



# **Beyond the veil: Kaupapa Māori gaze on the non-Māori subject**

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## **Abstract**

Kaupapa Māori methodologies in Aotearoa New Zealand have often been applied to content of immediate and direct relevance to Māori communities. Some of these include research about aspects of cultural revitalisation or examinations of the position Māori occupy within broader ethnic disparities, particularly in health and social outcomes. This article seeks to expand the application of Kaupapa Māori paradigms to research topics outside ‘te ao Māori’ (the Māori world). We argue that the Kaupapa Māori theorising of a Māori visual arts and culture scholar can provide crucial insights on white privilege in Aotearoa New Zealand with a view to addressing disparities and creating more embracing and equitable perspectives of belonging, citizenship and nationhood.

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‘Kaupapa Māori’ is a theory and approach that encompasses Māori controlled and collective processes for generating knowledge and applying such knowledge in the delivery of Māori driven services to communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. While the emergence of Kaupapa Māori research within formal academic institutions and specific Kaupapa Māori social and health services within both government and community sectors is relatively recent (Hauora Waikato Group, 2000; Ihimaera, 2006; Ministry of Health, 2014; H. Moewaka Barnes, 2000; Pihama, 2001; L. Smith, 1999; Te Rau Matatini, 2015), these approaches draw on the oldest episteme in Aotearoa New Zealand. The application of this episteme to contemporary settings is sometimes phrased as representing a Māori ‘world view’ (Pio et al., 2014; L. Walker, 2015). While there is no doubt that Kaupapa Māori approaches have sought and had reasonable success in addressing Māori outcomes compared to assimilation strategies for example, this Māori ‘gaze’ has tended to apply only to areas seen as having direct relevance to Māori people.

Kaupapa Māori research has broadened rapidly from its disciplinary foundations in education (Bishop, 1996; Bishop et al., 2014; Cram, 2001; Pihama, 2001; L. Smith, 1995), to become increasingly visible in most social sciences (Cram et al., 2006; Le Grice and Braun, 2017; A. Moewaka Barnes, 2011; A. Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012; N. Simmonds, 2011; Stewart, 1995; Te Awakotuku, 1991), commerce (Henry, 2007; Kawharu et al., 2017), law and justice (Mihaere, 2015; Mikaere, 2007; Mikaere and Te Wananga-o-Raukawa, 2011). Public health too, has witnessed a constant and sustained increase in Kaupapa Māori scholarship to inform health policy and affect professional practice towards Māori consumers (Baxter, 2012; Durie, 2000; New Zealand Department of Health, 1984; Ramsden, 2000; S. Simmonds et al., 2008). While the number and range of disciplines using Kaupapa Māori to legitimate Māori perspectives continues to grow, the tendency to fix that gaze on issues of direct relevance to Māori, has remained.

Although the number of Māori academics working across these fields has grown, there has been less connection with those considered to be working in more applied areas; in particular Māori working in fine arts. In this article we offer a possible further avenue for expansion by applying the Kaupapa Māori theorising of a Māori fine arts scholar to the analysis of discourse from Pākehā participants in a social science research project. We begin by setting the epistemological landscape in which ethnic disparities in Aotearoa New Zealand have been generally understood. We examine the contribution Māori research practitioners and theorists have made to these understandings before exploring an avenue of potential expansion brought forth from our experience in conducting a Kaupapa Māori research project on societal privilege.

**Background***Accounting for inequity*

Ethnicity continues to be an important marker of population differences in health and almost every other social indicator (Ajwani et al., 2003; Harris et al., 2012; Ministry of

Social Development, 2007; Robson and Harris, 2007; Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Comparisons in the population distribution of health and other social outcomes by ethnic group have provided detailed analyses of disparities that epidemiologists, public health practitioners, policy makers, Māori health providers, community organisations and other professionals have used to create and implement interventions. In a context that tends to emphasise addressing individual needs, while not disrupting the structural and institutional norms that create them, it has generally been more acceptable to focus attention on those who experience the worst outcomes as, theoretically, intervention here will generate the best return for the resources invested. As Māori people in general have (dis)proportionately worse outcomes across a wide range of health and social issues, as well as inequitable access to the social determinants of wellbeing such as housing, education, employment and income, improving outcomes for Māori has attracted significant interest (Ministry of Social Development, 2007; C. Salmond et al., 2007; Statistics New Zealand, 2014, 2015; Te Puni Kokiri, 1998).

