* (Mama Liz).

She explained their protective factors, 'You've got people watching you, people that you can't see'. Bonni explained that 'that spiritual connection to all of Papa Hotu's whānau opens up for your own whānau to come and visit'. Mauri stones from around the country and the world sit at the base of the mizzen mast. They are believed to hold life force for protection. Liss took delight in her pre-school son seeking out the mauri stones, 'He would always go to the mauri stones. He would just go and touch. Seeing that just made me feel happy'. Certain parts of the waka have spiritual significance of protection or welcoming.

Physical connection on the waka was central to several intense spiritual connections. Standing on the waka, being out on the ocean on the waka, touching the foe, or lying in the log that would one day become a waka.

> *'When I stood on Haunui. I just [felt] all the power and the mana. It was the connection, generational, spiritual, ancestral. That's what I connect in with all the time. That's why I'm here so I just want to live and breathe what our tupuna did. The power going through. The presence of god. Energy. Whatever. When we were out in the Pacific Ocean, that's the closest I've felt to God, ever'* (Liss).

> *'The first time I met the log that would become Nga Hiraka mai Tawhiti. The second time, I lay in the log and felt like a tree. I wanted to see what it was like'* (Ema).

It was when Sonny touched the foe on Gaualofa for the first time that 'ancient navigators came alongside' him. Bonni made her 'epic decisions' aboard Haunui. Sonny communed with his late mother aboard Haunui. Shane communed with the land from Haunui. Although some of these experiences were not specific to Haunui, they occurred aboard waka hourua, or in a log that would become a waka hourua.

Fourth, the natural environment around waka sailing awakened the senses and enabled spiritual awareness and connections that we might normally ignore or deny. Bonni explains, 'On the waka, you fully connect with the elements. It opens out your connection with all things that aren't visible, but you can feel'. Therese suggested that spiritual connection is made possible because crew 'let go of burdens' on the waka and clear the mind to make way for other opportunities, including observing things we might otherwise miss or ignore.

All the spiritual connections the collaborators shared were positive. However, benefits of those connections were not available to all people.

There was a sense that Haunui himself decided who could stay, why, and for how long. Hoturoa's family's spiritual presence on Haunui was credited as the determining factor.

> *'They're watching how everybody behaves when they come. It may*
> *be because you may have had a need at that particular time. They*
> *will take care of you if you have respect for the waka' (Mama Liz).*

Reciprocal respectful and protective relationships existed not only between crew members but between crew and the waka. The crew's respect for Haunui was reciprocated by Haunui's protection of the crew.

Two collaborators expressed the belief that people's behaviour on the Haunui determined how long they would be allowed to stay and sort out their issues (Ema, Mama Liz). Some did not stay because their motivations were not compatible with the values of the waka. Mama Liz explained, 'Some people come on for the wrong reasons, they'll leave'. They described how the benefits of spiritual connections were only available to those whose actions aligned with Haunui values.

Trust

That the collaborators shared their spiritual experiences during the talanoa is significant. Collaborators acknowledged that spirituality is not a common subject of conversation in modern Aotearoa. Indeed, some speakers hesitated before sharing their spiritual experiences, labelling them as 'crazy stuff' (Bonni), 'crazy wairua experiences' (Ema), 'weird things' (Bonni), out of body experiences (Ema). They

shared anyway and no one listening showed any doubt as to the significance of those experiences. Bonni explained why collaborators felt safe to share deeply personal experiences, 'We depend on each other for life and death. I might not have contributed if I hadn't sailed with you.'

Their hesitation and self-mocking language acknowledge the modern cultural reality of malaise concerning spirituality. That they shared their experiences and beliefs concerning spirituality acknowledges their acceptance of it as well as a strength to overcome the malaise, be vulnerable and honour their beliefs.

Not only did all collaborators feel these spiritual connections, they acknowledged them during the talanoa and they acknowledged the importance of spirituality on the waka. Bonni put it simply, 'Spirituality matters'.

Identity Mālolo

The Identity Mālolo looks at identity. It covers the collaborators' experiences of dualities of identity, of belonging to two waka, two countries, two cultures. It explores Haunui's role in addressing collaborators' and others' sense of disconnection from their island cultures and in connecting and reconnecting.

Belonging to two

Duality of heritage and identity was a strong theme. Collaborators indicated belonging to two countries and two waka. They felt they belonged in Aotearoa New Zealand as well as in their home island country. They felt as a member of the crew of Haunui as well as of their home island country's va'a, namely Gaualofa or Marumaru Atua.

One person, Two waka

Gaualofa, the Sāmoan waka hourua and sister of Haunui, featured in the responses of many collaborators even though the group talanoa was focused on Haunui. At the time of the group talanoa, Gaualofa had just returned to Sāmoa after five months in Aotearoa. During that Aotearoa visit, several collaborators had contributed to her extensive repairs and maintenance in Tāmaki Makaurau, had joined the Gaualofa crew as part of a ceremonial presentation to Kingi Tuheitea at a poukai on Kāwhia Marae, had sailed her on her circumnavigation of Te Ika ā Māui or had sailed her home from Tāmaki Makaurau to Sāmoa. Some had been Gaualofa crew members before moving to Aotearoa and joining the Haunui crew. Thanks to these experiences and the dual sense of belonging to Gaualofa as well as Haunui, collaborators compared and contrasted their learning experiences and their connections to the two waka.

For three collaborators, Haunui was an Aotearoa-based substitute for their home waka hourua, Gaualofa and Marumaru Atua. After moving to Aotearoa New Zealand, two Sāmoan collaborators had missed Gaualofa and sought out Haunui to fill the void. Liss shared that she joined Haunui 'because Gaualofa wasn't here'. Sonny remarked, 'I feel transported back to Gaualofa when I'm on Haunui'. This was also true for Cook Island collaborator, Therese, who had first sailed on Haunui's Cook Island sister, Marumaru Atua. All identified as part of the Haunui crew, including those who still identified as crew for their home island waka hourua.

For the same collaborators, it is not surprising that they would interpret their Haunui experiences through their experiences on their home islands' waka. Their formative waka hourua relations were on their home islands' waka, namely Gaualofa and Marumaru Atua.

One person, Two countries

This sense of belonging and loyalty to more than one waka hourua was echoed in the collaborators' sense of belonging to different countries. Therese explained that plurality, 'New Zealand, Sāmoa, Cook Islands are all home. We're born and raised here. We all have many homes.'

All collaborators established that their lens was Pacific as they self-identified as Pacific. The collaborators' interpretation of their experiences on Haunui or in Aotearoa New Zealand came with the layers of belonging to their home island waka as well as to Haunui and belonging to the Pacific community of Aotearoa New Zealand. Their sense of belonging to the community of Aotearoa New Zealand was not so clear.

When collaborators spoke of home, it did not always refer to their country of residence, Aotearoa New Zealand. Haunui was a 'home-away-from-home' for Sonny. Hoturoa recognised the importance of Pacific people having in Aotearoa New Zealand a 'connection to something from home. That's strong when you live far away from home.' Home did not mean Aotearoa New Zealand.

Haunui has experienced the duality of belonging to two countries. Hoturoa observed that Haunui was originally named Va'atele and gifted to American Sāmoa. After being damaged in the 2009 tsunami, Va'atele was bought by TTVT, restored, and renamed Haunui. Haunui's sails still bear the original Sāmoan designs to honour his heritage. Hoturoa talked about the old traditions of canoes changing country and name, 'It's not a modern story to change a waka name. Just as it's not a modern story to travel from Sāmoa to Aotearoa'.

Haunui has experienced the duality of having undergone gender reassignment. Before the renaming process, Va'atele was referred to as female, like the other waka from the fleet of Te Mana o te Moana. During the renaming process, the waka was bestowed the name Haunui, after the Tainui orator John Haunui. Haunui also took on his gender.

Haunui embodies duality of heritage and identity, reflecting the same dualities of his Pacific crew. The issue of identity across the Pacific and with Māori is dealt with in more depth in the Māori are Pacific Mālolo.

Cultural connector

Haunui provides a cultural refuge and a home-away-from-home where Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand can be Pacific, especially when they feel disconnected from mainstream and from their own island cultures.

Disconnect from NZ

In contrast to Therese's sense of belonging to and claiming many home countries, other collaborators felt their island culture did not belong in Aotearoa New Zealand. Sonny put it plainly, 'Islanders can see they don't belong. We're guests here [in Aotearoa New Zealand]'. Bonni talked about experiencing little Sāmoan culture during her childhood in the South Island and how her family had had to adapt to Western culture. Sonny expressed some of the antipathy he sensed from Aotearoa New Zealand society when he stated, 'It's not New Zealand's responsibility to take care of our culture. If Sāmoans want to learn about Sāmoa, go home.'

These collaborators' comments indicated that Pacific ways were not welcomed in everyday Aotearoa New Zealand life. Although born and raised in Aotearoa New Zealand, some collaborators still felt disconnected from it. They expressed a view that mainstream New Zealand was represented by Western culture, and that they felt disconnected from that culture. Bonni observed, 'Western culture made me not confident. Waka made me confident'. They felt that Māori culture was not represented in mainstream New Zealand yet felt an affinity with Māori culture which is discussed in more depth in Māori are Pacific Mālolo.

Disconnect from and reconnect to the Pacific

Collaborators, although self-identified as Pacific, spoke of cultural disconnection from their home island cultures. Liss observed that Sāmoan people 'have been here [in Aotearoa New Zealand] for decades and are disconnected from our Sāmoan culture, our Pacific culture'. Bonni explained the same when she told of growing up outside of the Sāmoan culture. Bonni explained that 'there's a spectrum of cultural understanding' for New Zealand-born Pacific peoples'. At one end of the spectrum were people

proficient in the language and cultural protocols of their home culture, at the other end, those who knew very little if any. Alienation from their island culture led to a lack of confidence as not every New Zealand-born Pacific person felt welcomed by or acceptable to people of their own island culture.

Haunui created a safe space for the collaborators to learn about their Pacific identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. Bonni explained that Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand 'need places like Haunui to ground their identity. Waka provided a world to learn and develop their Pacific identity'. Haunui's role in cultural reconnection could be intergenerational. Albert chose Haunui to 'introduce some aspect of Pacific culture in New Zealand' to his New Zealand-born son. For those who did not feel confident in Pacific cultural practices, Haunui provided a safe entry point.

