‘AKAPAPA‘ANGA ARA TANGATA:

Genealogising the (Cook Islands) Māori imaginary

By

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A thesis

submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington

in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Victoria University of Wellington

2021

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted before to any institution for assessment purposes. To the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no materials that have been written or published by other people. However, I have acknowledged all sources and have cited these in the Bibliography section. Any queries should be directed to emma.en.powell@gmail.com

This thesis contains two publishable papers for which I was the sole researcher and primary author. Parts of Chapter 3 have been published by *Pacific Studies* (Brigham Young University, Hawai'i), and Chapter 5 has been submitted in an altered form as part of the Teresia Teaiwa Award (2020) organised by the International Studies Association.

Abstract

For Cook Islands Māori (Māori) peoples, genealogical practices, or what is referred to as ‘akapapa‘anga ara tangata (‘akapapa‘anga), are central to identity-making, relationality and subjectivities. Though this is anecdotally acknowledged, there has been little scholarly consideration of this cornerstone of Māori society and how it is practiced, developed and given meaning in their day to day lives. This thesis provides an understanding of ‘akapapa‘anga ara tangata in three modes: cultural practice, cultural paradigm and research method, and examines the theoretical potential of these modalities in the revisioning of Māori historiography, nationhood and futurity.

To build an understanding of ‘akapapa‘anga in these interrelating modes, I discuss reflections from interview participants, gathered during fieldwork in Rarotonga, Cook Islands in 2019. This is deepened with comparative analyses of scholarship about indigenous Pacific genealogical practices, world-view and knowledge-making by Cook Islands Māori scholars, and writings from other national and cultural contexts in the Pacific region, Polynesia in particular. This critical approach is a Pacific Studies practice shaped by Teresia Teaiwa’s (2010) prescription for interdisciplinarity and comparative practice. It situates this thesis and is inherent in the subsequent chapters. The thesis is structured around three narrative centres, shaped by the temporal and spatial scales of ‘akapapa‘anga explored in Chapter 2.

To demonstrate the theoretical efficacy of ‘akapapa‘anga in the contemporary lives of Māori peoples, the history and potential futurity of the Cook Islands name is examined in Chapter 3. As a key cultural practice of ‘akapapa‘anga, Māori naming traditions can be understood as temporal markers across the complex genealogies of people and land. Both people and land can carry and invoke several names in life and in death, and they are often changed, bestowed, or kept deliberately silent. This facet of ‘akapapa‘anga offers a Māori epistemological lens through which to view the nation’s name anew: all names for Māori are not necessarily appended irrevocably, but invoked through ‘akapapa‘anga.

In moving temporally and spatially outward from this narrative centre of nation and name, Chapter 4 explores the constitution of Cook Islands nationhood through discussion of another familiar name – the demonym Māori – and the relations of Aotearoa Māori with whom we share it. The inclusion of the Cook Islands and its people as part of the Realm, or the nation-state that is New Zealand, rarely features in popular discourse about the Cook Islands and as such the genealogical connections between Māori and Māori are ostensibly acknowledged but remain somewhat indeterminate. Through examples of story, chant and dance I show that through these knowledge-making practices of ‘akapapa‘anga it is possible, as Alice Te Punga Somerville (2012) writes, to productively “re-remember” our way across time, space and well-beyond the colonial cartographies we think we have always known.

This re-remembering takes us to a final narrative centre. In Chapter 5, the Māori world is presented as an imaginary built from the cultural paradigm that is ‘akapapa‘anga. By surveying a tradition of imaginaries across theoretical, critical and poetic literatures of the Cook Islands and the Pacific, I build a Māori imaginary by using the modalities of ‘akapapa‘anga in the context of the time in which this thesis was written; the COVID-19 pandemic occurred at the same time as the Cook Islands’ government began preparing a development plan with a 100-year outlook. Using Oceanian topography from the aforementioned tradition, I use the conceptual reef to show that ‘akapapa‘anga offers a certainty of the Māori world that stretches beyond the boundaries of nation and Realm, and beyond the current moment.

‘Akapapa‘anga ara tangata is a cultural paradigm that holds Māori relations to kin and to place through complex and deeply meaningful cultural practices. It is an institution of knowledge-maintenance and knowledge-making that has the ability to revise some of the current discourses that border Māori identities and subjectivities, and reassert sovereign histories, nationhood and futurities.

Acknowledgements

I na'ea tēia 'anga'anga i 'akamata ei? This thesis feels like it has been coming on the tide for a long time.

I would not have started this project had I not received the Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) Doctoral Scholarship 2018. The scholarship allowed me to step away from my job and return to the people and the work that have always interested and inspired me. My sincere thanks to VUW and its various committees, schools and teams–the Victoria Research Scholarship Committee, the Human Ethics Committee, the Joint Research Committee, the School of Languages and Cultures (especially the superwomen at admin, Lisa, Lagi, Ida and Karen)–who gave me the financial and institutional support (and very crucially, four walls and a comfortable desk) to do this project. Ngā mihi.

To the many interview participants who contributed to this project, I have spent hours poring over our recorded conversations and I continue to marvel at the ways your stories and perspectives challenge me to think differently and more deeply about what I *think* I know about 'akapapa'anga, and the history and future of our people. You have all taught me so much. Meitaki rānuinui.

There are many who have supported me during this project and they continue to keep the fires burning at the various places I call home. Acknowledgements must go to all those in Rarotonga and across the pā 'enua who gave me the gift of company, language, food, and incisive and critical thought: dear Jean, for your irrepressible enthusiasm and for always making sure I ate too much and talked too long; my brainy, creative, deep-thinking-and-feeling sisters, Nanise, Eliza and Pouarii, thank you ma'ata for your solidarity; the Okotai family, especially Uncle Temu and Aunty Lesley for always honouring the legacy of our grandmothers (and lending me the blue office chair that enabled any writing of this thesis to happen at all!); darling Tina, for the life-saving coffees and Monday future-dreaming sessions, meitaki ma'ata, my friend; Mama Luisa for keeping me company at my loneliest moments and challenging me to

speak and hear tō tātou reo tūpuna. I would not have survived 2020 without you, Mama. I especially want to acknowledge Papa Nandi Glassie who we lost in September 2020. E Papa, meitaki rānunui nō te au ‘āpi‘i’anga i roto i tō tāua araara Atiu. Your support continues to mean the world to me but I wish we’d had more time for talking and dreaming the way forward for our people.

To the Puati ‘anau, Debi, James, Sammy, Rani, dear Kahana, Mere, and Nikuru, I truly don’t know if this work would be what it is had I not met you, Deb, at that conference in early 2019. Thank you for the meals together, the coffees, the motorbike and car loans, the encouragement and careful reminders at moments when I felt such overwhelming doubt. You have all shown me the many ways one can serve as a part of te iti tangata Kūki ‘Āirani. Aro‘a atu nei.

I am most grateful to the three incredible women who guided me through this work, my supervisors Emalani Case, Arini Loader and April K. Henderson. Thank you for your patience and your wisdom. You made space for me in ways you may not have realised and I would not have been able to write *this* thesis without you. Thank you for lending your super powers and super minds. Meitaki nui.

To my dear friends in Wellington and Auckland: Ross, for being such a great friend and reader; dearest Gogi, Aiko, Nic, Ju, Catherine, for delicious dinners and the quick notes on politics of the day! Kia ora! All my Waiheke crew, Max and Juls, Sam and Miek, but especially Mikey who gave space and sanctuary at home in the Bay during the final days of this thesis. I hope I can do the same for you one day.

To friends and colleagues across Aotearoa, the Pacific and the world - particularly the superstar academics Miranda, Katerina, Yvonne, Alice, Polly, and the new generation, Jess, Manuia, Eli, Mel, Talei, Stace and so many more - who have so generously shared their experiences, resources and energy. To our community of Cook Islands researchers, I’m proud of you and the work you are doing. Thanks for sharing space and dreaming a future for our people and intellectual traditions. We are, as Mīria says, on our way!

E te whānau o Va'aomanū Pasifika ki Te Whare Wānanga o Te Ūpoko o te Ika, tēna kōutou katoa. Ngā mihi i te manaakitanga, te mātauranga me te tautoko anō hoki. To our Va'aomanū Pasifika family, thank you for sharing the legacy of our programme. In particular, to Nate for the strong black coffees, cutting/brilliant critique and the much needed company as we set off together at the beginning of this mad ride. I am so glad I got to PhD with you. Jess M, for your example and making me better at what I do. I feel blessed I got to work alongside you for a time. To Teresia with aro'a for all you have taught me. You are greatly missed.

Last, but never least, to my dear family, the ones I carry in my pito always. To mum, for your strong name and your strong papa'anga. Your iterative reminders about "getting it done" are like a chant in my bones. To Aunty Frances, Uncle Phil, Uncle Richard, the brothers, the cousins, the relations – at some point you have all housed, clothed and fed me, given me money, hugs and most important, your attention and affection. I love you all so very much. May we never lose our way back to each other.

And finally, to grandma and granddad, Teupoko Enua and Richard John Powell.

Everything that I have done and will do, everything I have worked for, every part of me that I am proud of, in some way or another leads back to you. Thank you for the lessons, the challenges and your unwavering belief in me. I am very proud to be your granddaughter. x

Dedication

Nō tātou kātoatoa, e te iti tangāta.

May we always find each other, and ourselves, in the papa‘anga.

ʻAkapapaʻanga

Table of figures

Acronyms & Abbreviations

AAPS	Australian Association for Pacific Studies
ASAO	Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania
COVID-19	Corona Virus Disease 2019
JPS	Journal of the Polynesian Society
MCD	Cook Islands' Ministry of Cultural Development
NAISA	Native American and Indigenous Studies Association
NSDA	National Sustainable Development Agenda 2020+
NSDP	National Sustainable Development Plan (2016-2020)
NZHA	New Zealand History Association
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
TMO	Te Marae Ora, the Cook Islands' Ministry of Health

Glossary of key terms

Unless otherwise referenced, the definitions for the terminology below are taken from the online *Dictionary of Cook Island languages* (2016) which is administered by the Te Ipukarea Institute of Auckland University of Technology and the University of the South Pacific. It comprises words and accompanying etymological details from various dictionaries including the well-known *Dictionary of the Māori Language of Rarotonga* (1983, p. 8) by Stephen Savage, and the *Cook Islands Māori Dictionary* (Buse, Bigges, Moeka'a, & Taringa, 1995).

ʻakamataʻanga	introduction, to begin, to make seen
Ariki	(high) chief, king/queen, ruler over a tribe, titular head of district or island (as in Mangaia, for example)
aronga mana	group of leaders (eg. hiefs and sub-chiefs); governance
ʻenua	1. Land, country, territory, earth, soil 2. Afterbirth, placenta 3. A tree (macaranga harveyana)
ipukarea	inherited land, home land or ancestral land, used predominantly in the southern group of islands
ʻiriʻiriʻanga	1. Go aground, rest on support, lodge on something, descend or light upon 2. To be woven together, entangled, the act of bringing together disparate parts
kupu	word
Māmā	1. Mother, also used for wife 2. Universal term of respect for an older woman, whether related or not, or women

māori	The *Dictionary of Cook Island languages* defines māori: "1. Māori, n. Of native origin, indig-enous, esp. Polynesian or Māori as opposed to Papa'ā, European". In John C. Moorfield's *Te Aka Online Dictionary* for te reo Māori Aotearoa, the definition given is: "1. (modifier) normal, usual, natural, common, ordinary" (2003-2020).
mata'iapo	1. The firstborn, eldest child. 2. A chiefly title and the chief who has such a title. The head of a sub-tribe, subject to the ariki (paramount chief) as far as the whole tribe is concerned and owing the ariki traditional allegiance, but otherwise largely independent as head of his own family group and owning land in his own right. The title is commonly held by the eldest child, passing to the next eldest and thus down the line in that generation, passing eventually to the eldest son in the next generation, though the title is elective and unsuitable members may be passed over if the families think fit.
mata'iapo tūtara	"A mataiapo tutara is a mataiapo of very high standing who has some degree of influence over other mataiapo in the vicinity" (R. Crocombe, 1961a)
matakeinanga	wider family, community, clan
mate/tūmatetenga	death/grieving, sorrow
'ōire	district, town, village
'orometua	preacher, missionary, priest, pastor, minister of religion
papa'ā	a person of European descent
papa'anga	genealogy (noun)
Pāpā	father, grandfather

puna	1. A pool (of water) 2. Lineage, family 3. A district or major subdivision of an island into wedge shaped physical areas and socio-political groups; tapere
tapere	An administrative sub-district, a subdivision of an ʻōire.
tangata whenua	An Aotearoa Māori term meaning "people of the land" and referring to the indigenous peoples or the indigineity of Aotearoa New Zealand.
te iti tangāta (Māori)	Māori society
tumu	1. A base, foundation 2. A reason or cause
tumu kōrero	1. Respositories of knowledge 2. An advisor, tutor in wisdom or the art of war, and may speak on behalf of the chief. Tumu kōrero are considered to be learned scholars, experts, specialists and knowledge-holders of the tribe, village and community
turanga	In the context of papaʻanga, Ani James, Jean Mitaera and Apii Rongo-Raea defined turanga as "the acknowledgement by self and others of one's position/standing and potential within the collective" (James, Mitaera, & Rongo-Raea, 2012, p. 7).
ʻura	(to) dance
vaka	1. Canoe 2. Vaka tangata, clan, tribe, the followers of a chief.

Ta‘i: ‘Akamata‘anga

When I was born in South Auckland at Middlemore Hospital, my grandmother called the hospital staff and asked them to take my afterbirth and put it in the fridge so she could come and pick it up. Through my grandmother, we descend from people who belong to the raised-coral atoll of Atiu. Atiu is a part of a larger group of islands that our people know as Ngāputoru. This very old confederation was established over many generations of warring and intermarriage and includes Atiu and the islands and peoples of Ma‘uke, Mitiaro and Takutea. Ngāputoru is a part of the modern-day Cook Islands nation. For generations, the people of Ngāputoru and the Cook Islands have practiced post-partum rites, so when my grandmother retrieved my afterbirth she took it home to the family land she and my grandfather bought in the early 1970s on Waiheke Island, 30 minutes from Auckland City, and buried it there. She placed an olive-tree atop it. When my brothers and my first cousins arrived after me, their placentae – or what our people call ‘enua – were also buried next to mine. My grandparents still pick fruit from that grove of olive trees every other year.

My grandmother, who came to New Zealand with her papa‘ā (European person) husband to raise their children, has now lived most of her life away from the Cook Islands and passed on very little knowledge about these generations-old practices to her descendants. Needless to say, the burying of my ‘enua, and the ‘enua of my siblings and cousins, has long perplexed me. I have asked my grandmother about this act numerous times, asking why she did it and she has always responded, “Because you belong here”. Through conversations over the years, I learnt that not only did my grandmother bury my ‘enua at our family home but my grandfather also took my umbilical cord, what our people call the pito, and gave it to the sea at Diamond Harbour in Tasmania when visiting for maritime training in the early 1990s. The pito of my brothers and cousins were dropped in the ocean at Cape Reinga at the very northern tip of Te Ika-a-Maui (the North Island) of Aotearoa New Zealand when my grandfather rounded the Cape on his many coastal trips around the country as a seaman. In response to my asking why granddad had gone through the trouble of

putting our pito into the sea, my grandmother explained, "So, the sea will bring you home". My desire to more fully comprehend the intent behind these acts of my grandparents has stayed with me my entire life.

I was primarily raised by my grandparents on Waiheke Island. Atiu people and the Māori people of the Cook Islands refer to this caregiving in English as "being fed". The opening story of my grandmother and I, and the burying of my 'enua on Waiheke Island, is one of many generations-old practices that I have carefully collected from her over the years. It is with no criticism that I note my grandmother taught us very little about Atiu and Cook Islands Māori cultural practices but I was fortunate to be raised by her and had the opportunity to observe them (and her) closely. The origins of the olive grove from which my grandmother gives olive oil to our family and friends every other year is not something that we talk about very often as a family. It is only in my later years, and through my years of research about the Cook Islands and our people, that I have returned to it in my theoretical workings. It is one of the primary stories that sparked the beginning of, and the subsequent research questions that form, this doctoral thesis.

For Cook Islands Māori (Māori) people, belonging to land and family are deeply interwoven in our conceptions of self and subjectivity. The word 'enua is the term we use for both placenta and land. For our people, this relationship between people and place, human and land, is captured in our practices of genealogy making and maintenance. This practice is referred to in the Māori language as 'akapapa'anga ara tangata or 'akapapa'anga as I use in the coming chapters. This doctoral project explores the power of 'akapapa'anga in the everyday lives of Māori people by bringing together contemporary understandings of its meaning and practice through analyses of interview material, contemporary public and political discourse, and synthesis of resonant scholarship from across the Pacific region. Through building an understanding of 'akapapa'anga, I will examine its theoretical usefulness and its explanatory power against some of the ways the Cook Islands nation and its people have been framed in scholarship and research to date. I will use it to revision some of the dominant discourses in Cook Islands scholarship with a particular focus on how

‘akapapa‘anga can help inform future-building projects for the nation and its people, where ever they might be located.

Before continuing, I should be clear about the terminology used in the coming work as it also foreshadows later discussions in this thesis. Though the term Māori is usually associated with the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand, it is also used by the indigenous peoples of the Cook Islands to refer to themselves, thus the common nomenclature “Cook Islands Māori”. This differentiates the Māori of the Cook Islands from the Māori and tangata whenua (indigenous people of the land) of Aotearoa New Zealand but simultaenously others Cook Islands Māori people in a complex constitutional and colonial genealogy that I will explore later in Chapter 4. In this thesis, Māori is used as the primary reference for the indigenous people of the Cook Islands and this includes the people of Pukapuka or Wale. As I discuss in Chapter 5, it is widely acknowledged that Pukapuka and the people of Wale come from distinct genealogies further to the west however, the contemporary context clearly articulates their modern lives to the nation and the Māori of the Cook Islands nation in ways beyond the scope of this thesis. Similarly, I acknowledge that while the Māori people of Aotearoa will be referenced accordingly as Aotearoa Māori throughout this thesis, it is a name of the north island that now stretches across the nation of New Zealand in contemporary discourse ("AOTEAROA," 1966). The terms “Aotearoa”, “Aotearoa New Zealand” and “New Zealand” are used to refer to the indigenous nation, the indigenous nation and the settler state, and the settler state, respectively. I make these distinctions in order to make clear modes of indigenous sovereignty as distinct from the New Zealand state, ongoing settler-indigenous dialogues and tensions, and the ways the indigenous and settler state implicate one another in the contemporary diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand and their Pacific territories. Similarly, the term Māori will refer primarily to the indigenous people of the Cook Islands when used as

a qualifying adjective (ie. Māori person, Māori teacher). Te reo Māori[1] (the indigenous Māori language varieties of the Cook Islands and Aotearoa) used in this thesis is not italicised. It is my practice to normalise indigenous and particularly Māori language and terms by not using italicisation as, in my view, this formatting suggests a pecularity to its presence in academic writing. Moreover, as an Atiu and Mangaia person, I find it visually and intellectually distracting to read my ancestral languages in italics as I move fluidly and necessarily between those varieties and English. English-language translations are given in-text following Māori words and passages unless further context is needed. In the case of the latter, contextualising comment is given in footnotes.

The qualification of this cognate term in the ethnonymic projections of the New Zealand state and its nineteenth century colonial agenda, signals some of the other topics this thesis touches on and contextualises my focus on 'akapapa'anga as well. Genealogies, or what Māori call papa'anga (noun), are the descendent record of te tumu, or the source of all things, and trace the relationships between both people and place. Papa'anga is the record of families and decendents but it has a discursive nature as well. Māori social work researchers Ani James, Jean Mitaera and Apii Rongo-Raea called papa'anga an "institution that places individuals and collectives into relationships" (James et al., 2012, p. 10) and an interviewee declared, "For me, it [papa'anga] means your family links – your connections. Your connections that connect to a place, a village, land, an island, a country" (Interview 7/8)[2]. But how do

[1] The languages of Māori and Māori Aotearoa are considered to be the closest relations of the Tahitic group of Austronesian languages but are still considered separate languages in and of themselves. Māori linguist, Sally Akevai Nicholas, discusses the politics of the Māori languages in her doctoral work (2016) and subsequent publications and the reader should engage her work for in-depth description of how these languages have developed, their statuses and current maintenance and revitalisation work underway.

[2] Interviews, which were all completed between July and October 2019 in Rarotonga, Cook Islands, have been coded by the date on which they were conducted due to the confidentiality requirements of some participants. For consistency, all interviews have been coded in this way, regardless of whether the participant specified preference for confidentiality or not. It allows participants to identify their specific contributions (by way of their interview date) without being explicitly identified. This is in line with guidelines for in-text referencing of interviews found in the *Sixth Edition Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, which was used for formatting this thesis. As such, none of these interviews have been included in the reference list.

we go about tracing or identifying such connections and how do we understand their significance? For Māori, papa'anga permeates many parts of our day to day lives. It gives meaning to our relationships and to our feelings of belonging, identity and kinship. For example, when meeting for the first time, Māori will recite their names and the lands that they and their ancestors belong to. In the reciprocal exchange there will come the auxiliary questions where individuals attempt to ascertain the social and relational proximities that might exist between one another. Such conventions often involve lengthy narrative exchanges, underlying which is an assumption that all Māori will have some sort of connection in their papa'anga somewhere - it just needs to be found. For this reason, all individuals who wish to speak at family events like reunions, funerals, committee and village meetings, will be expected to recite their papa'anga before contributing to discussion or asking a question. As I will discuss later, Māori also recite, remember, trace and record their genealogies iteratively in the ongoing communal allocation and maintenance of 'enua located in the Cook Islands,to which all Māori have inalienable rights.

This sharing and record of one's subjectivities is what Māori refer to as 'akapapa'anga ara tangata or the abbreviated 'akapapa'anga, as I refer to it. The word 'akapapa'anga comes from the kupu tumu, or the base word, papa in the Cook Islands Māori language. Papa has many meanings depending on the context. It can convey a base, a foundation, a solid rock or a layer, an arrangement or list of things. The affixation 'aka is a prefix that turns the word papa into a transitive verb or something that is done to something else. Therefore to 'akapapa is *to* layer, *to* arrange or *to* ready. The particle 'anga is a nominalising suffix. 'Akapapa'anga therefore refers to the act of layering, arranging or readying and in the vernacular, is most often used to refer to a list of contents or items that are continually put into the correct order or arrangement. For example, one might use the word 'akapapa'anga to describe an agenda for a meeting or a contents page in a book. In the context of Māori relationality then, 'akapapa'anga refers to the act of situating relations within the institution of papa'anga and it is the nuance and power of this practice that I explore, examine and describe in this thesis.

In the following sections of this Introduction, I situate the relevance of ʻakapapaʻanga and this thesis by giving a brief description of academic work pertaining to the Cook Islands and what I perceive as a theoretical and critical lacuna in that literature to date. To further contextualise this scholarly gap, I describe relevant research and theoretical discourses currently underway in other national and disciplinary contexts across the Pacific, focusing on the cultural and geographical sub-region of Polynesia. I then briefly describe the methodology of this thesis by recounting the data-gathering methods used for the evidence presented here, and describing the literary and discursive style that gives shape to the structure and presentation of arguments and theoretical offerings herein. I conclude with a concise overview of the coming chapters.

My discussion of inter-regional and interdisciplinary literatures and scholarship in the following section is characteristic of my descendence from a particular Pacific Studies tradition. I came to Pacific Studies in part because I sought an interdisciplinary space to deploy the skills I had learnt from my early career experience in the New Zealand public sector, my undergraduate training in Public Policy, and my postgraduate research experience in Literary Studies. The framing and methodological approach in this work is deeply influenced by the pedagogical and theoretical legacy of Pacific Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. In building on the work of Hawaiʻi-based scholar Terence Wesley-Smith (1995), the late Associate Professor and previous director of our programme, Teresia Teaiwa, prescribed a way forward for Pacific Studies practice with three tenets that have largely shaped the teaching and research practice of Vaʻaomanū. Teaiwa declared, "Pacific studies shall be interdisciplinary, account for indigenous ways of knowing, and involve comparative analysis" (Teaiwa, 2010b, p. 116). Teaiwa's prescription for interdisciplinarity informs my review of literature in the following section and my analyses in other parts of the thesis. It has also incited the deliberate use of my literary training and my professional experience in government administration and policy making in my analysis. Teaiwa's call to account for indigenous ways of knowing has inspired and enabled the very heart of this work; this thesis examines one of the cornerstones of the indigenous Māori world-

view and celebrates the sophistication and intellectual tradition of Māori genealogical practices as it has not been done before.

The final tenet – comparativity – is the most useful in the critical analyses of this thesis and, at the same time, has required the most work to understand before attempting to wield it in this work. In her essay, "Specifying Pacific Studies: For or Before an Asia-Pacific Studies Agenda" (2010b) Teaiwa wrote

> Pacific Studies, to put it bluntly, cannot be about a single ethnicity, a single nation, or a single locality; to live up to the Pacific, our work must reflect a commitment to making comparisons within and across the region. The comparative approach does not have to be routine and predictable. It is certainly useful to compare the linguistic and oral traditions of Samoans and Maori, the reigns of Queen Lili'uokalani of Hawai'i and Queen Salote of Tonga…But it is just as useful to apply the anticolonial theorizing of Albert Wendt and Epeli Hau'ofa to Niuean art and literature, or the feminist political economy analyses of 'Atu Emberson-Bain and Claire Slatter to globalization processes in the Northern Marianas (2010a, pp. 117-118)

Though I focus on a Māori cultural practice here, the research process has necessarily ventured beyond Māori archives, critical literatures and cultural heritage. As I will go on to discuss, the absence of previous scholarly work on 'akapapa'anga, the relatively limited corpus of theoretical work formed from Māori-specific intellectual traditions, and the time constraints of this three-year thesis, have made comparative analyses not only useful, but necessary for this work. Through consideration of cognate and diverse cultural knowledge in other anglophone critical literatures of the Pacific, I have been able to form the forthcoming arguments in deeper ways that would not have been possible otherwise.

The critical literature

Much of my postgraduate research work has been about the Cook Islands and Māori peoples, and it is work that has always been catalysed by a need to fill gaps in the academic literature about the same. This thesis offers an extended discussion and explanation of Māori genealogical practices to add to the knowledge basket of te iti tangata Māori (Māori society), but in its argumentation, also speaks to some of the scholarship produced to date and the analytical and methodological assumptions that have underpinned that body of work. Much of the published history about the Cook Islands has been mapped through a series of colonial moments. Texts like Richard Gilson's book, *The Cook Islands, 1820-1950* (1980), and Dick Scott's *Years of the Pooh-bah* (1991) remain popular and well-cited histories. Infamous colonial figures like Walter Gudgeon, Fredrick Moss (Whimp, 2008), and missionary William Wyatt Gill (1982) have continued to fascinate researchers interested in biography and the study of writings left by these historical figures. Existing texts offer impressive syntheses of large volumes from the colonial archive – government correspondence, personal memoirs and communications, maps – and weave sweeping narratives of major colonial actors, the legal and constitutional mechanics of imperialism in the Pacific, and the associated discourses of nation-building and citizenship that have continued to develop into the post-colonial period (Curson, 1970, 1972; Sissons, 1994, 1999). However, despite the exhaustive nature of this work, it also awards many of the primary roles in these historial narratives to colonial, missionary and papa'ā actors, in turn omitting the complex Māori voices that have existed beyond, throughout and inspite of, the colonial project and period. These men (both subjects and writers of the works) have contributed much to the intellectual tradition of Māori people but there is a need to revise the canon of texts about Cook Islands history. Throughout the coming chapters I highlight some of the heretofore unheard voices through the provision and analyses of interview material, and critical and reflective writings from Māori, alongside these other popular writings and histories.

One of the earliest published texts about the history and genealogies of the Cook Islands is Te Ariki Tara'are's *History and Traditions of Rarotonga* (1919) which was

recorded and translated by Aotearoa Māori translator and scholar, Stephen Savage, before being published in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* (*JPS*) in the early 1900s. It was later re-published by the Polynesian Society (2003) and edited by papa'ā archaeologist Richard Walter, from the University of Otago in New Zealand, and the late Rangi Moeka'a, a well-known linguist and scholar from the island of Ma'uke. It is a rare kind of text – oral traditions written in Māori and recorded in writing early in the twentieth century – but more than this, it is beautifully and incisively told. English translations go some way to conveying Tara'are's gift for story-telling and the depth of his knowledge, but it is the Māori language that caused one of my interviewees to state, "A great read, I tell you. I recommend it...quite an old book and written in some beautiful Māori and the stories in it are fascinating. It's about the early people that came to Rarotonga and about how places acquired their names and their meanings" (Interview 8/8). For many, the stories and genealogies contained in texts like Tara'are's offer a Māori perspective on our collective history, languaged and presented in ways rarely seen in other scholarly sources.