Research that seeks to illuminate disparities between Māori and non-Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, while making a strong case for structural and institutional racism as a key driver of disparity, has tended to keep Māori issues, people and communities as the direct focus in achieving social and economic justice. In more recent times population differences have been explained as due to a mixture of structural, institutional and interpersonal factors (Ajwani et al., 2003; Robson and Harris, 2007). However, the material prepared for public consumption by the media and others has tended to ignore analyses with a structural focus in favour of interpersonal explanations that keep issues of lifestyle choice to the fore (Hodgetts et al., 2004). In public discourse then, the structural workings of inequity are under-scrutinised and marginal groups and their supposed shortcomings over-scrutinised, lending further support to the idea that genetic, lifestyle and interpersonal factors are both the causes and points of intervention for disparities.

Some have argued that analyses that lay responsibility for poor outcomes on those experiencing them represent ‘victim-blaming’ or ‘deficit thinking’ (Holm, 2003; Lugo-Ocando, 2015; Sered and Norton-Hawk, 2014; Woods et al., 1996), and that these attitudes tend to correlate with a lack of knowledge (Fox and Cook, 2011). This embedded process has commonly defined marginalised groups in terms of their ‘difference’ from what is considered normal, natural or just and disparate outcomes are generally the result of these differences, not the systems and histories they embody (Lugo-Ocando, 2015; Robson, 2008)

### *Expanding our accounts*

Kaupapa Māori methodology guides Māori development in a range of areas that are of increasing importance in developing knowledge of the nation as a whole; this has seen a parallel rise in the volume and spread of Kaupapa Māori research practitioners. This expansion in Kaupapa Māori expertise has greatly improved the quality of Kaupapa Māori research and strengthened the legitimacy of the approach. Kaupapa Māori has achieved ‘critical mass’ in the social sciences (Māori Association of Social Science, 2017), with more peer reviewers and referees for funding and publication of Kaupapa Māori scholarship for instance. This article argues that the expansion in capacity and capability of Kaupapa Māori practitioners has also resulted in an expansion of Kaupapa Māori approaches into areas of inquiry *not* of direct relevance to Māori people.

Kaupapa Māori research that is not focused on disparities with non-Māori has also tended to keep to issues of direct relevance to Māori people, as summed up in the ‘by Māori, for Māori’ descriptor often used by funding agencies such as the Health Research Council (2010), and in the delivery of health and social services (Durie, 2013; Hauora Waikato Group, 2000; Ministry of Health, 2014). While conducting Kaupapa Māori research that keeps Māori-specific content at the fore may seem an obvious criterion when defining Kaupapa Māori research or research that describes Māori experiences, it leaves little space for developing new approaches, or revealing new knowledge that a Māori world view may illuminate. Some of this may have very little immediate engagement with or apparent relevance to Māori people, but describes their world nonetheless. For example, Kaupapa Māori research about Pākehā privilege, colonisation and social justice represents a particular and likely contentious exemplar of this category and serves as an example of the innovation possible within a broader application of Kaupapa Māori approaches.

An important aspect of privilege studies for the few Māori involved is not only to shift national discourse about ethnicity and ethnic disparities in social life from the marginalised to the normalised, but also to expand the application of Kaupapa Māori theorising to areas of life and subjects of research that it may not have reached previously. This article seeks to outline some ideas for the expansion of Kaupapa Māori epistemology and its application to the social world. To do this we have chosen to draw on the views of a Kaupapa Māori theorist who is seen as an ‘artist’ rather than a theorist. However, this is not because her theorising is under-developed or unexplored. On the contrary, her theoretical contribution to Māori visual arts and culture has been profound (N. Borell and Mangere Arts Centre, 2011; Highfield, 1999). She is seen more as an artist, in part, because the academy tends to maintain silos of discipline and generally struggles with the role Māori visual arts and culture play in theory and epistemic development (Butt, 2017; Jahnke, 2006). We will explore how her contributions to the field provide useful insights in understanding and explaining societal privilege in Aotearoa New Zealand; a domain that shapes the world that Māori engage with on a daily basis.