Participants found that their experiences on Haunui helped them interpret and accept their island culture better than their Western upbringing had. Bonni, who had grown up in Western culture in the South Island, found that through Haunui, she could quickly accept Pacific culture because waka life 'magnifies things, you have to think things through like cultural connections, and situations. Rituals come at you quickly'. Bonni explained the intensity of her learning experience, 'Waka has sped up my connection with the Pacific. It's like wifi as opposed to surface mail'.

Haunui's cultural brokerage led to Bonni's physical return to Sāmoa and was helpful for Māori, too. Bonni credited Haunui for her securing a place on the crew that sailed Gaualofa from Aotearoa to Sāmoa. 'That I went over with the Sāmoan waka was pretty cool but all of this wouldn't have happened had I not seen Haunui that day'. Sonny said, 'If Sāmoans want to learn about Sāmoa, go home.' Bonni did 'go home'. It was thanks to learning voyaging on Haunui that she had the opportunity to go and that she was culturally prepared to accept and maximise that opportunity. Ema identified that 'urban Māori who felt displaced and not connected to their tūrangawaewae' could find connection to themselves through waka which in turn helped them 'go back to their search for identity' and lead them to their tūrangawaewae.

On Haunui, collaborators not only felt safe to learn about their Pacific identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, they felt safe to **be** Pacific. 'Haunui is a place to be Sāmoan,' observed Sonny. Hoturoa explained that Haunui 'is a focal point for Pacific identity. It's not necessarily Sāmoan or Cook Island or Niuean. It's a Pacific anchor, a focal point for Pacific identity'.

Māori are Pacific Mālolo

After one collaborator challenged the premise of this study as being divisive, Māori and Pacific cultural distinction and cultural unity became a focus of discussion in the individual talanoa. Although her challenge occurred the morning of the group talanoa, she did not participate in that group talanoa. Her contribution was captured later at a one-to-one, face-to-face teu le vā (relationship-building) meeting. When the initial group talanoa findings were presented back to each collaborator during their individual talanoa, the Māori/Pacific challenge was mentioned. This sparked discussion on the topic that few had mentioned before. This Mālolo captures those varied responses.

Are Māori Pacific?

'Māori are Pacific but they don't act that way,' lamented Hoturoa, the only Māori collaborator. He identified a reluctance of Māori to identify as Pacific. Collaborators who had participated in Tuia 250 observed how the voyaging kaupapa negated the origin traditions of some iwi which did not include voyaging stories. Origin traditions of certain iwi are that they descended from patupaiarehe thus ruling out potential Pacific origins. Nevertheless, collaborators identified four Māori people who actively sought to reconnect Māori and Pacific peoples: Ngarungatapu Kerr (Hoturoa's father), Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu (Hoturoa's aunt), Hoturoa Barclay Kerr, and John-Reid Willison.

'Māori people are Pacific,' asserted Shane. 'Ease of acceptance of Pacific people on Haunui' attested to the relationship. Other collaborators agreed. Learning on Haunui challenges 'real time observation of life in Aotearoa' (Ema) through re-establishing connections between Māori and Pacific. That 'real time observation' refered to the separation of Māori and Pacific in general society in Aotearoa New Zealand. Hoturoa observed that for Pacific people, waka 'breaks prejudice about Māori people.' Liss agreed, 'It's obvious that we're one people but I didn't realise until this year'. Liss's epiphany was founded on shared stories. 'We all come from the same history. We have to reclaim those stories' (Liss). Others concurred, 'Our stories are the same, like Māui' (Ema).

Some collaborators accepted a distinction between Māori and Pacific as a sign of respect for the status of Māori as tangata whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand. While they accepted ancestral links that connect Māori and Pacific, they also acknowledged difference. 'Yes, we're the same people ancestrally but Māori are tangata whenua' (Sonny). 'Tangata whenua landed here. Whoever colonised the land [first] claims tangata whenua status' (Therese). They acknowledge that, unlike Māori, Pacific people

living in Aotearoa 'have many homes' (Therese). 'Māori and Pacific is not something Pālagis have imposed on us. We can always go home. We're visitors here' (Sonny). They also advocated that the special status of tangata whenua means that 'Māori must have pre-eminence and sovereignty in recovery of their knowledge' (Therese).

Therese described the relationship between Māori and Pacific as like siblings. She named the relationship as tuakana/teina. It was unclear if Therese viewed Māori as the tuakana due to their status as tangata whenua or as the teina as the descendants from Pacific. She emphasised the importance of the relationship, asserting that the restoration of the mana of both would assure their future. Whether Māori and Pacific are the same people or not, their relationships are strong.

There can be diversity in unity. Ema, who strongly objected to my separating out the Pacific crew for my study, then went on to identify how Māori differ from Sāmoans. She was one of two Sāmoan collaborators who lamented the loss of traditional Sāmoan knowledge through the arrival of Christianity, the promotion of Pākeha knowledge, and the subsequent devaluing of traditional knowledge. The sole Māori collaborator shared a belief that Sāmoan 'holders of the knowledge can hide behind Christianity' (Hoturoa). It was unclear why such knowledge holders would hide. Perhaps it was to safeguard the knowledge from others) and, if so, was it transferred to anyone at all or just allowed to disappear? Perhaps it was to safeguard the knowledge holder who may not have felt comfortable in an overtly Christian country to let on that they held information from before Christianity arrived in Sāmoa. Te Ao Māori offered a glimpse into how Sāmoans once may have been.

> *'Māori are the last people to arrive on the islands. They still live and breathe their wairua and connections with ngā atua. Sāmoans don't do that anymore' (Ema).*

Māori waka

Just as there was debate about the relationship between Māori and Pacific peoples, collaborators' opinions were divided on whether Haunui is a Māori waka or not. Both Bonni and Hoturoa identified Haunui as 'a Māori waka' whereas Albert 'never thought it was a Māori va'a' and Bonni recalled first sighting Haunui and thinking, 'That's one of the Pacific wakas'.

As Haunui's owner, Hoturoa explained, 'The bottom line is the basic cultural foundation is a Māori foundation'. The foundation is Māori but the crew is not, 'we've never had an all Māori crew. We've always been mixed'. The primary kaupapa surrounding Haunui is

Māori. Other cultures are welcomed but 'we're not forcing anyone to be Māori'
(Hoturoa).

Haunui's Pacific connection runs deeper than the designs on his sails, his Pacific
sisters, his Sāmoan first owner or his Pacific crew members. Collaborators identified
Tainui connections with the Pacific through recent and ancient history. Te Toki
Voyaging Trust is a family trust, the objectives of which are to serve certain Tainui
rohe. Mama Liz had always felt a tie with Tainui because her Cook Island cousin had
been adopted by Princess Te Puea of Tainui. She was named Mahinarangi, the name
of the wharenui at Turangawaewae, Ngaruawahia, Waikato. In February 2018, Sonny
visited Hoturoa's marae, Maketū Marae, Kāwhia to join the crews of Gaualofa and
Haunui on the occasion of the poukai, Kingi Tuheitea's annual visit. To honour
Hoturoa's invitation and hospitality, the Gaualofa crew made ceremonial presentations
to the king. Sonny described a sense of reviving those ancient connections.

> 'It was more than honouring our host by being there. There was a
> meeting of thousands of years ago when vakas were there. Us being
> here, being part of this, we weren't the first ones to make the
> connection between Tainui and Sāmoa. This goes back thousands of
> years. I could see in my mind's eye that our ancestors must be so
> happy that we've forged this connection again. We're not here by
> fluke. We're not here for our own sake. We connect a lot of dots by
> being here. I'm not surprised we feel at home here. It's right' (Sonny).

Coconut Crew

'I'm not surprised by the links between the rest of the Pacific and Haunui. Our
connection is thousands of years old,' said Sonny about ancient connections being
rekindled through Pacific people crewing on Haunui. Although several Pacific crew
members' involvement on Haunui pre-dated the formation of the Coconut Crew, it is
interesting to note how and why the Coconut Crew was set up, who was invited onto it,
and what its aims were.

Sonny explained how the Coconut Crew began. In January 2017, Sonny joined Haunui
after an introduction by his Gaualofa captain to the Haunui captain. A full schedule of
short sails during the Auckland Anniversary Weekend Waka Festival, Te Herenga
Waka in late January 2017 required extra hands. Sonny secured permission from the
Haunui captain to put a call out to other Gaualofa crew who were in Tāmaki Makaurau
to come and bring others.

> 'The muster post went out [on Facebook]. The post was shared 100
> times and 'liked' 200 times. I was amazed where it was being posted,
> Australia, Canada. Fani messaged me from Sāmoa saying 531pi had
> requested an interview and she directed them to me. I was

*interviewed by Radio 531pi and newspapers. About 30-40 people
came to open days and training days on Saturday and Thursday
mornings. All learned to crew for the Waka Festival. Two weeks later,
I called a meeting at Denny's for those who had crewed at the waka
festival. We asked, 'Do you want to close?' Everyone said, 'No, let's
carry on. Then we called ourselves the Coconut Crew'" (Sonny).*

At the Denny's meeting, members expressed a desire to build their own Pacific waka
and use it in Aotearoa New Zealand for Pacific youth development. Sonny says, 'Hotu
is happy to keep us under his wing until we're ready'.

At the time of the group talanoa, there were about thirty members on the Coconut Crew
Messenger chat group. Some were Pacific. One was Pālagi but used to work in
Sāmoa, another was Tainui, yet another did not self-identify as a member of the
Coconut Crew and yet was still a member of the Coconut Crew chat group.

Ema's funeral

Sadly, Ema passed away before this research was completed. In death as in life, she
continued to challenge the separation of Māori and Pacific.

The evening of her passing, a Sunday, the Sāmoa-based president of the Sāmoa
Voyaging Society (SVS) contacted three SVS members who were based in Tāmaki
Makaurau. One is a collaborator of this research, I am another. He requested that we
organise and present three items on behalf of the society the next day: a wreath of
flowers, an envelope of cash, and a speech to honour the woman who had captained
the Sāmoan waka, Gaualofa, as well as Haunui.

Split between three people, these duties would have been straight-forward except for
the fact that two of the three would sail the next morning on Haunui to deliver Ema's
body to the marae where she would rest during the days before her funeral. I was to be
the only land-based SVS member and ultimately responsible for the SVS presentation.