Following Tara'are's work and throughout the twentieth century, Māori literacy and Māori writing began to proliferate. This took the form of memoirs, personal and institutional correspondence, journalistic writing and, pertinent to this thesis, the production of puka papa'anga – family books containing recorded genealogies – written in te reo Māori and increasingly English (M. T. Crocombe, 1976a, 1976b; Ta'unga, 1968). In recent times, puka papa'anga have been produced for ceremonies like family reunions and weddings, and are typed and bound neatly in book form. For many families, however, puka papa'anga have manifested as loose, undiscerning document archives. They include documents detailing land succession, family births, deaths and marriage certificates, chants and songs handed down to descendents and scrawled on loose lined paper, disparate photographs, newspaper clippings and other ephemera collected over generations. For many, they also include written papa'anga, carefully saved during administrative tasks over the years or scribed by younger generations as they have been told the stories by their elders. These documents, though mostly private, represent a key part of the literature about papa'anga in the

Māori context but there has been limited opportunity or interest for any scholarly analyses of these texts. Indeed, to my knowledge, the theorisation and description of Māori genealogies as a cultural practice has not been the topic of extended discussion in any academic work by Māori to date, though some, like the late Māori anthropologist Kauraka Kauraka (1987), have examined the oral traditions, and there are some puka papa'anga that have been published and made publicly available[3] (Henry, 2003).

In the early twentieth century, renowned Aotearoa Māori scholar, Te Rangi Hiroa Sir Peter Buck, undertook extended analyses of the material culture and genealogies of the islands of Manihiki, Rakahanga, Tongareva, and Mangaia (1927, 1932a, 1932b, 1934). His work is still widely read and cited by researchers of Māori and Cook Islands history (Buck, 1993; Reilly, 2009), and his recording of papa'anga is still used as a base-line for interrogating the accuracy of contemporary land claims. Buck's early writings recorded creation stories from the various islands of the Cooks group and he was one of the earliest scholars to advance speculation about the intraregional connections of the Eastern Polynesian region. Even now, Buck is credited with writing one of the most signifiant bodies of ethnographic work about Māori.

In the 1980s and '90s, husband and wife Finnish scholars, Jukka and Anna-Leena Siikala undertook research with a focus on oral and genealogical traditions from the southern group of islands[4]. This culminated in two book-length works: *'Akatokamanava: myth, history and society in the Cook Islands* (1991) and later, *Return to Culture: Oral tradition and Society in the Southern Cook Islands* (2005). Anna-Leena's work considered the "primary role spatial memory plays in coding genre-specific information on landscape and local topography in mythic discourse" (Anttonen, 2016, p. 153). I explore some of these ideas further in Chapters 3-5, inspired in particular by

[3] A number of individuals have donated puka papa'anga to the privately funded Cook Islands Library & Museum at Takamoa on Rarotonga. As the library manager relayed to me, many did so for posterity. The genealogies are one of the library's closed collections and access must be requested and negotiated with the library manager.

[4] The Cook Islands is divided into a northern and southern group. The latter includes (from south to north) Mangaia, Rarotonga, Ma'uke, Atiu, Mitiaro, the uninhabited island of Manuae and Aitutaki.

Anna-Leena's (2019) analysis in her article, "Spatial Memory and Narration: Oral History and Traces of the Past in a Polynesian Landscape" republished posthumously in 2019 in *suomen antropologi*. Juuka published various articles about hierarchies in Māori and other Polynesian societies. His work pulled heavily on the epistemological frameworks of genealogies to ascertain meaning, purpose and ontological truth in those structures and I refer to some of his writings throughout this thesis (1996, 2010, 2014).

While often referred to as a social and cultural outlier, the island of Pukapuka has been written about extensively for its distinctive cultural and social characteristics, quite different from the southern islands, and many of those in the north. I will return to the case of Pukapuka in Chapter 5 as it is, more than any other island, the most compelling example of how distinctiveness and difference might be better contextaulised by 'akapapa'anga and why that is important to contemporary understandings of Māori people. An academic who delved into Pukapuka's cultural peculiarities (in the national context), but specifically the Pukapukan understanding of historiography, was well-known American anthropologist Robert Borofsky. Borofsky undertook an epic 41 months of fieldwork in Pukapuka in the late 1970s where he explored Pukapukan epistemology and ontology with a specific focus on the practice of akatawa[5]. A reviewer of Borofsky's work, Caroline Ralston, commented on how Borofsky had missed a good opportunity to extend the invention of tradition genre in anthropological discourse of the time (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1992; Ralston, 1989). Borofsky seemed perplexed by the Pukapukans' seeming indifference to the ascertainment of concrete facts. In light of that, and along with Ralston's comments, the arguments I make in this thesis seem galvanised: 'akapapa'anga offers a Māori view of history, knowledge and identity-making that traditional anthropological paradigms (and perhaps, broadly speaking, Western critical paradigms) cannot.

[5] A cultural practice whereby the atoll's resources are split into two.

The significance of genealogies across this literature, whether in the context of a deep past or the colonial period[6], is its clear relevance to Māori *life*. Studies of papa'anga have often been framed as historical projects peering into a "mythic past", analytical exercises that consider testimonies of genealogical account and endeavour to put those oral traditions, and tribal and family narratives, into a suitable or "correct" order. The compulsion to impose scholarly deduction upon such narratives makes a number of assumptions about a normative temporality: that genealogies must be read in a particular order and that a "mythic past" is not necessarily "real" historical time but embellished epic narratives of ancestors. Many genealogical records, as shown by Buck, Reilly, Siikala & Siikala and others, show how islands and their humans have been constituted. As I will show in the coming chapters, these records stretch across large expanses of time (from the beginning of the world as Māori know it) and of space (from the depths of the ocean that is 'Avaiki[7], to the island that now rests in the world of light), and that such temporal and spatial locations exist concurrently in the practices of 'akapapa'anga that Māori engage in daily. As Teaiwa (2014) described in her essay, "The Ancestors We Get to Choose: White Influences I Won't Deny", "It has been routinely acknowledged in both anthropological scholarship on Pacific cultures and biographical and theoretical writing by Pacific Islands scholars that genealogy is central to the formation of Pacific subjectivity" (p. 43) and in recent years, research and writing about the significance of Pacific genealogical practices, and the relational theory and temporal-spatial scales inherent within them, has grown.

In 2010, anthropologists, Ty Tengan, Tēvita Ka'ili and Rochelle Fonoti, developed a paper called "Genealogies: Articulating Indigenous Anthropology In/Of Oceania" for the Association of Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO), later published in the

[6] The colonial period has been defined by Richard Gilson and others (see Chapter 3) as beginning with Britain's protectorate status in 1880, the establishment of the Cook Islands' boundaries, and its time as a colony of New Zealand up until self-governance in 1965. I adopt the same interpretation of this terminology here.

[7] 'Avaiki is associated primarily with the ancestral homeland of the Polynesian people and is a cognate for equivalent terminology in other Polynesian languages and cultures (Savaiiki, Hawaiiki, etc.). In Cook Islands Māori, 'avaiki also more broadly connotes the places from which we come forth into the world of light and has been interpreted in some Māori pe'e (traditional chants) as the mother's womb. I discuss this later in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

journal *Pacific Studies*[8] (Brigham Young University-Hawai'i, Lā'ie). Tengan et al contemplate how genealogies might inform subjectivities in anthropological and ethnographic practice. By using the 'aha, or Hawaiian sennit cord (ka'a is the equivalent in reo Māori), as a representation of genealogical traditions, the authors argue for the inevitable binding together of subjectivities "formed at the intersection of multiple lines of personal, familial, cultural, educational, and professional genealogy" (p. 142). The authors gesture to the style I have adopted to narrate the outcomes of this project (discussed later in this chapter); I employ a necessarily discursive approach and incorporate varying types of evidence, underscored by the epistemology of 'akapapa'anga. The authors are not, however, the only ones engaging with genealogical practice as ontology.

In 2019, the March issue of the *JPS* centred on the significance and use of genealogical method as a practical ontology in the work of Māori scholar-politicians, Sir Apirana Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa Sir Peter Buck. In their introduction to the issue, editors Billie Lythberg, Conal McCarthy and Amiria Salmond wrote

> The term "practical ontologies" is borrowed from current theoretical discussions in anthropology, but is used here to highlight the systematic and thoroughgoing application of distinctive ways of relating which Ngata, Buck and their allies mobilised as pragmatic as well as intellectual methodologies, and which we emulate in our work on this project today. There are strong resonances between this aspect of their oeuvre and recent writing in indigenous Pacific anthropology, which similarly places genealogical work at the heart of ethnographic practice (B. Lythberg, C. McCarthy, & A. Salmond, 2019a, p. 11).

[8] I developed and submitted a revised version of the third chapter in this thesis. The paper emphasises and extends discussion of articulation theory and its influence on my early theoretical work. The paper was accepted by *Pacific Studies* and will be published in their December 2020 issue. It is entitled "Naming the Cook Islands: Articulation Theory and 'Akapapa'anga".

Lythberg et al's *JPS* issue came as an important reminder of how 'akapapa'anga, or in their case whakapapa[9], has been incredibly useful to past and revered intellectuals in the region. Indeed, the issue also showed the usefulness of this practical ontology in current ethnographic, historical and cultural scholarship. Amiria Salmond's theorisation of animated genealogies as the summoning of "living faces" as a practice of whakapapa in this issue will be revisited in Chapter 4 of this work.

These are two strong examples of current critical work engaging with relational theory and genealogical tradition in the Pacific region, and they are both part of forming what Māori scholar Christina Newport has called "the relational turn of island studies scholarship" (2019a). Newport wrote extensively on the usefulness of Pacific, and specifically Māori, ontologies and epistemologies for understanding policy spaces in her doctoral thesis, "Vaka Moana as Policy Space: Navigating the Cook Islands Case of Climate Change Mobility" (2019b). Newport introduces, deftly delineates and applies what she terms the 'vaka moana tradition 'as a framework, echoed (coincidentally) by Māori education specialist, Alison Glasgow (2019) with her thesis, "Ko Toku Reo, Ko toku Ia Mana: My Language, My Identity, the Pacific Language Nest". Glasgow uses the metaphorical and cultural power of the vaka to trace the development of Aotearoa Māori kōhanga reo (language nests) as a model for early education in communities of the New Zealand Realm (Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau). I refer to the vaka moana tradition in Chapter 4 inspired by the work of these two women and the writings of Pohnpei scholar, Vicente Diaz, and Hawaiian scholar, J. Kehaulani Kauanui (2001) and note their part in a slowly growing tradition of culturally-specific, methodological and theoretical work being produced by Māori scholars.

As I discussed earlier, Kauraka's research on the Manihikian oral traditon is a stand-out example of deep critical inquiry into the knowledge traditions of Māori and, as I go on to discuss in Chapter 4, his service and facilitation of collaborative research work in his role as an anthropologist for the Cook Islands Ministry of Cultural

[9] Aotearoa Māori word meaning genealogy. As in the Māori context, it can also mean to lie flat, to layer or to recite in the proper order (John C Moorfield, 2003-2020).

Development (MCD) in the early 1990s remains one of his most powerful legacies. Others, like educationalist Teremoana Maua-Hodges (2019) and Emeritus Professor Jon Jonassen (1981, 1996, 2003a, 2003b, 2005), have written careful meditations on Cook Islands-specific research methodologies in the fields of Education, and the cultural practices of Māori society. Other Māori academics including education scholar Aue Te Ava (2011, 2018), exercise physiology doctoral candidate Troy Tararo-Ruhe, Māori novelist Stacey Kokaua-Balfour (2019) and the statistical analyses of Pacific public health published by Kokaua-Balfour's father and statistician, Jesse Kokaua (J. Kokaua et al., 2020; McAllister, Kokaua, Naepi, Kidman, & Theodore, 2020) have all used and contributed to developing Maua-Hodge's Tivaivai Methodology, as have I (Powell, 2013).

The potential of Pacific ontologies and epistemologies, and thus genealogical practice as a key constituting aspect of Pacific subjectivities, for theorising the social issues facing Pacific peoples, is a current discourse in Pacific scholarship that this thesis sits within and alongside. Noteworthy and evolving work about the genealogical practices and traditions of Aotearoa Māori and Kānaka Maoli (Hawaiian) include writings concerned with genealogical practice as method (Graham, 2005, 2009; Te Rito, 2007; Wilson-Hokowhitu, 2012), cultural paradigm (Paki & Peters, 2015; Park, Littleton, Chambers, & Chambers, 2011) and cultural practice (Sadler, 2014; Salazar, 2014; Tengan et al., 2010). In 2019, the book *The Past Before Us: Mo'okū'auhau as Methodology* (Wilson-Hokowhitu, 2019) was published by University of Hawai'i Press and contained a number of critical pieces from leading Hawaiian academics engaging genealogies as methodology within various research and critical contexts. This followed closely behind Lythberg et al's *JPS* issue and seemed to highlight the potential of this project in ways I had not anticipated. Here were incisive critical commentaries on relational theory that would not only help my own thinking on the relevance of 'akapapa'anga to Māori but also seemed to beckon this project forward, a long overdue engagement with, and meditation on, our rich Māori intellectual tradition and ontology.

Methodology and theoretical framework

Ko ‘ai te ingoa o tō‘ou vī taro?	*What is the name of the place where you grow your taro?*
Ko ‘ai te ingoa o tō‘ou puna?	*What is the name of your waters?*
Ko ‘ai te ingoa o tō‘ou no‘o‘anga?	*What is the name of your chiefly seat?*

(Interview 2/8)

On the island of Atiu, this series of questions are a part of what Atiu people call ‘iri‘iri‘anga or what one of my Atiu interview participants referred to as “your verification” (Interview 2/8). The root word, ‘iri, has many meanings, but here it is intepreted as the act of twisting or twining. It is a verb that unites or winds together strands into a cord (Savage, 1962). The vī taro refers to one’s plantation lands or the raro ‘enua, roughly translated as the lands below. In the group of islands known as Ngāputoru (Atiu, Mitiaro and Ma‘uke), these lands are allocated to families for their crops and food growing. Atiu people do not live in these vast areas. Raro ‘enua relates to the geology of Atiu which is a raised coral atoll. Most of the island’s dwellings sit on a central plateau formed by steep fossilised coral cliffs that climb from a shallow lagoon and raised reef surrounding the island’s perimeter. The area of dead coral is referred as the makatea, a key geological formation that creates the plateau upon which food is difficult to grow. Inland, the island falls away into steep valleys where complex cave systems, created at the formation of the island, craft waterways that feed into fertile inner lowlands. It is there that the people of Atiu grow their food crops but especially the taro staple. Atiu people are known to grow some of the highest quality taro due to the natural irrigation provided by the island’s cave and groundwater

sytems. The puna referred to here relates to those major waterways that feed the various vī taro. The no‘o‘anga, translated as chair or seat, is a representation of the different chiefly titles from which all Atiu people descend and trace their papa‘anga.

Figure 1: The raro 'enua in Teenui 'ōire, Atiu-'Enuamanu island with the land rising to the plateau in the background. The author is in the middle-ground, pictured on the planting lands of her family at their vī taro, kōpūtangāta Paretoa and Teipo

‘Iri‘iri‘anga enables Atiu people to understand each other’s place and relationships on the island and what perspectives, interests and power they are bringing to any meeting or collective problem solving exercise. These questions identify the specific lineages of a person and for those knowledgeable in the collective papa‘anga of Atiu, it will indicate one’s loyalties, the ‘enua that the family belongs to, and therefore, the relational proximity of a person entwined in the larger network of Atiu papa‘anga. Such questions remind me of the social science conventions we so often see in introductory theses chapters like this: What theoretical and intellectual work informs your thinking? What is the name of the disciplinary, theoretical and methodological

seat on which your project sits? Yes, these questions frame doctoral projects in such crucial ways.

My descendence from the Pacific Studies programme at Va'aomanū, and therefore Teaiwa's theoretical, disciplinary and pedagogical legacy, inform key parts of my methodology and approach to this thesis. Teaiwa's interdisciplinary prescription has allowed me to use the analytical skills of my literary studies training in this work, where I formulate arguments in the same way I would undertake intertextual analyses: argumentation formed by reading *across* the various interviews, critical literature, and fieldwork experiences gathered over the duration of this project. My Public Policy training and my professional experience as a research analyst in Aotearoa New Zealand's Treaty of Waitangi sector, has provided bureaucratic context for my discussions of, for example, sovereign territory, indigeneity and papa'anga in the contemporary context and, through engaging in the diverse literature taught in my programme, I have necessarily engaged with writing and theory from humanities and social science disciplines including Anthropology, History, Political Science and Linguistics.

In other respects, my research practice has followed typical social science method. As outlined in the previous section, my initial work focused on surveying critical literature already published on the subject of genealogies in the region. I then wrote a series of conference papers and critical pieces that tested the potential of this writing and my own preliminary thinking on aspects of 'akapapa'anga. I presented this writing at different disciplinary meetings and conferences, including the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) in February 2019, the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) annual meeting in June 2019, and at the University of California at Berkeley as a fully-funded participant of the History of Migrant Knowledges Transregional Academy[10]. I was invited to share my work at the

[10] The academy was funded and convened by "The Forum Transregionale Studien and the Max Weber Stiftung – German Humanities Institutes Abroad in cooperation with the Pacific Regional Office of the German Historical Institute Washington DC (GHI West) at UC Berkeley, The Maria Sibylla Merian Center for Advanced Latin American Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences (CALAS), and the Institute of European, Berkeley" (The Transregional Academy, 2019).

University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands campus, when I undertook my fieldwork on Rarotonga in 2019, and in December 2019 I was asked to participate on a roundtable at the New Zealand Historical Association (NZHA) conference where I shared my research experience in the National Archives in Wellington, New Zealand (discussed in the latter part of Chapter 4). These fora offered important space to share, critique and develop my theorisations and critical work. I then deduced further theoretical refinement from Māori-authored critical work (some mentioned in the previous sub-section), etymological evidence, anecdotal material and resonant genealogical practices that were more thoroughly researched and discussed in other national and cultural contexts – prominently, the Aotearoa Māori and Hawaiian canon indicated above. Much of this early work in my doctoral journal has shaped the structure and analyses of this thesis.

I had two major fieldwork blocks during this project. The first was in 2019, when I spent approximately three months in Rarotonga, Cook Islands from 5 July to 1 October. I collected all of my interview material on Rarotonga during this time. I also spent short periods (two days) on the islands of Aitutaki and Mitiaro (August and September 2019, respectively). These short trips helped me to gain a lived experience of the geological, social and cultural diversity within the Cook Islands nation. I returned to New Zealand in October 2019 to draft the first two chapters of this thesis. I decided to return to Rarotonga on 8 February 2020 for five months to gather final references and spend further time with sources found in the Cook Islands Library and Museum. I used this second opportunity to collect photographs and speak more informally with Māori on Rarotonga and on the island of Mangaia which I visited in September 2020 for a week. The COVID-19 pandemic caused the closure of the Cook Islands' border in May 2020 (further described in Chapter 5) and I decided to continue writing and research on Rarotonga until the border re-opened. As the year went on, it became clear that the border would not re-open before the end of the year and the submission of this thesis, and so I returned to New Zealand in November 2020. The conversations and experiences I had on the 'enua of Rarotonga during these two fieldwork blocks have deepened the arguments in this thesis.

The method I adopted for the data gathering part of this project shifted in line with my developing theorisations and the realisation that the method itself was producing an academic papa'anga of its own. I used a snow-ball method to identify interview participants and undertook those dialogues as semi-structured interviews in the style of oral histories and specifically topic interviews.[11] As recommended by the New Zealand History Group (NZ History) I opened each interview by asking the participant to identify themselves. This provided key context as they answered my subsequent questions about their experiences of 'akapapa'anga. As described by NZ History, "one of the values of oral history is that it adds the view of eyewitnesses to existing records, providing new or additional information and insights. It is about repeating what has already been written and recorded...it gives us the *personal perceptions* of individuals who were there, so we can learn not only what happened to people...but also the thoughts and feelings they recall having" (New Zealand History, 2007).

I recognised the discursive nature of 'akapapa'anga early in my project and wanted to emphasise the narration of participants and the relationships I would inevitably need to build with them. The snow-ball method offered a way to leverage my established relationships in Rarotonga and emphasise the inevitable and necessary subjectivity I would take in establishing new relationships as well. The semi-structured interviews created space to prompt conversation without leading the participant. In its loose structure, this style of interviewing enabled me to continually extend space for the participant's narration by posing prompting questions for participants to further elaborate their points or narratives. The interviews were guided by 8-10 questions (Appendix A) and I gathered 25 extensive and rich dialogues. The snow-ball method worked well as participants shared numerous recommendations for other friends and family they thought would be interested in talking with me, and from whom they believed I would gain important insights. The interviews produced

[11] My approach to interviewing was heavily influenced by conversations with oral history advisers at the National Library of New Zealand and the training resources they provided, including links to the New Zealand History page run by the History Group of the New Zealand Ministry of Culture and Heritage (New Zealand History, 2007).

excellent structure for later analyses and gave discernible form to the structure of this thesis. The oral history method that I used to design my set of interview questions produced a set of individual vignettes that are emotive, humorous, insightful and, I believe, empowering.

To compliment these personal and in-depth testimonies, and to provide a sense of the time I am speaking from, I provide several analyses and discussions of the public discourse on Rarotonga, sampled from print and digitial media outlets, and a discreet selection from social media. The major sources used in these analyses come from the Cook Islands' national paper, the *Cook Islands News*. The newspaper is the main broadsheet for the nation and "...publishes six days per week and has a circulation of about 2,500 copies in a country of approximately 15,000" (Durbin, 2018, p. 8). Its relatively wide circulation in print and online makes it highly impactful on the public discourse and, besides Facebook, stands as one of the most important public forums for Māori in the home islands and abroad to share news information, opinion and gossip. *Cook Islands News* material referred to in the coming chapters, relations to to the topics participants raised during our conversations. It also reflects the theoretical arguments I make about 'akapapa'anga and are used to create key decision-making and political narratives that have not yet been published or analysed in academic fora. *Cook Islands News*' content is cited, contextualised and analysed throughout this work.

Beyond this discreet phase of data collection, I continued to correspond and talk with relations, friends and colleagues, and continued to meet Māori in the ipukarea[12] (the home islands) and New Zealand. I attended community workshops and events arranged by local organisations in Rarotonga including, the Ministry for Cultural Development, the University of the South Pacific, the Kōpapa Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission of the Cook Islands), the Cook Islands Library and Museum, and the Cook Islands Research Association. I spent hours in conversation with community elders consisting of ta'unga (experts in areas of Māori knowledge like planting, weaving, the sewing of tivaivai, vai rākau or Māori medicine), village and

[12] A widely used term meaning homeland, ancestral land or inherited land. It is often used as a metonym for the Cook Islands nation in the vernacular.

Church leaders, and kin and many of these dialogues were undertaken in te reo Māori Kūki ʻĀirani (the Māori language(s) of the Cook Islands) in which I have a conversational proficiency[13]. I collected extensive written reflections on these interactions and, where relevant, I gesture to them throughout the narrative of this thesis as I build and contextualise my arguments and propositions. This experience and these relationships permeate this thesis in other less explicit ways. There are kupu, or words, I have used because I discussed them with an elder at length, or there are cultural concepts that I explain with language that has been inspired by certain conversations. In some cases, the tone of the thesis represents my deference to certain individuals who inspired or taught me about ʻakapapaʻanga, and at times it conveys my ongoing confusions, my dissatisfactions, my curiosity and in some cases, my wonder at the depth of meaning and the many purposes of ʻakapapaʻanga in the lives of Māori.

Research questions

As with all research projects, the original questions of this thesis have been iteratively reformed, discarded and refined. With due consideration to the critical literature above, particularly the published histories, this project is led by a desire to explore a different way of narrating Māori life and history. The story of my grandmother and I is, itself, a Māori way of not just honoring but reifying the ontology of our people. The research questions for this project therefore attempt to understand such narrations through ʻakapapaʻanga. However, given the absence of any sustained description of ʻakapapaʻanga in the scholarship to date, my research inquiry necessarily starts with: what *is* the Māori practice of ʻakapapaʻanga and how, from this research work, do I

[13] I am a second-language learner of Aotearoa Māori and Cook Islands Māori and have a conversational proficiency in both languages, though I tend to speak a variety of Cook Islands Māori with a mixture of vocabularies from Rarotonga and Atiu. Reo Rarotonga is the most widely spoken variety of the Māori language and much of the written and educational material I have engaged with is written in that variety. Reo Atiu is my mother's first language and was the primary reo Māori variety spoken in our family homes when I was young person. My grandmother raised me and speaks several varieties of Māori including her native reo Atiu/Ngapūtoru, and the reo of Rarotonga, Mangaia, and Manihiki. I continue to deepen my language proficiency amongst family and community still.

see it being used as a theoretical tool? I address this question in chapter 2 by offering an understanding of ‘akapapa‘anga ara tangata, distilled and assembled from the interviews undertaken for this project, the critical literature and my theorisations in the course of this project.

Chapters 3-5 answer auxiliary questions that test the answer to the first question and also attempt to meaningfully respond to the perplexing issues that arose from my analysis of the critical literature and stories, like the one of my grandmother and I. Framing these chapters, therefore, are research questions that led different parts of this project, including the conversations I had with participants (see: Appendix A). With cognisance of the deep relation Māori perceive between the people and the ‘enua, how, if at all, are Māori moving across, settling and building their imagined worlds beyond the nation’s borders? In contrast to nationalist and constitutional discourses, how do Māori use ‘akapapa‘anga to understand one another in that exercise of world-building? Beyond the centricity of nation-building and borders, how are Māori moving through and building their imagined worlds beyond such colonially-produced territories? How, and why, are they continuing to celebrate and animate their relations, given the historical milieu of colonialism, nationhood, and comparatively early emigration? And how might the answers to such questions help Māori think about their futures? The understanding of ‘akapapa’anga that permeates this thesis is a deliberately expanded notion of genealogy that gives structure and meaning to the cultural paradigm I am arguing for. ‘Akapapa‘anga ara tangata is a cultural paradigm that holds Māori relations to kin and to place through complex and deeply meaningful cultural practices. It is an institution of knowledge-maintenance and making that has the ability to revise some of the current discourses that border Māori identities and subjectivities, and reassert sovereign histories, nationhood and futurities.

Structure and style

> There's a way the older people have of telling a story, a way where the beginning is not the beginning, the end is not the end. It starts from a centre and moves away from there in such widening circles that you don't know how you will finally arrive at the point of understanding, which becomes itself another core, a new centre (Grace, 1998, p. 28)

This epigraph is taken from a novel by Aotearoa Māori writer, Patricia Grace, called *Baby No-Eyes* (1998). Māori (Aotearoa and Cook Islands) and many indigenous people understand this way of telling a story - indeed this way of understanding the world - as a normative frame. In literary criticism this has been referred to as magic realism, a style of fiction where all seems framed within a conventional modern world until the writer introduces so-called "fantastical" or "magical elements" into the work - a spirit, a passed ancestor or an erratic temporality. I use this quote from Grace because it describes a way of understanding time and relation that is hard to describe to those who are used to (or prefer to) understand narratives, connections and the world, in singularly linear ways. In this quote from the narrator, the image invokes what scholars have called 'spiral time' (DeLoughrey, 2007; Gabbard, 2018; Marsh, 1999; Tau, 2011). The spiral represents a moving centre of 'now' where time (the past and the future) in Aotearoa Māori ontology is twisted *around* the now, making the past and future not only accessible but *present*, able to be called forth at will through various cultural practices that are a part of 'akapapa'anga. I explore this in further depth in Chapter 2.