## **Māori episteme**

Māori epistemic innovation draws on the broad and ongoing scholastic tradition that brought Māori people across the world’s largest ocean in orderly migrations (R. Walker, 1990), and ensured that we not only survived but thrived in an extremely different physical environment. This success was marked by steady growth in population, changes in linguistic patterns, complex social structures, technological innovation, environmental adaptation and robust health and wellbeing, developing over hundreds of years (Belich, 1996; A. Salmond, 1991). A Māori episteme remains the oldest ontology in New Zealand, however its emergence in sites of Western academia is more recent, and is encapsulated in the development of ‘Kaupapa Māori methodology’ (Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Cram et al., 2006; Pihama, 2001; Pihama et al., 2002; G. Smith, 1997; L. Smith, 1999). While Kaupapa Māori methodology is a continuation of a strong knowledge tradition, its position is a crucial response to inequitable distributions of power, privilege and social status that Māori have been subjected to by New Zealand society in general, and the academy in particular. Kaupapa Māori was, in this sense, developed as a response to white

privilege produced by settler colonialism, and as a way for Māori, as subjects of research and increasingly as research and professional practitioners to claim a safe space to voice their own truths on their own terms.

Kaupapa Māori is, therefore, a response to the colonisation of our lands and the imposition of ways of being that are not our own. It is a way of turning our gaze back onto the coloniser when, for so long, their gaze has been on us in an attempt to make us more like them. In this way, Kaupapa Māori is an attempt to retrieve space for Māori voices and perspectives, methodologies and analyses, whereby Māori realities and knowledge are seen as legitimate. This means centering te ao Māori. (Pihama, 1993, cited in Cram, 2006)

The ability of indigenous epistemological frameworks, such as Kaupapa Māori, to enable and legitimise indigenous inquiry in any field epitomises the potential of scholastic innovation envisioned by its early theorists. The areas of research to which these frameworks have been applied tend to be of immediate and direct importance to the wellbeing of Māori people. They include rights to land, language and culture and represent the common pathways of application of Kaupapa Māori epistemology, theory and research design. The more travelled pathways of Kaupapa Māori research have secured important gains for Māori, particularly in the fields of education and health.

As pointed out by Pihama above, Kaupapa Māori is inherently involved with the direction of a Māori 'gaze' and, in this way, there is much support for Kaupapa Māori as a decolonising tool that reorients the gaze and claims space for Māori voices and analyses of the world around us. This framing, while being of benefit in the developmental stages of Kaupapa Māori methodology and fundamental to the funding paradigms within which Māori research is supported, is becoming increasingly nuanced. Kaupapa Māori methodologies have often been defined by the ways they are seen as distinct from mainstream research (H. Moewaka Barnes, 2000, 2006). This has tended to homogenise Māori positions as a single 'authentic' orientation; the more different it is from 'mainstream' (i.e. the Pākehā world), the more it seems to be legitimised (H. Moewaka Barnes, 2008). Māori diversity (economic, social and cultural) can then be positioned as an authenticity problem that perpetuates Pākehā power, rather than a complex reflection of vibrant, self-determining groups engaged in ongoing journeys of advancement, development and adaptation that reflect the current environment.

While 'by Māori, for Māori' makes explicit the involvement of Māori as researchers and users of research findings and any benefits that may ensue, the *subjects* of these activities remain largely indigenous communities who are often framed as a population in 'need'. While this has been critical for indigenous development, it has also given rise to questions about the nature of Kaupapa Māori research if Māori are not the subject of the gaze. In this instance, a research project on Pākehā privilege that applied indigenous paradigms but involved few Māori researchers and almost no Māori participants poses a challenge to the meaning, use and any claim-making one might make of Kaupapa Māori approaches (B. Borell, 2005; H. Moewaka Barnes et al., 2014). Shifting the gaze in this way – the Māori gaze towards the subject of Pākehā privilege – maintains and enforces decolonising analyses that empower and affirm Māori understandings of the world, while readdressing societal scrutiny and the victim-blaming discourses so often associated with it.

## **Privilege project**

The Privilege project (2007–11) was funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand to explore how societal privilege is implicated in the uneven experience of social determinants of health and in the delivery and quality of health services (Commission on Social Determinants of Health, 2008). Data sets included health policy documents, media case studies, key informant interviews with policy makers and in-depth interviews with over 20 Pākehā participants. It is the in-depth interview data that this article is most interested in. We propose that it is precisely the hidden and invisible nature of societal privilege that disrupts and destabilises Pākehā people's talk and understanding of it. They often draw on descriptors of what it is *not*, focusing on visible markers of marginalised identities, so providing a discursive backdrop which Māori epistemology can illuminate.