The cash and floral requests were resolved within hours with late-night internet
searches and frantic back-and-forth midnight chats in Messenger. The matter of an
appropriate speaker took much longer and caused me the greatest concern even until
the next day and within hours of the ceremony. In the Messenger chat, several names
of eloquent people with lofty chiefly titles were proffered but none were confirmed to
attend. Sonny was another good option but was aboard Haunui and there was no
guarantee he would be permitted to leave the waka at the designated presentation
time. I prepared myself for the worst-case scenario, that I would need to make the
speech. More hasty Messenger volleys ensued and soon I was practising my Sāmoan

speech. The wreath was in the boot of the car, the envelope stuffed with card and cash, the speech short, simple yet comprehensive. I was ready.

As Haunui arrived in the bay, cultural and maritime protocols merged. The conch shell called from the deck, the pūtatara from the shore, a haka, the engine, the beaching, the anchor. A hau kainga friend who lives at the marae stood by me on the beach. We checked in with each other. 'Yes,' she reassured me and herself. All was ready at the whare nui, the place for the coffin, the seating, the kai karanga. 'I'm ready, too,' I told her. 'I've been asked to represent Sāmoa Voyaging Society and I've got it all set. When do you think would be the best time for me to make the presentation speech?' She looked at me with alarm. 'Oh, I don't know. Women don't normally speak at pōwhiri'.

I experienced one of those Jaws moments where something horrifying suddenly comes into sharp focus. Women have speaking rights in Sāmoan custom. Indeed, Ema herself held the chiefly title of Lilomaiapolima. On the marae where she was about to be welcomed, women do not have speaking rights. I had so fully focussed on honouring Sāmoan protocol that I had not considered the protocols of the people of the very place where I stood.

In the end, Haunui kaumatua Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr represented all voyaging societies on the marae, including SVS. Later, when we Sāmoans debriefed the situation, we realised it would not have been appropriate for anyone from SVS to make a speech anyway because we had not prepared a fine mat to present. Gifts of flowers and money in a card do not warrant announcement by a speech in Sāmoan protocol. By good fortune, we avoided committing cultural faux-pas in both the local and Sāmoan contexts.

Even in death, Ema continued to force us to examine our cultural protocols and provided another opportunity for Māori and Pacific people to present as one.

Alava'a Mālolo

The Alava'a Mālolo, the smallest mālolo, captures how collaborators shared the various pathways that lead them to Haunui, their own personal alava'a. 'Alava'a is observation of waves and wind so you can know the way the va'a will go' (Sonny). It is the awareness and interpretation of signs that indicate a pathway. For some, their ocean genealogy was the starting point. For most, seeing or hearing about Haunui or other waka hourua piqued their interest. After that, they had to find someone who could introduce them to the correct authority who would admit them to the crew and Haunui himself.

Ocean genealogy brought Pacific people to Haunui, according to some collaborators. Ema claimed that Pacific people came to voyaging because 'it responds to their bones' and that their 'DNA responds to the kaupapa even though they don't get it straight away'. Shane shared "I've got a lot of Pacific and ocean travelling genealogy which first of all is a mental thing and then when I got to be on the ocean it was a real place of warmth and familiarity.' Both Shane and Ema identified that people were unaware of their ocean genealogy but that it became clear to them once they were engaged in learning traditional voyaging. This sense of identifying with voyaging is captured in the title of this research, 'Tātou o tagata folou', we are voyaging people. It is also explored further in the Identity Mālolo.

Two collaborators recounted it was the mere sight of waka hourua that sparked their interest. Bonni recounted, 'I saw Haunui sail past. I thought, "That's one of the Polynesian wakas". I remember pointing at the waka going, "I'm going to find you"'. Therese referred to 'manifesting' her intention to sail on waka hourua. She recounted, 'We were going to see Marumaru Atua, Gaualofa and Haunui come in [during the Mua voyage]. That was the moment I went, "I'm going to be on Marumaru Atua"'. Therese joined the crew of Marumaru Atua then later joined Haunui via her connection with Ema.

Interestingly, waka hourua presented the first sailing experience for all but two collaborators. Had sailing itself been the drawcard, they might have joined other vessels' crew. It was waka hourua in particular that drew them to make first contact with sailing.

It was important for collaborators to be introduced by a kind of go-between or broker. All collaborators identified the people who were instrumental in brokering relationships that would eventually lead them to crewing on Haunui. Two identified a Haunui crew member who is Cook Islander, two others identified a Haunui crew member who is Sāmoan, Sonny. Others credited the brokerage roles to current and past captains of Gaualofa, Marumaru Atua, Ngahiraka, Aotearoa One and Haunui. Albert intentionally opted to engage a Pacific protocol in order to access Haunui, stating, 'in a proper Sāmoan way, you can't just rock on up and do something. It's the kind of friendship you make, the vā fa'aaloalo'.

The Alava'a Mālolo acknowledges layers of relationships which are further addressed in the Whakapapa Mālolo.

Hoturoa and Whakapapa Mālolo

Whakapapa was important to the collaborators. Their own whakapapa established links between each other and reinforced pan-Pacific identities. Whakapapa of voyaging knowledge ranged from ancient sources such as Tangaroa, Maui, Kupe, Hoturoa (captain of Tainui) to the modern such as Papa Mau Piailug, Polynesian Voyaging Society, Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr and other TTWH captains. Whakapapa of Haunui took them to Sāmoa, Tainui and Hoturoa and his family. All identified Hoturoa's part in the whakapapa of the knowledge they were learning and in the whakapapa of Haunui, the waka hourua they were learning on.

Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr is one of the founders of Te Toki Voyaging Trust and captain of Haunui. He was also a collaborator of one of the individual talanoa. While Hoturoa talked of why it made him happy to see pan-Pacific culture on the waka, collaborators expressed gratitude for Hoturoa's generosity of spirit and resources, and his inclusive ethos towards Pacific peoples.

Collaborators referred to Hoturoa's whakapapa in the voyaging world from both ancient and modern perspectives. They acknowledged Hoturoa, the captain of the Tainui waka which brought our modern-day Hoturoa's ancestors. The collaborators postulated that Hoturoa's devotion to waka was 'preordained'. They also placed Hoturoa in the whakapapa of the modern knowledge they are receiving. They recited the lineage of our training coming from the ancestors to Papa Mau Piailug, to Hoturoa, to Haunui captains Ema and JR, to us.

Hoturoa's generosity of relationships and resources is substantial, both the visible, the unseen and lesser known. Mama Liz recounted that the hulls were named after Hoturoa's aunt and father, the hoe is named after his first grandson, and carvings under the solar panels reference his mother. 'His whole family is on the waka. You're not just coming onto a waka, you're coming into a family' (Mama Liz). Hoturoa elaborated, 'When I'm not there, my whānau's on the waka. When they're going somewhere, they carry our family's kaupapa'.

Lesser known to the crew was Hoturoa's financial sacrifice. 'If you look at how he paid for Haunui, he used his Kiwisaver. So we're actually enjoying his children's inheritance. He's sharing it with all the Pacific people' (Mama Liz). Pacific crew train and sail on Haunui without making financial contribution, instead they volunteer their time to crew, conduct maintenance or help with administrative tasks.

Hoturoa explained why 'seeing Pan-Pacific culture on the waka makes me happy'. He spoke fondly of his father attending boarding school with boys from around the Pacific, how the boyhood friendships endured into adulthood, and how Hoturoa grew up with people from around the Pacific staying at his home. Mama Liz noted her own personal Pacific connection with Hoturoa's family. 'He's always been inclusive with the Pacific islands. I guess that comes from his heritage that they adopted Pacific islanders into their tribe, like my cousin [from Cook Islands]'. Having Pacific people crew on Haunui was more than recreating happy nostalgic memories for Hoturoa. He understood the importance for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa to have a 'connection to something from home' because 'that's strong when you live far away from home'. He also saw benefit for Māori to see Pacific people on Haunui as they could act as a reminder of Māori ancestry. 'Māori are Pacific but they don't act that way.' There is mutual benefit in Māori and Pacific crewing together.

Hoturoa's generosity of spirit infused his words, 'Success is succession'. He embodied this motto through the support he provided the trust as well as his young captains. Succession also extended beyond the trust. In alignment with the Coconut Crew's plans of 2017, Sonny planned to set up a voyaging society for Pacific people based in Aotearoa New Zealand. True to his motto, Hoturoa was supportive, along with other Haunui captains, 'Stan, Hotu and JR, they've all said when we're ready, they'll help us establish our own organisation' (Sonny). Hoturoa's vision of success extended beyond Haunui and allowed Pacific people to use their experience and knowledge gained from Haunui in their own ways.

During this research, collaborators observed that Te Toki Waka Hourua not only grew itself, it helped other voyaging societies. TTWH added Hinemoana to the fleet and took over operations of Te Matau a Māui, both sisters of Haunui based in Aotearoa New Zealand. Also during this study, Te Toki Waka Hourua provided essential support during the visits to Aotearoa of Haunui's Sāmoan, Cook Island and Tahitian sisters, Gaualofa, Marumaru Atua and Fa'afaite.

The collaborators' acknowledgement of whakapapa underpinned their learning on Haunui. They recognised their own whakapapa and how it connected the crew, the whakapapa of the knowledge they were learning, and the whakapapa of Haunui himself.

Conclusion

This chapter is a descriptive account of the collaboration and interactions of the voyaging crew and what traditional voyaging meant to them. The development and use of Mālolo guide the account and incorporate the analysis of the knowledge shared.

Even though I decided against using the Fonofale model for thematic analysis, it is interesting to note that some of the Māolo themes ended up aligning with elements of the Fonofale model after all. The strong themes of 'identity' and 'spirituality' aligned with the Fonofale elements of 'culture' and 'spiritual'. The 'Other' Fonofale pou covering gender, sexuality, age, socio-economic status, education, and employment suddenly came into sharp focus when the 'Dignity/Mana' line of Mālolo scales aligned almost perfectly.

The eight Mālolo presented in this chapter are the flying fish that landed on the deck, the themes that gave themselves up from the talanoa. I am confident that it is a faithful presentation of the collaborators' data because, through the Mālolo process, they informed the development and analysis of the findings through their sorting, sifting and analysis of their own data.