I highlight this passage from Grace inspired by literary and Pacific Studies scholar, Alice Te Punga Somerville's use of it during her keynote at the New Zealand Historical Association (NZHA) Conference in December 2019. Te Punga Somerville's keynote was the first time I had heard a Māori way of narration in an academic address to mesmerising effect. In a room where many of the attendees and scholars did not subscribe to this kind of historical narration as their primary mode, the

emotive and critical response was particularly powerful. In her paper titled, "Out of Order: Histories, structures and sovereignty"[14], Te Punga Somerville's repetition of Grace's passage at numerous points throughout her keynote gave a rhythm to her narration of seemingly out of order anecdotes from her own personal papa'anga, the history of Te Whanganui-ā-Tara/Wellington (where the conference was held) and Aotearoa New Zealand more broadly. In a discipline that has been dominated by Pākehā (European, mainstream and white) historical methods and narratives, the seemingly erratic temporality of Te Punga Somerville's account took routes through her early academic career, the last time she visited the University for a memorial service, the conception of her child, the passing of dear friends and colleagues, the arrival and departures of ancestors and settlers on Matiu-Somes Island, ongoing colonisation and the importance of recognising Pacific peoples in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. With each iteration of the passage above, Te Punga Somerville skilfully routed the audience on a discursive journey through the conceptual spiral. In the "widening circles" of her narration, she showed the room how entangled our past and current moments are, and how in order to find their true meaning, we must engage in a different kind of research practice and a different kind of narration.

In her forthcoming book, *Everything Ancient Was Once New: Indigenous Persistence from Hawai'i to Kahiki*, Emalani Case (2021) demonstrates the importance of this temporal condition. Case's initial manuscript was intended as a reworking of her 2015 doctoral thesis, *I Kahiki Ke Ola: In Kahiki There is Life* (2015), a deep contemplation on the relevance and iteration of Kahiki (the ancient homeland, often taken as synonymous with Tahiti and/or Hawaiki) in the life of Kānaka Maoli. Revised in mid-2019, Case described key moments in the same year where she was involved in activist movements: the protection of sacred Mauna a Wākea on the island of Hawai'i; protest at the site of Ihumātao in South Auckland, New Zealand; and resistance to the 250 year commemoration of James Cook's arrival in Aotearoa, also known by its metonym

[14] An abstract for Te Punga Somerville's keynote can be found at the NZHA's website for the 2020 conference. The URL is listed in the bibliography (New Zealand History Association, 2020).

'Tuia 250' (NZ Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2019). The foregrounding of such current moments may seem an ill-fit with a doctoral thesis that examined Kahiki by way of nineteenth century Hawaiian-language newspapers and the stories of canoe-builders interviewed in 2014. However, Case's reworked manuscript exemplifies how temporal modes – indeed, ontological modes – are so crucial to deepening stories and understandings of ourselves. In her introduction she defines Kahiki as

> …at once an ancestral homeland for Hawaiians and the knowledge that there is life to be found beyond our shores. It is where we say our ancestors came from when they boarded double-hulled canoes in other parts of Oceania, and set sail to discover new homes. Kahiki is therefore both a symbol of ancestral connection and the potential that comes with remembering and acting upon that connection (p. 3)

Case went on to (re)write a book that shows the meaning of our/her current moments, contextualised and given relevance and meaning through the widening circles of telling narrative from a 'now', a "potential that comes with remembering and acting upon that connection" (p. 3). As she animates relation with Kahiki, these seemingly unconnected moments, geographic sites and issues intersect *by way* of Kahiki. The very idea of Kahiki provides what she calls 'sanctuary' to those (and herself) seeking refuge, healing and strength in the face of ongoing colonialization and indigenous displacement.

I believe that Case's work exemplifies why temporally spiral-like narration is *crucial* to understanding the relevance of 'akapapa'anga to Māori. Therefore, while the substantive chapters of analysis in this thesis may seem strangely focused on disparate contemporary moments in the lives of Māori and their society, I use them as centres from which my analysis and my contemplations then move, not backward - but outward. I will do this via the discussion and analyses of three larger, iterative conversations happening in Māori society: the relevance and potential change of the Cook Islands name; relations between (Cook Islands) Māori and (Aotearoa) Māori as a way of reframing the constitutional relationship between the Cook Islands and New

Zealand and the sovereignty of the Cook Islands nation; and the construction and significance of Cook Islands Māori imaginaries, inspired by the idea of the "Cook Islands Universe"[15] and the work of Epeli Hau'ofa (1994) and his seminal "Our Sea of Islands" essay. These chapters move outward both spatially and temporally where I weave history, contemporary politics and biography to demonstrate the differing registers of 'akapapa'anga at work.

I wield 'akapapa'anga as an analytical tool in the coming chapters, beginning with Chapter 2 where I sketch an understanding of this cultural practice, paradigm and research method, by examining the limited writings available on the subject, the broader critical literature on genealogical traditions and practices from the region, and other relational and cultural theory from an interdisciplinary palette, informed by my programme, my disciplinary training and my professional experience. I also offer my own personal contemplations on the etymology of the term 'akapapa'anga, cognate practices in the wider Polynesian context and anecdotal material gathered during my fieldwork. I also bolster the examination of this secondary literature with the formative reflections of my interview participants and our mutual knowledge-building. In preparation for the discussion and analyses in later chapters, I also argue for the utility of 'akapapa'anga in three modes: cultural paradigm, cultural practice and research methodology (George, 2010). This readies a practical ontology through which we move to the first centre: the Cook Islands name.

I begin this work in Chapter 3 by examining the significance of naming for Māori people as an example of 'akapapa'anga. I demonstrate this by tracing the papa'anga of the Cook Islands name and begin with the first European explorers to sight and land on the islands of the modern nation - most prominent of all, Captain James Cook. The Cook Islands has been the nation's primary identifier since the late nineteenth century, despite the nation comprising fifteen islands and various and distinct cultural papa'anga that were largely independent prior to European arrival in the region. This

[15] As I go on to explain in Chapter 5, "the Cook Islands Universe" was used as a concept and rhetorical device in 2015 when the then Prime Minister of the Cook Islands, the Honourable Henry Puna, gave his anniversary public address at the University of Auckland.

chapter ponders the terms for the lands and peoples contained within the nation's borders, while offering an abridged narrative of the colonial machinery that entrenched the nation and the subsequent national identity that eventually formed. I explore how we might effectively describe the formation of the Cook Islands' national identity and understand its name given its underlying genealogical and cultural diversity. To contrast the colonial milestones well-documented in the historical discourse, I argue for the utility of 'akapapa'anga as a method of intellectual inquiry - a research method – and propose its further value to deepening our understanding of the Cook Islands name and the national identity to which Māori articulate themselves. I do so by contrasting the public discourse and cultural studies theory with Māori naming traditions. By demonstrating the presence of 'akapapa'anga, I begin to extend the current framings of the Cook Islands and its peoples beyond national borders, colonial history and national identity.

In the widening circles of Chapter 4, I touch on a new centre, steered by a different name and demonyn – Māori. I briefly outline how colonial decision-makers created the little-known constitutional geography of the New Zealand Realm (the Realm) and how this empire-building project has both obscured relationships between *all* Māori peoples and has diminished Māori territories that give us meaning. Thus, I consider the use, meaning and power of the demonym as it moves through three contexts: Aotearoa New Zealand, the Cook Islands and the Realm. I then focus on Cook Islands Māori articulations of the demonym and argue that because of complex, overlapping colonial boundaries, Māori people are in a constant state of rearticulating their Māoriness through genealogical practice. This allows different articulations of the Māori demonym for both peoples to function in a contrapuntal harmony that moves past the ignorance of colonial ruptures and boundaries in our modern contexts. To demonstrate this, I discuss personal reflections from interview participants who have spent time moving through these colonial landscapes. I compliment this with a brief discussion of a transcript recorded during a conference held in 1993 called Ātuikōrero.

Kauraka Kauraka and well-known elder of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui[16], Bill (Wiremu) Tāwhai, organised the gathering for tumu kōrero and kaumātua (cultural experts) from Aotearoa and the Cook Islands to discuss respective oral traditions and ancestral ties. Their discussions are a strong example of Māori articulations that are sensitive to the context of the Realm but prioritise the placed-ness, through 'akapapa'anga, of all Māori within the great Ocean.

In Chapter 5, it is the Ocean and its multiple edges that contextualise my argument for the collapsing of temporal and spatial norms as a meaningful, decolonising and necessary practice for Māori. My narration of this centre begins with my return to the Cook Islands in 2020 and the complexities of my identity, citizenship, and belonging. I use this critical reflection to prise open what I refer to as the Māori imagination, beginning with the concept of the Cook Islands Universe. In 2015, Māori celebrated 50 years of self-governance in free association with the New Zealand nation-state. Shortly after the Te Maeva Nui constitution celebrations in Rarotonga that year, the then Prime Minister of the Cook Islands, Henry Puna, gave a public address to the Cook Islands community at the University of Auckland in New Zealand to mark the anniversary. Puna described what he called the "Cook Islands Universe", defining it as "Cook Islanders where ever they are" and used it to underscore the inclusivity of the Cook Islands nation and the ways that those in diaspora were considered an extension of the Cook Islands Māori community "at home" (Pacific@The University of Auckland, 2015). Poetics like this have been used in Pacific scholarship to shape and focus research inquiry in our region for the last 50 years and have been a way of moving past colonial cartography and Western paradigms. Such poetics have enabled Pacific Islanders to dream futures on their own terms. This tradition includes Hau'ofa's oft-quoted essay "Our Sea of Islands" *(1994)*, Albert Wendt's seminal essay, "Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body" (1996), the more recent discourse of "the small island state, large ocean state" (Jumeau, 2013; Prinsen & Blaise, 2017), vaka moana

[16] Te Whānau-ā-Apanui are an Aotearoa Māori iwi from Te Tairāwhiti (the East Coast) of Aotearoa New Zealand, an area that has close links with the people of Rarotonga through the vaka Takitumu discussed later in this thesis. The founding ancestor of this iwi was Apanui Ringamutu (Te Rūnanga o Te Whānau).

traditions[17] (Glasgow, 2019; Newport, 2019b), roots and routes (Clifford, 1997; DeLoughrey, 2007) and Teaiwa's "island[ing] of the world" (2007). I go on to suggest that the "Universe" provokes further contemplation of what other Māori imaginaries might exist in the collective Māori imagination and then discuss a series of different gazes from Māori interview participants who I asked to contemplate the potential of the universe in their understandings of home, belonging and the impetus to travel beyond their ancestral islands. I conclude by providing a description and arguments for a Māori imaginary that uses te akau, or the reef, as a key compass point in that imagination and argue that the cultural practices of 'akapapa'anga not only locate and facilitate our growth to places in and beyond the nation and the Realm, but anticipates ongoing return. As Māori engage in the cyclical condition of physical and spiritual withdrawal and homecoming, they simultaneously engage in the practice of 'akapapa'anga.

A way where the beginning is not the beginning, and the end is not the end

The story that opens this thesis offers a point of orientation for this work. The discussions in this thesis are propelled by a desire to understand the contours of Māori identity beyond the narrow definitions of nationalist discourses and are inspired by the story of my grandmother's attachment of my 'enua *to* 'enua that my predecessors were not attached to. As I go on to discuss in the following chapter, the co-constitutive relationship between people and 'enua, people and people, and 'enua and 'enua, sit at the very foundations of 'akapapa'anga and so, the story of my grandmother and I begs further and careful contemplation. This practice of burying and connecting is

[17] My reference to a "vaka moana tradition" invokes the discourse of traditional seafaring and navigation within Polynesia. This discourse, or tradition as I term it here, has grown amongst Māori scholars and practitioners for some thirty years since the 1992 Pacific Arts Festival, held in Rarotonga. Newport uses the vaka moana as an analogy and metaphor for the policy framework she proposes in her thesis, and Glasgow (2019) similarly "…employ[s] the metaphor of Te Vaka (the canoe) to represent the journeys of Pacific people in particular people from the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau to Aotearoa New Zealand and the journey of the Pacific language nest communities" (p. 13).

discussed in further depth in Chapter 3 and is returned to throughout the thesis. It inspires an auxiliary (and somewhat personal) set of questions that I attempt to answer, albeit discursively and circuitously. What makes one Māori? When my grandmother undertook this Māori practice of 'akapapa'anga, did it matter that she was enacting it somewhere other than our ancestral island of Atiu and somewhere other than the nation of the Cook Islands? Is its power and its meaning still the same? Is it a new beginning in a new place or an end to a kind of authentic Māoriness that starts anew on Waiheke Island? Or is it simply the inevitable growth of papa'anga?

Finally, this project focuses on the practice of 'akapapa'anga within Māori society but it also wants to examine how 'akapapa'anga can powerfully frame the future that we cannot see yet. The study of genealogies often concentrates on where we have come, from but how does papa'anga grow? How, if at all, might it help us dream and build our futures? In her forthcoming book, Case writes extensively about the necessity for Hawaiian people to "dream good dreams" in the space that is Kahiki, a resistance to ongoing settler colonial oppression. She references American historian Robin D.G. Kelley who also wrote expansively on class struggle, black resistance and social activism in the American context. In his book, *Freedom Dreams* (2002), Kelley discusses a series of rhetorical elements in civil rights and black nationalist movements where the "freedom dreams" of African American activists in the 20th century were used to propel, organise and give purpose to those same movements. These conceptions included the potential for self-governing and separatist nations within the United States of America, the imminent return of African Americans to Mother Africa/the African continent and even the potential of science fiction imaginings on worlds other than our own. Many would be quick to highlight the impossibility of these dreams but the historical narratives that Kelley weaves together demonstrates the need to dream beyond the systemic conditions of what we now know in order to incrementally imagine better, self-determining futures. In the case of Māori society, this begins with understanding how our way of seeing the world contrasts with current colonial systems, and what might be possible if we centre that seeing ('akapapa'anga) in our lives again.

On this PhD journey I have come to learn that dreaming futures is an incredibly difficult exercise that requires a careful disentangling of perceived risk and reward. It involves deep contemplation and community. It requires courage, patience and trust in ourselves and most of all, in each other. It seems abstract but I believe the growth of papa'anga requires a well of compromise and generosity, of spiritual and cultural flexibility, an ability to *lean into* possibility and change. At the very least, I hope this thesis will show that the act of individual and communal future dreaming *requires* relation and relationships – good, strong, and dynamic relationships - for any dream to be realised.

This thesis asks the reader to lean into what I am suggesting with the potential of 'akapapa'anga. As Case's forthcoming book suggests with its title (and content), it is a shift from the usual and largely Western ontological register into something ancient and, simultaneously, utterly new. With papa'anga, I want to show that though it is an institution that can help Māori understand the places and people they come from, it is also one that provides important intellectual space for us to grow and change as individuals and communities, and to go forward strongly into our futures. So, while I spend some time contemplating the theoretical and intellectual work that has already been completed about the potential of genealogical practices like 'akapapa'anga, I also want to focus on the relevance of 'akapapa'anga to Māori now. This thesis is highly discursive, as papa'anga is, and I ask the reader to trust that, while you may wonder where an argument, a point, or a story is going, you will come to a "point of understanding" that is in itself a centre of knowing that is unfurling – that is becoming. So, I start at various beginnings that are not beginnings, in order to end in a place that is not definitely not an end.

Rua: ‘Akapapa‘anga ara tangāta

> So, in a way, papa‘anga is about the way we believe and the way we are put in a context of our family...When you put them all together, it makes us magic. That’s what I think papa‘anga is all about (Interview 26/8).

This thesis is about how Māori understand and practice ‘akapapa‘anga. If we say that ‘akapapa‘anga is about genealogies then, in another way, this thesis is about relationships and how Māori form, care and understand them. In the Māori language, the word for relationship is piri‘anga. The kupu tumu, piri, is commonly translated as to be in the company of or to be close to. In the context of relationships, it refers to the proximity or space between one thing and another. As with the word papa‘anga, the suffix ‘anga makes piri into a noun. In a report detailing a proposed Cook Islands Māori cultural framework for family violence in 2012, Māori consultants Ani James, Jean Mitaera and Apii Rongo-Raea described papa‘anga and piri‘anga as follows: “All Māori are born into a network of piri‘anga (relationships) formalised by their papa‘anga tupuna (ancestral genealogy)” (2012, p. 10). They defined piri‘anga as “…relevance, relationships and connection. Piri‘anga toto, translates as blood connection…*All Māori have piri‘anga to people, land and titles. All Māori are members of multiple collectives both kin and non-kin* [emphasis added]. Piri‘anga are connections that require the acknowledgement and support of others of the same collective and for them to respond accordingly. Piri‘anga, like turanga (position or standing)[18] is sustained through practice” (James et al., 2012). In this chapter, I attempt to sketch an understanding of ‘akapapa‘anga informed by key writings and interview material, but James et al’s words are an excellent place to start for they suggest a need to go beyond the genetic connection we so often associate with the English word genealogy. Indeed, Māori piri‘anga to “land and titles” and “multiple collectives both kin and

[18] See glossary and the definition given by James et al. (2012, p. 7).

non-kin" alludes to a world-constituting philosophy, the mechanics of which I examine in this chapter.

When Māori meet for the first time, they will usually begin by asking "Ko ʻai tōʻou ingoa?" meaning "what is your name", and "Nō ʻea mai koe?" often translated as "where are you from?" or "to where do you belong?"[19] This is conventional enough for many cultures but for Māori, the complex network of piriʻanga begins to form through the iterative answers and questions that are asked, enabling Māori to begin refining the nature of the piriʻanga between them. This exchange involves the sharing of names and their origins, parents', families' and ancestors' names, the long list of different villages, planting lands, and new settlements that one is related to. In this sharing of one's names and the names of their relations, Māori seek to confirm a persistent and underlying assumption: that at some point in their papaʻanga of relationships, Māori will find one or many relational connections. This may not necessarily be a piriʻanga toto (a blood connection) but through the sharing of stories, the relational proximity between two individuals will be contextualised. For this reason, it is imperative that before Māori engage their community, they must recite their papaʻanga – the names of key ancestors (both people and ʻenua) and their names.

Because of this, I opened this thesis with my own papaʻanga by starting with the ʻenua. For Māori, but especially those well-versed in the papaʻanga of Atiu people, the details I gave at the beginning of this thesis will tell them the lands I likely belong to on the island of Atiu, parts of my iriʻiriʻanga, and my most well-known, well-loved (and well-hated) ancestors. They will know that my mother's name is actually a mataʻiapo tūtara[20] title and that my father is a well-known musician and advocate for the cultural

[19] The preposition "nō" in the phrase "nō ʻea mai koe?" denotes specific possession and in te reo Māori can approximately mean *belongs to* or *pertains to* in English, thus the alternative translation offered here.
[20] "Atiu society was organized as a class sytem with the ariki at the top then the mataiapo tutara and mataiapo pioro, followed by the ordinary mataiapo then rangatira, and finally the ordinary people. The mataiapo tutara has other mataiapo under his [or her] responsibility" (Kautai et al., 1984, p. 22). Chiefly systems on the different ʻenua of the Cook Islands are unique with varying titles, hierarchical heights and latitudinal meetings. I do not focus on these specificities in this thesis as it requires exhaustive work for accuracy on each island. Early work by others goes some way to describing these complex systems in more depth (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1938; Borofsky, 1982; Buck, 1932a, 1932b, 1934; R. Crocombe, 1961a; Henry, 2003).

and musical heritage of Māori people. They will know that my mother's father was one of the last living tumu kōrero[21] of Atiu and that my great-grandmother was a mata'iapo tūtara of the village of Teenui, with strong influence over politicians of her time. This is an inherited mana that I cherish, and I hope to honour. It also puts me in relation to Atiu, to my family and my extended family, and to Māori people at large.

The practice of 'akapapa'anga and the relationality at work in the conventions of introduction or even the burying of umbilical cords, is not a topic of daily conversation amongst Māori. My fieldwork experience showed that there was immediate recognition of papa'anga and genealogies as important to Māori people but there was little consideration of why that was so, or of the many ways genealogies permeate the everyday interactions and worldview of Māori. In an interview with a woman who was raised in Rarotonga, we were both surprised by the sudden emotion of discussing her papa'anga half-way through our hour-long conversation. She exclaimed,

> …for me, it's like – all the people – it's like my dad, his whole family, living here. I don't even know why I'm getting emotional… when I see Cook Island Māori or whatever – I'm just like oh my god, me! Like – I think, to me it's just my line, my family and living here… Oh my god, I don't know why I'm crying (Interview 30/8).

She was not the only one to share the emotion of familial and spatial relations and I discuss some other examples in the chapters that follow. In many of the interviews, discussion of papa'anga evoked different and deeply felt emotions: melancholy, love, sentimentality, pride. The descriptions from this interviewee were also highly emotive, as she described the pride of dancing and representing her father's home island with cousins as a young person, seeing the familiar faces of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand and further abroad when away from Rarotonga. However, her surprise and my own emotional reaction to her narration, confirmed what I suspected: that though Māori may not spend time reflecting on it in any deliberate way,

[21] Tumu kōrero is often used to refer to someone well-versed in the papa'anga and history of a people or place, tumu meaning source and kōrero referring to historical or genealogical narratives.

‘akapapa‘anga as relational praxes is an incredibly powerful and meaning-making paradigm.

Shortly after I interviewed this young woman during my fieldwork block in Rarotonga, I was invited to give a presentation at the Cook Islands’ University of the South Pacific (USP) campus alongside University of Otago doctoral candidate, Troy Tararo-Ruhe. Tararo-Ruhe is an exercise physiologist using behavioural science to encourage sustainable movement and exercise practices amongst our people. His presentation was compelling, passionate and embodied. Many of the people in the room connected immediately with the ways that he spoke about their everyday lives, their eating habits, their painful, anxious and stressful experiences with physical activity and their aspirations (admitted or not) for health and wellbeing in their physical and mental lives. My presentation was a series of more abstract contemplations of relationality based on a Māori science of ‘akapapa‘anga. By the time the question and answer session came around, it became obvious to me that some of the suggestions I made were less easy to connect with than the anxieties of diet and exercise.

In my presentation, the suggestion that the relationships inherent in papa‘anga might help us re-think parts of our societal infrastructure broke away from more explicit uses of papa‘anga in the every lives of Māori. For many Māori people, the primary purpose and power of knowing one’s genealogy is how it enables land ownership in the Cook Islands, so I was not surprised when an audience member commented that he thought I would speak about land tenure, especially because of the in-fighting happening amongst families in the home islands. As one interviewee explained, “I think anywhere where there’s – where a papa‘anga is gonna be told, peoples interests are immediately piqued. They really sit up and take notice, some people for the interest of knowing who you are, where you came from, and some people because they may be looking for a connection. They may be looking for a connection – maybe not to get close to you, but maybe a connection that might help them in land matters” (Interview 23/7). Especially on the main island of Rarotonga, land is now highly valuable economically and it is becoming increasingly scarce as Māori return to the

ipukarea. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, an increase in expatriate workers fulfilling labour shortages and papa'ā New Zealanders wanting to move to another part of the New Zealand Realm, also put extra pressure on the supply of land[22]. The relatively small size of our islands and the increasing number of absentee landowners in the ipukarea has fostered a palpable resentment from Māori in the home islands who struggle to use land without the permissions of their family who are largely based permanently overseas. It is further exacerbated by the increasing demand for land rentals and leases from non-Māori, particularly expatriate workers who seek security for their ongoing residence in the Cook Islands.

In my conversations with Māori during my fieldwork, it was clear that for many, the main purpose of genealogies in everyday life is about claiming legitimate land ownership and occupation rights in the home islands. This has not always been the case and nor is it the case for everyone now, but it is still the circumstance where we see familial genealogies at their most powerful in the contemporary lives of Māori. This process, what the legal system calls succession, has led to resounding fractures in family life and Māori society, and has facilitated divergent outlooks for the future of the home islands. Because papa'anga as an epistemology has not been engaged with or its practice substantially transmitted to recent generations, the institution of land tenure has drifted toward an ideology of individualised private property rights. As one participant, widely known as an expert in land tenure matters, patiently explained to me in an interview: land tenure is "not about share and entitlement. It's about custom and usage" (Interview 11/9a). I take this to mean that land for Māori is not about what you are owed or what you are entitled to in absolute terms. Land is what

[22] In the 2019 Indicator Report for the Cook Islands' National Sustainability Development Plan: Te Kaveinga Nui, data from the 2016 census showed 17.9% of the resident population in the Cook Islands were non-Māori, predominantly made of papa'ā New Zealanders, Fijian and Filipino migrants. The comparative analysis of data from previous census reports showed this number as a clear and steady increase from the 2001 census to the 2016 census, from 9% to 17% of the total populaton, with a relative decrease of Māori residents. In my conversations with participants, they related a belief that this population change has discernible influence on public discourse, wealth disparity, rapid change in cultural norms and so forth. I note that recent data from 2016 to 2020 is not included here but, on trend, it is assumed that the number of non-Māori residents would have increased, at least until the height of the global pandemic from March 2020 onward.

sustains, feeds, shelters; if you have land, you can build a house, plant fruit trees and taro and provide for family. ‘Akapapa‘anga is the institution that ensures the sovereignty such provisions represent are allocated in accordance with the relational paradigms of Māori; if you are not using the land to feed and shelter yourself and your family, then it must return to the family for those who need it.

This is a rudimentary description of common family practices in relation to land tenure but illustrates the principles of land and ‘akapapa‘anga well[23]. The ‘enua is sovereign. The ‘enua is relation. The ‘enua is what feeds. In my presentation at USP, I tried to propose the potential of Māori epistemology and ‘akapapa‘anga for understanding contentions between families over land and perhaps even rectifying those disagreements. I responded and explained to the audience member that everything I had spoken about related to place, land and good relations *with* our relations. I explained that it seemed to me that disagreements were being fuelled not only by profit-driven individualism but also the fear of potentially losing land, possessions and livelihoods. I mused aloud that Māori would not be so fearful if we engaged with and trusted more in the practice of ‘akapapa‘anga: an institution that takes, as a given, the belonging of us *all* to the ‘enua. He looked blankly at me, unconvinced, and I went away that evening, deeply questioning whether I really knew or understood land tenure, relations and the value of genealogical knowledge at all.

When I returned to New Zealand after my fieldwork (a fortnight after our presentation at USP), I began watching a new video podcast series called *Indigenous 100* from Aotearoa Māori journalist and language expert, Julian Wilcox. In his episode with renowned Tūhoe astronomer, Professor Rangi Matamua, I fixated on a passage where Wilcox asked Matamua to reflect on what he hoped to achieve with his work on Māori astronomy, language and culture. Matamua responded,

[23] More comprehensive examples in the Rarotonga context, plus more in-depth discussion of the constitution of legal land tenure in the Cook Islands, has been covered in Ron Crocombe’s doctoral work, *Land Tenure in the Cook Islands* (1961a) and his subsequent book *Land Tenure in the Pacific* (1971).

> Ki ahau anō te Māori i ngā kōrero hei oranga mō tātou. I tēnei ao, e titiro ana tātou ki ngā – ki te mātaraunga Pākehā hei oranga. Koirā te kōrero i utaina i runga i ōu tātou koroua, kuia i ōu rātou wā nē – kaore he take o te ao Māori, o te reo Māori, ānei e haere koe ki te whai ngā – i te mātauranga Pākehā, koira hei oranga mōu. Ēngari, kei te tirohia tōu tātou ao Māori, ētahi āhuatanga, kei te tino hē rawa atu. Kei te mōhio au, kei te hiahia te ao Māori – ētahi – me ngā rangatahi, ki te hahū anō, ki te hahū ake anō i ngā tīkanga ōu tātou mātua tīpuna. Koinei tētahi o ngā mahi i mahia nei.
>
> [That Māori reclaim our traditional knowledge for our own wellbeing. Māori in this day and age turn to white constructs to verify our wellness. This outlook had been imposed on our elders. That our knowledge and language has no value. They were told to pursue a Pākehā education if they wanted to thrive. However, looking at the Māori world now, some things have gone terribly wrong. I know that some Māori, including our youth, are wanting to revive the traditions of our ancestors. That's something that is happening right now][24] (Matamua, 2019).

Matamua's reflections provided me with crucial perspective in the wake of the audience member's comments. I was perplexed that the audience member did not recognise 'enua in my presentation. It upset me even more that perhaps he did recognise it and still found little value in understanding relation to people *and* place within the context. Matamua was speaking about the Aotearoa Māori context but there is much resonance with the recent burgeoning of Māori scholarship and community resilience that looks to "traditional knowledge for our own wellbeing". The societal fractures that were implied in the audience member's comment is one of the "things that have gone terribly wrong" and I argue that 'akapapa'anga has the

[24] This translation is taken from captions provided by media collective, Mahi Tahi Media.

potential to help us regain perspective on our relationships with each other and the ‘enua, a shift from difference and division toward distinction and community.