Twenty participants were interviewed: three heterosexual couples, three generations of women from one family, and eleven individual interviews with eight women and three men. Participants were mostly aged between 30 and 50 years, with one retiree aged approximately 70. Most participants were employed and lived in homes they owned. Some had tertiary level education and identified as either working in professional occupations or being self-employed. They were asked about a range of topics including their upbringing and family, work and leisure activities, as well as health behaviours and their views about the causes of health disparities between different ethnic groups in Aotearoa New Zealand. Of particular interest to this article is a set of responses participants aired when asked about what constituted 'mainstream' New Zealand. Congruent with much of the international literature about privilege, we anticipated that participants might struggle with identifying and naming these characteristics of New Zealand cultural centrality. This article situates one response to questions about mainstream New Zealand identity alongside the theorising of a Māori fine arts scholar as a way of expanding the possibilities and application of Māori frameworks to non-Māori content.

## ***Kura Te Waru Rewiri – epistemology and painting practice***

Kura Te Waru Rewiri is a well-regarded Māori woman and established painter and fine arts scholar. Much of her visual arts career has involved examining themes of deep relevance to Māori communities, including the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori land, whakapapa (ancestral connections), tapu (spirituality, religion and faith), and mana wahine Māori (the inherent power and sacredness of Māori women) (Highfield, 1999; Mason, 2014). Te Waru Rewiri is an astute thinker and educator. As Borell describes:

Kura Te Waru Rewiri has re-positioned Western-dominated conversations of abstract expression to speak clearly about a Māori experience and worldview. . . . Objects, colour and form become imbued with Māori spiritual and cultural encoding that requires the viewer to decipher elements of a visual language that is specifically centred in an appreciation of Māori knowledge systems. (Borell and Mangere Arts Centre, 2011: 20)

We argue that her use and descriptions of the concept of 'wāhi ngaro' in relation to her painting practice provides important parallels for understanding qualitative data from

Pākehā participants about mainstream identity. We first read and researched the literature and media on Te Waru Rewiri's practice and theories, before seeking an interview with her on the many aspects of Māori epistemology and wāhi ngaro. We began our analysis of Te Waru Rewiri's practice by sourcing an episode of the television series *Kete Aronui* (NZ On Screen, n.d.), which screened on Māori Television from 2002 to 2011 (*The Big Idea* Editor, 2009). Each episode presented a half-hour exposé of Māori in the creative disciplines. We also examined the extensive collection of information about Te Waru Rewiri available in the E H McCormick Research Library of the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki. The collected information on Te Waru Rewiri extends back many years and comprises exhibition catalogues, newspaper clippings and reviews, as well as other scholarly material including in-depth essays that examine her work and theory (N. Borell and Mangere Arts Centre, 2011; Highfield, 1999; Mason, 2014). Field notes were gathered from these sources and added to existing documents collected from presentations, artist's talks, video recordings and informal collegial conversations with Te Waru Rewiri from as early as 2005. While these sources of data may differ from research in other areas of the academy they nonetheless represent common outputs of research activities in fine arts (Butt, 2017).

Te Waru Rewiri was interviewed by telephone in June 2016. The two-hour interview was recorded and transcribed verbatim. The transcript of this interview, along with relevant field notes and an initial analysis were sent to Te Waru Rewiri for feedback and correction. Where possible we communicated electronically to check analyses were acceptable, and she made several comments on the early drafts of this article. In the next section we introduce the concept of wāhi ngaro and Te Waru Rewiri's given explanation of its meaning in her work and theory.

### *Wāhi ngaro*

Like many words and phrases of importance in the Māori language, wāhi ngaro has layers of meaning. Wāhi ngaro combines two words – wāhi (noun), meaning place, location, or an allocation; and ngaro (verb), to be hidden, out of sight, or absent (Moorfield, 2011). Wāhi ngaro then may mean 'lost place', referring to a place that is unseen and unknown. For this reason it may be interpreted as a place of supernatural and spiritual mystique; a 'world of gods and spirits, divine intervention, a place out of sight' (Moorfield, 2011). Wāhi ngaro is often mentioned specifically in Māori rituals of encounter, in oratory and in gatherings to mourn the dead, as death marks the realm of ultimate darkness and unknowing.