It is intended that this research benefit people ranging from the research participants and other crew members, to Te Toki Voyaging Trust, to organisations working in Pacific development and the people they aim to serve. These findings illustrate how traditional voyaging on Haunui has benefitted the collaborators and the communities around them. In the next chapter, I will consider how traditional voyaging on Haunui delivers on all elements of Pacific development.

Chapter 6: Discussion of the findings

Introduction

In this chapter I address the research question, "Tātou o tagata folau. How is Pacific development happening through traditional voyaging on the waka hourua, Haunui?' At the heart of this is the question of how the collaborators' experiences on Haunui may demonstrate what Pacific development really is. I compare the Mālolo themes of the collaborators' responses with the six key elements of Pacific development as well as with what is already known about Pacific peoples in Aotearoa, about traditional voyaging and, out of curiosity, about international development.

Although collaborators' voices have helped shape and hone my thinking, I chose which ideas to accept and which not to include. True to the Kakala methodology, the Mālolo data analysis built in the collaborators' active participation in the research. Their voices came through strongly in the findings and were reemphasised through later discussions, particularly during the Individual Talanoa and Mālolo data analysis phases. However, the following analysis and discussion are my own.

During the tui stage, the key elements of Pacific development were presented to the collaborators as coconuts on a hand-drawn poster. The findings were presented as Mālolo, flying fish. In the discussion of the findings, we see how well the fish go with the coconuts and discover that, like the Samoan dish, faiai i'a, they go very well indeed.
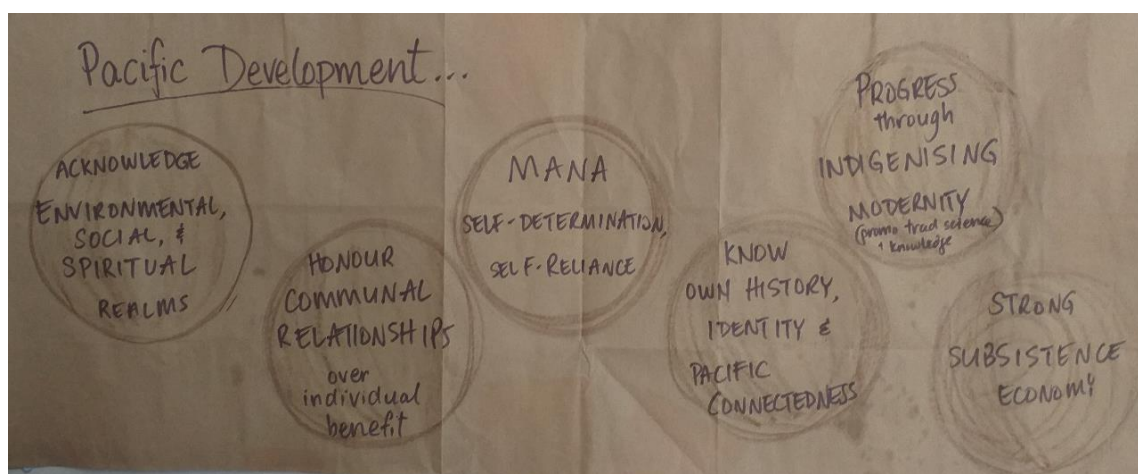
Figure 20: Key elements of Pacific development, presented as coconuts

Figure 21: Faiai i'a - fished cooked in coconut cream. Photo used with permission of Mama's Polynesian Soulfood

Acknowledging environmental, social, and spiritual realms

Our human relationships with the spiritual and environmental realms are essential to dealing with modern issues. In order to address those modern issues, Thaman (2017) advised we access our deep consciousness, our connection with environment and self, our own spirituality. While the modern environment suppresses those very elements in our lives, learning on Haunui acknowledged all realms.

Findings of this study were consistent with Hau'ofa (2000) who noted Pacific worldviews of deep consciousness of connectedness with our environment and with Mita (2016) who identified Māori and Pacific peoples' whakapapa connection to the ocean. Collaborators described their own essential connection with the environment as their ocean genealogy, how voyaging was in their DNA and responded to their bones.

Surprisingly, spirituality came through as a strong theme from collaborators even though it did not feature as one of my initial expectations. It is possible that the importance of spirituality was a surprise to me because it was something that I had felt deeply and privately as a crew member. Is a personal experience that everyone has but does not talk about a shared experience? Is it shared because we all experience it? Is it shared when we talk about it? The findings were a reminder of the importance of treating people as whole beings, in research and in development.

The study raises the possibility that international development should acknowledge spirituality within its development goals. Collaborators explained how their various spiritual connections through learning traditional voyaging had encouraged them to

challenge and deal with modernity. This is consistent with the literature which identified people's deep spiritual and environmental connections as the key to addressing modern humanitarian issues (Hau'ofa, 2000).

Another issue arising from these findings is the potential that accepting the spiritual might just be the key to unlocking even more indigenous knowledge. In a world that values evidence-based initiatives, there is potential to include ancient evidence that had been 'outlawed and relegated to the realms of myth and legend' (Hoturoa) for the past two hundred years. Ema, Sonny, Hoturoa's observations aligned with Lewis (1972) who spoke about some Pacific peoples' negative attitudes towards pre-Christian ways and knowledge. That cultural cringe was demonstrated by the perceptions that old time practices were inspired by the devil (Lewis, 1972). Challenging the denegration of cultural knowledge may well unlock old knowledge as well as liberate Pacific peoples from a spiritual version of cultural cringe. The effect of Pacific renewing respect for *aso anamua,* the time before Christianity, and its impact on indigenous knowledge may be worthy of further investigation.

The study suggests that in order to address modern humanitarian issues in an appropriate, efficient and sustainable way, Pacific development needs to acknowledge the existence of the environmental, spiritual and social realms in the first place, to understand their interrelation, and to strengthen and build upon the relationships between them or teu la vā.

Honouring communal relationships over individual benefit

Findings from this study suggest that initiatives in Pacific development should honour individuals' sense of responsibility to the community and ensure a clear flow of benefit to others from the individual receiving the development opportunity. These findings are consistent with writing that argues that Pacific development seeks to benefit the community rather than just the individual receiving the development opportunity (Jones, 2000) and that 'individualization for its own sake is abhorred' (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 44). The collaborators identified how their individual introductions to learning voyaging on Haunui were through communal relationships, and how they felt a sense of duty and even delight in sharing their learning with others.

The study found that collaborators sought to benefit the wider community, not just themselves, the person receiving the development opportunity (Jones, 2000). They recognised the importance of communal benefit over individual gain when they acknowledged Papa Mau's condition that it is the responsibility of all who learn traditional voyaging to share it and how, conversely, it is selfish and short-sighted to

keep the knowledge to oneself. This element was demonstrated at a more mundane level when, during the group talanoa, collaborators relaxed and enjoyed their kai having been reassured that a similar meal had been provided to rest of the crew. They accepted benefits of knowledge and of kai when they knew those benefits would be shared. They spoke of being the alava'a for others in their family, introducing their loved ones to waka hourua with varying success. The study also found that learning occurred through honouring communal relationships such as service to Te Toki Waka Hourua, captains, crewmates, and family. Collaborators served and supported the captains of the waka just as they might serve the chiefs of the village. In return they received guidance and protection. These findings may help us to understand that Pacific development should involve opportunities to involve the whole family or be able to demonstrate how its benefits can ripple out to the wider family, village, or community. No recipient of a development initiative should feel like the sole beneficiary. They should feel motivated to share its benefits and know how to do so.

An interesting finding that seemed contrary to the element of communal benefit was that learning traditional voyaging was a form of personal development. Collaborators identified how learning traditional voyaging made them feel enriched and empowered. They explained that their learning about traditional voyaging was more about mindset, values, lifestyle, leadership, resilience, learning about learning, and behaviour than knots and collision regulations. This apparent contradiction may be explained when one considers the collaborators' motivation to continue learning was their desire to share the same benefits with others, especially young people.

These findings suggest that Pacific development should provide opportunities to Pacific people for personal development that is grounded in Pacific values and that, in turn, can benefit their community. The role of personal development in Pacific development and international development initiatives is worthy of further study.

The study also found that for those who had a connection to the waka through a person, that same person provided access to the learning. For those without such a human go-between, they had to create a connection with a captain who would grant them access after they had shown enough interest by 'liking' enough posts on social media, proven they could swim a certain distance or achieved their Day Skipper's certificate. In reviewing the literature, no information was found that talked about social permission to access a learning group, however one collaborator made it clear that that was exactly what his Sāmoan mother had taught him.

> 'You had to do things in a proper Sāmoan way. So you can't just rock
> on up and do something. It's really around the kind of friendship you

> *make, the vā faaaloalo, the kava groups. So I turn up. I come when I can and one day I can go out on the ocean' (Albert).*

These findings suggest that Pacific development opportunities need to acknowledge that pathways for people to be involved rely on existing relationships or knowing how to create and nurture a new relationship.

Another interesting finding that seemed contrary to the element of communal benefit was that favourable learning conditions sometimes required temporary release from wider communal obligations. Collaborators appreciated the opportunity to concentrate on the waka only, without cellphones, 'distractions of New Zealand' (Shane) or 'mama duties' (Bonni). Through waka, people were released from external pressures for a moment which enabled them to focus their attentions on other things that mattered to them such as a realignment of values, rediscovering or revaluing their island culture, a new desire to learn about their whakapapa, or simply to master a new knot. This finding suggests that Pacific development opportunities need to allow people relief from certain communal obligations in order to provide favourable learning conditions that will, eventually, serve the communal.

Mana, self-determination, self-reliance

Could strengths-based approaches be the key to Pacific peoples reclaiming the mana, self-determination, and self-reliance that history shows they once enjoyed? If so, does that mean that deficit-thinking about the Pacific and its peoples contributes to the erosion of mana, self-determination, and self-reliance which, in turn, contributes to the very issues that international development seeks to address?

Mana restoration

The study found that collaborators felt their mana restored and a new sense of dignity through learning voyaging on Haunui. They appreciated an environment where they felt accepted holistically. They spoke with a sense of agency, hope and excitement rather than resignation. These findings are consistent with Jones (2000) and Meleisea (2000) who asserted that Pacific development seeks to restore and enhance mana of the people it serves, promoting self-determination, self-governance and self-reliance (Jones, 2000; Meleisea, 2000).