Towards an understanding of ‘akapapa’anga

Genealogy, genetics and the familial archive

For much of my project, the working title for this thesis has been “Te ‘akapapa nei tātou”. This is directly translated as “We are preparing” or readying. I use the word ‘akapapa because of those connotations. As my interview questions were disseminated to participants and my project title was posted to university websites and conference programmes, Māori began to ask why I chose the “incorrect” word form, one participant saying,

> This translates as ‘We are preparing/planning’. Not what you want to convey, I am supposing? Papa’anga or papa tūpuna are the correct terms for genealogy. ‘Akapapa’anga is the actual recitation of it. ‘Aka is the doing word. ‘Papaia mai koe’ [literally, ‘papa to me’ or ‘describe your connection to me]. This is how a Cook Islander of old would ask another to identify her [or] himself. (Interview 8/8)

I replied to the participant that it was exactly what I was trying to convey. I was deliberate about using the doing word, the verb, of relation as I developed a theorisation of ‘akapapa‘anga with consideration of the word papa and its etymology. In this phrase, the derivation of papa in “te ‘akapapa nei tātou” gave me another perspective to building an understanding of *how* papa‘anga are structured and maintained inside the episteme that is ‘akapapa‘anga. I wanted to understand genealogical tradition as a *practice*, as a verb, as something that is *done* by Māori wherever we are.

As I explained in the introduction to this thesis, the root word papa has many different senses depending on the context. These senses include: to crouch, to hold in position, to recount or to relate. It connotes a foundation, a shelf of rock or a base. It also refers

to the state or act of readiness and readying ("papa ", 1989). Thus to ‘akapapa is *to* hold in position, *to* recount or relate, *to* lay a foundation or base, or as the interviewee pointed out above, *to* prepare or plan. In a literal sense, the word ‘akapapa refers to the act of arranging or situating a group of things appropriately, to list or to sort them suitably and continuously based on the kinds of established and developing relationships between each thing. It is a way of making sense of our varied and collective piri‘anga. This cornerstone of Māori society is about understanding how each person connects with one another, to the ‘enua and how, if at all, that relational proximity shifts.

My use of the word ‘akapapa‘anga is the noun form, denoted with the addition of the suffix “‘anga”[25]. In an email exchange with an elder who has genealogical affiliations to Atiu and Rarotonga, we discussed the terminology used in this thesis and the different senses and intepretations of the kupu, papa. He explained, “The word 'akapapa'anga' has other meanings so you need to be clear in what context you use it. So when you add 'ara tangata' to akapapa'anga it is then clear that you are referring to your genealogical record” (Unuia, 2020). The qualifying nature of “‘ara tangata” is very useful to this thesis and its meaning is implied and built into the discussions and analyses that follow. Of course, as the participant above (a fluent speaker of the the Ma‘uke variety of te reo Māori) clarified, there is the clear sense that in the vernacular (at least as she understands it) ‘akapapa‘anga alone can connote genealogical recitation. Therefore, I use the term ‘akapapa‘anga primarily with the resonance of ‘akapapa‘anga ara tangata, as well as the different connotations conveyed in the meanings of the words papa and ‘akapapa as well. The preparation, readying, layering and solidity connoted by the term ‘akapapa and papa extend the purpose and meaning of genealogies in the Māori context in that they are undertaken with these intentions in mind. The maintenance of relations is a continual act that prepares, readies and deepens the collective responsibilities of Māori to one another and to the

[25] This nominalising suffix is very common in the Māori vernacular and is almost always used as a nominalising form when placed at the end of a word with its affixed glottal stop or ‘amata at its front. Alternative nominalising suffixes are rare.

places that we call home. This makes reminders and celebrations of relationality a matter of course in our daily lives.

The myriad senses of ‘akapapa‘anga also suggest the danger of conflating it with the English term genealogy and I reject that singular conflation as do many others (Royal, 1998; Teaiwa, 2014; Tengan et al., 2010). I discuss particular examples from other scholars in the following sections and highlight this problematic conflation because I wish to explore the significance of ‘akapapa‘anga beyond the exclusivity of human genetics as the only relations that matter in the Māori worldview. In the Oxford English Dictionary, genealogy is defined as “an account of one’s descent from an ancestor or ancestors, by enumeration of the intermediate persons; a pedigree”. The second sense given is “Lineage, pedigree, family stock” ("genealogy," 2019). It lists two further senses, both focused on human progeny: offspring and the investigation of family pedigrees. From certain perspectives, this is certainly *a part* of the ‘akapapa‘anga that I argue for. However, the practice has even more power than this and I discuss that in the following subsections.

Māori writer, anthropologist and genealogist, Howard Henry, has written extensively on different traditional histories of the Cook Islands and is perhaps best known for his exhaustive research and publication of the Henry family genealogies. Henry, who was employed by the Cook Islands Ministry of Cultural Development in 2017, published an article called “What is Genealogy... Cook Islands Style?” on the Ministry’s website in the same year. The article was an excerpt from a longer book he had self-published called *The Book of Tetaura-raru: Henry Family of the Cook Islands, Our Genealogy of 1000 Years* (Henry, 2003). In the blog post he opened with, “Genealogy is a person’s pedigree. It is a list of one’s ancestors, family history and genetic heritage” (Henry, 2017). He went on to describe how central family genealogies are to Māori society and how genealogies were recorded with memorisation, chanting, work of ta‘unga (those knowledgeable about spiritual or sacred practices) and “anecdotes and stories” before the proliferation of literacy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He then ended the article,

> To conclude this article in a personal sort of way: "My ancestors for generations may all be dead...but I am alive, I am a genetic product – from each and every one of them. That being the case, my ancestors are still very much alive, All alive... and living deep inside – of me"...and any DNA Test will prove that – beyond all reasonable doubt (Henry, 2017).

I include Henry here because of the volume of his writing and because he is one of a rare few Māori who have attempted to widely distribute their contemplations about the significance of genealogies to our people. His writings highlight the importance of genealogies to Māori but I wish to go further than the genetic discourse he invokes.

As Hawaiian-Chinese scholar David Chang argued in his article, "Transcending Settler Colonial Boundaries with mo'okū'auhau" (2019), the power of settler "[g]enealogical narratives (and the romantic images of families in the past that often accompany them) can easily fall into the sort of romantic nostalgia that hampers critical historical inquiry" (Chang, 2019, p. 98). Chang demonstrated this by showing how "settler genealogies" marginalised and erased Hawaiian and indigenous belonging to place by focusing on fractionalisation and blood quantum as a way of delegitimising indigeneity through various settler policies. In many ways, the land tenure system in the Cook Islands nation, with the exception of Mangaia, Mitiaro and Pukapuka,[26] reflect this same bureaucratic and relational fracturing. In Chapters 3-5, I undertake my analysis in the spirit of Chang's arguments and demonstrate how 'akapapa'anga has the ability to "transcend settler colonial boundaries" but for now,

[26] The administration and management of land on all 15 islands of the Cook Islands comes under the Cook Islands Act and the Cook Islands Constitution Act 1964. In 1994-95, an amendment (no. 17) to the Cook Islands Constitution Act stipulated at Section 48(3), "Notwithstanding anything in this Article, the Land Division shall not exercise any jurisdiction or power in relation to land in any of the Islands of Mangaia, Mitiaro and Pukapua that was not, according to local custom, being exercised by the Land Court before the commencement of this Article". Further conditions allow exception, should the aronga mana (the leadership) of each island request the "exercise of jurisdiction or power" ("Cook Islands Constitution Act," 1964). I note that the Land Court originally had jurisdiction over these islands until the amendment in 1994-5.

simply cite his words to make the aforementioned point and underscore the dangers of conflation and translation.

With that said, I should be clear – family pedigrees are still very important to ‘akapapa‘anga and how Māori understand the social structures that result from piri‘anga. Generational hierarchies and implicit understandings of senior and junior lines within families still very much influence the practice of ‘akapapa‘anga. One participant explained the dynamic of family meetings and the respect afforded to elders when she described asking her son to start accompanying her to family meetings:

> Just as an observer – to come and see how things are done. The hierarchy within the family. Because even though we’ve got our older Mamas and Papas and then there’s us [the parents, age group between 30s-50s[27]] , and we’re all land owners, we all have the same voting power but because you’re the next tier down, you’re still a tamariki [child] to them so you have to be careful if you’re going to oppose something that they might come up with. You gotta be – you gotta be careful how you say it. It’s gotta be with respect. Don’t necessarily – these days – have to agree with what they say. You can have your opinion but you have to be diplomatic, yeah. Just to keep the peace within the family and I want him to observe those kind of things so when it comes to their time, he’ll have an idea (Interview 23/7).

In the wider literature of genealogical practices in Polynesia, comparable cultural philosophies and epistemologies exploring and deploying the theoretical power of relationality now abound. For Samoan and Tongan peoples, the concept of vā represents the relational and connecting space between all things, and as I go on to explain below, these other Polynesian traditions offer generative explanatory

[27] This (age) group within villages, districts and Māori society is referred to as the pā metua, the group of adults who have various responsibilities within the community, are in their prime and have been mentored and taught by the older generation to inherit wisdom and decision-making power.

language for an understanding of ‘akapapa‘anga. In the spirit of a comparative Pacific Studies practice, I consider these writings and traditions as I build an understanding of ‘akapapa‘anga ara tangata.

The spaces between us: piri‘anga and relationality

The significance of the relational space and its definition is a difficult concept to convey to those who are not familiar with a Māori worldview or even those who never consciously consider a Māori way of being. I was asked to participate on a roundtable panel at the 2019 New Zealand History Association Conference called “Archive Frictions” and made friends with a wonderful Australian scholar specialising in Pacific history who was also part of this panel. As we walked home from a working dinner one evening, I described a conversation I’d had with one of our dinner companions. I was asked about my doctoral work and became frustrated when my description seemed to increasingly confuse my new acquaintance. Rather than giving up on the conversation as I usually would have, I continued on, imploring my dinner mate to understand, with an increasingly urgent tone and speed I knew, as my dinner colleague uncomfortably waved goodbye to me at the door of the restaurant, she hadn’t really understood what I was saying at all.

As I conveyed this to my new friend on our walk home she graciously suggested that in producing work within and for an entirely different ontology – a different worldview – there is a certain amount of intellectual, but especially personal, work that I cannot do for others, no matter how desperately and how quickly I speak. While the responsibility of interpretation within that ontology rests on me as I argue for the utility of ‘akapapa‘anga, asking the dinner companion or my intellectual and cultural communities to consider ‘akapapa‘anga more deeply actually requires *them* to sit quietly with themselves, to decentre particularly Western cultural paradigms in *their* own ways of understanding the world, and to open their hearts to a different kind of relation. This personal act of recalibration – this act of ‘akapapa, of preparing and of readying, of rearranging – is something that I cannot do *for* someone else. This is work

that must first be chosen and then acted upon. I cannot forcefully shift a normative frame for others and nor should I. This recalibration is a decolonising act. It privileges and foregrounds how *Māori* see the nuances of their world and the relationships to place and people as deeply meaningful. By shifting our normative frames (if they do not already align with Māori sensitivities to relationality) one then has the opportunity to develop empathy and understanding of a Māori sensitivity to relationships, an impulse to privilege the care of relationships that go beyond the nuclear-family unit favoured in other cultural, and particularly Western, paradigms.

In Pacific scholarship, this agentive shift would be recognised as a warming of "the space between" or a space that many Polynesian scholars call the vā (Ka'ili, 2005; Tuagalu, 2008). As described by I'uogafa Tuagalu in his article, "Heuristics of the vā", "the conceptual terrain of the *va* is vast" (Tuagalu, 2008, p. 109) and it is difficult to be exhaustive in its explanation, particlarly when wanting to centre a specific cultural ontology. Numerous Polynesian scholars have started to use the vā in recentring more indigenous ontologies and epistemologies (Ka'ili, 2005; Ka'ili & Mahina, 2017; Kame'eleihiwa, 1992; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2004; Mila-Schaaf, 2006; N. Williams, 2009) and this was encouraged when renowned scholar, writer and artist, Albert Wendt wrote his seminal essay, "Tatauing the Post-colonial Body" (1996), saying

> Va is the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things. The meanings change as the relationships/the contexts change (Albert Wendt, 1996).

Wendt's explanation is, in my view, very aptly and visually represented in Hau'ofa's "Our Sea of Islands" (1994), perhaps the most well-known piece of critical writing in the Pacific Studies classroom. Hau'ofa's inversion of the Ocean as a connecting rather than separating body, as the great highway and the great repository of our collective Pacific genealogical memory, is powerful because it renames that great blue expanse and animates it. Rather than the frame of isolating space so often projected onto it by

the Western paradigm, Hau'ofa reminded us, as did Wendt, that the expanse of the Ocean between islands and continents itself implicates the potential of connection. If we invert the space, no longer empty but bursting with meaning, it has the power to implicate all that its great body *connects*. This has been explored in more recent scholarship by Tongan tā-vāist scholars, 'Ōkusitino Māhina, Tēvita Ka'ili (2005; 2017; 1992) and others, and has been used by Māori scholars previously mentioned, including Kokaua and Newport.

To be clear, the vā is not a term that I have heard used in the Māori vernacular and neither is 'the space between'. However, it still offers explanatory power, the likes of which I've not seen in Māori scholarship. Relational connections, as demonstrated by James et al, are often named piri'anga in the Māori vernacular, a state of adhering or cohering people and things, but the word does not denote the relational space that its connections *cross* in order to draw relations between one person or entity and another. In her doctoral thesis, Christina Newport used relationality extensively in her argument for the utility of the vaka moana metaphor and the contextualisation of policy spaces for Māori and the Cook Islands. She was also explicit about the significance of the vā in these conceptualisations. She made the same argument for Hau'ofa's "unifying discourse of Oceania" where her study went on to take "socially constituted notions of space and oceanic thinking...berth[ing] them alongside indigenous Oceania conceptualisations of va as a space of relationality" (Newport, 2019b, p. 53). Thus, the vā is a space that contexualises by holding space *between* things. In other words, the vā is not simply a state but a spatiality that is active, sustaining the potential for connection. This relational space represents multidimensional proximities: the physical and spatial, and, as I discuss later in this sub-section, the temporal. In thinking about Teaiwa's prescription for comparativity in research practice in Pacific Studies, I am struck by how the vā helps make sense of this tenet, for how do we make sense of anything if it is not in relation to something else? It is in the space between that we find contrasts and dynamics that are not apparent when the subject is in isolation. This is not necessarily an exercise in comparison but an exercise, perhaps, in the play of conceptual light and shadow as we put one thing

alongside one or many other things in order see the varying states of what it is, perhaps what it isn't, and more importantly, what it can be.

This is the same with relationships in the institution of papa'anga. Piri'anga, iri'iri'anga and turanga all name points across the relational space that help Māori understand one another. It is a process that Vicente Diaz and J. Kēhaulani Kauanui call a "highly customised version of triangulation", "a native style of analysis and mode of politics" (2001, p. 316). In their introduction, "Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge" for *The Contemporary Pacific* (2001) special issue that collected papers from the conference of the same name, Diaz and Kauanui contemplate the mode of triangulation used in the navigational practice of etak from the Caroline Islands and its usefulness in the theorisation and analyses of political and cultural struggle in the Pacific. They write that this Carolinian technique involves "the reckoning [of] distance travelled and one's location at sea by calculating the rate at which one's island of departure moves from the traveling canoe and the rate at which a second reference island moves along another prescribed star course" (Diaz & Kauanui, 2001, p. 317). This is different from the more traditional use of triangulation in trigonometry in the sense that this technique "…involves entities whose borders are in flux: For example, the highest point of an island can shift from treetops to mountaintops to particular cloud formations, continuing upward to a range of constellations, depending on one's distance from that island. More profound, perhaps, is the perception that the entities used for *etak* triangulation are themselves on the move" (Diaz & Kauanui, 2001, p. 317). In terms of genealogies, these navigational logics demonstrate the ways practices of 'akapapa'anga help us navigate relational connections across spatial and temporal distances. In other words, I propose that 'akapapa'anga itself is a discursive form of this navigational technique and that the varying practices of 'akapapa'anga can help Māori locate themselves and their relations in papa'anga that are constantly moving and growing through those practices. As explained by James et al, Māori make sense of themselves by using papa'anga to locate, place and arrange a sense of others in the relational network.

The audience member at our USP presentation perplexed me because he hadn't seen a connection between my discussion of papa'anga and land ownership. For Māori, kinships are complex and entangled and are formed not only between individuals but between peoples and 'enua as ancestor. The story of my grandmother burying my 'enua in the 'enua on Waiheke Island is a powerful example of this, and in a Māori episteme, the relationship between a person and land is eased when there is recognition of those relations through acts of 'akapapa'anga. In this way, Māori triangulate meaning. The audience member didn't recognise the point I was trying to make - relationality, and therefore custom, occurs in the communal narration of our belonging *to* place *by way* of our relations. The importance of this relationality was explored by Kevin Sobel-Read (2012) in his thesis on sovereignty in the Cook Islands context, "Sovereignty, Law and Capital in the Age of Globalisation". In his discussion of the Cook Islands government's arbitration of land, he highlights the fact that Māori articulations of land tenure and the inalienability of 'enua, intriguingly violate economic relationality. He writes that, "Time and again, informants discussed with me the centrality of land tenure to their understandings of Cook Islandness"(Sobel-Read, 2012, p. 130). This cultural and societal discourse is very prevalent in Māori society and encourages me to ask how the genealogical relationships that govern land ownership in the ipukarea, or the home islands, might also reveal yet more about 'akapapa'anga.

In my view, the piri'anga between Māori and land is not singularly about ownership or patriotism, much as the land tenure expert suggested when she declared the centrality of custom and usage (Interview 11/9a). Here I highlight Teaiwa's observations that "genealogy is central to the formation of Pacific subjectivity" (Teaiwa, 2014, p. 43) and her description of adoption practices on her ancestral island of Banaba where in I-Banaba episteme, "land is equivalent to blood. So when land is given to a newly adopted member of a family, it is for all intents and purposes a blood transfusion" (p. 44). These articulations of the I-Banaba world-view reflect very similar sentiments in the piri'anga between land people. Land exchange, adoption and feeding contextualise the danger of conflating genealogies with genetic discourse.

Indeed, those same practices productively decentre the exclusivity of a definition, and an ontology, that only deals with humanistic familial and genetic relation. James et al's emphasis on the turanga of individuals, the audience member's hunger for answers, and the meaning of 'enua as ancestor to my people (23/7, 17/8, 26/8, 20/9 Interviews) makes me wonder how we could ever really understand ourselves as Māori without also understanding the true depth of our relation to not only people but the 'enua as well.

No 'ea mai koe: To where do you belong?

> For me, it's not about getting your piece of land. It's about your connection to family and land. I think they go hand in hand (Interview 11/9).
>
> …his view was that genealogy always relates to the land. So, if you can understand the land, then you can understand what genealogy is and what I mean by that is that, if I put a…genealogy sheet on a blackboard, on the PowerPoint or what have you, and got people to look at it, they'd be lost. They wouldn't know the first thing about it cause all they can see are names which have no meaning to them at all (Interview (26/9).

The sentiment expressed in these two epigraphs pervaded every single interview I undertook during my fieldwork block. I go on to discuss the significance of names in the next chapter and despite what the second epigraph tends to imply, names are useful in and of themselves even though they need the labour of contextualisation and narration to see their power to full effect. I have returned to my analyses of the interview material again and again, reading key phrasing and reliving the depth of emotion and cetainty in the voices of each Māori person I shared time and space with. As with my own deep considerations of the story that opened this thesis, interviewees

carefully described the value and meaning of ‘enua in ways beyond essentialisms and metaphor:

> ...that’s through your genealogy and to know that – I don’t know, you know like to know that, that section across the road there was your great-great-grandmother’s section and she lived on that section and if you were to dig one metre below the soil you would find something that was hers or her father’s, you know what I mean? And we still have a lot of those things in our land. You know, and these are all untouched pieces of the island. That back road was created by Toi[28] and that’s – that’s amazing that we still have that (Interview 12/9b)

When this interviewee shared these reflections with me, he and his wife had just finished building their first family home 12 months earlier. The land they built on came from his wife’s grandmother and in the legal and relational process of seeking family permissions, they learned their family papa‘anga and how their ancestors had come to settle and plant on it. In our conversations together, both participants recalled the ways they were changed by that inheritance, the genealogical connections they discovered as Māori of the same larger genealogical network, and the gratitude they felt waking each morning and looking across the ‘enua they now live on:

> I mean, for me, whakapapa[29] is important and that helps me find my place, but also helps me realise, you know, the effect that I have on the next generation. It helps me with my work. It helps me to connect with this piece of land we’re on now. It helps me connect to my wife. It makes my connection to my wife more special because our tupuna who went to get Tangiia’s son and bring him back, that is how we are

[28] There are two major roads on the island of Rarotonga. The main road along the coastal belt is called the Ara Tapu. The other, colloquially referred to as “the backroad” by locals today, is known as the Ara Metua (sometimes translated as “the parent path”) or its more ancient name, “Te Ara Nui o Toi”, the great road of the ancestor Toi. The Ara Metua encircles the entire island, crossing every tapere and many of the ancient marae and planting lands (Campbell, 2002; R. Crocombe, 1961b).

[29] The interview participant has genealogical affiliations to Aotearoa (Kai Tahu, Ngāti Porou, Taranaki/Te Āti Awa) through his father.

> connected, all those generations back and that is how we got the land here in Tikioki. That's where Tikioki came from (Interview 12/9b).

The depth of meaning for this couple is articulated to the numerous family stories they learned through living relations and the records of the land court, as well as the wider narrative traditions of Rarotonga. The narrative about Tangiia's son, referred to by the participant, relates the common ancestor for him and his wife – Tamakeu. Tamakeu, he said, was asked by the great chief Tangiia to go to the island of Mangaia and fetch his son, Terei. When he returned to Rarotonga, the 'enua he returned to on the eastern side of Rarotonga was named Tikioki – to fetch and to return.

The connection between Māori and 'enua cannot be overstated. The mutual construction of identities and subjectivities are interwoven throughout our day to day lives and the very foundations of who we are. Another one of the interviewees' relations, Puati Mata'iapo, was a well-known orator and the following passage is quoted from him often:

> Taka'i koe ki te papa 'enua
> 'Akamou i te pito 'enua
> A'u i to 'ou rangi.
> [You step onto solid ground, affix the umbilical chord[sic]. You carve out your world] (Puati Mata'iapo in Jonassen, 2005, p. 47)

This passage is quoted often because the imagery and poetry of his words represent valued knowledge for Māori and Polynesian peoples. The relation between humans and the land as a lifegiving, food-bearing, foundation-setting entity is poignantly captured in this passage. The burying of the umbilical cord and the 'enua is an act that is not only ritualistically symbolic of this belief but is an embodied act, a literal crossing of the space between human and 'enua that authorises connection between person and place of belonging, a situating and planting of a newborn *into* place (ho'omanawanui, 2019, pp. 55-56; Muliaina, 2018, p. 520). There are variations on this practice but its intent is to put newborns in relation to place as ancestor, giving them a centre from which they "carve out [their] world". Needless to say, the grandmother from whom this couple traced papa'anga before building on this land, is buried just

behind their family house as is the pito – the umbilical cord – of this first-born child who was four years old when I recorded our interview.

As I think back to our presentation at USP and to the story of my grandmother when I was born, I feel certain about a Māori ontology that recognises deep relation between us as humans, our ʻenua and indeed, all that is created. ʻAkapapaʻanga, I believe, distinguishes an active kinship between all things. In her article, "Papakū Makawalu: A Methodology and Pedagogy of Understanding the Hawaiian Universe" (2019), Kalei Nuʻuhiwa discusses the definition of moʻokūʻauhau or Hawaiian genealogical practice, writing,

> From the Hawaiian perspective, moʻokūʻauhau is generally considered a genealogical map of the origins of all things that are birthed. Moʻokūʻauhau also includes *the inception and creation of anything tangible, intangible, animate, inanimate, built, birthed, or created* [emphasis added]. Simply stated, a moʻokūʻauhau is a recorded explanation of the kumu (origin or source) for anyone or anything that has come into being or into existence (p. 40).

This beautifully rendered summary of moʻokūʻauhau in the Hawaiian context echoes with how I believe Māori are understanding papaʻanga. Nuʻuhiwa's definition transcends human descent and relation, encompassing place, all things that grow and are growing alongside us, the lands and waterways to which we belong and everything else which has been created. These kinds of relational proximities and the constituting principles of being created, are enshrined in Māori creation stories, our pe'e, or chants, and in our music and dance traditions and I refer to these throughout the coming chapters. Though I hate to think of how much kite Māori[30] (ancestral knowledge) we have lost through Christianisation, these creation stories obstinately

[30] In Kokaua's thesis he notes that kite māori "is a modern term" that he interprets to mean "Māori indigenous knowledge" (L. Kokaua, 2019, p. 9). He notes that in the absence of an official definition for the term, he employs a definition from Aotearoa Māori context and the definition of mātauranga Māori given by Hikuroa. Kokaua therefore interprets kite māori to mean Māori perspectives of creativity, cultural practice, the universe, and the natural world (including humans) (p. 21).

survive by way of ʻakapapaʻanga itself (L. Kokaua, 2019, p. 18), the ongoing sharing, transmission and study of kumu/tumu or creation, and our papaʻanga.

Early in my fieldwork, I spoke with an elder whose family had long served one of the ariki (chiefly) titles on Atiu as speakers on behalf of ariki and knowledge holders. In our conversation he offered to recite two well-known peʻe from Atiu. The first is a strong example of how discursive belonging to place is in the tradition of papaʻanga. The well-known cognate of the ancient Polynesian homeland is ʻAvaiki in the Atiu Māori language (and many of the Māori language varieties in the modern southern group of the Cook Islands). The peʻe he recited invoked ʻAvaiki as the place from which we come into the world. He explained that it "is only based on the 21st birthday or something that is born again" (Interview 2/8). My broader interpretation took his meaning to be that this peʻe was performed as a celebration of important milestones in life, representing the growth of a person and their metaphorical new birth. He recited:

> Uriuri ake naʻau
> ʻE aki a vai i ʻAvaiki mai
> ʻE vai kura, ʻe vai renga
> ʻAvaiki tautua, ʻAvaiki tauaroaro
> ʻE tangata kua puia ki te ao mārama.
> Tupu-ra-nga tupuranga te tangata
> Tupu-ra-nga tupuranga te tangata
> I te atua, ia Rongo e Tane
> Tupu-ra-nga tupuranga te tangata
> Iē ko kō! (Interview 2/8)

He went on to intrepret the meaning of the peʻe:

> The word uriʻuri means when the ladyʻs pregnant. Sore. Uriʻuri ake nau, e kia ngā vai, you know the water pop out. Mei ʻAvaiki mai. ʻAvaiki means from down there. Waters bursts. ʻE vai kura, itʻs red blood, e vai renga, yellow fluid. Thatʻs the word. Thatʻs a old word.

> ‘Avaiki tautua, ‘Avaiki tauaroaro, that means the placenta, ‘Avaiki tautua, ‘Avaiki tauaroaro, the baby in the womb and the placenta come out [...] puia ki te ao marama, and the baby saw the earth. The baby came born to the earth...In our genealogy, and in our pe‘e, in our kōrero, they always mention ‘Avaiki, ‘Avaiki. ‘Avaiki means where you come from. Simple as that. Where you come from! Where you born! (Interview 2/8)

This interpretation of ‘Avaiki as the womb and therefore *wherever* (and *whenever*) you come from, rather than (or as well as) an ancient homeland in some remote corner of the Ocean, offers important perspective in my analyses and in my building an understanding of ‘akapapa‘anga. It illustrates how Māori understand a deep relation between place – spiritual or conceptual – and our physical selves. In Māori ontology, the synonymity of several conceptual, physical and even theoretical places called ‘Avaiki almost seems obvious because it isn’t only a specific site located in the past, or even at a specific location, but is an idea (as argued by Case in relation to Kahiki (2015)) with deep meaning that has grown with each invocation, creating a papa‘anga of meaning all its own.