In the painting practice of Te Waru Rewiri, wāhi ngaro marks an important point in her development as a Kaupapa Māori theorist. Most notably, in her work titled 'Ia ra, Ia po (In Te Po there are many beginnings)' (see Image 1) she taps into this intangible and unseen space, and expresses how we may occupy the dimensional space between worlds. When relating conversations she had with her father about wāhi ngaro, she offered:

I used images like Kaitaia lintel floating, and the whenua was cloaked, you know the representation of the korowai was on it or the kākahu was just two angled lines into the middle, like this tied in the middle of like your chest and then in the middle panel was a waka kōiwi but



**Image 1.** Kura Te Waru Rewiri, *la ra, la po* (*In Te Po there are many beginnings*), 1994. Acrylic and tempera on canvas. 2100 mm × 910 mm (three panels). Private Collection, Wellington.

it was pushed back into the back and I pushed it back into the middle panel and you can only see it in a certain light, and he saw it and said ‘You got really important work to do because you’re working with the wāhi ngaro.’ (Conversation with her father Apotoro Rēhita Hamiora Te Waru Rewiri at her home in Ashhurst – June 1999)

As she developed the idea further she came to understand that:

Wāhi ngaro was something in yourself, that was lost or you know, a place in yourself that was or a hole that needed to be filled or that sort of or waiting to receive that sort of stuff

Here, Te Waru Rewiri is not describing wāhi ngaro as a space of nothing, negative space, or a void of emptiness. Instead, she sees it as a space of immense potential – of yet-to-be realised understandings; an internalised, unfilled dynamic space, an as yet untapped receptacle of future knowledge and endeavour. Wāhi ngaro then represents a gateway to new realms and experiences.

## Privilege is wāhi ngaro to the privileged

When analysing discourse collected from Pākehā participants interviewed as part of the Privilege Project about who might be included in talk of belonging in the ‘mainstream’, some struggled to articulate their response. Many took several seconds to construct a reply, using speech fillers such as ‘um’ and verbally expressing their difficulty with the

question. While some participants did offer initial descriptors of what constituted mainstream, most responses discussed mainstream identity as *not* being what marked marginal identities. Participants could clearly and easily articulate the identity and cultural markers of marginal groups as different from ‘normal’, making them ‘other’ and easily visible in everyday society. Markers of the participants’ own identity and the cultural markers of the dominant group were, to a large degree, *wāhi ngaro* in that their centrality to everyday life made it difficult to see them directly and thus they were rarely spoken of explicitly. Mainstream identity was instead implied in a range of ways by its opposition to the explicit position of marginal groups.

Ah . . . well I suppose some people say oh it’s middle-class white New Zealanders but I actually don’t think that’s the case, I think that um that I think that it is predominantly that but I also think that it actually encompasses Māori with a particular worldview but it doesn’t necessarily encompass Māori with a, you know, a strong sense of their culture so I actually think that mainstream is not necessarily colour specific but it is about um I think it is kind of fundamentally conservative actually um it’s the mainstream are the people that have jobs, have children, you know, don’t commit crimes, don’t I don’t know, don’t push the boundaries of you know of political thought um and are just getting on with their it’s the kiwis that are just getting on with it I don’t know how else to put it really um and they are not sort of rocking the boat too much, they are not um they are not radicalised but equally they are not completely in a, um what would you call it? hibernation either they are, they do have an interest in what is going on but not so much that they would go and rush down the street or you know spray things on the wall or yeah. . . . I would say anarchists they are not mainstream, libertarians and ACT party supporters they are not mainstream um, you know, um I am probably using the political sort of aspect too much you know. Greenies are not necessarily mainstream although that is changing as well and has changed. Extremists I guess are not mainstream so yeah anyone’s pushing the envelope of political thought is not mainstream so people like, you know John Minto [New Zealand political activist] he would not be considered mainstream and um I guess um feminists would not be considered mainstream um yeah –(Samantha)

In this powerful piece, Samantha summarises her ideas of what constitutes mainstream New Zealand. An analysis of Samantha’s discourse reveals her view of mainstream as predominantly white and middle class, but not as a straightforward embodiment of whiteness. She attempts to differentiate mainstream as a cultural and structural manifestation of whiteness, in which Māori without a ‘strong sense of their culture’ may also be included. Additional markers of inclusion in this mainstream identity are those who ‘have jobs’, ‘have children’ and are those that are ‘just getting on with it’.