Erosion of mana was found to manifest in several ways in Aotearoa. Collaborators felt that they were not quite Kiwi enough and not quite Pacific enough. They talked about constant reminders of their otherness, be it as members of the rainbow community, people who look different from the mainstream, or who come from families who suffer

hardship. Female collaborators struggled with Christian patriarchy that New Zealand's mainstream culture is built upon and that has been embedded into modern Pacific culture. These feelings were consistent with literature that identified colonialism as the root of Pacific people's awareness of belittling social attitudes by mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2020; Vaioleti, 2013). It can be suggested, therefore, that the link between colonialism and the erosion of mana be acknowledged in any Pacific development initiatives so that it may be addressed, rectified, and not entrenched.

The study found that Pacific people are restoring their mana and regaining pride and confidence through waka by rediscovering and growing knowledge about the great scientific and technological achievements of their ancestors. This finding was consistent with Nainoa's work to restore the mana of his ancestors through his work in wayfinding (Finney, 2003). Restoration of mana involved the rejection of external control over indigenous knowledge, challenging the denigration of cultural knowledge (Hoturoa), peeling back and discarding unhelpful and belittling theories such as accidental drift or paddling across the Pacific.

These findings may help us to understand that Pacific development initiatives should take a strengths-based approach to Pacific knowledge rather than using external deficit-thinking. Hoturoa explained, 'The foundations are there. We just need to take away the weeds'. Pacific development initiatives should avoid introducing any more exotic weeds.

Tuakana-teina

The study found that the tuakana-teina model provides Pacific development with a model that encourages mana-enhancing self-determination and self-reliance. Collaborators identified a tuakana-teina relationship between TTWH, a Māori voyaging society, and Pacific voyaging societies. TTWH is comparatively strong and well-resourced, much like Aotearoa New Zealand is strong and materially well-resourced compared to island neighbours. TTWH provided other voyaging societies access to resources (such as grants), mana-enhancing opportunities (such as Tuia250, the poukai at Kāwhia), as well as crew to aid with maintenance, repair, or sails. This relationship honours the key elements of community over individual, Pacific interconnectedness, and even subsistence economies.

These findings raise intriguing questions regarding the relationship between development and perpetuating dependency (Jones, 2000; Meleisea, 2000). They indicate that Pacific development should promote self-determination, self-governance,

and self-reliance. However this may not sit well with donor countries whose underlying development concerns may be strategic considerations for their own security (Hau'ofa, 2000). Pacific self-determination and self-governance would challenge imperial powers and their colonial relationships within the Pacific. It might be a few steps too far for imperial powers, including international development agencies, to give up so much power. The tuakana-teina model may provide a more palatable step in the right direction.

There is an opportunity to decolonise Pacific development by successful Māori or Pacific organisations leading relevant Pacific development initiatives. Māori people are helping Pacific people restore their own mana through decolonising themselves. Collaborators identified how Māori are more in touch with their atua than Pacific peoples and value their voyaging cultural heritage more than, for example, Sāmoans. They acknowledged it was Māori who rescued and rebuilt Va'atele, which became Haunui. In doing so, an uncomfortable possibility was revealed - that Va'atele was not treasured because Sāmoans try to forget about *aso anamua*, the time before Christianity. Te Toki Waka Hourua (and Polynesian Voyaging Society) are leading decolonisation through sharing ancient and modern voyaging knowledge with their Pacific kin. Traditional voyaging is a vehicle for decolonisation.

It may be time for international development agencies to reconsider their practice of sending non-Pacific, 'outsider' experts into the Pacific. A further study focused on comparing Pacific development delivered by kaupapa Māori or Pacific ways with other types of development in the Pacific is worthy of investigation.

E fofo e le alamea le alamea is a Sāmoan proverb which means that the solution for issues affecting a community can be found within the same community. It refers to a practice where, if you are stung by the alamea (crown-of-thorns starfish), you should turn the starfish over and apply it to the affected area so it can suck out the sting. The remedy for the alamea's toxic sting is the alamea itself. So it should be for Pacific development. Just as research can be defined as insider or outsider research, the same can be true of development using a tuakana-teina approach. Te Toki Waka Hourua is a Māori organisation delivering Pacific development outcomes for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand and in the Pacific. This research has illustrated other examples of Sāmoan and Tahitian organisations building capacity in other parts of the Pacific. These findings help us understand that Pacific development initiatives led by Pacific people for Pacific people based on Pacific values can enhance mana and promote self-determination while maximising the Pan-Pacific identity.

Knowledge of history, identity, and Pacific interconnectedness

Identity

One of the strongest findings was that learning traditional voyaging on Haunui enabled and accelerated exploration of identity. Collaborators explored and reaffirmed their identities from various perspectives. Culturally, they explored their identity as New Zealanders, Sāmoans, Cook Islanders, Pacific people, and manuhiri in Aotearoa New Zealand. They also explored their identity along lines of gender, sexuality, family background, physical appearance, and ability. These latter were discussed in the Identity Mālolo.

These results were consistent with the key element of Pacific development centred around strong cultural identity. The collaborators' stories of identity spanned an immense and emotional spectrum from stepping into the warm, welcoming embrace of belonging to a Pan-Pacific identity through to fear of having the Pacific identity door slammed in one's face by dint of birthplace, upbringing, or even, in the case of Māori, not being sure if one is welcomed or even wants to belong.

In order to make the most of identity element, it can be suggested that Pacific development needs to accept and welcome people as they are. It may also need to appeal to who they wish to be and answer questions such as:

- What does my soul / do my bones tell me?
- Does this kaupapa align to my sense of identity, my purpose, my people?
- Who else is in this?
- Do I want to be associated with them or to be like them?

Warm, welcoming embrace of Pan-Pacific identity

There is a pan-Pacific identity and it is an inclusive one. Collaborators' claims that Pacific peoples are one people were in agreement with Hau'ofa's lament that 'We are all lost relatives' (Hau'ofa, 2008, p. xiv), Fairbairn-Dunlop's (2014) recognition of a Pacific regional identity, and Manuela and Sibly's findings of a 'Pan-Pacific belonging, connection with other people' (Manuela & Sibley, 2013, p. 88). Hoturoa spoke of his 'Pan-Pacific driver' to reconnect those same 'lost relatives'.

The importance of identity is reflected in the title of this research which starts with a Sāmoan line from the song, *We know the way* (Foa'i & Miranda, 2015)*,* from the Disney motion picture, *Moana* (2016). 'Tātou o tagata folau' translates into English as 'we are voyaging people'. 'Tātou' is an inclusive form of the pronoun 'we' as it includes the receiver. It has the same meaning in Te Reo Māori and is akin to 'you lot and me' or

'you and us lot' or 'you lot and us lot'. The inclusive nature of the pronoun 'tātou' is important to Pacific development. 'Tātou' claims the receiver (reader/listener) as a member of the voyaging Pacific people. This open-armed approach to inclusion is important to Pacific development as it pre-supposes and provides a ready-made identity for the collaborator to claim, consider or deny. They can self-identify and opt in.

As we discovered in the Alava'a Mālolo, social permission is key to accessing development opportunities. People need to know that the pan-Pacific invitation is addressed to them, that they are wanted, welcome and not intruders or imposters.

Fear of having the Pacific identity door slammed in one's face

This study found that although the New Zealand-born collaborators identified with the cultures of both their home island and that of Aotearoa New Zealand, sometimes they did not feel like they quite belonged in either. The finding appears to be consistent with Tunufa'i (2016) and Vaioleti (2013) who commented on the same tension. Tunufa'i suggested that Pacific research methods may be foreign to New Zealand-born Pacific as their formative experiences and are more likely to be 'kiwi' mainstream than of their Pacific island homelands. Vaioleti (2013) explained that Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand face 'an awareness of belittling social attitudes' (Vaioleti, 2013, p. 207) toward them. They feel second-class in both worlds.

The Pacific development needs of New Zealand-born Pacific people may differ from their island-born relatives. Shame and embarrassment due to perception, theirs or others', of not having a strong foundation in their island culture may be a barrier to accessing their home island culture. Perhaps that is why identity was such a strong theme in the collaborators' responses.

Conversely, New Zealand-born Pacific enjoy the benefit of belonging to both cultures, however imperfectly. In New Zealand, they enjoy greater access to healthcare, financial means and modern learning environments (Vaioleti, 2013) so, in this regard, their needs in these areas may be different from than those of their island-born relatives.

An implication of this finding is the possibility that Pacific development for New Zealand-born Pacific people needs to provide a safe environment where they can connect to their culture from whatever level of cultural competency they are or feel that they are. So they can 'reclaim their identity by activating it' (Hoturoa).

Not sure if one is welcomed or even wants to belong

Are Māori Pacific? Māori are Tangata Whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand, the indigenous people of the land. As a Pacific person, it is not for me to decide if Māori are Pacific. I merely present here the views of my collaborators and how they align with existing knowledge.

According to Hoturoa, the only Māori collaborator, 'Māori have forgotten they are Paciifc'. Māori are considered Polynesian, their ancestors having migrated here from the Pacific islands. Although Māori people mention their waka first and foremost when introducing themselves (Rāwiri Taonui, 2005), they do not always acknowledge whence those waka originated. .

Non-Māori collaborators identified that although Pacific and Māori are related, Māori's status as tangata whenua set them apart. They did not say that that status excluded Māori from being Pacific, merely that Aotearoa New Zealand is their land, and that non-Māori Pacific people are manuhiri or guests. Collaborators continued actively connecting Māori to their Pacific roots through migration and creation stories. For the collaborators, it did not really matter if Māori were Pacific or not. They acknowledged diversity within the unity of the cultures.

Since the voyages of Cook, the peoples of the Pacific islands have been categorised as Micronesian, Melanesian, and Polynesian. Aotearoa New Zealand and its Māori people are at the southwest tip of the Polynesian triangle. Although Māori are Polynesian, they are not always considered Pacific and indeed many do not identify as Pacific. They are like the centreboard of the waka. The centreboard, also known as the dagger board, is a moveable keel that can be raised into the hull or dropped below. Māori are similar. Sometimes Māori sit within the Pacific part of Polynesia, alongside Melanesia and Micronesia. Collaborators identified this unity when they talked about the tuakana/teina relationship which echoes Hau'ofa's 'we are all lost relatives' and Vaioleti's observation that Pacific have a 'sense of connection with Māori'. Collaborators showed how Māori and Pacific are inter-related through the shared stories and ancestry, and acknowledging Papa Mau Piailug's generosity to Pacific peoples, including Māori.