In all of the interviews I undertook, I asked participants to tell me about themselves, encouraging them to begin wherever they felt comfortable. Many, without prompting, spoke about the planting of their pito or their umbilical cord. This practice is common for many cultures across the world, as proven with a survey of over a hundred different cultures and their placentophagic practices, undertaken by anthropologists, Sharon M. Young and Daniel C. Benyshek (2010). In 2002, French anthropologist from La Université de la Polynésie française, Bruno Saura (2002), published an article exploring the Tahitian practice of burying the placenta of newborns, based on the Tahitian and Eastern Polynesian belief that “the substance that nourished the foetus nourishes the tree” (p. 127). Saura provides many different verbal accounts of the

practice of burying and submergence.[31] However, his findings align clearly with the sentiments expressed by the interviewees who shared their stories with me: the centre, navel or anchor connoted by the pito draws its power from its inherent connection to the 'enua, both placenta and land, and the intertwined linkages between plant, earth and human life:

> In Eastern Polynesia, the continuity of creation and procreation between earth, plants and people is thus realised through burial of the placenta 'core of land' close to a tree, in a relationship that is both rooted in and opens onto an ongoing fecundity. However, the main paradox of the placenta is that it is simultaenously a physical body without form, an imperfect body destined to become a cadaver and therefore, at best, its function is to nourish the earth. And, it is a source of great symbolic worth owing to its close association with the giving of life. (p. 135)

Saura's analysis is a persuasive reflection of Tahitian and wider Polynesian practices in relation to 'enua and pito. Thus the stories shared with me by interviewees reflect "the continuity of mutual belonging and assimilation between the person and the earth" (p. 133). One interviewee narrated herself thus:

> I'm a Titikaveka [village on the eastern side of the island of Rarotonga]. My pito, my umbilical cord is buried there. So yeah. I'm a Titikaveka – married into Arorangi [a village on the western side of Rarotonga] (Interview 17/8).

She *is* Titikaveka and her papa'anga has intersected with Arorangi through marriage. (I discuss the idea of genealogical intersection further in the next chapter, as well as the synonymity of self, place and the importance of names). Similarly, another

[31] The majority of Saura's examples involve the burying of placenta near fruit trees or family homes but he also relates examples of placing placenta and umbilical cords in the coral reef passes; "The pass being the focal point between the interior and the exterior, immersion symbolically followed in the opposite direction the pathway taken by the placenta at the time it was expelled from the uterus." (Saura, 2002, p. 138).

participant had, in Puati Mata'iapo's words, carved out her world from her village, narrating:

> My pito is in Areora[32] under…a mango tree…My aunties took me there when they were alive and showed it to me so, that little spot in Areora is my space as it were…but it's not just that spot that's me, the whole island is me. The moment I get off the plane is me. I just feel it. I feel elevated when I get off the plane and walk on the ground at the airport, all of those things. (Interview 26/8).

"The whole island is me", "I'm a Titikaveka", "'Avaiki...where you come from! Where you born!". I intepret these expressions of identity and self as more than just a sentimental regard for place. In building an intepretation of papa'anga *with* my interview participants and the critical literature, Māori subjectivity seems to me deeply informed by a genealogical practice that necessarily includes relation to place as ancestor. This is particularly so if we understand an equivalence between self and place as described by Teaiwa or a synonymity, as I suggest above, with the pe'e calling Māori forth from 'Avaiki.

The space between: spatial and temporal dimensions

> The basis of time in the Land Court records, in Rarotongan culture, is genealogy – in fact the stories told in the courts were essentially the recitation of genealogy, while the historical and social data that are of interest to western scholarship are only adjuncts, acting as mnemonics and declarations of interest in specific resources. Fortunately, because the traditions were recited within the western

[32] Areora is a village located on Atiu. A village with the same name is also located on the island of Ma'uke, a result of warring and settlement by Atiu people prior to 1863 (Mokoroa, 1984, p. 32). I note throughout this thesis, particularly in Chapter 3, the countless place-names for 'enua throughout the 15 islands and acknowledge that the peoples of Ma'uke have their own tradition of 'enua names passed through a long legacy of tua ta'ito (ancient stories and traditions) (A.-L. Siikala, 2019).

> forum of the court, they were tailored to western understandings and expectations. Genealogy is consequently played down in favour of narrative, but still it lies at the foot of all the evidence (Campbell, 2006, p. 109).

In rescaling the significance of physical and temporal proximity, the relevance and meaning of those dimenions becomes reordered within the Māori worldview. This is an inherent part of ‘akapapa‘anga. It allows Māori to evaluate the meaning and significance of relationships in a way that decentres colonial constructs like the nation-state or the Western framing of blood quantum. It is true that descent through blood matters within a Māori paradigm but this has a crooked alignment with how Western social and cultural constructs of adoption or naming might be legalised. Māori practices of adoption, or what is referred to as tama‘iti/tamariki ‘āngai (feeding children, tama’iti/tamariki meaning child and ‘āngai meaning to feed), is a good example of this.

There are numerous texts that attempt to describe the dynamics of adoption in Polynesian societies, many written in English or French, and rarely with the exactness that encompasses the varied and powerful meanings of these relationships. As with everything in the Māori world, the impetus to take care of others, especially children, is not necessarily rationalised by a direct and immediate blood relation. In the Māori world, children and grandchildren have been raised by grandparents, aunts and uncles, and close friends of family since the beginning of time. These relationships are given meaning through the ongoing demonstration of care represented in the act of feeding, or literally taking responsibility for ensuring that an individual has the necessary sustenance for life. This is not adoption in the Western sense. For many Māori families, “being fed” (often referred to as such in English) is to acknowledge a complex set of loyalties, affection and belonging for carers and the cared for, representing meaningful kinship. There are numerous examples of relationships like this, and once established, they are remembered and acted upon across many generations. In my own family, my great-grandmother once took care of a child whose parents were Manihiki missionaries, proselytizing on our island of Atiu. When

they left to continue their missionary work in Papua New Guinea, their child was left to be fed by my great-grandmother. When my grandmother moved to Rarotonga at 8 years old, the child who was cared for by my great-grandmother was a grown woman, and met my grandmother and took care of her when she arrived there. My grandmother then took care of her children, especially when they later came to settle in New Zealand. Those same children feed and take care of me when I am working in Rarotonga. They often bring me food and check in on me from time to time. On my last trip to Rarotonga, I set up a makeshift desk in my kitchen at a vintage, if somewhat uncomfortable, French dining set made of cane. Sensing my discomfort, these relations left an office chair on the veranda at the front of my house the next day. It is the feeding and the providing for that is honored throughout the generations. This is not a formal arrangement but an act of ʻakapapaʻanga that balances our piriʻanga – or relation - in the papaʻanga that goes back to the time of my great-grandmother and continues to bind us.

Stories about, and the subject of, tamariki ʻāngai arose in many of the interviews I recorded (11/9a, 21/8, 22/8, 23/7, 27/8) Interviews). There were numerous and moving stories of how the aroʻa between feeding parents and feeding children changed the dynamics of familial papaʻanga in ways that we struggle to account for in legal matters to do with land. This dimension of papaʻanga extends the parameters of relationality for Māori because it incite feelings of love, affection, and responsibility but in doing so, this also directly influences the relational infrastructure of our collective genealogies. For one elder, her feeding parents *were* her parents:

> My father said, you have to remember who you are so when I introduce myself, I introduce myself as my […] feeding parents role – my feeding parents status and I just said [NB: the participant shares details of her parents and I have redacted for anonymity]. And that's all I would introduce myself as. Because…I was a feeding child to another couple, they were – people would say they were obsessive about me being theirs – you didn't talk about your birth parents – the

> birth parents were secondary and I actually called my birth parents aunty and uncle all my life (Interview 26/8).

In the Māori episteme, identification with, and to, feeding parents holds a different meaning to adoption. As another participant explained:

> ...and we're looking at the interpretation, how do you interpret that [relations and adoption] – cause there are a whole lot of people – oh, they're not blood connected, they're putea children, you know, feeding children [...] you know, there are people who really talk about this blood connection and family but I'm talking about custom and that children didn't belong to us. Children – children didn't belong to us. My children don't belong to me and I think it goes back to when I was talking about my mum and dad but actually, I belong to the family. You know. And I think when we're looking at our genealogy, it's our relationship and our connection to that (Interview 11/9a)

Indeed, it seems clear that the concept of adoption and its legal framework cannot reconcile Māori relational power that goes beyond the nuclear and blood-defined family unit. Moreover, it is because of this that through the comparative analytical gaze it is possible to see the temporal and spatial dimensions of papa'anga come into relief.

In my conversations with participants, concepts like tamariki 'āngai exemplified some of the tensions Māori currently grapple with as they engage in the practice of 'akapapa'anga. Assumed cultural essentialisms, like the exclusivity and primacy of blood relations, obscure these other kinds of meaningful relations, particularly as physical and temporal distance become seen as a diminution of their meaning. With the framing of genealogies as a system of pedigree based only on blood, this also compromises how we might understand our relations as a continuation of our ancestors' praxes. This tension was very obvious in interviews with my participants, and our conversations naturally flowed there as I asked them to consider concepts like

'the Cook Islands', 'Māori' and 'papa'anga' and invited them to narrate themselves and their identites aloud.

For so many Māori, their reflections also seem shaped by their temporal and physical distance from their home islands. Māori lives so often exist outside and away from the home islands for at least part, if not all, of their lives and I wanted to know how papa'anga gave (or didn't give) meaning to moments and periods of physical distance between the individual and the places and people to which they belonged.

> Interviewer: The papa'anga doesn't stop at the reef?
>
> Participant: No. We exist beyond that. Those relationships prevail beyond that, just like they prevail across time. Past and present (Interview 27/9).

In this exchange, I interviewed a Cook Islands Māori academic about her doctoral work and asked her to contemplate how relationships between Māori were routed "across the reef" and beyond the Cook Islands nation (I discuss the significance of the reef later in Chapter 5). Her response, as recorded above, affirmed what I already believed: that neither the Ocean, national border, or time, can ever sever the significance of one's papa'anga. For Māori, papa'anga represent legacies of power and meaning and it is an institution that is able to trace and shape how those legacies move through time. 'Akapapa'anga denotes the practices that Māori undertake in order to understand the nature and character of those legacies, the various kinds of proximities that exist between people and all things, and how those proximities have shifted and continue to move.

The concept of relational space or vā is a measure of those proximities and, as many Pacific and indigenous scholars argue, so are culturally-specific measures of time. In this regard, literary scholar, Caroline Sinavaiana Gabbard wrote in her article, "Samoan Literature and the Wheel of Time: Cartographies of the Vā" (2018),

> The concept of vā resonates with the dynamics of space-time continuum, in which both space and time always already operate

> inseparably and simultaenously. In other words, the vā's singular spatial valence is indivisibly bound, imbued, and informed by temporal elements and dynamics of mutability (Gabbard, 2018, p. 34).

Gabbard's article was part of a *symplokē* issue that focused on theorisations of modernity in Oceania. Gabbard gives brief analyses of written work from three Samoan writers, Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Tupuola Tufuga Efi, Tusiata Avia and Penina Ava Taesali, and argues for the ongoing significance of historical legacies to Samoan society by way of disruption to the relational space or vā, as expressed in the work of the writers. Her discussion contemplates how modernity and the legacy of colonialism have persisted through time, simultaneously bringing attention to the ways that papa'anga is able to not only record disruption, divergence and change, but how time itself might be given rhythm, meter and measurement by tracing these beats in the ever-negotiated vā. This "space-time continuum" is inherently tied to the value of papa'anga within Māori society. The practice of 'akapapa'anga offers a specifically Māori relational scale that utilises alternative spatial and temporal dimensions to undertake and enhance the relational triangulation that I discussed in previous sections. As with the example of feeding, this act sustains and indelibly marks the papa'anga with the potential for its meaning to stretch intergenerationally. In a conversation with an interviewee from Ma'uke, he described how his uncle would narrate occupancy of land in Mau'ke through the retelling of genealogical relations. In one example, he recalled how his uncle would account for where relations were located on Ma'uke and how they came to be resident there, even if they were not seemingly related to the 'enua, "You know Jim? Jim used to feed Jack's pigs so even though Jim was an Aitutakian, he ended up living on...Jack's land so that's why his family are over there so he [uncle] was able to sort of basically connect all of the dots" (Interview 26/9). Gabbard and others have called Oceanian temporality "spiral time" and Gabbard herself describes this temporality as a "corollary of vā dynamics" (2018, p. 35). Therefore, in order to understand relationships, relationality, the practice of 'akapapa'anga and the importance of these, we must necessarily pay attention to

Māori ways of understanding not only conceptual and physical space, but also the significance of the relationship between place and time.

Relatively few scholars have engaged with, or even attempted to define what temporality might mean to indigenous and Pacific ontologies and epistemologies (Ka'ili & Mahina, 2017, p. 34; Tau, 2011). There have been none, as far as I can ascertain, who have attempted to do so in the Māori context. In his book, *Marking Indigeneity: The Tongan Art of Sociospatial Relations*, Tēvita Ka'ili, like Aotearoa Māori scholar, Te Maire Tau (2011), noted the lack of attention paid to temporality in Polynesian scholarship. In his chapter on tā-vā[33] theorisations, Ka'ili briefly discussed how a Tongan or indigenous temporality enabled Polynesians to "retain memories of the past and awareness of its presence" (Ka'ili & Mahina, 2017, p. 36). He went on to describe how a specifically indigenous and Tongan temporality underscored the social power and infrastructure created by the relational latitudes of senior and junior lines within Tongan genealogies. This, in effect, constitutes Tongan social ranks and the broader structure of Tongan society. This same point was made by Apirana Ngata in the early twentieth century, as he, along with Te Rangi Hiroa Sir Peter Buck, began theorising whakapapa as a practical ontology in the Aotearoa Māori context. While sibling hierarchies may seem a simple facet of genealogical record, Ka'ili and Ngata's discussion of generational power and familial seniority gestures to more complex rules of leadership, chieftainship and political influence (see: Chapter 4). In order to navigate, wield and defer to those legacies of authority, one must have an erudite knowledge of piri'anga that stretches across time. In the Māori context, this is done through the various practices of 'akapapa'anga, praxes by which Māori will communally engage in meaning-making through remembering, enacting and honouring the various legacies to which they belong.

[33] In his chapter, "Theorizing Ta-Va" from his book *Marking Indigeneity: The Tongan Art of Sociospatial Relations*, Tēvita Ka'ili (2017) explains Hūfuga 'Ōkusitino Māhina's work linking concepts of "Moanan" time and space in his scholarly work. Kā'ili writes, "Ontologically, tā and vā are the common medium of all things – natural, mental and social – that exist in a single level of reality or tempospatiality…In the epistemological realm, the tā-vā theory of reality asserts that time and space are arranged differently within and across cultures. For example, indigenous Moanan cultures predominantly arrange time in the middle, and the future as the time that comes after or behind" (2005, pp. 35-36).

‘Akapapa‘anga is necessarily and a highly discursive practice and is, in my view, a perpetual process of narrating papa‘anga and warming the relational space between. There are various forms like the social conventions of introduction, or the planting of placenta or umbilical cords, adoption or naming. All these praxes are done to refine one’s sense of self and to attribute the appropriate antecedent meaning(s) that come from ancestral, familial and spatial relations. The reader will note the explanations of these examples provided thus far. I go on to discuss these in further depth and with other examples throughout the coming chapters. I engage this discursive and storied approach to the subject of this thesis by necessarily foregrounding my own subjectivity, and thus the personal anecdotes I relay invariably arrange and situate my papa‘anga, and thus myself, in the wider world of Māori. As quoted by ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui, W.F. Nicolaisen (1990) says

> …through story we create the past, or at least significant and manageable chunks of it, and that not only in temporal frameworks but also in spatial settings…the past does not exist as place or time until it has been narrated through story (as cited in ho'omanawanui, 2019, p. 53)

In thinking about the praxes of ‘akapapa‘anga then, a different kind of temporality – namely, what scholars have called spiral-time – seems very relevant to the working definition I am trying to build. The preoccupation with antecedence suggests that ‘akapapa‘anga is an exercise in communal, holistic and ongoing meaning-making and maintenance in Māori social lives.

Patricia Grace, the novelist mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, has been pivotal to my own thinking on temporality and has been influential for many other scholars contemplating spiral-time in indigenous Pacific contexts. Grace prominently uses Aotearoa Māori temporality in her writing and, as I indicated above with

Gabbard, this ontological approach has been aligned with spiral-time[34] by a number of literary critics (DeLoughrey, 2007; Gabbard, 2018; Marsh, 1999; Tau, 2011). Grace's writing becomes a strong (and perhaps more digestible) example for those attempting to understand and theorise an appropriate temporality in the broader ontology of Indigenous and Māori peoples. Grace's highly discursive narration implies a simultaneity to the past and present. Some may be confused by the non-linear progression of Grace's narrative, for example, the ambiguous purpose of deceased characters, shifting character perspectives or the consistent and disparate references to scattered moments throughout the chronology of the narrative. It is this seemingly erratic temporality, however, that allows Grace to convey legacies of meaning across time and space. The abruptness and frequency with which characters and key scenes are continually and intermittently called forth and decentred in Grace's writing provide a strong example of how Aotearoa Māori (and I later argue, Māori at large) understand the dynamism of time to their world-building and meaning-making. For this reason, the keynote address from Alice Te Punga Somerville that I discussed in the previous chapter was also able to convey an Indigenous historiography that productively implicated every listener in the history and future of Te Punga Somerville's present moment. As Pacific poet and literary scholar, Selina Tusitala Marsh[35], writes

> The theoretical thought patterns in decentering that allow for the possibility of multiple realities, as opposed to one validated reality, parallel the artistic patterns of the spiral, a symbol used by many Polynesian peoples to holistically represent political and spiritual principles. The spiral's structure confronts and defies the Western linear hierarchical way of thinking, urging the mind's eye toward a center that allows for the possibility of multiple centers; it "looks"

[34] Spiral-time as a concept has an ever-growing body of critical literature exploring its utility in different disciplinary and cultural contexts. In discussions of historical narrative and oral tradition in the Aotearoa Māori context, this temporality has also been referred to as "sacred time" (DeLoughrey, 2007) and "mythic time" (Tau, 2011).

[35] "Dr Selina Tusitala Marsh is an Auckland-based Pacific poet and scholar of Samoan, Tuvaluan, English, Scottish and French descent" (University of Auckland).

> back even as it progresses forward, hence embracing the common Polynesian adage: "We face the future with our backs." Such subjectivity is reflected, for example, in the shifting nature of knowledge. (Marsh, 1999, p. 340)

This temporal perspective is crucial to the practice of 'akapapa'anga because it dismisses the deconstruction of papa'anga and allows us, instead, to hold the multiplicity of our legacies in sustained tension. Resistance to the fractionalisation of one's papa'anga, as discussed by Salmond, Teaiwa and others like Samoan historian Damon Salesa (2000), therefore suggests a more expansive definition of the purposes of papa'anga and 'akapapa'anga as cornerstones of Māori ontology and epistemology.

An inherent question in this thesis asks why 'akapapa'anga might be useful to Māori society and critical thinking in the Māori context and I suggest that tackling the potential of temporality and spatiality in our relations with one another and the wider world is a crucial linchpin in any Māori future-building project (see Chapters 5 and 6). This is particularly so if we want to maintain and care for papa'anga. In the case of Māori land tenure, this feels pertinent. In her article, "The Spiral Temporality of Grace's *Potiki*", literary scholar Elizabeth DeLoughrey argues that spiral-time temporality is a crucial site of sovereignty and self-determination for Aotearoa Māori. She uses examples from Grace's novel and the broader history of colonisation in Aotearoa to highlight the difficulty of reconciling divergent Pākehā and Aotearoa Māori views of the colonial past and its relevance to the "now" when Māori perceive "past" and unresolved wrongs from colonisation as an ongoing and ever-present trauma. In contrast, settler governments and colonial actors continue to ask, "That happened so long ago. Why can't Māori just get over it?" My resistance to foregrounding the Cook Islands nation and its borders is a purposeful attempt to side-line analytical constructions that stem from colonial legacies. In other words, it is a deliberate decolonial practice and one of 'akapapa'anga. I do not deny the relevance of the Cook Islands nation, but I want to tell this thesis by beginning from different spatial and temporal centres. As my highly academic version of narration moves in ever widening circles, I will inevitably return to those 15 islands and indeed, its people

and how they are now known. However, ‘akapapa‘anga allows me to start at different “centres” and different “beginnings” – a cultural paradigm, cultural practice and research method all its own.

A way of telling a story: ‘akapapa‘anga in three modes

In the forthcoming chapters, I use ‘akapapa‘anga in three different modes and I give further definition to those modalities in this sub-section. No other scholar has explored the potential of ‘akapapa‘anga in research inquiry and I hope to prove its usefulness with this thesis. To do so, I will define a broad methodology before undertaking that work. Below, I sketch three modes based on how I perceive ‘akapapa‘anga is being used by Māori and how these critical modes might be useful to research enquiry in the Cook Islands Māori context. This, I hope, will be a contribution to broader conversations about the usefulness of indigenous, and particularly Māori, methodologies, ontology, epistemology and axiology.

A cultural paradigm

I have mentioned ‘akapapa‘anga as a cornerstone to Māori society and in this thesis, I explore its efficacy as a cultural paradigm: a pattern or model for a Māori view of the world. Genealogical traditions and practices have been explored by others in their specific cultural contexts (Salmond, 2019; Wilson-Hokowhitu, 2019). However, my scholarly contribution is one that centres the uniquely Māori practice of ‘akapapa‘anga. That distinctiveness comes, as ever, from papa‘anga itself. In his article “Tu Tangata: Personality and Culture”, Jon Jonassen (2003b) writes:

> The world of a Māori from the Cook Islands is unique, dynamic and interspersed with personality and culture. It projects a way of life that has constantly reflected the power of metaphor...It is an exciting accumulation of traditional moana nui a kiva (Pacific Ocean), pa ‘enua (inter-island) networking, enriched by vaerua (spiritual) and to

> te ao (worldly) exchanges, and its own unique internal localized cultural developments, (Jonassen, 2003b, p. 127)

Jonassen describes the importance of seniority and ancestral wisdom in Māori cultural practice, and the influence of modernity and miscegenation on what he calls a "mobile *Tu Tangata*". This concept acknowledges the diasporic experiences of the vast majority of Māori people and, like Salesa, Teaiwa and others, Jonassen underscored the inclusion of those with Māori papa'anga in Māori culture: "even if the claim to that traditional heritage is a mere percentage...*Tu Tangata* recognises that claims might be challenged but rights through established links could never be denied" (p. 135). These ideas that we might recognise as miscegenation are reframed within the paradigm of 'akapapa'anga. Jonassen's definition does not necessarily construct Māori culture through the assembly of cultural indicators or essentialisms but more, focuses on the process of culture making that 'akapapa'anga represents, a practice that in its enactment, defines the Māori personality and culture.

As I have continued to emphasise, 'akapapa'anga is about establishing and making sense of relationships – it is about relationality and its significance to Māori. In his book, *Research is ceremony* (2008), Shawn Wilson, an indigenous Opaskwayak Cree (Manitoba, Canada) scholar specialising in Indigenous methodologies, centred relationality in his understanding of knowledge making and research. He wrote, "Rather than viewing ourselves as being *in* relationship with other people or things, we *are* the relationships that we hold and are part of" (Wilson, 2008, p. 80). Wilson's words encourage me to consider 'akapapa'anga then, not exclusively as a construction of relationships, laid out in complex papa'anga charts, but as a process of our individual and collective *becoming*. Thus, it seems clear to me that 'akapapa'anga is itself a definition of, or a clear model and paradigm for, what it is to be Māori and sets a clear framework for how we understand research subjects, questions and relationality in a Māori way – that is, always in relation.

I want to be clear about drawing attention *away* from compartmentalising people and place as *only* rela*tives*. I believe there are aspects of interdependency and holism in our physical and spiritual lives that 'akapapa'anga can help us realise, apparent in

physical and intellectual concepts like ʻAvaiki, for example. I came across a persuasive example of this when I picked up a copy of *Lokal* magazine. The magazine was put together by Māori writer Rachel Reeves and Māori graphic designer, Sam Ataera, and has two issues in its catalogue (2018, 2019). Along with other fellow Māori writers and creatives, Reeves and Ataera aimed to gather stories and wisdom from around the ipukarea to convey "why living local matters". I was enamoured with the magazine when I picked it up. It is a beautiful production with stunning photography and emotive and inspiring stories from local people, mostly Māori living in the Cook Islands. In many ways, it is a celebration of who Māori people are. At the same time, there are honest meditations on the issues facing Māori society and, in my view, there is an even-handed contemplation of our culture through the ostensibly irreconcilable lenses of Māori thought, Christian teachings and the latest in scientific research. As a heading for their section on "Piriʻanga" the creative directors include the following epigraph:

> According to Māori traditions, the Bible, and science, we were designed to live for other people. This is also the law of nature. Nothing in nature lives for itself. Rivers don't drink their own water. Trees don't eat their own fruit. The sun doesn't shine for itself. This section is about aroʻa – what happens when we don't practise it and how it saves us from ourselves ("Piri'anga," 2019)

What struck me about this section (and indeed, the wider magazine) was its attempt to gather perspectives and stories through these three (often contrasting) lenses and to give honest reflections on the subjects of the contributors' writings, photography, illustrations and thus, society in the home islands. Unlike the overwhelming tourist discourse that presents Māori culture in its typically one-dimensional style – a dance troupe on the performance stage, coconut bras, the theatre of a drum section and resort packages – *Lokal* seems to "[dig] into the soil of [the ipukarea], seeking its wisdom" (Reeves), offering a contemporary perspective of Māori culture.

In understanding ‘akapapa‘anga as a cultural paradigm, however, it is the epigraph and the stories that are included in the magazine’s “Piri‘anga” section that are most illustrative here. The writing and images included in this section are gathered under the theme of relationships and connections, and the crucial nature of these piri‘anga to Māori people and society. Stories about suicide prevention, mental health awareness, domestic and family violence, incarceration, and other social justice issues are discussed by centring the importance of piri‘anga to the infrastructure and wellbeing of Māori culture and society. In other words, these stories focus on care of the vā and good relations, suggesting that in order to address these social justice issues, we must focus on fostering healthy and resilient piri‘anga. As indicated in the epigraph, this is fulfilled by way of aro‘a or the cultural practice of ‘akapapa‘anga. These practices are also what I intend to explore further in the following chapters.

A cultural practice(s)

At the beginning of this chapter I referred to the primary senses associated with the word ‘akapapa – preparation, readying and arrangement. As indicated by the participant who pointed out the common connotations of the word, I don’t think many Māori will immediately associate the word ‘akapapa‘anga with Māori genealogical practices though it has been used in the critical literature by other scholars of Māori culture and society (Holmes & Crocombe, 2014; L. Kokaua, 2019). When I told the aforementioned participant that I intended to use these varying senses in my theoretical work, she responded,

> Yes, it makes sense if you are talking about preparation. Genealogy is preparation for the future for families. (8/8 Interview)

I argue that the etymology of the word ‘akapapa‘anga offers generative explanatory ground that extends any simple translation of ‘akapapa‘anga as only the recitation of recorded pedigrees. With the various senses of the base word papa, ‘akapapa‘anga ara tangata refers to the act of genealogis*ing*, a perpetual practice of preparation, arrangement and readying. As I mentioned earlier, this project is not only about

describing the significance of relational legacies that draw our critical gaze to the importance of our collective pasts, but also ponders the significance of 'akapapa'anga to Māori futurity. This kind of futurity invokes the adage discussed by Marsh and the belief that our futures are informed and strengthened by understanding and continually remembering papa'anga. Māori futurity also inherently acknowledges that the piri'anga of our papa'anga also means we – te iti tangata Māori, and the places and people we belong to - are all deeply implicated in our individual and collective futures (discussed in Chapters 5 and 6). Thus, this project is also an exploration of how 'akapapa'anga is realised and animated, how legacies and the institution of papa'anga *grows* through the communal meaning-making of Māori cultural praxes.