All her other comments about mainstream New Zealand, however, are articulated by an implied opposition to the groups and behaviours described. For instance, mainstream New Zealanders are *not* committing crimes, and *not* pushing boundaries or rocking the boat. This works usefully with her inclusive marker of ‘just getting on with it’. Rocking the boat is seen as the opposite of just getting on with it, and she conveys the idea that mainstream people don’t complain (Bell, 1996, 2004; Wetherell and Potter, 1992). She goes on to list the largely political groupings of those she doesn’t see as mainstream. Discursively this is interesting as she marks almost every group whose particular interests can’t be taken for granted as being at the heart of New Zealand institutions and

society in general. Again by marking all these groups as sitting outside mainstream society, she is implying who can take their inclusion for granted. For example, if feminists are not considered mainstream, then by implication defenders of patriarchy are; and if Māori who do not have a strong sense of their culture are mainstream, then Māori with a strong sense of their culture are not. This clearly implies that mainstream is non-Māori in its nature and that Māori who can forgo their identity to fit in are encouraged and rewarded through belonging.

Three offerings for the expansion of the concept of wāhi ngaro emerged from participants' analyses of mainstream privilege. First, mainstream privilege is wāhi ngaro in that it is largely hidden from participants' understandings. Talking about something so central to oneself but hidden from one's view is difficult, and participants drew on characteristics of marginal identities that are visible as a roundabout way of illuminating the wāhi ngaro of mainstream identity. Such blind spots were marked by silences, gaps, as well as disjointed and incoherent speech, what Bonilla-Silva (2006: 68) refers to as 'rhetorical incoherence'. Some Pākehā participants seemed uncomfortable with needing to perform these discursive tricks, and others expressed dissatisfaction in their inability to explain mainstream identity.

Second, the data discussed here speak of wāhi ngaro not only as something hidden, but also as something lost. If marginalised groups such as Māori are required to *not* be culturally Māori in order to be included in mainstream, forfeiting part of themselves is implied. Wāhi ngaro then for marginal groups seeking inclusion would mean forfeiting aspects of identity that define one's difference, particularly when seen as disruptive to an assumed norm. Accordingly, feminists must forfeit feminism to be mainstream, libertarians must forfeit libertarianism, activists must forfeit activism and so forth. This forfeiture aspect of wāhi ngaro represents a loss, not only for the aspects of identity that may have meaning at the level of the individual, but also for all New Zealanders because it demands and rewards the invisibility that makes it so difficult for participants to verbalise and understand their place in society. This continues and entrenches the silences and obfuscation in our understandings of society, hampering efforts to recognise diversity and inclusion and intensifying what Sullivan and Tuana (2007) describe as 'epistemologies of ignorance'.

Finally, the discomfort and dissatisfaction of some Pākehā participants with the limiting nature of their mainstream invisibility on one's discursive ability and the way it disrupted their talk, aligns with Te Waru Rewiri's analysis of wāhi ngaro. Rather than seeing these wāhi ngaro as static, absolute and unchanging spaces of unknowing, she explains wāhi ngaro as a space of dramatic potential. Wāhi ngaro represents a series of gaps or holes in knowledge and experience that can be filled – a space within oneself that is waiting to receive new and different perspectives. We argue that, for members of mainstream New Zealand, this potential to fill wāhi ngaro would go some way to creating greater satisfaction and clarity about their place, and the place of others, in New Zealand society.

## Discussion

The goal of this article has not been to identify that societal privilege is invisible to those that benefit most from it; this is a fundamental premise in the study of all privilege, especially racialised privilege (Consedine and Consedine, 2005; Ferber, 2003; Frankenburg, 1993;

Kendall, 2013; Kimmel, 2010; Moreton-Robinson et al., 2008; Sullivan, 2006). Rather this article applies the theorising of an under-exposed Kaupapa Māori theorist to data about Pākehā privilege as a demonstration of the innovative potential of Kaupapa Māori theorising for any content area, even those not often thought of as 'Māori business'.