Collaborators opting into the research self-identified as Pacific. No Māori opted in. The only Māori collaborator, Hoturoa, was invited. Most collaborators were members of the Coconut Crew Messenger chat group. The primary means of recruitment for this study was via the Coconut Crew Messenger chat group. Coconut trees do not grow in

Aotearoa so Māori would not have felt included. My recruitment approach did not consider Māori as Pacific. This consideration only emerged during the study.

Māori culture differs from Pacific peoples' cultures just as those Pacific cultures differ from each other, Cook Island from Sāmoa, Sāmoa from Tonga. There is however more that connects us than separates us - stories, ancestors, voyaging traditions. It is what connects us that enriches the Pacific crew. Learning about other's cultures helps crew interrogate and learn about their own.

These findings suggest that Pacific development should promote Pacific connectedness while acknowledging various histories and accepting different ways within the pan-Pacific identity. When we value ourselves as well as each other we can resolve differences between our cultures that may arise, for example, Ema's funeral. Being comfortable with people's decisions regarding how they self-identify depends on accepting a fluid definition of cultural identity and a questioning of absolute definitions, or classifications especially by those who are not of the classified cultures.

Duality

Double-hulled waka lend themselves well to the concept of duality and balance which featured so strongly in this research. In addition to the variables across the identity spectrum described above, it is fully possible for one person to belong at different ends of the spectrum at the same time. Collaborators self-identified as being from Aotearoa New Zealand as well as Pacific islands. Some felt they belonged to both Haunui as well as the waka hourua of their home island country. They distinguished between Pacific-born and New Zealand-born Pacific people, between Pacific ways and Western ways, between the ancestors' world and modern Pacific traditions, between Christ's values and church values. Some grew up mainstream but did not feel mainstream.

The relationship with Māori was expressed as either duality or unity. Sometimes Māori and Pacific were described as one people, other times the relationship was described as tangata whenua (Māori) and manuhiri (Pacific) or tuakana-teina. It is uncertain which is the tuakana and which is the teina. The relationship between Māori and Pacific was akin to the relational concept of le vā. At times it was the space that connects, other times it was the space that divides. Interestingly, collaborators did not discuss the duality inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi, preferring instead to point out that Māori connection with the Pacific pre-dated the treaty by several centuries.

The findings recognising duality were in accord with the duality represented by double-hulled waka in the logos of some organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand. They assigned meanings of duality to the hulls. They were female and male for Haunui

(TTWH, 2018a), Māori and Pacific for Te Rau Matatini (2017), Pacific and non-Pacific for Va'a o Tautai (R. Richards, personal communication, November 5, 2018) now and future for PACIFICA Inc (D. Mara, personal communication, November 5, 2018), and individual and social support systems in Te Vaka Atafaga (Kupa, 2009).

It can be suggested that Pacific development should allow people to examine and explore the vā between all the dualities identified above.

Whakapapa

The study illustrated the importance collaborators placed on the ability to trace their personal lineage and that of their new knowledge back to their Pacific ancestors and their ancient frame of reference. The concept of a pan-Pacific identity acknowledges interconnectedness between the islands, taps into a common heritage promoting strong cultural identity and knowing one's history (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2000; Hau'ofa, 2000; Voi, 2000). Whakapapa of people is important, whakapapa of the kaupapa is too.

Collaborators took care to acknowledge the whakapapa, lineage or provenance of the voyaging knowledge and waka hourua that they enjoy. They described how the ancestors' knowledge came to them via Papa Mau, Polynesian Voyaging Society, Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr, Lilomaiapolima Ema Siope and John-Reid Willison. They described how Haunui came to Tāmaki Makaurau from Okeanos via American Sāmoa to Te Toki Waka Hourua (TTWH, 2018a). They acknowledged the inspiration and support that Hoturoa received from his aunt Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, Tainui orator John Haunui, and Tūrangawaewae Marae as well as other members of his family who are represented in the physical elements and names aboard Haunui. They spoke in hushed tones of awe and humility when they acknowledged the generosity and financial sacrifice of Hoturoa and family.

Whakapapa is important. During whakawhānaungatanga we all listen out to find connections between the kaupapa or the other person and us. We explore each other's whakapapa until we find that link. When we know whakapapa, we can appreciate more than what or who we see in front of us and become aware of the layers and layers beyond. It builds connection, lends legitimacy and is hard to dismiss.

These findings suggest that Pacific development initiatives with clearly demonstrated whakapapa may reassure their participants that they are legitimate and relevant, and not some imported, international best practice. It may be that if Pacific development initiatives can prove their legitimacy based on Pacific whakapapa, they may still be cutting edge without cutting off or cutting out the people they aim to help (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2002).

How one's heart swells with awe, pride, humility, and responsibility when one hears Hoturoa quietly say, 'We come from a long line of masters'. There may be an opportunity for Pacific development to promote and build upon that sense of identity and whakapapa.

Promotion of traditional knowledge and science, and indigenising modernity

Pacific knowledge matters for its own intrinsic value however, for two centuries, 'we were so engaged in the pursuit of Western knowledge that we didn't value our own traditional knowledge' (Hoturoa). Indeed mainstream knowledge has served Pacific people poorly, as evidenced by poor outcomes for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand (Salesa, 2017). Thanks to the late twentieth century recovery and application of ancient navigation techniques and the construction and long-distance sailing of indigenous-style waka hourua, traditional Pacific knowledge and science has been acknowledged and promoted.

The study found that the collaborators had a strong desire to learn and share the ways, knowledge, and science of their ancestors, be it sailing, boat building, navigation, maramataka or even gardening. Their learning was more than mere curiosity, it included their application of ancient ways to reinterpret and understand the modern world and restored pride in the achievements of their ancestors.

In this modern world of fibreglass hulls and nylon lines, did one need to distinguish between traditional and indigenous?

Traditional or indigenous

What is the difference between indigenous Pacific and traditional Pacific? Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo (2002) explain that introduced knowledge can become indigenised when reconstructed and transformed to fit local indigenous practices and culture. They warn that, although the knowledge will have been indigenised, it will not be traditional.

This study found that collaborators placed importance on using ancestors' frame of reference and were cautious about norms they perceived to be introduced. They valued reconnecting with their Pacific cultures yet struggled to accept some modern influences, especially those that they believed to have been introduced by the church. They rejected certain perceptions and treatment of people based on culture, gender and sexual orientation as being received ideas from the church, not based on the ancestors' world or even based on Jesus' teachings of love.

When our concept of indigenous is based on our ancestors' ancient ways, how do we, who live in the 21st century, know that we have a full and accurate understanding of those ancient ways? How traditional is traditional voyaging on Haunui?

Hoturoa explains that through waka hourua, we can live the world that the ancestors lived and how they operated. Waka create a replica of our best understanding of the realities of our ancestors and provide a practical portal into their world, like Jurassic Park or Back to the Future. It is time travel by proxy. By stepping into this ancient world of modern creation, we can learn through experience and access knowledge that had previously been hidden from our view. Papa Mau shared the indigenous science and knowledge of voyaging (Finney, 1994). Polynesian Voyaging Society put it into practice on Hokule'a, developed the science, and shared it even further (Finney, 2003).

Some traditional practices may no longer be palatable. We would all be relieved to know that 'during the 1995 joint voyage when the canoes sailed through Ra'iatea's sacred pass to reach the temple of Taputapuātea they were not bearing freshly killed human sacrifices, as was done anciently' (Finney, 2006b, p. 332).

We cannot know exactly how the ancestors lived but indigenous practices such as waka hourua can help us access the wisdom of our ancestors to deal with modern issues that disproportionately affect Pacific peoples.

Addressing global issues that modernity has brought about may well benefit from Pacific peoples challenging modern thinking through discussion, discovery of new and old knowledge, and through exposure to ancient perspectives.

Indigenised modernity

To indigenise modernity is 'to harness the good things' (Sahlins, 2000, p. 47) of the modern world to enhance an indigenous Pacific practice. An examination of the literature and collaborators' responses revealed two types of indigenised modernity: on the waka and in personal lives.

Collaborators' responses revealed that their learning about traditional voyaging was less about technicalities and more to do with the mindset, lifestyle, values needed to voyage, and how those provide us with a glimpse into how our ancestors lived, as well as how we apply those to modern life. They re-examined their modern lives by applying a new indigenous lens. They retrospectively indigenised modernity.

Haunui is an example of indigenised modernity. His fibreglass hulls are based on mouldings of Te Au O Tonga, a Cook Island waka hourua which in turn was based on

the Tipairua style of hull that is said to have originated in the islands of Tahiti and is believed to be the type of canoe on which many ancestors arrived in Aotearoa (TTWH, 2018a). Fibreglass is strong, light, and would have been far more practical than felling fourteen massive trees to create the original Te Mana o Te Moana fleet of seven waka hourua. Nainoa's star compass is indigenous but not traditional.

Even international trade has been indigenised. WIBDI (n.d.-a) in Sāmoa state this boldly in their logo which features three words: 'Tradition. Technology. Trade'. Haunui played its part when, in 2018, crew delivered kava to Norfolk Islands at the islanders' request. The Australian Government's restrictions on the import of kava had had terrible social consequences as men turned to alcohol instead of kava. In this case, it would be in the interests of public health remove barriers from the indigenous economy.

Strong subsistence economy

Pacific development depends on strengthening its large subsistence sector (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2000) where subsistence is about looking after oneself as well as contributing to the family and village. It is a wide variety of reciprocal exchanges and redistributions that integrate whole districts in networks of mutual obligation and concern (Hooper, 2000, pp. 2-3). Similarly, collaborators seemed less interested in economic growth for its own sake yet delighted in their back-to-basics experiences of small-scale farming, plans to set up waka-based business ventures to benefit the wider family or at-risk youth, and even chose to drop out of the rat-race.

Collaborators identified evidence of strong subsistence economy demonstrated by the cooperation between TTWH and other Pacific voyaging societies where the tradable items included knowledge, connections, access to resources (such as grants), to mana-enhancing opportunities (such as Tuia250, the 2018 poukai at Kāwhia) and, at times, to crew members.