When I arrived in Rarotonga for my fieldwork in 2019, I went to visit the Manihiki family my grandmother had taken care of on Rarotonga when they were children. I did so to let them know I would be on the island for the next few months and to greet them. The South Pacific Games[36] had just begun in Samoa, and after having dinner, we sat in front of the television to watch the Cook Islands netball team play against Samoa. It struck me then, as I listened to the family exchange bits of information about what teams had left to Samoa and when, that there would be another version of this conversation when Te Maeva Nui, the annual constitution celebrations of the Cook Islands, began in a fortnight. How many relations would come from the outer islands? Who would and wouldn't make it from New Zealand and Australia? Even more interesting, though, was listening to them discuss not who was on the netball court and how they were playing, but who the Cook Islands supporters were, televised in the crowd. In that living room we moved discursively with each new camera angle, identifying the couple from Avarua with their Cook Islands shirts on, recognising the distant cousins who travelled from Hamilton New Zealand, a brief query about whether so-and-so was still dating so-and-so (no, he's back in Hamilton and he has a new partner), and the disbelief that a family friend had managed to afford a trip to Samoa *and* get time off work!

[36] A regional multi-sport event held every four years and with participation exclusively from island-Pacific countries (Pacific Games Council).

This seemingly ordinary conversation carried so much more meaning as I listened intently, my attention fixed on the relationships being rehearsed, reshaped and refined through casual conversation. While outwardly routine, I began to see this kind of 'gossip' and story-telling in more essential ways. This was 'akapapa'anga as a cultural practice being wielded to narrate Māori connections aloud. Who and how were these people related to one another and why was it important that the family friends understand these connections before watching or even caring about the netball game about to take place? This communal arrangement of relations and relationships happens in every culture, but in Māori society it permeates every social and cultural interaction. Māori are in a constant state of understanding and animating relationships between people, across space and across time. It is how we make sense of the world and each other and it is an activity and cultural practice that gives crucial rhythm to our lives.

In an interview with a Māori school teacher, I asked what papa'anga meant to her. She responded by demarcating two clear periods of her life: before and after school. As a youth, she paid little attention to why genealogies and relationships might be important. Much later, she conveyed how she finally began to see why her parents spent so much time visiting and meeting with relations during her early life in New Zealand.

> We used to go to our aunties and uncles and I'm thinking, why are we here? You know, we'd sit there – hurry up, can we go – you know, that's what it was like. This is not important to know who that is. And I never realised until I came back here and then found – realised that my parents, my dad, was actually trying to tell me who my family was, my papa'anga, my genealogy, through going to visit that uncle, going to visit that aunty – because that was the only way he could – for me to know who they were – instead of just on a piece of paper saying, these are my siblings – this is my mum, my dad, all this. He actually made us go and travel – the furthest I think I travelled was to Hamilton to visit one of my aunties. (Interview 11/9b)

The idea of visiting with individuals and families, the communal social activities of talking, gossip and narration, all contribute to an ever-developing understanding and care of the space between. However, while a key conceptual site at which we see relationality become manifest, ‘akapapa‘anga as a cultural practice is not defined by conversation and social gathering exclusively. In the chapters that come, I will show that ‘akapapa‘anga includes a variety of different cultural practices that reify the underlying ideologies that make up its purpose and thus, the cultural paradigm. The two examples I sketched above seem completely innocuous on the page and yet, there is essential work being done in the vā: the family friends map the spectators relationships to the players and they, in turn, map their relationships to the spectators, the players and what is happening in Samoa. In the second example, the Māori high school teacher learns the papa‘anga by literally travelling the space between her and her extended relations. We are readying and arranging our relations always.

In the forthcoming chapters I explore these practices and more, describing how ‘akapapa‘anga is being undertaken through events, objects, social groupings, activities, politics and language. Practices like naming, adoption, gifting and hospitality are further examples of cultural practices in the exercise of ‘akapapa‘anga, and in the following chapters, I describe them and their significance accordingly. The critical literature discussed earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 1 will be used to contextualise and reinforce arguments made throughout and I will continue to move discursively to moments with research participants and anecdotes from my fieldwork block, as appropriate.

A research methodology

Genealogical practices can help describe Māori society in more effective and culturally appropriate ways (Chang, 2019). This thesis explores how ‘akapapa‘anga as a process of narration might therefore help us *generate* knowledge too. I find it no surprise that much of the recent academic literature published about genealogical traditions and practices in the Polynesian context has focused on its potential as a research

methodology (Graham, 2005, 2009; Royal, 1998; Salmond, 2019; Te Rito, 2007; Wilson-Hokowhitu, 2019). As Charles Ahukaramū Royal explains, whakapapa, or the Aotearoa Māori tradition of genealogical practice, was used by tupuna Māori (ancestors) to generate mātauranga Māori or Māori knowledge because of its ability to "generate explanations for many things in the phenomenal world" (Royal, 1998, p. 2). This has strong resonance with the Hawaiian context as described by Nu'uhiwa earlier in this chapter. Whakapapa, and Polynesian genealogical traditions more broadly, provide a methodology for understanding constitution and creation of the world and I argue this is the same in the Māori context.

Shawn Wilson's work (2008) has been incredibly useful for determining how 'akapapa'anga might be theoretically delineated. This is important to the analyses that follows in this thesis. Wilson wrote:

> Methodology refers to the theory of how knowledge is gained, or in other words the science of finding things out. Your view of what reality is, and how you know this reality, will impact on the ways that more knowledge can be gained about this reality. If the ontology is that there is one ultimate reality then there should be one way of examining this reality (methodology) that will help to see it best (epistemology)…Methodology is thus asking "How do I find out more about this reality?" (Wilson, 2008, p. 34)

In the following chapters, I describe three different narrative centres (Chapters 3-5) in careful consultation with the interview material gathered during my fieldwork, in order to illustrate (epistemology) a Māori reality (ontology). Key cultural practices of 'akapapa'anga will be defined and used to demonstrate how these practices form a cultural paradigm and how such acts implicate enquiry, the nature of relationality, and the subsequent generation of subjectivity, perspective and new knowledges. As Royal wrote, "Māori knowledge is created by Māori to explain their experience of the world" (1998, p. 3) and 'akapapa'anga, I will also argue, can help us do that same work for my own people.

The various parts of ‘akapapa‘anga that I have sketched here will be deployed in the following chapters as cultural praxes and methods of enquiry. In the following Chapter 3, I discuss the Māori cultural practice of naming as a part of ‘akapapa‘anga and demonstrate how this might offer a more appropriate cultural paradigm through which to view the modern Cook Islands nation and name. In Chapter 4, I explore how formal and informal recitation of genealogical connections can productively reorder and contextualise relationships across time and across national borders, recasting the Māori demonym as the relationship(s) between Māori people that are continually being negotiated and invoked quite separately from the bicultural (Māori-Pākehā) context of New Zealand-proper[37]. In Chapter 5, I discuss the growth of papa‘anga in the form of Māori imaginaries, presenting the gazes of several interview participants on Māori society. I come back to ideas of future-building gestured to in the introduction of this thesis and inspired by Royal’s words: “Whakapapa is an organic analytical method. It is concerned with growth rather than deconstruction” (Royal, 1998, p. 3). While much of the critical literature focuses on the ability of genealogies to describe familial legacies (a preoccupation with retrospection), in Chapter 5 I explore how, as a research methodology, ‘akapapa‘anga creates expansive intellectual, conceptual and relational space for us to dream strong Māori futures without being impeded by the expectations of cultural authenticity, the potentially myopic nation-building project, or the paralysis of externally-imposed discourses of social and cultural deficit. I will argue that the aro‘a inherent in the fabric of ‘akapapa‘anga and Māori society can indeed save us.

We are preparing, we are readying, we are arranging

It is difficult to cleanly deconstruct ‘akapapa‘anga into clear and separate parts: a family tree, a naming tradition, a collection of different research methods, a list of

[37] New Zealand-proper refers to the borders of the New Zealand nation-state comprising Te Ika-a-Maui (the North Island), Te Waipounamu (the South Island), Rēkohu (the Chatham Islands), the Ross Dependency located in Antarctica and other smaller islands surrounding these. I come back to discuss this geography, prominently in Chapter 4 in the context of the New Zealand Realm of which the Cook Islands nation is a part.

different cultural practices and so on. Indeed, I don't believe its significance would be as effective if I tried to make its practices and philosophical possibilities more linear. Aotearoa Māori scholar and anthropologist, Lily George, attempted to describe the complexity of genealogical practice in the Aotearoa Māori context writing,

> Whakapapa are also "epistemological frameworks" that establish connections and relationships between phenomena and contextualize those phenomena within particular historical, cultural and social perspectives…Whakapapa can therefore be seen as both context and method…Whakapapa is the inalienable link that binds us to the land and sea, to people and places, to time and space, even when we are not aware of it (George, 2010, p. 242).

> Whakapapa is a useful research methodology that aids our understanding of ourselves and the people we research with by placing us in a matrix that includes the interweaving of people, time, and place… Whakapapa is the foundation upon which we have the right to build, producing structures that are valid and unique, yet which share features with others (p. 254).

I find George's writing gives permission to be okay with the complexity of 'akapapa'anga and the reality that I could not give an exhaustive definition of what it is or what it means to Māori writ large, even if I wanted to. George speaks about the Aotearoa Māori context specifically but through this doctoral project, I cannot help but see strong resonances with the ways that Māori are also understanding this utility and connectedness in their own practice of 'akapapa'anga.

In my list of guiding interview questions, I asked participants, "What does papa'anga or genealogy mean to you?" I received rich, emotive and powerful responses from all the Māori participants and felt very moved by much of what I recorded. Many talked about the planting of their umbilical cords, their parents and loved ones, and many referred to the palimpsest of their relationships to the soil of their respective ancestral soils (17/8, 26/8, 26/9, Interviews). What became clear from these shared moments is

that papa'anga gives Māori society and individuals meaning. As one māmā explained, "Papa'anga is about the way we believe" (Interview 26/8) and as another gentleman of Atiu, Rarotonga, Aitutaki and Manihiki descent shared with me, "…genealogy and papa'angas play a very important significance in our life – for our life"(Interview 27/8). The land tenure expert who gave me such incisive comment on the land tenure system and its meaning to Māori showed me the complexity of 'akapapa'anga in Māori society when she exclaimed,

> So, it's alright to say Cook Islands but what does it actually mean? And for me it means family, means genealogy, means connection to the land. And connection to the land means connection to your extended family that live here, to your community. It's your connection to community, that extended family that makes up the community and your community obligations. So, do you go to the mates [funerals], the weddings, the birthdays – that support system – the sports, the church…how do you immerse yourself in community? Which is your family, which is your genealogical connections to each other (Interview 11/9a)

The social terrain drawn by the participant highlights responsibility and obligation and an interconnectedness of people and place, across time and space, that is tightly bound up in the word 'akapapa'anga and its definition. While I cannot map the expansiveness of the meaning of 'akapapa'anga to all Māori, I hope my exploration of the meanings shared with me during my fieldwork add meaningfully to the papa'anga of Māori scholarship and the broader Māori intellectual tradition.

Most of all, I hope to show how 'akapapa'anga can help us gain constructive perspectives on issues like that gestured to by the audience member after my presentation at USP, Rarotonga. For the most part, my recorded conversations with participants were quite positive but because of the relationship between papa'anga and meaning and thus, papa'anga and power, conversations intermittently drifted toward difficult topics too. Like the audience member's pointed comment about

genealogy and land, I had numerous and lengthy exchanges with participants about the tensions and anxieties experienced by families where understandings of genealogy were reduced to "share and entitlement" (Interview 11/9a). Part of the reason I underscore the danger of conflating meaning is because the richness of 'akapapa'anga runs the risk of being completely lost in colonial discourses of genetics, ordered and singular versions of history, blood quantum and colonial cartography if we forget to deliberately practice it. Some participants believe that this familial and social fracturing over land is about greed (23/7, 2/8 Interviews) and others quite simply believe these problems spring from an ignorance of papa'anga and its meaning. One participant with affiliations to the island of Ma'uke and Rarotonga shared with me,

> …a lot of people…whose parents or grandparents pass on in Rarotonga, they'll go to the…land court and as far as they're concerned, all they're worried about is how do I make my connection from me to the person that's just died? See…this is my personal view – that's the wrong approach to take to papa'anga, to genealogy. It should be knowing everybody. Trying to know everybody. And as far as I'm concerned, well, you're not going to know a single thing about who you are and where you are [if you don't] (Interview 26/9).

I have been called naïve for thinking that 'akapapa'anga might help Māori to deal with some of these familial and social tensions and yet, numerous reflections like the one above repeatedly led me back to the realisation that papa'anga enables Māori to learn who and where they come from. In knowing this, they are able to build a solid foundation of relational cognisance on which they can set about carving new ways forward. I show how this might be done in the chapters that follow.

'Akapapa'anga is not an innocent tool, nor is it inherently about the imposition of power through meaning. For some, family histories are highly coveted and private. In my interviews, silences, related to particular relationships and relations, marked deliberate omissions that I did not push further for. Today, social and cultural

conventions like seniority are still held to and other cultural practices like naming, adoption, and the burying of pito and ‘enua are still fervently practiced. For others, there is little concern for papa‘anga when a Western legal system and a wider globalised world make it very easy to simply decide not to engage in responsibilities and obligations that come from relationality and the communal meaning-making done amongst wider society. In the end, our ways of being come from choices that we make daily, with an ontological and epistemological frame that helps us all to understand why something has value to us and the nature of the same. But for all that, our respective and collective papa‘anga have been millennia in the making. We may choose to turn away from those legacies, to ignore them. For some of us, we may fear what we might find. Others still may feel the deep shame of not knowing in the first place, an absence of inheritance and transmission that demands work and sacrifice and perhaps more shame to acquire again. Even so, I am completely convinced that knowing more and learning always about our place in the great vā, about our piri‘anga, about our collective and individual papa‘anga, will always be a useful, meaningful and productive exercise. As described by the land tenure expert “...it requires work. It requires reading...it requires research...An inquiring mind” (Interview 11/9a). As I have shown in this chapter, ‘akapapa‘anga is about understanding that everything and everyone has a place in the Māori world. Our obligation, our responsibility and our inheritance are to experience the wonder and benefits of its practice.

Toru: Ko ‘ai tō‘ou ingoa?

> I’ll tell you a story and then by the time the story gets to the end, the stories change. Names are forgotten and names are changed... (Interview 11/9a).

I have always been fascinated by the power of names. Like many Polynesian peoples, the practice and process of naming for Māori is tied to genealogies. Māori peoples constantly pass on ancestral names, coin new ones from significant events, and append multiple names and titles throughout the lives of individuals. In my family, we have always practiced Atiu naming traditions and as a result, my generation all carry numerous names taken from, or inspired by, key ancestors in our shared papa‘anga. Some of my family will use their legal name on a day to day basis and others won’t. Some of us have gained new names during our lifetimes. Some of us have names that are only used by certain people and as a family, we have also given names to those who have married or been adopted into our family. These traditions of naming are a part of the way our family mark important occassions, memories and people whom we wish to honour within our collective papa‘anga.

Various people have written about Māori naming traditions on different islands including resident agent Hugh Hickling (1945) and well-known scholars of Atiu, Ron Crocombe and Vainerere Tangatapoto (1959; 1984). Hickling discusses the shifting use of names by adopted children in Mangaia. Crocombe and Tangatapoto describe the use of names to commemorate deaths, the use of nicknames to signal key events in the life of the bearer or those around them, and the protocols of names given after marriages. These traditions were practiced for many generations until the early twentieth century when legal frameworks, public administration, and the prominence of the Church strongly influenced changes in the use of those traditions. From 1917, births (and thus names) were recorded in church registers when the colonial government instituted registration. Birth names have since taken prominence in the lives of Māori. However, naming traditions have continued in adjusted forms, as

exemplified in the various interviews I undertook (discussed later in this chapter) and in my own family.

In 2003, Jon Jonassen published a comprehensive list of popular Māori names in his book *A Book of Cook Island Names | Ingoa*. He gives accompanying descriptions of the names' meanings, relevant translations and in some cases, their origins with reference to family and tribal oral traditions. In his introduction, Jonassen explores the significance of naming "to the Māori people of the Cook Islands" writing,

> Names play a major role in the traditional life of the Māori people of the Cook Islands. It has a dynamic, and ever-present symbolism that constantly reminds those who are living of responsibilities to their ancestors and descendants. It has emotional, physical and spiritual connotations...Names create a link to ancestors, friends, family members, titles and land. It enhances events and relationships between the past, present and future...Traditionally, names change over the life of a person to commemorate particular events. There is a birth name...a new marital name...and a death name...In general, names are dreamed during sleep or simply created to describe an event, a relationship or a favourite aspect of nature. Often various parts of the child's whole name extracts from the genealogy of both parents. Additional names can also be added to the existing names of persons. These usually occur when traditional titles are bestowed: by families on a particular person (pp. 7-8)

Jonassen aptly summarises the far-reaching significance of names and naming in the creation and maintenance of genealogies. As a practice of 'akapapa'anga, naming traditions can be understood as temporal markers across the complex genealogies of people and land. Māori can carry and invoke several names in life and in death. They are often changed, passed on, and in some cases, kept deliberately silent. I have returned to the subject of our naming traditions numerous times over the duration of this project; lengthy conversations about the names of participants, their children and

family members, were a persistent reminder of how crucial naming is as a practice of ‘akapapa‘anga and the collective meaning making Māori engage in with their relations.

However, unless we are aware of the ontological context within which names move, the power of papa‘anga is easily misinterpreted. For example, those putting forward applications for succession to the land court will often be asked to provide genealogies and birth certificates to verify their legitimacy before the Cook Islands’ Ministry of Justice[38] (Ministry of Justice) will grant the request. During this process it is not uncommon for individuals (particularly those who are not familiar with their broader relations), to encounter their family papa‘anga in block files[39] for the first time (30/8, 26/9, 11/9a Interviews). Some may be forced to reconstruct their papa‘anga from public records, made available through the Ministry of Justice and Land Court records, the free digitised database of early twentieth century public records put together by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints[40], or the different private genealogy websites maintained by dedicated individuals from different island communities[41].

Building papa‘anga can be a long and frustrating process. Individuals can become lost in a labyrinth of repeated, inconsistent, and misspelt names of ancestors. Some of this

[38] The Ministry is responsible for supporting the judiciary and maintains land and survey information for the country.

[39] Block files are records held by the Cook Islands Ministry of Justice that hold hardcopies of all the legal orders and documents submitted in the legal proceedings for specific parcels of land. They hold judge’s and court decisions, copies of applications from landowners and family members, and will sometimes hold genealogies submitted to the Court by early ancestors substantiating their landownership status, by way of papa‘anga, in land proceedings.

[40] The public can sign up for membership at www.familysearch.org where digital copies of births, deaths, and marriage registers have been uploaded. You can also find passenger ship lists of those travelling between Rarotonga and New Zealand in the mid to late twentieth century on government funded ships managed by the New Zealand Department of Island Territories and the New Zealand Union Steam Ship Company.

[41] These sites are usually private and difficult to find in a standard search engine. They are maintained by eager family members or papa‘anga enthusiasts tracking family and tribal histories, and are often based on the papa‘anga that are recorded in the land court block files because they are extensive and publicly (though expensive) available. An example of one of these private sites can be found at atiunui.tribalpages.com. Subscribers must have Atiu papa‘anga and send a request to the administrator reciting prominent ancestors and family names with a short explanation about what interests you about the site.

is due to human error and archaic book-keeping systems and in other ways, demonstrates the Western legal process that is ill-fitting the Māori tradition where names are constantly given and invoked depending on the relationships and events that inspire them. In an interview with a woman with papa'anga to Atiu she described how she returned to the Cook Islands after her husband had passed away earlier. She took a teaching job on her husband's ancestral island of Aitutaki. She explained how her contributions were so well-received by the people of Aitutaki that they gave her a new name: "They were my husband's people so they made me change my name in Aitutaki...And I said, that's a long thing to write – [they] said, no, we want you to write your name on anything you get interviewed as from now on" (Interview 26/8). The bestowal of a name in this context is an incredibly meaningful acknowledgement of the interviewee's service to the children and community of Aitutaki and symbolises the affection and high regard she is held in. In another example, my mother was registered at birth with the name of a mata'iapo tūtara title from our island of Atiu. It is the title that my family has always held in our village. My grandmother conferred the name on purpose so that others would recognise the family my mother belongs to and her place in the papa'anga as the oldest child of both her parents. My mother never uses it because of its meaning and its importance amongst our people. She goes by a shortened version of her second name instead.

One can see how entangled names and stories are in these examples and how they gesture to a deeper practice of 'akapapa'anga and communal meaning-making. In recent times, attempts to rebuild papa'anga have become obsessions with finding "the true" genealogy and therefore, the "true" legal names of ancestors. This can be frustrating for those with little knowledge of the nuances of naming traditions, as pointed out by Jonassen, Hickling and others. This is because the legal system confines the power of those names within a distinctly different ontological and epistemological register. The truth is, and as Jonassen outlines above, within 'akapapa'anga and within the Māori world, names are meant to move with and through us.

Of course, names are not only articulated to persons but also to 'enua. Much like the 'Avaiki that is ancient homeland and the literal "place you born" (Interview 2/8), our

islands have had multiple names inscribed upon them. Survey maps held by the mapping department of the Ministry of Justice are a respectable attempt to capture the hundreds of names of surveyed parcels, tapere/puna/vaka (districts) and ʻōire (villages), and there is a surprisingly large list of the various names by which different islands were and are still known. For example, my island of Atiu is also known as ʻEnuamanu. There are several accounts of what led to these names. One is that it reflects the belief of the Atiu people that we are but worms, animals and insects, creatures of the land, that as we come from the ʻenua so we will return to it – ʻenua meaning land and manu meaning creature or living thing. The common contemporary sense of the word manu is bird and this is the second reference often used for Atiu: the Land of Birds. Atiu has long been known as a sanctuary of rare and beautiful birds, most infamously the kōpeka bird (the Atiu swiftlet[42]), curious because it nests and navigates in the darkness of caves with echolocation. Takutea[43], a smaller island which Atiu people have long frequented and taken care of, located about 21 kilometres north-west of Atiu, is now a bird sanctuary and with its protected status (no one is to land on the island without permission from the island council), many rare birds have returned to it, increasing the numbers of once endangered bird species and reinvigorating the bird population on nearby Atiu once again.

A third underlying legacy of the island's name links both ʻEnuamanu and Atiu. During my first two fieldwork blocks in 2019, I attended the Te Maeva Nui festival in Rarotonga. The festival commemorates our status as a self-governing nation and

[42] "The most threathened of all Cook Islands endemic birds, you will only find these delightful swiflets in the birders paradise of Atiu known as 'Enua Manu' or land of birds. The kōpeka roost and nest in just two cave systems and are unusual for their audible clicks, to make echoes which help them find their way in the dark. When outside the caves the Kōpeka earns its name 'Swift' because it does not rest but flits around using its keen eyesite to catch those tiny bugs"(Te Ipukarea Society, 2020).

[43] On the origins of the name Takutea, Kloosterman writes, "The original name of the island was AREUNA(1) until it was renamed by Mariri [the ancestor I discuss in following paragraphs], one of Atiu's ancestors. When Mariri returned for the third time from ʻAvaiki to Atiu together with his wife, he landed on the small islet, which he had seen on his previous visits to Atiu. While fishing, he caught a "white Ku", that is "Ku tea [white]", and therefore called the island TAKU-KU-TEA, that is: My White Ku (2), later shortened to TAKUTEA. The "Ku" is a red fish, a variety of squirrel fish (3). The fact that Mariri caught a "white Ku" was reason enough to name the place in memory of this event" (Kloosterman, 1976, p. 53).

involves dance teams from the pā ‘enua (the outer islands) and the three major vaka districts of Rarotonga: Takitumu, Te Au o Tonga and Puaikura. Each team performs over four nights in a series of traditional dance and musical genres. The different items in each section usually (but not always) speak to an overall theme for the group. Each section involves the traditional ‘ura pa‘u/drum dance, kapa rima/action, ‘ūtē/choral singing, pe‘e/chant, and the ‘īmene tuki/traditional and rhythmic hymns. In 2019, the Atiu ‘Enua team performed a pe‘e tracing the coming of the ancestor Mariri to the island of Atiu. Mariri, also known by his longer name, Mariri-tutu-a-manu, is believed to be part man, part bird. In the team’s performance, the lead male dancer donned an elaborate feathered wingspan costume and with complex choreographed lines, the team portrayed the coming of Mariri as he flew from ‘Avaiki to Atiu. There are different versions of Mariri’s papa‘anga, and thus the papa‘anga of Atiu and its people. In an account given by Finnish scholar, Jukka Siikala, Mariri descends from the ancestor Atiu Nui. Atiu Nui, he writes, was the middle of three brothers: Atiu Mua (te mata‘iapo or oldest sibling) and Atiu Iti (te potiki or the youngest sibling). The parents of those three siblings were the atua, Tangaroa, and his wife, Ina-toko‘ai-kura[44] (J. Siikala, 1996). In another version, Atiu Mua is the son of Mariri (Russell, 1957) and in the book *Atiu: An Island Community*, Tatuava Tanga (1984) describes Mariri as the son of Tangaroa who along with his brothers Atiu Mua and Atiu Muri, named the island ‘Enuamanu, “the land of insects and animals, to show that there were no previous inhabitants” (Tanga, 1984, p. 1). It is widely understood by Māori that every living Atiu person has some connection to Tangaroa, Mariri and at least one or all of the Atiu brothers and/or sons (Kautai et al., 1984). We will never be able to say with complete accuracy which narrative is truer than another but I believe ‘akapapa‘anga allows these narratives to sit together without needing to omit or prove them, as I go on to discuss. Therefore, despite the various versions of our creation story, it *is* resoundingly clear that the island of Atiu and its name ‘Enuamanu have strong and ongoing leagcies that are constituted from our collective papa‘anga. These are names that represent stories and meaning that have stretched across many generations.

[44] There is no translation or interpretation for Ina-toko‘ai-kura’s name that I have been able to ascertain.

I rehearse the names and papa'anga of Atiu/'Enuamanu to illustrate how embedded names are in the identity of Māori communities and the 'enua itself, how they are iteratively invoked and sidelined depending on the context. The indigenous people of the Cook Islands know that the *primary* name by which their nation and society is known is 'the Cook Islands' but there have been countless names used for the islands that the contemporary nation contains. The Cook Islands name, for example, is probably younger than many think it is and probably wasn't given for the reasons people think. It has drifted into and away from public discussion since the creation of the early colonial polity and nation that we now know and has recently resurfaced again in the public discourse. The tone of this renewed dialogue reflects the development of the Cook Islands' national genealogy and new global, social and indigenous discourses that recontextualise the Cook Islands colonial history.

In early 2019, Pā Marie Ariki, one of three high chiefs from the island of Rarotonga (Takitumu vaka) announced that she had started discussions with the Cook Islands government and the House of Ariki about changing the name of the Cook Islands nation ("Cook Islands chief wants to talk Kuki Airani Maori name," 2019). Pā Ariki's announcement reiterated a 1994 plebiscite in which Māori were asked to consider the change of the Cook Islands name to a Māori one and (among other things) if in voting to change it, they would agree to the name 'Avaiki. The majority who cast votes in 1994 elected to keep the Cook Islands name. Fast forward to 2019 and Pā Ariki's call seemed to mark a significant shift in public opinion. Vigorous debate exploded on social media from Māori located in the home islands, New Zealand and further abroad. A younger transnational generation of Māori welcomed the idea of a name change when it resurfaced, condemning the memorialisation of one of the most accomplished British explorers in the history of the region as the name of their nation – or more particularly, the name of their ethnic, national and cultural identity (Paranihi, 2019). Cook and his legacy has come to represent one of the most pernicious catalysts for the broader colonial system in the region and the British colonial legacy in particular.