Nor is this paper arguing that cross-disciplinary analysis between science and the creative arts is an entirely new approach. Government initiatives such as the 'Smash Palace Collaborations Fund' (2002–11), co-managed by Creative New Zealand and the Ministry of Research, Science and Technology, provided support for the development of collaborative projects between New Zealand scientists and artists, some of whom were Māori (New Zealand Government, 2005). Further, Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence, is funded by the Tertiary Education Commission and hosted by the University of Auckland (Ngā Pae o te Maramatanga, 2017). To realise their vision of Māori leading New Zealand into the future, the centre provides assistance to Māori researchers across a broad range of disciplines, is working with 21 partner research entities, and also supports Māori research and dissemination, including Māori scholarship in visual arts and culture. While these collaborations between science and the creative arts are apparent and important, this article argues that they are less travelled avenues of Kaupapa Māori collaboration which could be more deeply embedded.

Further expansion of Kaupapa Māori theorising and collaboration poses exciting possibilities. Kaupapa Māori epistemologies can offer new understandings of the invisibility of societal privilege in a way that, by definition, mainstream research may struggle to appreciate. The fulfilment of wāhi ngaro for mainstream New Zealand is one possible contribution.

## Conclusion

There is enormous potential benefit to all New Zealanders from approaches which could illuminate and help develop deeper and more meaningful markers of Pākehā identity, thereby contributing to who we all are as New Zealanders. Creating and imbuing counter-narratives about the 'other', and race relations more generally, would give real effect to the values of inclusion and fairness that the nation claims to value so highly. Arresting and countering epistemologies of ignorance could also facilitate acknowledgement of past and current injustice and encourage ideas that seek to address it. Kaupapa Māori approaches to better understand New Zealand society also have the potential to create more embracing and equitable perspectives of belonging, citizenship and nationhood.

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## Author Biographies

**Belinda Borell** is a Maori researcher with a particular interest in *rangatahi* (youth) Maori, identity, racism, social justice, whiteness and critical race theory. In 2005 she completed her Master's research exploring the cultural diversity of young Maori in South Auckland. Her doctoral research utilised a Maori theoretical approach to examine how societal privilege affects population health. In 2017 she was awarded the Hohua Tutengaehe Postdoctoral Fellowship from the Health Research Council of New Zealand.

**Kura Te Waru Rewiri** is one of Aotearoa New Zealand's most celebrated Māori women artists. She studied fine art at Ilam School of Fine Arts. She is also an art educator teaching in schools, tertiary institutions, universities and Whare Wananga. She has been a key contributor to contemporary Maori exhibitions both in New Zealand and overseas. Her paintings are held in prestigious collections nationally and overseas. Her works have been documented in many books, as well as in the monograph *Kura Te Waru Rewiri*. Her painting practice gives a voice to the concerns and

the place that is occupied by Maori women, as well as enabling understanding and appreciation of Maori realities and beliefs in New Zealand today; forming a bridge between traditional Maori art and contemporary arts practice. She is currently the Associate Head of School, School of Art where she continues to mentor students, fellow artists, art academics and contemporary Maori art curators.

**Helen Moewaka Barnes** is the Director of Whāriki and Co-director of the SHORE and Whāriki Research Centre. She has worked on research in many areas, recently on relationships between the health of people and the health of environments, sexual coercion, alcohol and youth well-being and identity. Her work is both qualitative and quantitative and she is also involved in developing research within Māori paradigms. She was recently awarded a programme grant from the Health Research Council of New Zealand to examine Maori knowledge and concepts between place, belonging and people, and how those factors relate to overall wellbeing.

**Tim McCreanor** is a senior researcher at SHORE and Whariki Research Centre, within the College of Health at Massey University in Auckland. His broad public health orientation and interest in the social determinants of health and wellbeing, provide a platform for social science projects that support and stimulate social change. In particular his research seeks to foreground, critique and redress the mechanisms of talk, text and other forms of communication that operate to produce, maintain and naturalise the disparities, exclusions and inequities so evident in our society. Key topics include racial discrimination, youth wellbeing, alcohol marketing, media representations and social cohesion. His work combines a vigorous programme of externally funded research, peer-reviewed publication, postgraduate supervision, community development and capability building.