Collaborators' joy in sharing and thereby preserving newly rediscovered knowledge was tempered with concerns about commercial sensitivity and cultural treasurers that are kept safe and secret for culturally sensitive reasons. Some feared that, in the wrong hands, traditional voyaging knowledge could be exploited for mere commercial gain. Others talked of those who feared sharing their deep cultural knowledge because they did not feel safe disclosing that knowledge in an overtly Christian country. When the knowledge-holders understood their knowledge to be a gift from god or so rare that it might be lost forever, they chose to share with conditions based on values.

Sharing is linked to a strong subsistence economy where benefits are shared, rather than global market competition where the few aim to take as much as possible from the many. Just as Sāmoa's Women in Business Development Incorporated and Tahiti's Hiti Tau shared agricultural contracts and knowledge with growers in other Pacific countries, Te Toki Waka Hourua helped with the rebuild and repairs of waka hourua that visited Tāmaki Makaura from Sāmoa, Cook Islands and Tahiti. Te Toki Waka Hourua demonstrates honouring communal benefit through its support of other voyaging societies and contributes to a strong subsistence economy.

A focus on a Pacific economy based on 'a complex mix of small-scale farming, wage earning, the ocean, family networks and communal living' (Salesa, 2017, p. 92) may be more appropriate than attempting to force Pacific players into a non-Pacific global economy.

International development

With their focus on prosperity, the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations (2019) fall short of delivering on the six key elements of Pacific development, as we saw in chapter 2. Nevertheless, let us revisit those seventeen SDGs and see how the collaborators' responses align. How does learning traditional voyaging on Haunui deliver on the United Nations' aspirations for all?

1. No Poverty. Collaborators spoke of sharing and a back-to-basics, simple way of life. They rejected the excesses of modernity.
2. Zero Hunger. They spoke of learning to be self-sustainable through gardening, fishing, or raising pigs.
3. Good Health and Well-being. Wellbeing through personal development, dignity and mana was a strong theme. The back-to-basics lifestyle also aligns well with healthy living.
4. Quality Education. Collaborators identified what they were learning, how they were learning, acknowledged a 'learning mindset' and were keen to share their learning.
5. Gender Equality. Mana wāhine and balance were themes.
6. Clean Water and Sanitation. Collaborators identified waka experiences in food preparation, keeping communal toilets clean, doing the laundry for the whole crew. More importantly, though, collaborators felt a genealogical connection to water.
7. Affordable and Clean Energy. Haunui is a sailing vessel, harnessing the power of wind. Haunui's electric motors are powered by solar panels.

8. Decent Work and Economic Growth. Two collaborators quit their jobs to work on waka. Others are actively seeking to incorporate waka into their work through, for example, youth development and knowledge-sharing innovations.

9. Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure. Collaborators acknowledged innovation through the rediscovery and growth of indigenous knowledge. They acknowledged industry that spanned from ancient hull design to modern day boat builders. They spoke of the knowledge infrastructure that exists between voyaging societies as well as the infrastructure of Te Toki Waka Hourua that calls upon differing skills, including land crew.

10. Reducing Inequality. The restoration of dignity and mana went a long way to addressing inequality felt by Pacific peoples, women, and members of the rainbow community.

11. Sustainable Cities and Communities. Collaborators challenged modern lifestyles and individualism, preferring a back-to-basics way of life, and honouring communal relationships.

12. Responsible Consumption and Production. In addition to the comments at #11, many of the collaborators participated in Kai Oranga, a Māori food sovereignty course during this research.

13. Climate Action. While the collaborators did not address climate action specifically, they acknowledged the interconnection between environmental, social, and spiritual realms.

14. Life Below Water. Broader than just life below water, collaborators also addressed life on the water and flying above it. They also addressed spiritual forces around the water including their own genealogical link to the ocean.

15. Life on Land. Collaborators talked about bringing their waka life values to their home life and honouring land crew. See also #13.

16. Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions. Collaborators spoke of taking responsibility for their own personal development including getting along with people they might not normally get along with. They identified the importance of serving the crew and, more broadly, Te Toki Waka Hourua.

17. Partnerships for the Goals. Collaborators identified cooperation between Te Toki Waka Hourua and other voyaging societies across Aotearoa New Zealand and the Pacific.

A by-Māori-for-Māori-and-Pacific initiative is quietly delivering Pacific development in Aotearoa New Zealand as well as delivering on all seventeen of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals at the same time, without even setting out to do so.

Conclusion

In Chapter 2, I proposed six key elements of Pacific development based on the writings of Pacific people who had challenged international development and practices in the Pacific nearly twenty years ago. In this chapter, those elements have been tested against the Mālolo themes of the findings. We have found how learning traditional voyaging on Haunui has delivered on each of the elements of Pacific development. Additionally, we have seen that in doing so, it has addressed international development goals.

If the proof of the pudding is in the eating, I would suggest that the proof of the six key elements of Pacific development is in the faiai i'a.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Introduction

This research put forward six key elements of Pacific development. By exploring the experiences of Pacific crew on Haunui, it demonstrated that traditional voyaging delivers on all six elements and is an exemplary model of Pacific development. It showed how delivering on the key elements of Pacific development can also deliver on international development objectives. It is hoped that this research into the Pacific development happening through traditional voyaging can influence other development initiatives in the Pacific.

The learning experiences of Haunui's Pacific crew members should inform Pacific development initiatives. In this study, Pacific development refers to the development of Pacific peoples, rather than international development in the Pacific. It is not the top-down development that is imposed by governments and their powerful strategic allies (Hau'ofa, 2008), nor is it removed from local communities and the reality of their lives and environment (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2002). Pacific development is from the inside-out where the people that the development aims to help define what is important to them and they contribute fully to their own development. It 'emerges out of [their] own hands' (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2002, p. 389).

The purpose of this research was to contribute to understanding of Pacific development as seen through a Māori initiative in Aotearoa New Zealand with people from various Pacific cultures, and to raise their awareness of their own development on Haunui.

Pacific development is happening on Haunui. How it is happening can inform Pacific development practice. Through learning traditional voyaging on Haunui, its Pacific crew members shared stories that demonstrated all six elements of Pacific development. Collaborators also shed light on the learning outcomes that they valued. Those are the Mālolo themes of alava'a, identity, values, learning and sharing knowledge, spiritual connections, Māori are Pacific?, Hoturoa and whakapapa, and what we are learning.

Summary of findings

The study first identified six key elements of Pacific development. It then found how those elements of Pacific development were expressed through the collaborators' experiences of learning traditional voyaging on Haunui.

The findings generally address culture and identity, the relevance of Pacific ancestors' knowledge to solve modern issues, and the importance of social, spiritual, and environmental connections.

Regarding culture and identity, the findings were that learning voyaging on Haunui enabled and accelerated explorations of identity, promoted cultural connections including with Māori, allowed acceptance of duality, and restored mana and a new sense of dignity.

The study also found how waka is helping people address modern issues by turning to their ancestors. It found how learning on Haunui helped access the wisdom and ways of the ancestors and generated respect for rediscovering and building upon ancestors' knowledge and science. It found how knowing the whakapapa of Pacific peoples and their Pacific knowledge contributed to restoring their mana, pride and confidence, helped them examine their modern lives through an indigenous lens, and consider international exchanges of knowledge, connections and resources.

The most important finding of this study concerned the vā, the relationships between the social, spiritual, and environmental realms. It identified essential connections between people, the environment, and the spirit world and how deeply they affected behaviour, attitudes, and decisions. It found that access to learning depended on relationships and social permission, that although the learning provided a form of personal development and sometimes required temporary release from wider communal obligations, the learning ultimately needed to benefit the wider community. The tuakana-teina model provided Pacific development a model built upon the vā between Māori and Pacific cultures and countries.

Implications

The results of this research support the idea that, in order to address modern humanitarian issues in a relevant and sustainable way, Pacific development needs to acknowledge the existence of the environmental, spiritual and social realms in the first place, to understand their interrelation, and to strengthen and build upon those relationships to teu la vā.

An implication of this study is that Pacific development needs to acknowledge the link between colonialism and the erosion of mana and its negative outcomes for Pacific peoples. It should take care not to cause further harm. There need to be contexts within which people can acknowledge various histories and accept different ways within the pan-Pacific identity. From the positive experiences and outcomes for the

collaborators when Pacific peoples are provided means to examine and explore their own various identities, it caters to positive personal and group development. Especially for Pacific people who have been raised away from their island culture such as some New Zealand-born Pacific people, Pacific development should provide a safe environment where they can connect to their island culture from whatever level of cultural competency they are or feel that they are. Whether Māori identify as Pacific or not, Pacific development opportunities should be open to Māori.

The evidence from this study suggests that centering spirituality in development approaches might just be the key to unlocking even more ancestral knowledge because it contributes to a strengths-based approach to Pacific knowledge. It also raises the real possibility that solutions to modern problems for Pacific people may be found in the science, knowledge, and practice of Pacific ancestors. Furthermore, it suggests that modernity can and should be indigenised, from boat building to pan-Pacific economics.

These findings have significant implications for the understanding of how Pacific development is the development of Pacific peoples. It should provide opportunities to Pacific people for personal development that is grounded in Pacific values and that, in turn, can benefit their community. Pacific development should honour individuals' sense of responsibility to the community and ensure a clear flow of benefit to others from the individual receiving the development opportunity. It should acknowledge that pathways for people to be involved in development opportunities rely on existing relationships or their knowledge of how to create and nurture a new relationship. Opportunities for development need to allow people relief from certain communal obligations in order to provide favourable learning conditions that will, eventually, serve the communal.

Most of all, the study proves that initiatives led by Pacific people for Pacific people based on Pacific values can enhance mana and promote self-determination while maximising the Pan-Pacific identity and decolonising Pacific development.

Contributions to the literature

This study contributes to the literature on Pacific development by addressing a gap in the literature that could define Pacific development from the point of view of Pacific people. This study has shown the importance of the six key elements of Pacific development distilled from Pacific scholars' works from two decades ago and built on these showing how they measure up against the experiences of the research collaborators. It is hoped that these insights will provide practical understanding that

assists development organisations working in the Pacific or even Pacific peoples considering development opportunities, both in the islands and in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This work contributes to existing knowledge of Pacific research by introducing a new data analysis tool, Mālolo. It was a means to ground this research in Pacific knowledge, and as an analytical tool it is hoped that it may prove useful in expanding understanding of how research participants can have more agency over their own data.