Others, including cultural and chiefly leaders, politicians and older Māori in New Zealand, expressed their preference for the Cook Islands name. It was very clear that they identified with the name and its history, that it held more patriotic and contemporary meanings of culture that they were proud of. Through a postcolonial lens, it is tempting to rationalise these responses as coming from the deeply colonised but that dismisses the agency and subjectivities of Māori. Colonialism, and the inclusion of a colonial ancestor in our national papa'anga vis a vis our national name, is not an event (to reference Patrick Wolfe (2006)) but an ongoing structural project. For many Māori, it is not about ascribing their national identity to the work of one man, long before they were born, but acknowledging the development of the nation and Māori society. One interviewee, a well-known economist, poet and feminist explained,

> Cook Island Māori is not just a language. It's a way of life. It's who we are. It's been bantered around too much eh – it's been hit too much…dissected a lot but if we take it back to inside here, Cook Island – being a Māori – the fact that Captain Cook discovered us makes us – it is a bit silly but you know we've come a long way to have to worry too much about the naming rights of the Cook Islands. If we hadn't had this discoverer come and discover us as a country and move us all together, you know, just by the stroke of the pen… like the Pukapukans, were more towards Samoa and Tuvalu and the Penrhyn Islanders were more toward the Pa'omotu side of Tahiti and Ngāputoru…because of that confederation we are now a nation. We are Cook Islands. But if we don't focus too much on that but more on what's inside us – why I like being a Cook Islander – because generations ago my ancestors, Polynesians, interacted. (Interview 17/8)

In other parts of our conversation, we spoke at length about the importance of naming traditions and their significance to individual and collective sovereignty, but in this instance, she encouraged me to consider the tensions of our nation's name not as a

binarity, for or against, but a key name in our collective papa'anga that memorialises an era of tremendous cultural and social adjustment and change. Colonially-inflected change for these fifteen islands raged from the beginning of the twentieth century and onward, fundamentally altering the power structures and identities of Māori peoples[45]. In the intergenerational tensions of public dialogue about the name and the somewhat inconsistent historical narratives that underpinned them, I began to wonder how one might be able to frame the name as both colonial and meaningful.

In this chapter, I contemplate these opposing opinions of the Cook Islands name in the spirit of a broader theorisation of the Cook Islands nation-building project – or in other words, its papa'anga. I do so as a way of exploring how 'akapapa'anga as a cultural paradigm and set of cultural practices (particularly in the case of naming traditions) might help us reframe the colonial overtones of Cook's name and reassert a Māori ontological view on the papa'anga of our nation and respective islands, and our futurity. Therefore, this chapter is shaped by a central question in Māori practices of relation and 'akapapa'anga: 'ko 'ai tō'ou ingoa' or 'what is your name?' As I have pondered Teaiwa's prescription for privileging indigenous ways of knowing and comparative practice in Pacific Studies, I have consistently returned to considering my positionality as a Māori person and its relevance, status and meaning to my research work from within and without. When thinking through this personal and intellectual

[45] The development and deconstruction of traditional governance in the Cook Islands seems swift in the historical documentation of annexation at the turn of the century but, as Sissons (1999) discusses, many of the outer islands were left to their own devices, despite the ratification of new laws and the investment of new public roles and officials. The disestablishment of traditional titles is, in one sense, rather uneven; islands like Mitiaro, Mangaia and Pukapuka, for instance, have maintained independence from the central land court system and continue with chiefly land arbitration. Palmerston, where the island descends from one man (William Masters) and his three wives (of Tongareva), also maintains a sense of governance and identity by way of their shared and relatively recent family lineage (Fischer, 1998). The coming of missionaries and the Church also drove the disassembly of traditional chiefly systems, divesting power first to 'orometua (missionary, minister of religion) and then to colonial agents in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The various Church denominations continue to have a strong foothold in national and community decision-making and is considered one of the three pillars of Māori society (alongside the government, and the land/people).

dialogue, I often use the metaphorical site of my name – Emma Emily Ngakuraevaru[46] Powell - as a testing ground for theorising indigenous and non-indigenous theories in my research practice. As a conglomeration and commemoration of my Māori genealogy, one might ask, where does this name come from and what does it represent? What are the ways that such a name might be read and how am I to carry them all at the same time? My long, complex name is a unity of many ancestral links, not all constituted through blood ties. The name Ngakuraevaru is the most recognisably Māori. It is the name of my great-great-grandmother. My surname is an inheritance from the English grandfather who my grandmother met and married after my mother was born. My second name, Emily, was the name of my English grandfather's mother. Emma was a name my mother liked and was a protest and resistance to the decision-making of her parents – or at least that is how I have interpreted it.

In this chapter, I ask the same questions of the Cook Islands name that I do of my own as a way of pondering the complex genealogical articulations that make up the modern Cook Islands nation and its national culture. The following discussions are framed by my belief that papa'anga still very much influences how power moves within contemporary Māori society, shaping allegiences, loyalties and divergent interests. This follows logically from the argument that papa'anga underpins subjectivities and our world-view. Therefore, to what extent do we compromise our future-building agendas if we do not responsibly account for, or at least make theoretical room for, the importance and power of 'akapapa'anga in the every day lives of Māori? Moreover, if we re-centre our practices of 'akapapa'anga, like the way we choose to name and name again, what is possible? If we extend an understanding of 'akapapa'anga beyond just the genetic characterisation of family trees and blood

[46] My name is misspelt on my birth certificate as "Ngakuravaru", a human error by my mother when filling out the paperwork. The name is meant to be "Ngakuraevaru" and is the name of my great-great-grandmother who is found variously recorded in the land court genealogies of Atiu as Ngakuraevaru (pictured in fig. 8 of this thesis), Kura and Ngakura. The event and story that the name records has been lost.

politics, in what ways do we see our circumstances anew? And how does that help us look at our futures differently?

In my preliminary thinking for this chapter, I was reminded strongly of Teaiwa's (2014) article, "The Ancestors We Get to Choose, White Influences I Won't Deny" where she explores the undeniable influence of non-Pacific thinkers in her intellectual genealogy and that of the Pacific region at large. I motioned to her introductory passage on the importance of genealogies in the previous chapter, but in a fuller reproduction of the excerpt she writes,

> It has been routinely acknowledged...that genealogy is central to the formation of Pacific subjectivities. In response to the works by Pacific Island scholars, there have also emerged some clear expressions of suspicion and anxiety around the potentially fascist or ethno-nationalist turns in the use of genealogical (often conflated with genetic) discourse. Such anxieties, however, often fail to account for one of the foundational characteristics of kinship in the Pacific – the capacity (and, indeed, in some cases the preference) for assimilating Otherness through a variety of means that have genealogical implications: *adoption, feeding, the exchange of land, titles, gifts and names* [emphasis added] (Teaiwa, 2014, pp. 43-44)

Teaiwa's words and her disciplinary tenets encourage me to think about how Māori naming traditions might productively reframe our approach to the name of our nation and the papa'anga that it comes from. In the coming sections, I will discuss how the Cook Islands name and Cook himself is an important part of the contemporary cultural identity of Māori people, someone we might refer to as a notable figure in the history of our modern nation, if not a key ancestor in our national genealogy. I am aware that claiming Cook as any kind of ancestor to Māori society is controversial given that his explorations of the Pacific are understood as the catalyst for the British colonial project and the dismantling and eventual disenfranchisement of indigenous peoples in many parts of the region. Nevertheless, he is the foreign explorer that the

Cook Islands national identity and culture are named after. It is how we are known to those outside our boundaries, and many have accepted and invested meaning in the demonym as our national identity has developed. Ongoing use of colonial nomenclature is not uncommon. Today, indigenous scholars and peoples continue to use regional terminology like Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia, as a way of describing regional differences, coalitions and similarities and the Cook Islands is one of few Pacfic nations who has continued to uphold its colonial name – at least on paper. However, though colonisation is a compelling line of argument to take, I am more interested in a Māori method that might help contextualise why the majority that voted to keep the name in 1994.

I began with a brief discussion of Māori naming traditions as they relate to individuals and ‘enua. In the next section, I offer a theorisation of naming practices within the cultural practice and paradigm of ‘akapapa‘anga by engaging James Clifford (2001, 2003) and Teresia Teaiwa’s (2005, 2017) discussion of articulation theory as inspiration for my interpretation of a particularly Māori practice of articulation as a necessary growth of papa‘anga. I use the authors’ theoretical meditations on the corporeal body as a metaphor for articulation theory and build from it a Māori conception of articulation that recognises the relationality between the Māori body and the body of the ‘enua. I then link this theoretical work to the parallel discussion of the Cook Islands name, the ancestor that the name invokes and recent public and political discourses on the name change. I conclude by arguing for how recentring a praxes of ‘akapapa‘anga – using naming as the prominent example here – can productively reframe contemporary political, cultural and nationalist debates in sovereign and decolonial ways, without necessarily needing to dismantle systems we still wish to subscribe to (all or in part) or to erase histories that have led to where the Cook Islands nation and its people are today.

Articulation theory and the metaphor of "bodies"

The resurfacing of the potential name change during the early stages of this project and the messiness of public opinion (both in 1994 and again in 2019) feels persuasive and timely in the context of this project on 'akapapa'anga. Much as I pondered my own name and its power in defining me as a Māori person, there were parallels with how Māori were and are contemplating the name of their collective 'enua and through that, their intersecting and multilayered cultural, social and familial genealogies. It became clear that I needed to work out how to theorise the composite contemporary Cook Islands national identity and that the exercise required a more careful consideration of 'akapapa'anga as a paradigm and method of research inquiry.

As part of the Pacific Studies programme at Victoria University, I took the PASI401 course named 'Theories and Methods in Pacific Studies'. In early weeks, we learned about articulation theory; its foundations were in the British Cultural Studies school (Hall, 1978, 1986) and came to our programme by way of Teaiwa and her colleague April Henderson's[47], doctoral study at the History of Consciousness programme at the Unversity of California, Santa Cruz. The theory aims to account for "...the ideas, principles, and beliefs that make up ideologies. It provides an insightful means by which to account for the ways in which discourse and discursive formations are able to bind people and their sense of identity together in concrete ways" (Jackson & Hogg, 2010). Rather than focusing on the binary of tradition versus modernity, articulation theory assumes a series of cultural developments comprised of multiple parts and joined together through complex political, social and cultural processes. Two theoretical contributions were paramount to my understanding of cultural articulation in the Cook Islands context: James Clifford's conceptualisation of cultural articulation as an inorganic body or cyborg, and Teaiwa, who argued that the human body – specifically the articulation of joints of limbs and torso - was more accurate. Clifford's metaphor presented cultural growth as a coalition of parts that could be attached and detached, reflecting the potential for cultural development and change.

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In an interview with Manuela Ribeiro Sanchez, Clifford explained "When I think of a cultural body...it looks more like a monster, sometimes, or perhaps a cyborg or perhaps a political alliance, a coalition in which certain elements of a population have connected with other elements, but with the possibility – which is always there in articulation – of disarticulation" (2003, pp. 46-47). In her article, "The Articulated Limb: Theorizing indigenous Pacific participation in the Military Industrial Complex" Teaiwa (2017) argues that the articulation of bodily limbs at the joint by way of complex muscle, tendon and ligature represents a more accurate analogy for cohering political, social and cultural formations. Teaiwa argues that Clifford's mechanised metaphor omitted the ways trauma and violence might be experienced in the metaphorical body with the detachment of "cultural elements" or conceptualised limbs. She also highlighted the lack of diginity with which black, native and indigenous bodies had been treated "under colonial and imperialist regimes" and declared the deliberate focus on Pacific indigenous contexts in her argument (2005, p. 3). In my theorisations of 'akapapa'anga, Teaiwa's line of reasoning prompts me to consider how our naming traditions might account for or represent the incorporeal cultural change that seems so abundantly clear in the name of our nation.

In his article, "Te ao mārama: A research paradigm", Aotearoa Māori scholar, Charles Ahukaramū Royal (Raukawa ki te Tonga) discussed preliminary theorisations of whakapapa (genealogical practice) as a research method in the Aotearoa Māori context. In his delineation of that preliminary work, he wrote that in using whakapapa as a method of inquiry, "The view of the research is drawn 'out' to a wider picture rather than drawn 'in' to a smaller focus. Whakapapa is an organic analytical method. It is concerned with growth rather than deconstruction" (Royal, 1998). Teaiwa's corporeal body (a more appropriate redrawing of Clifford's cyborg for our purposes) shares a similar sentiment in that even when the metaphorical limb of a cultural body is severed, there are still emotive cultural elements being produced like trauma and pain. I perceive a parallel teleology in the practice of naming and 'akapapa'anga that echoes the "genealogical aesthetic" Selina Tustiala Marsh articulated in her description of spiral-time; the ultimate purpose of 'akapapa'anga is not to convey a

purist, exact and serial record, though it certainly could and does at times. Its *telos*, I argue, is to grow even as cultural elements, memories (or even metaphorical limbs) are removed. In this, Teaiwa's underscoring of the pain and trauma that is produced from the metaphorical cultural change of limb severance still adds to the genealogical aesthetic, the memory and conditioning of pain that is absorbed.

In grappling with Clifford and Teaiwa's theorisations, the relevance of the corporeal body (indeed, indigenous Pacific bodies in general) in the Māori context inevitably calls forth the story of my grandmother and I: the articulation of the placenta to the 'enua, as the core of the land. Bruno Saura described the practice of burying 'enua into the 'enua in the Tahitian context and, as I go on to explain in the following chapters, the close genealogical and cultural connection of Māori and Mā'ohi peoples render Saura's observations of some use here. He writes, "The placenta, as 'core of land', may perhaps be conceived as primordial island, a first bit of ground or land attachment inside the nautical world of uterine water enclosed by the maternal membranes. We should not be surprised at the poetry of this image: in Polynesia, there is no land without the ocean; and in Polynesia cosmogony islands are often marine beings fished from the depths, towed away and then stabilised by heroes or gods" (2002, p. 130). Saura's conceptualisation extends the potential of articulation in the Māori context: the body is neither a cyborg nor exclusively corporeal but is necessarily articulated to the "core of land[s]" that move through our sea of islands.

Numerous interviewees shared recollections of burying the umbilical cords and placenta, their own and their childrens'. One participant described her mother's difficult pregnancy, culminating in her premature birth and very little hope for her survival. When the participant was born in the 1970s, professional health services were scant in Rarotonga and her māmā (grandmother) took great care to keep her tiny baby body on her bare, coconut-oiled skin next to her heartbeat in the first days. Her māmā, the participant said, instructed her cousin to bury her umbilical cord somewhere strategic:

> ...because she's [māmā] the one that said...tell the cousin, when you plant it, make sure, don't open it like that...and keep it warm otherwise – because she's not well. This baby's not well. So based on that retold experience to me, I always make sure all my children's umbilical cords are looked after well. (Interview 17/8)

She went on to describe how her family continued to practice this act of 'akapapa'anga. She recalled the burial of her son's pito in New Caledonia, where she and her husband had been working at the time:

> But when we had to come back home [the Cook Islands], I looked and I said [to my husband], ooh, we gotta take this back [the pito]. Then I thought – No. No, no, no. We'll take it to his friends and I asked them to look after it and they have. And like I said, about ten years later I went back just to do some work there and I went out to look at the tree and it's growing with a lot of mangoes on – and they said, oooh, your boy feeds us. Your boy feeds us. Every season. (Interview 17/8)

These two examples provided by the interview participant demonstrate the inherent belief Māori have in the reciprocal properties of relation between the Māori person and 'enua, whether or not the 'enua is located within the boundaries of the nation, exemplified both here and in the story of my grandmother and I. This deeply intimate connection between the bodies of humans and 'enua, as framed by Māori ontology, therefore also more appropriately frames articulation theory in the context of a Māori epistemology – the cultural (and articulated) body of Māori national identity is profoundly tied to 'enua. Furthermore, Royal's theorisations would suggest that, given the paradigmatic impetus of 'akapapa'anga to grow, the Māori articulated body is not always concerned with being rid of cultural articulations, elements or memory. Given my argument that naming traditions are also a part of 'akapapa'anga, the articulation theory of bodies offers a parallel conceptualisation of naming traditions that can, I argue, be used to generative effect in our critical approach to discussions

about the Cook Islands' name. Accordingly, that analysis of the Cook Islands' name begins with tracing its genealogy.

What's in a name: The Cook Islands

In recent debates many have argued and advocated for changing the Cook Islands name to a Māori one. Those ignorant of our national history have asked why not "go back" to a Māori name? The answer to that is that though our ancestors were definitely there, and they definitely had names, there was no Māori nation, or nation at all. The name now carries negative and positive connotations. Non-Māori and Māori recognise that the Cook Islands is clearly not a name of the Māori language because as we know, it is an English name and it references the explorer, Captain James Cook. Within the postcolonial paradigm, we might understand the connotations of Cook, the name and the person, as associated with colonialism and our reading of the name might be neatly colonial and broadly bad, but the story of how Cook came to be associated with the Cook Islands nation deserves repeating here.

Since the late sixteenth century, various names have been given to specific islands in the modern Cook Islands group by European explorers[48]. The Cook Islands' name first appeared when hydrographer and cartographer Johann van Krusenstern sketched it onto a Russian naval map in 1835, honouring Captain Cook (Kloosterman, 1976, p. 55). In 1888, the island group became a British protectorate and in 1901, it became a New Zealand colony annexed under the "Cook islands and other Islands Government Act 1901". In New Zealand, the boundaries of the Cook Islands were gazetted as a proclamation from King George on 13 June 1901 and included the island of Niue (Ranfurly, 1901). This was until the passage of the Cook Islands Amendment Act 1957,

[48] In 1595, the Spaniard, Álvaro de Mendaña and his Portugese pilot, Pedro Fernandes de Queirós, sighted what was later identified as Pukapuka and its surrounding atolls. They named it San Bernado, having sighted four atolls on St Bernard's Day, and were the first European explorers to name one of the modern day islands of the Cooks group. Others went on to sight and land on the rest of the group and some gave European names. A comprehensive list of these names, the dates they were given and the narratives describing how and why European travellers passed by or landed on them can be found in Brian Hooker's article, "The European Discovery of the Cook Islands"(1998).

though it is clear from the resident agent reports and the published histories of the Cook Islands that they were administered separately well before then (Gilson, 1980; Scott, 1991). In the Cook Islands Act 1915, the boundaries, coordinates and land area for the nation were defined and included the following islands (from south to north): Mangaia, Rarotonga, Ma'uke, Atiu, Takutea, Mitiaro, Manuae, Aitutaki, Palmerston, Suwarrow, Nassau, Pukapuka, Manihiki, Rakahanga and Penrhyn[49]. The Cook Islands became a self-governing nation in 1965[50].

[49] As noted above, these are the names most commonly used for these 'enua but are not the only ones used by Māori. Kloosterman (1976) provides a concise list of different names, and where possible, their origin stories in his publication, *Discoverers of the Cook islands and the names they gave*.

[50] Constitutionally, the Cook Islands is not technically an "independent" nation, given its head of state remains the "Queen of the New Zealand Realm". The Cook Islands, however, does govern itself relatively free from New Zealand's interference.

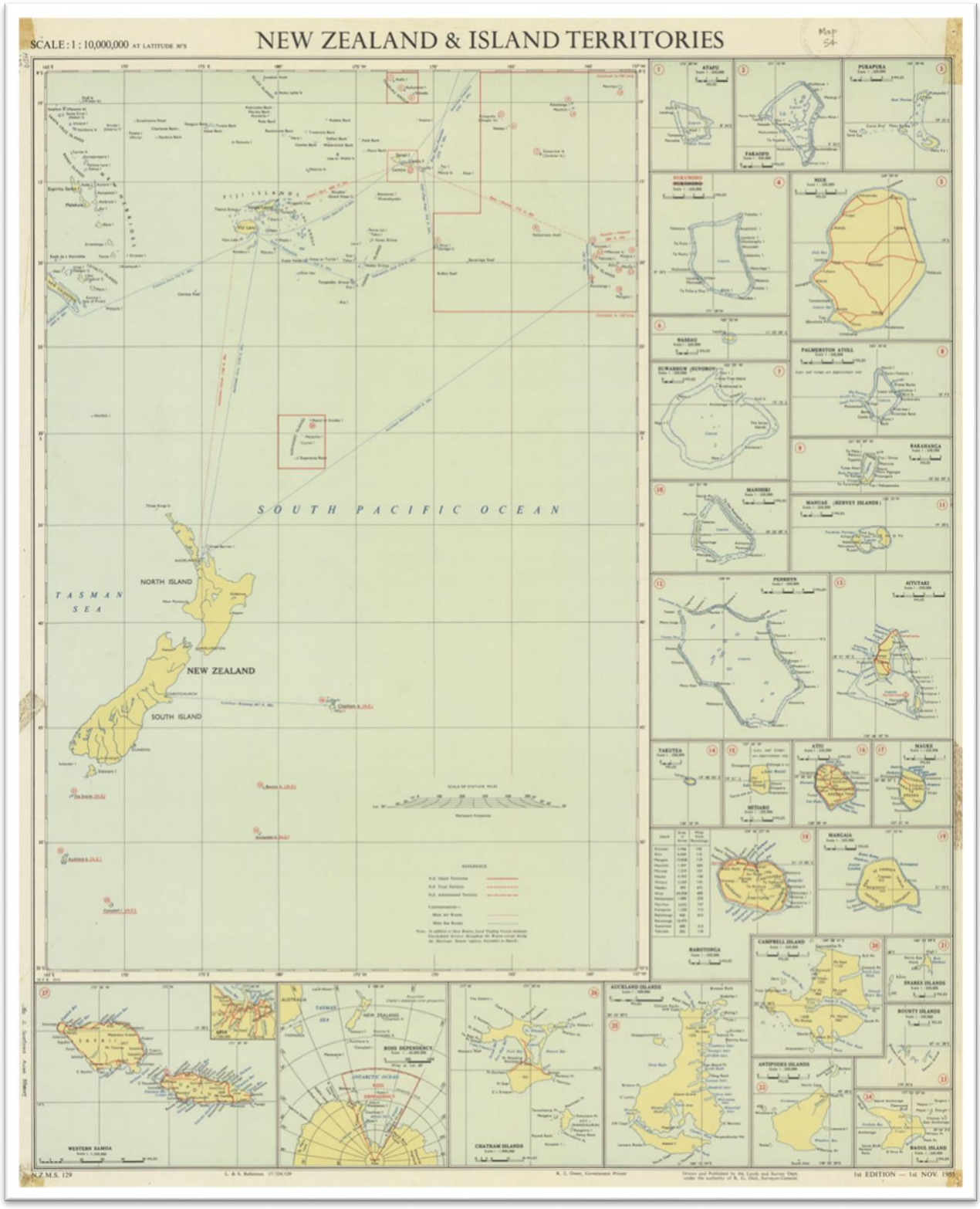

Figure 2: "New Zealand, New Zealand & Island Territories" from the NZMS Series, Sheet 129 published by the New Zealand Lands and Survey Department in 1995.

Prior to this, during what is referred to as the colonial period (roughly 1888-1965)[51], the nation's respective islands, with the exception of the allied groupings of Ngāputoru (the southern islands of Atiu, Ma'uke and Mitiaro) and the two northern atolls of Manihiki and Rakahanga, were considered to be relatively detached, possessing their own characteristic genealogical legacies. I argue, as do others, that those divergent genealogies have structured allegiances and relational proximities in a way that has made the collective development of the Cook Islands (Māori) nation and culture complex, and at times difficult. The priorities of different island groups and communities have often contrasted in the Cook Islands and within the Cook Islands diaspora, creating tensions.

Many anecdotal accounts, both in the home islands and diasporic contexts, gesture to the subtle tensions between island community groups (S. A. Nicholas, 2018; Tagata Pasifika, 2013a). An interviewee who had lived in Auckland, New Zealand for 13 years in his youth, described what he perceived as a kind of "tribalism" amongst recent migrants from the Cook Islands during the 1980s and '90s. When I asked him about his thoughts on a Cook Islands national identity he reflected, "You never think, oh, what are ya? I'm a Cook Islander. You know – you just never thought of that" (Interview 26/9). The interviewee's experience amongst a larger population of Māori from all of the different islands making up the Cook Islands nation, foregrounded a distinction amongst different island groups:

> You go and ask people...what are you? You know. Ko 'ai koe? 'E tangata Mangaia [Who are you? A Mangaia person]. They wouldn't say "'e tangata Kūki 'Āirani au' [I'm a Cook Islander]. Mangaians will say it, Manihikians will say it, the Atiuans will say it. So, they...go to New Zealand or to Auckland they just literally stick within themselves. I mean, they stick with their own little ethnic groups. And

[51] The colonial period has been defined by Gilson and others as beginning with Britain's decree of protectorate status in 1880, the establishment of the Cook Islands' boundaries, and its time as a colony of New Zealand up until self-governance in 1965. I adopt the same interpretation of this terminology here.

> you know...I'm a Ma'ukean. Why should I go to the Penrhyn group? It's got nothing to do with me. They're 5,000 miles away from anyone and why should I go and join their group? You know, but I will only join them if my partner or wife or whatever who's from that island or I have very good friends, close friends (Interview 26/9)

The interviewee emphasised the clear "tribal" tendencies among Māori in the diaspora and echoed what I had suspected and seen from my own personal experience: that Māori often operate with an awareness of their relational proximities and the shared interests those proximities and loyalties represent.

The complex and entangled genealogies of different island affiliations require more exhaustive critical work that investigates how exactly such complexities play out in contemporary Māori life and such work would be beyond the scope of this project. However, it is important that I acknowledge those differences. The ferocity with which Māori perform their island affiliations is clear in many parts of Māori life. This stems from 'akapapa'anga; islands become synonymous with ancestors, with relations and kin, and therefore shape our identities. This could simply be called pride but in the expression of our papa'anga, there are also embedded beliefs about the orientation and proximity of our relations to people and to place and thus, to our world.

Māori language revitalisation discourse is where we see a recurring and emotionally charged example of this. The Cook Islands Māori language is made of different dialects or what Māori linguist, Akevai Nicholas, calls "varieties" of Māori. Predominantly, though, the Cook Islands Māori language refers to the Rarotonga variety of Māori. For linguists, the different language varieties spoken by Māori people are considered one language given they are more or less mutually intelligible, with the exception of Leo Wale from the island of Pukapuka, which comes from a Samoic branch of the Polynesian language family. For many Māori, however, their dialects or language varieties are an expression of their papa'anga and identities; their island-specific vernaculars, vocabularies, etymologies and accents are produced from their specific ancestral genealogical narratives and language development produced

from the collective experiences of their island-communities and kin.[52] Language is a point of much pride, an overt indicator of papa'anga. It is also a source of contention in our contemporary context. Even with these characteristics of "tribalism" though, the Cook Islands nation has nonetheless continued to operate as a polity for almost 150 years and the islands contained within its boundaries have interacted, networked and intermingled for hundreds of years prior to the arrival of European settlers and since.

Alongside the chronology of constituting name and nation, the collective subscription to a nationalist agenda was slow and strategic, achieved through a combination of powerful chiefly titles, strategic rhetoric and marital unions (Gilson, 1980). Makea Takau, referred to as a past Queen of Rarotonga and holder of one of the most powerful ariki titles on that island (Makea Nui), held significant political, cultural and social power at the turn of the nineteenth century. Allegedly influenced by the encroaching colonial presence of France in the islands further to the east (Tahiti and eventually the entirety of modern-day French Polynesia), Takau sought protectorate status from the British in 1888 as a pre-emptive measure against potential French invasion. Rarotonga, as the largest island of the group, had already established itself as the headquarters for colonial and missionary institutions in the nearby region and Takau's decision-making power was bolstered by her marriage to the paramount ariki of Ngāputoru, Ngamaruariki Rongotini. The alliance of these four islands was a strategic and powerful political move at a time when colonial competition for power in the region had begun to increase. The remaining islands of the southern group eventually bowed under the insistence of missionary and colonial actors, and the addition of the northern atolls – Palmerston, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Penrhyn/Tongareva, Pukapuka, Nassau and Suwarrow – occurred as Britain and New

[52] The standard Kūki 'Āirani Māori is endangered as are the other languages and varieties spoken on the different inhabited islands. Despite that, Māori continue to have ferocious discussion about resource provision and institutional space dedicated to their respective language varieties in the home islands and in New Zealand. Each language variety desperately needs consensus on language revitalisation strategies, buy-in from most Māori who do not speak their ancestral language, and support from the proficient speakers of our languages who hold crucial knowledge about those ancestral varieties.

Zealand began tidying the cartographic record of their territories in the early twentieth century (Gilson, 1980; Kloosterman, 1976; Scott, 1991). By the time New Zealand annexed the Cook Islands in 1901, the colonial geography of the group had become reasonably stable. However, despite this, and the well-travelled routes of missionaries and twentieth century colonial officials, the islands remained to some extent separate from one another with scant transport opportunities and little effort from colonial and Māori leaders to push a strong nationalist agenda beyond Rarotonga. Indeed, for much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the northern atolls had little to do with the administration in Rarotonga. It was not until independence that a concerted effort to build a national identity got underway, driven by the first government of the Cook Islands and its Premier, the late Sir Albert Henry.