The ultimate contribution of this study has been to confirm how Pacific development has been happening on Haunui through learning traditional voyaging. It has provided an understanding of the value of the work of Te Toki Waka Hourua for its Pacific crew members. It has also raised the collaborators' awareness of their own development occurring on Haunui. Finally, it contributes to literature on the learning experiences of Pacific people on waka hourua in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Research limitations of this study

The sample size of nine does not represent the total number of Pacific people who crew or have crewed on Haunui.

In addition, the development needs of Pacific people who live in Aotearoa New Zealand may differ from those of Pacific people who live in the Pacific.

The cultures of all collaborators in this research are considered to be Polynesian. Although the collaborators did not differentiate between Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian, the categorisation is still current. There is no representation of Melanesian or Micronesian in the collaborator group. Only one collaborator self-identified as Māori, Hoturoa.

Although I am active in development initiatives for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand, I am not currently active in development initiatives in the Pacific islands.

It is intended that this thesis shed light on how best to serve Pacific communities, however I am aware that my collaborators were predominantly born and raised in Aotearoa New Zealand. The challenge may be to see how transferable the findings are to those born and raised in the islands.

Suggestions for further research

Tapping back into their ancient cultural DNA may help Pacific peoples to grow from the inside out so development emerges from themselves. The effect of Pacific renewing

respect for *aso anamua,* the time before Christianity, and its impact on indigenous knowledge may be worthy of further investigation.

The role of personal development in Pacific development and international development initiatives is worthy of further study.

It may be time for international development agencies to reconsider their practice of sending non-Pacific, outsider expertise into the Pacific. A further study focused on comparing Pacific development delivered in kaupapa Māori or Pacific ways with other types of development in the Pacific is worthy of investigation.

There may be an opportunity for Pacific development to promote and build upon that sense of identity and whakapapa, and quest to know more about their ancestors.

Concluding statement

What if we decolonised our minds beyond borders and considered the Pacific as the salt-water, borderless state? What if the next wave of Pacific development prioritised the Pacific's two greatest resources: the Pacific people it aims to serve and the ocean that connects them? What if we heeded Hau'ofa's proposal that

> *'we draw inspiration from the diverse patterns that have emerged from the successes and failures in our adaptation to the influence of the sea… we may even together make new sounds, new rhythms, new choreographies, and new songs and verses about how wonderful and terrible the sea is, and how we cannot live without it?'*
> *(Hau'ofa, 2008, p. 57)*

Initiatives like learning traditional voyaging on Haunui can inform other development initiatives in the Pacific, including Aotearoa New Zealand.

The three personal stories I shared in Chapter 1 all share the common theme of Pacific people connecting across different Pacific cultures. They all cut out the colonial middleman. Just as Western speculation about Pacific voyaging was motivated more by Western concerns for its own past and future than for Pacific peoples (Howe, 2006), the underlying concerns for Pacific development have been strategic considerations for Western security (Hau'ofa, 2008) and resulted in 'stories of unrealised potential' (Salesa, 2017, p. 223). Pacific peoples can realise Pacific potential.

It is time for a Pacific-centric approach to Pacific development, to realise the potential that is held in ancestral knowledge, beliefs, and practices, to facilitate Pacific people developing themselves and each other, and to honour Pacific people's deep connection to the ocean as tagata folau.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethical Approval

AUTEC Secretariat

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7 March 2018

Carol Neil
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Carol

Re Ethics Application: 18/25 Tatou o tagata folau, Pacific development through learning traditional voyaging on the waka hourua, Haunui

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 7 March 2021.

Non-Standard Conditions of Approval

1. The Information sheet still reviews to the focus group transcript going back "for review"
2. The privacy section in the Information Sheet needs to reflect what privacy is possible when photographs are a component of the research.

Non-standard conditions must be completed before commencing your study. Non-standard conditions do not need to be submitted to or reviewed by AUTEC before commencing your study.

Standard Conditions of Approval
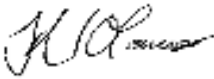
1. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
2. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
3. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEC prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form: http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
4. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
5. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval for access for your research from another institution or organisation then you are responsible for obtaining it. If the research is undertaken outside New Zealand, you need to meet all locality legal and ethical obligations and requirements. You are reminded that it is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard.

For any enquiries, please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz

Yours sincerely,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Manager
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: natiatucker@gmail.com; laumautunufai@aut.ac.nz

Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

AUT
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI
O TĀMAKI MAKAU RAU

Date Information Sheet Produced: 31 January 2018

Talofa lava, Kia orana, Malo e lelei, Fakaalofa lahi atu.

I am trying to understand the experiences of Pacific crew on Haunui and to see how they align with key elements of Pacific development.

It's part of my study toward a Master of Philosophy with the School of Social Sciences and Public Policy at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT).

Would you be willing to help me, please?

Ma lou fa'aaloalo lava,

Natia Tucker

Project Title

Tatou o tagata folau. Pacific development through learning traditional voyaging on the waka hourua, Haunui.

What is the purpose of this research?

This research will explore the experience of Pacific crew learning traditional voyaging on Haunui. I wish to explore with you your views, experiences, knowledge and stories about your experience on Haunui. My role as the researcher is to facilitate, support and guide the research project to completion.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

I have approached you because, along with me, you are a Pacific member of the current Haunui crew.

What will happen in this research?

There are two stages.

1. I will conduct a group talanoa session. I expect the session to take about four hours. That time includes arriving, settling in, discussions, closing.

2. After the group talanoa session, I will invite you to a follow-up face-to-face individual talanoa between you and me over a cuppa at a café.

You can choose to be in just stage 1, or in both stages 1 and 2.

The findings of this research are for my thesis and may be used for other academic publications and presentations. I may take some photos of the waka and crew to use as visual aids in presenting my findings.

What are the benefits?

I hope that this research will benefit you by providing an opportunity to share your experience and learn about other's experience of learning on Haunui.

It will be meaningful to the wider crew of Haunui, Te Toki Voyaging Trust as it will identify elements of Pacific development occurring on their waka.

It will be meaningful to people interested in Pacific development and Māori development. It will contribute to knowledge of Pacific development and how it is happening in Aotearoa through engagement on a Māori initiative.

This research will contribute to the completion of my Master's thesis and may be used in a journal article, conference paper and other academic publications or presentations.

What are the costs or risks of participating in this research?

There are no costs associated with these talanoa sessions however it will take approximately four hours of your time for the group talanoa session, and about an hour for the individual talanoa over a cuppa. I will arrange with you a suitable place to conduct the talanoa sessions.

We crew together on Haunui so I don't anticipate any risks. If you don't feel like talking about something, you don't have to talk about it. You are not expected to answer questions or discuss issues that make you feel uncomfortable and you can leave the talanoa session at any time.

How will my privacy be protected?

If you tell me something that you don't want me to put your name to, I won't identify you if I use it. It's your choice about whether or not you want to be specifically identified or named in direct quotes. If you choose not to be identified, a pseudonym will be used instead of your first name.

There is a provision in the consent form for you to give consent to being identified in the research using your name (by ticking yes). There is also provision for you not to be identified (by ticking no). Either option is okay with me.

However, because you may be known to be a Pacific member of the Haunui crew, your identity may be assumed when people read the findings from the research.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

When you next see me, tell me if you are coming to the group talanoa session.

I'll ask you to complete the consent form and return it to me. You may also complete it and email it back to me at natiatucker@gmail.com

Your participation in this research is voluntary. It is your choice. Whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Participation is entirely voluntary. I will need written confirmation from you by completing the consent form within two weeks of receiving this information sheet.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

I will give you a copy of the transcript of the group talanoa session for your review. At the individual talanoa sessions, I'll share with you the initial findings and we'll use those for our one-on-one discussion.

At the end of the research, you will be invited to a presentation of the findings at a Haunui waka whanau event. At the request of Te Toki Voyaging Trust, I have agreed to present a copy of the thesis to be kept in the Te Toki Voyaging Trust library.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Carol Neill, carol.neill@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8408

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details: Natia Tucker, Natiatucker@gmail.com, 021 02661221

Project Supervisor Contact Details: Dr Carol Neill, Carol.neill@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8408

                                              Dr Laumua Tunufa'i, Laumua.tunufai@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999

Appendix 3: Consent Form [Group Talanoa]

Consent Form

[Group talanoa]

Project title:	**Tatou o tagata folau. Pacific development through learning traditional voyaging on the waka hourua, Haunui**
Project Supervisor:	**Dr Carol Neill**
Researcher:	**Natia Tucker**

○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 31 January 2018

○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

○ I understand that identity of my fellow participants and our discussions in the group talanoa session is confidential to the group and I agree to keep this information confidential.

○ I understand that notes will be taken during the group talanoa session and that it will also be audio-taped, transcribed and the transcript will be shared with my fellow participants to view.

○ I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.

○ I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.

○ I permit the researcher to use the photographs of me that might be used as illustrations for part of this project, either complete or in part, solely and exclusively for educational purposes.

○ I understand that the photographs will be used for academic purposes only and will not be published in any form outside of this project without my written permission.

○ I understand the copyright belongs to the researcher.   Please tick one

○ I agree to take part in this research by participating in the group talanoa session   YesO   NoO

○ I agree to be identified in this research using my name   YesO   NoO

○ I wish to receive a summary of the research findings   YesO   NoO

Participant's signature: ....

Participant's name: ....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

....

....

....

....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 7 March 2018 AUTEC Reference number 18/25

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

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Appendix 4: Consent Form [Individual Talanoa]

Consent Form

[Individual talanoa]

Project title:	***Tatou o tagata folau. Pacific development through learning traditional voyaging on the waka hourua, Haunui***
Project Supervisor:	***Dr Carol Neill***
Researcher:	***Natia Tucker***

○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 31 January 2018

○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

○ I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.

○ I understand that I'll be given a copy of the transcript of the group talanoa session and during the individual talanoa session notes will be taken that will record any additional ideas or comments I have to contribute to the research.

○ I understand that if I withdraw from the study then anything I contributed in the individual talanoa will be removed from the data. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.

○ I agree to take part in an individual talanoa   Yes○   No○

○ I agree to be identified in this research using my name   Yes○   No○

○ I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one)   Yes○   No○

Participant's signature: ....

Participant's name: ....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

....

....

....

....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 7 March 2018 AUTEC Reference number 18/25

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.