In his 1999 book, *Nation and Destination: Creating Cook Islands Identity*, anthropologist Jeffrey Sissons discussed how national unity and identity was driven by the first four Cook Islands governments beginning with Henry's inaugural government in 1965 (Sissons, 1999). Sissons observed that Henry's government initially focused on fostering unity amongst the islands. Sissons called this Henry's "first phase of ethinicisation" involving a political emphasis on funding and suport for cultural institutions that would begin building a national brand for much-needed economic development and the collective enterprise required for the nation-building project. Those institutions included the Cook Islands Ministry of Cultural Development (Tauranga Vānanga) and the Cook Islands National Arts Theatre (CINAT). The former had broad oversight of cultural institutions like CINAT, the national archives and fostering a national research culture. The latter was focused primarily on the performing arts culture that worked to define an internationally recognised Cook Islands tourist brand (Alexeyeff, 2009; Pigman, 2012).

Henry's rationalisation for the focus on building national and cultural unity was conveyed by his colleague Percy Henderson. Sissons quoted Henderson who said,

> I was here in the colonial days when each individual island was an island. They had their Resident Agents and not very much contact

> [with Rarotonga]. I remember sitting with him [Albert Henry] right at the beginning when he became Prime Minister and he said "my first task is to make fifteen islands one country"..."at the moment we're fifteen different islands, we've got to make these the Cook Islands, unless we get everybody together we've got nothing." (Sissons, 1999, p. 37)

Henderson and the legacy of Henry's governments from 1965-1988 suggest that right from independence fifty-three years ago, the people of the Cook Islands nation were engaged in the process of articulating a new national identity – or at least contending with multiple identities of which the Cook Islands national identity was but one.

The formulation and durability of this "ethnicisation" process built a strong nationalist sentiment amongst an emergent, contemporary Cook Islands society. Kevin Sobel-Read (2012), a lawyer and anthropologist, discussed national identity and sovereignty within the context of globalisation in his doctoral thesis, "Soveriegnty, Law and Capital in the Age of Globalisation", using the Cook Islands as his primary case study. He argued that national identity in the Cook Islands was generated from a mix of functional and formal political mechanisms, and the emotional investment of Māori writ large. He described "emotional sovereignty" as "the cultural magic that makes sovereignty *collective*, that renders the whole larger than the sum of its individual parts, the fusion whereby human allegiance and affection form a sacred bond superior to Western forms of logic" (Sobel-Read, 2012, p. 84). He gave examples of that "magic" as national sport and performing arts, the glue constituting and holding national identity and culture together. Sobel-Read had quite accurately described Henry's ethnicisation agenda.

Sobel-Read had not, however, accounted for the diverse cultural genealogies that existed prior to independence nor how those genealogies were either amalgamated, developed or discarded as part of Henry's pursuit of "togetherness" (Sissons, 1999). While the first governments of the self-governing Cook Islands nation focused on building togetherness as a solid foundation on which nationalism could grow, the genealogical legacies – the island-specific legaices to which Māori belong – have

continued to subtly influence, and at times vex, the rules of social engagement for Māori peoples as exemplified above. The marginalisation of papa'anga has prompted a recent resurgence of debate around the Cook Islands name and in turn, who Māori and the nation are. The question 'ko 'ai tō'ou ingoa?' doesn't simply ask for a list of your names. It is also a request for an individual to relay the relationships and relational proximities implied in the names they have been bestowed by others. In the case of the Cook Islands name, we may start with James Cook but, as Te Punga Somerville (2019) demonstrated with her essay, "Two Hundred and Fifty Ways to Start an Essay about Captain Cook", and as I have outlined in this section, Cook is not, in fact, where Māori people, culture or nation, begin – or at least it is not the only beginning in our collective national papa'anga. Therefore, it is no surprise that debate about a new name for the nation has resurfaced in recent times, a bid to collectively name a legacy that stretches beyond the colonial period.

Conclusion: "Names are forgotten, and names change"[53]

Asking someone's name is a standard social convention amongst Māori people that tells us more than just how we must refer to the person that stands before or alongside us. My name – indeed, me, Emma, the person – is an organic body made of various literal and metaphorical cultural DNA, a genealogical aesthetic that is quite clearly discernible in my multicultural name. As Papa Jon Jonassen points out, to name someone is a very important cultural practice. The formulation of my name followed some of the rationalisations that I quoted from Jonassen in the introduction of this chapter. My grandparents and mother discussed my legal names at length and throughout my life I have been given many others. My aunties and mother all call me Emily. My whole family will call me Ems, a nickname. My extended family on my mother's paternal side will sometimes call me Ngarua[54] when I do or say something that they believe has come, through the papa'anga, from my biological grandfather.

[53] Interview 11/9a

[54] They, in fact, call anyone who reminds them of my grandfather (Upokoina Teiotu), Ngarua. It honours him and the person being called by his name. It calls his memory forth and makes him present when we are strongly reminded of his presence, his likeness, his character and his intelligence. He is sorely missed by many.

My Māori name, Ngakuraevaru, is used in Māori contexts, especially in academic and professional settings because it enables Māori people to identify me in an older and more distant part of our shared papa'anga. I *am* Ngakuraevaru, my great aunt, travelling through time. As well, there is always the potential for new articulations, as stories and identities change through time, through moments, through the animation of specific parts of papa'anga and the narratives that accompany them. Names are mobile markers that are not appended to a person so much as they are invoked. In her article, "Gifted Flows: Making Space for a Brand New Beat" (2010) April Henderson writes, "People can also be gifted in the sense that the shifting collections of memories and material effects webbed around the sign of the proper name can pass from one person to another" (p. 303). The multiplicity of names represents the multiplicity of those who have held it before, and depending on when, how and who is invoking the name, those legacies and cultural identities are brought forward and animated through various cultural practices of relation we refer to as 'akapapa'anga. I have referred to some examples in this chapter: the planting of the pito, the onward sharing of names and so on. Naming traditions, as Jonassen described, "create a link to ancestors, friends, family members, titles and land" and through such papa'anga, give shape to our conceptions of culture.

Whether or not we are able to recognise essentialist Māori cultural aesthetics in a name like Emma Powell or indeed the Cook Islands, the process by which my parents arrived at my many names is still fundamentally born from Māori epistemology. My grandmother married an Englishman after she had my mother[55]. Still, when I was born, my grandmother engaged in 'akapapa'anga. She began the labour of resituating our familial and social proximities, beginning with my name, shifting me and therefore us (my family and the children and relationships I have yet to form) through the relational space/vā and closer to the genealogy of my English grandfather, acknowledging articulations and alliance forged through her marriage to him. Through the paradigm of 'akapapa'anga, the Māoriness of my name is determined

[55] As described in Chapter 1, my biological grandfather was also from the village of Tengatangi in Atiu and was a well-known tumu kōrero/cultural expert of Atiu and Ngaputoru.

not through a recognisable cultural aesthetic of indigenous Māori names but through the practice of ‘akapapa‘anga, represented in the names my parents, family and friends have deliberately chosen to call me.

Likewise, a Māori epistemology recognises that in the making of culture, it is not the aesthetic of the tourist brand or the cultural symbols that hold the “cultural magic” and “emotional sovereignty” that Sobel-Read referred to. As the interviewee quoted above said, “It’s a way of life. It’s who we are” (Interview 17/8). As Teaiwa suggests, the trauma that can sometimes occur from the violence of attempting to remove cultural norms can itself produce the sentiment or emotional sovereignty that marks our growing organic body of culture. While the Cook Islands name has become the primary cultural reference for Māori people in non-Māori contexts, we cannot remove its articulation, meaning and constitution from the colonial, cultural and historically traumatic associations that it has. Understanding the formation of the Cook Islands name through the paradigm of ‘akapapa‘anga suggests that Māori society is shaped by a capacity to hold multiple cultures and identities in sustained tension. Those tensions are cultural articulations and they are concerned with growth and rootedness simultaneously.

Acknowledging the uncomfortable truth of Captain James Cook as “an ancestor” or at least, a highly influential historical figure, in the nation’s papa‘anga is not a subscription to the colonial project, though I can understand how his name and his story might trigger reactions of intergenerational trauma. The cultural changes that occurred after his arrival in the region, and after his name was used to conceive of our nation, are perceived by many Māori as revolutionary, important, and life changing. For some, it was the ultimate development project. It saw our society leap forward via a newly minted and collective national enterprise (Interview 17/8). For others, especially the recent generation, his name invokes oppressive colonial institutions, British and New Zealand bureaucracy, and the erasure of Māori cultural practices, or at least a diminishment of their mana and their power and therefore, who we are as a

people[56]. Compartmentalising these views makes the constitution of the name, and its value and sovereignty, seem inherently binary: colonial and decolonial, traditional and modern, then and now. It assumes a linear spectrum where we "once were [Māori]" and now, drift further and further away from that cultural authenticity. It is possible to view this as a dis-articulation. However, I argue that it is even more useful to dismiss the binary and the serial completely. Instead, adopting the discursive potential of 'akapapa'anga as a cultural paradigm is more productive because if we continue to believe we have left our "true" and/or "authentic" selves at moments where colonial systems have become dominant, then we run the risk of losing our sovereignty and our identities completely.

My rationale for using articulation theory so prominently in this chapter is a comparative one. I sought theoretical work against which I could push and make sense of 'akapapa'anga, particularly in a context where there was very little theoretical work that had already been done. Even though I felt resonance in Clifford and Teaiwa's theoretical descriptions of the articulated cyborg and the prosthetic limb, there were still elements of their metaphorical theorisations that did not fit neatly onto the Cook Islands context. If my Pacific Studies training thus far has taught me anything, it is that such theoretical disappointments are exactly why theories are so useful. Such moments signal that there is something peculiar about the circumstance that deserves our attention.

In the closing paragraph of her article, "The Articulated Limb" (2017), Teaiwa contemplates the various ways that the Pacific body has been marginalised, underscoring the reluctance of dominant groups (assumedly Western epistemes) to

> …surrender its paradigms, for one of the most profound effects of a genuine reckoning with indigenous knowledge is having one's epistemological foundations challenged. This is certainly the case around issues of embodiment…indigenous concepts of the body –

[56] The number of people who are unhappy with the Cook Islands' name are prolific across social and news media and are too numerous to reference here.

> and therefore knowing through the body – are radically different from the strictly sensory and individualised experience that western scientific literature inscribes. (2017, pp. 14-15)

In developing this chapter my attention also became fixed on Clifford's phrase, "The word culture is deeply tied up with organic notions of growth, life, death – *bodies that persist through time* [emphasis added]" (2003, p. 46). Though their use of the humanistic form and the articulation of foreign elements felt limiting, their conceptualisation of bodies as persistent and expansive prompted me to consider Royal's emphasis on "growth rather than deconstruction" and thus provided new, critical space where I began to consider cultural articulation or cultural shape and change via a different, genealogical register.

With 'akapapa'anga, it is possible to understand Cook Islands culture and the cultural significance of the nation's name on Māori terms. Articulation allows us to expunge the binary but it cannot comfortably describe the ways that Māori continue to animate culture and genealogical legacies because it assumes that parts of those legacies have been dis-articulated from our culture and identity earlier in the linear series. These intra-national cultures and identities seem contradictory through a constructivist lens. I have attempted to describe a Māori reality that steps past this theoretical predicament and seeming irreconcilable contradiction as a legitimate and much-practiced cultural reality. While there are other theories that transcend the serial metaphor, like the network, arborescence and rhizomatic growth, 'akapapa'anga uniquely acknowledges spatial and temporal scale. This, I argue, fits more comfortably in a Māori ontology which understands the human body in deep relation, not just with other people but with divine and physical phenomena.

Within the paradigm of 'akapapa'anga, the Cook Islands name is not simply appended to the cultural body sequentially but is invoked as all Māori names are when they are bestowed. So, while the Cook Islands national identity might be considered the latest iteration of Māori culture, 'akapapa'anga compels us to acknowledge that its relevance – and the relevance of ancestors like Captain Cook – cannot be separated from the trajectories of our respective and distinct genealogical

and cultural legacies. Cook – the name and the man – is a genealogical intersection, not a cumulative assembly. As with the nature of papa'anga and organic bodies, the name is descendent and antecedent, having come from a man and a historical context, and simultaneously generative of a new cultural element that Māori and others continue to animate through the cultural practice of 'akapapa'anga.

Unlike articulation theory, the promise of 'akapapa'anga does not lie in its ability to disarticulate. Instead, its strength lies in its assurance that it is possible to honour and hold genealogical and cultural legacies, as well as new cultural trajectories, simultaneously. Like my own name, the "Cook Islands" is but one in a much larger, ever-emergent national and cultural genealogy. And like my own, its Māoriness should be considered with the expectations of a developing genealogical aesthetic in mind. Clifford, Teaiwa, Jonassen and even articulation theory itself assures us that it is possible for our cultural bodies to grow, to change, to take on multiple names that are animated in specific relational contexts. To acknowledge the relevance of Cook and his name in who we are is not to say that his name must necessarily persist or that his must be our singular and primary (re)birthed name – our naming traditions deny that subjugating persistence. 'Akapapa'anga instead allows us to articulate *through* disarticulations knowing that even the elements that we may wish to sever are key parts of what make our cultures an ever expanding organic body.

ʻĀ: Nō ʻea mai koe?

> At the Auckland Museum
> An old Pakeha woman asks me
> what the meaning of those patterns are
> in the tukutuku panels on the walls of the whare
> I'm sorry but I don't know
> I'm not that kind of Māori
> What kind of Māori are you, she asks
> Cook Islands Māori
> Never heard of them, she says
>
> Today, I have learned that there's a story in the red,
> black and white patterns
> This one is the southern night sky: that's the Southern Cross
> These are Takurua and Puanga (Mason, 2014)

This poem was written by Jean Mason, a poet, librarian and curator based in Rarotonga. Her mother is from the island of Maʻuke and her father was of Scottish and English stock (Te Vairanga Kite Pakari, 2020). I read the poem for the first time as an undergradate literary student. My supervisor at the time let me thumb through her shining new copy of the *Mauri Ola* (2010) anthology, and knowing that the editors had put an index of the included writers listed by nationality in their previous volume, *Whetu Moana* (2003), I had flicked quickly to the back of the book, plucking out the page numbers of the Cook Islands Māori writers included in this second volume. In the New Zealand English Literature classroom, where Cook Islands Māori writing (both in English and Māori) has been difficult to come by, I have always been struck by the comparative volume and depth of Mason's writing (Mason, 2001, 2003, 2010; Mason & Rasmussen, 2000; Mason & Williams, 2003). Māori perspectives are deeply embedded in her work, as is her Maʻuke papaʻanga, and in this poem her reflection on the diasporic Māori experience in New Zealand is particularly captivating. "What kind of Māori are you, she asks / Cook Islands Māori / Never heard of them, she says". I suspect that many Māori who read this poem will feel the same way as me: a

familiarity with being made to feel smaller through the erasure, invisibility and omission of your people on a cultural and social landscape where they have fostered long, intimate and complex relationships – that landscape being New Zealand. The Auckland that this poem talks about is where the largest and oldest population of Cook Islands Māori outside the home islands can be found. They are located mostly in South Auckland and many of this number were born in New Zealand[57]. Many of this resident population have never visited the ipukarea and many others continue the legacies started by their first inbound ancestors in the early twentieth century; they continue community and church traditions, and continue to invest in New Zealand futures for their children, extended family and the new generations to come. In a context where Māori have been sojourning and settling in Aotearoa New Zealand for almost 100 years (and where their relations have been present and arriving for much longer) it feels difficult, as a Māori person, to read of a Pākeha woman at the Auckland Museum who has never heard of Cook Islands Māori people. And yet, this is still a common reaction.

For me, this poem reminds me that it is hard to talk about Māori people and the Cook Islands nation without also talking about the presence and influence of New Zealand. Anyone wanting to understand Māori people today must also understand the relationships between Māori and New Zealand's territories. As I explored in the previous chapter, the creation of the Cook Islands nation was led by New Zealand's imperialist zeal during the late nineteenth century and much of the twentieth. Since 1901, the Cook Islands has been a part of the constitutional realm that is New Zealand and unsurprisingly, Māori people have drifted across this constitutional geography, facilitated by New Zealand citizenship and other governmental and geopolitical mechanisms. It is a unique arrangement that has afforded irreversible changes to our physical and cultural trajectories and is also one that is rarely examined in research

[57] The 2018 New Zealand census showed over 80,000 Cook Islands Māori people were resident in New Zealand, 58% of which lived in the Auckland region. Of the total resident population in New Zealand, 83.1% were born in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2020b). This compared to the 14,802 resident population in the Cook Islands nation (Cook Islands Statistics Office, 2018).

about the Cook Islands beyond the high-level economic and political dependencies that have resulted from it (Marsters, 2016; Marsters, Lewis, & Friesen, 2006).

The geography that frames this constitutional relationship is the New Zealand Realm (the Realm), once called the Dominion of New Zealand[58]. The Realm comprises New Zealand-proper (Te Ika a Maui/North Island, Te Waipounamu/the South Island, Rakiura/Stewart Island and about 600 smaller islands surrounding New Zealand-proper[59]), the dependent territory of Tokelau, the Ross Dependency (a region of Antarctica) and the self-governing nations of the Cook Islands and Niue. It is what New Zealand's Pacific empire consisted of before the United Nations began to advocate for a global decolonial agenda in the 1960s. Though this geography and its implications are rarely spoken about in public discourse, there have been intermittent considerations of it in academic discourse, predominantly in the area of constitutional law (Quentin-Baxter, 2009; Quentin-Baxter & McLean, 2017; Townend, 2003) and the economies of small island nations (Marsters et al., 2006). Recent examples of this include Caroline McDonald's (2018) doctoral work on the effectiveness of the free-association agreement between New Zealand, and Niue and the Cook Islands; Christina Newport's (2019b) thesis on Cook Islands policy spaces; and Kevin Sobel-Read's (2012, 2016) examination of sovereignty and globalisation in the Cook Islands. Despite this academic work, there has been a reluctance from scholars to carry out ethnographic and cultural analysis of how, if at all, Māori themselves engage with and interpret the dynamic of these constitutional arrangements and there is, as gestured to above, an amazing lack of work reflecting how this affects the day-to-day lives of Māori. Even so, the significance of the relationship with New Zealand is manifested

[58] The Dominion of New Zealand was the succesor to the country's status as a colony. In 1907, New Zealand began using the title of Dominion though it had few ramifications beyond perceived changes in the country's international reputation: a new nation operating relatively independent from its former colonial master (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2018). Following the first World War, the status and title of 'Dominion' largely ceased to be used. In 1953, "the official style" was updated officially as the Realm of New Zealand and this has been used as the official title of New Zealand's constitutional realm since then (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014).

[59] As with the pā 'enua, I acknowledge that many iwi and hapū (tribal and family groups) have different names for the (is)lands that make up New Zealand, aligning with their perspectives of relationality and papa'anga/whakapapa. Here, I use terminology that I am familiar with in the current popular discourse, acknowledging that there are others used by iwi and hapū Māori ("AOTEAROA," 1966).

in other ways; the New Zealand passports that all Māori carry, the overwhelming number of Māori who reside in New Zealand-proper, the New Zealand dollars one spends when in the home islands, and the similarity of our nation's flags are all clear reminders of this complex and entangled relationship. One walks the streets in Avarua, the Cook Islands capital, and it is common to see sports club t-shirts from Manurewa, Otara, Tokoroa and other New Zealand locations where Māori have been residing outside the home islands for well over 50 years. Well-known New Zealand export brands like the various Fonterra products line the supermarket shelves of Rarotonga and the pervasive kiwi-New Zealand-English is now heard on the streets of Rarotonga as much as, if not more than, the varieties of local Cook Islands Māori. New Zealand feels very present, even when we are outside its definitive national boundaries and venturing into the extended territory beyond its shores.

Acknowledging the papa'ā and colonial New Zealand that features so prominently in the history of the Cook Islands nation is important for these reasons. But, much as I attempted to convey in the previous chapter, the New Zealand nation-state also obscures the other relationships that are imbricated in this contemporary constitutional context: the relationship Cook Islands Māori people have (and have had for a long time) with the indigenous people of New Zealand, Aoteaora Māori. In this chapter, Mason's poem serves as inspiration, intellectual prompt and multidirectional signpost. The poem cannot ignore the colonial and settler context that produces it; however, the question "what kind of Māori are you?" also points to a clear elision of who owns, and is defined by, the demonym. The shared use of this demonym is a useful analogy for exploring both the contemporary invisibility of Māori people in New Zealand, why this matters and the nuanced relations between plural Māori peoples as tuakana and teina (older and younger siblings).

I ponder this multilayered constitutional (and I later argue, relational) context influenced by two pieces of work: the first, Tracey Banivanua-Mar's *Decolonisation and the Pacific* (2016) and the second, Alice Te Punga Somerville's *Once Were Pacific* (2012). Banivanua-Mar explores "the sometimes parallel, sometimes intersecting, paths and border crossings of anti-colonial and Indigenous political movements that help to

define and shape the postcolonial, or rather still, decolonising Pacific" (2016, p. 4). Her analysis in this book goes beyond the widely accepted decolonial period of the post-1960s, tracing the seeds of indigenous-indigenous encounter and solidarities beginning in the late nineteenth century. Banivanua-Mar focuses on the interstices between colonially-generated borders, using indigenous-indigenous solidarities to reframe the decolonial discourse dominated by the United Nations' decolonisation agenda that began in the post-World War II period. She critiques and marginalises colonial cartographies, re-centring indigenous sovereignty and self-determination in distinctly local and empoweringly indigenous ways. She also convincingly advocates for and demonstrates how productive this reframing can be for decolonisation in the Pacific by acknowledging the persistent colonial borders and boundaries at the centre of our contemporary, political, and economic analytical frameworks.

In her book, Alice Te Punga Somerville considers Aotearoa Māori articulations and disconnections from the Pacific through the critical reading and analysis of key literary texts. She pays particular attention to where her reading, the texts and the authors are located, and contemplates how place is configured and conceived throughout her analysis. She observes that, for the most part, Māori and Pasifika[60] relations in New Zealand have been heavily shaped by the prioritisation of the relationship between each group and the New Zealand settler state, writing, "As long as Māori and Pasifika communities insist that their primary relationship is with the New Zealand nation-state, relationships between these communities will struggle to

[60] "Pasifika" is a transliteration of Pacific. It is used as an umbrella term by New Zealand bureaucrats and government administration and has become part of a public vernacular. The term predominantly refers to Pacific peoples who have had a historic relationship with New Zealand, most of whom are located in English-speaking Polynesia. This includes: Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, Tokelau, Niue, Tuvalu and Fiji. The latter is located in an area of the Pacific where its status as either Melanesian or Polynesian (or between the two) has been debated. However, their close relationship with Britain and the migration of Fijians to New Zealand in significant numbers, has subsumed them into the Pasifika terminology. As discussed by Te Punga Somerville, "Although there are obvious problems with lumping together culturally and linguistically distinct groups with a single term, a strategic amalgam can create visibility and the grounds for collaboration" (Te Punga Somerville, 2012, p. xxii). The umbrella term, like the Māori demonym, becomes an effective analogy for the complex conceptual ground across which Pacific people in New Zealand-proper attempt to live self-determining lives, while navigating the sovereignty of their Aotearoa Māori relations and the seeming monolith of the settler state.

function beyond the narrow parameters that state provides" (2012, p. 175). Te Punga Somerville, much like Banivanua-Mar, stresses the importance of *indigenous* relationships in the decolonial project and I adopt the same impetus in the discussion that follows.

The intent of this chapter is to respond to the Māori experience of colonisation and the supposed eventuality of decolonisation by considering the relationship between the indigenous people of the Cook Islands nation and the indigenous people of New Zealand, also named Māori, by foregrounding genealogical relations between these two peoples. It aims to contextualise the omission of Māori people that Mason framed in her poem by using 'akapapa'anga to put Māori people in relation to New Zealand - an alternative to, and extension of, the high-level economic and geopolitical analyses done to date. This will illustrate one of the key objectives of this thesis: to show how 'akapapa'anga productively reframes Māori relation to place and to people on Māori terms. Consequently, it will show how 'akapapa'anga is able to describe what the extended diasporic terrain looks like for Māori. I begin the following section by answering the "Pākeha woman's" question, "What kind of Māori are you?" and by doing so, re-centre the shared papa'anga between peoples with genealogical connections to New Zealand and the Cook Islands: Māori and Māori. I explore the potential of this genealogical relationship as a way of showing how Māori – all Māori – might "function beyond the narrow parameters that state provides". I end this chapter by presenting a brief analysis of key ancestors in a transcript that records a meeting held between tumu kōrero from the Cook Islands and kaumātua from New Zealand in 1993. Along with writings from current scholars and the theoretical offerings of Chapter 2, I describe how such relational aspects can collapse colonially-generated constitutional borders and more, how Māori peoples have been doing so beyond the persistent temporal and geographic markers of our colonial past and present.

Māori

The demonym, its place and its peoples

It is fair to say that the Māori demonym has been largely associated with the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand in mainstream discourses. Like Mason's poem, there are many who are unaware of another cultural group who identify as Māori and that the popular usage of this nomenclature was in part co-constituted by a need for indigenous peoples to distinguish themselves from settlers. In the Aotearoa New Zealand context, Lachy Paterson writes in his article, "Print Culture and the Collective Māori Consciousness" (2010) that "Māori did not comprehend of humanity except as beings physically and culturally the same as themselves" (Paterson, 2010), suggesting that prior to European arrival, identities had not been determined along ethnic or racial lines. Paterson went on to explain that, "while the physical and cultural characteristics were sufficiently apparent for Māori to see themselves as culturally or racially different to Pākehā, they did not initially 'imagine' themselves as a nation or people, but rather continued to tie identity to tribal groups" (p. 105). Much like the national project described in the previous chapter, the indigenous state now known as Aotearoa (also, somewhat of a conflation) and tāngata whenua[61] is in many ways a product of cultural encounter.

In te reo Māori Aotearoa, the etymology of the word māori (lowercase) denotes the "normal, usual, natural, common [or] ordinary" (John C. Moorfield, 2003-2020). Paterson's description of the ways tangata whenua acknowledged the Otherness of Europeans when they arrived suggests that the use of the term māori as an identifier would have been appropriate, co-constituted from cultural encounter between indigenous and European peoples. Linguistic cognates of Māori in the ethnolinguistic region of Eastern Polynesia include Mā'ohi in the Tahitian, Maoli in the Hawaiian, Mao'i in the Marquesan and Maori also in the Mangarevan and Pa'umotuan languages (Treager, 1891). Similar to Aotearoa Māori, for the indigenous peoples of

[61] 'Tangata whenua' is used to refer to the indigenous Māori peoples of Aotearoa throughout this chapter, noting the dialectical specificity of the 'wh' in the word whenua, divergent of the Cook Islands Māori spelling of land as 'enua.

the contemporary Cook Islands nation, the term Māori is often used as an identifier of ethnicity, race and national identity. Many of my interview participants used the term Māori to refer to their families and communities (11/9a, 11/9b, 12/9b, 20/9, 8/8 Interviews) as I discussed in the example with the interviewee who shared his early experience growing up in Auckland in the previous chapter (Interview 26/9). Much like te reo Māori Aotearoa, for peoples of the Cook Islands, māori is defined in the *Cook Islands Māori Dictionary* (Buse et al., 1995) as someone or something "of native origin, indigenous, esp. Polynesian or *Māori* as opposed to *Papa'ā*, European" (Buse & Taringa, 1995).

Prior to the rise of nationalism and nationhood, I believe Cook Islands Māori adopted a range of identifers depending on context and need. Self-identification ranged from the tribal structure of vaka lineages (discussed later in this chapter and still seen in Rarotonga's contemporary society); the ngāti, loosely translated as the tribal structure emanating from a particular chiefly or paramount ancestor; and the kōpū, consisting of the wide relational latitudes of the most senior living generation. As gestured to in the previous chapter, respective island norms and social structures are highly specific and are determined by the various power struggles of past generations. A comprehensive analysis of these identifying social structures is not possible here, but excellent analyses have gone some way to describing these structures in detail, for example, Siikala and Siikala in the Ngāputoru context (A.-L. Siikala & Siikala, 2005; J. Siikala, 1991), Te Rangi Hiroa Sir Peter Buck in his ethnographies (Buck, 1932a, 1932b, 1934), and Ron Crocombe's work on land tenure (R. Crocombe, 1961a, 1971).

For Aotearoa and Cook Islands Māori peoples, their respective reo has been used to mark a distinction between those who belong to the land and those who arrived later, the latter having no professed kinship to place or to the peoples already residing there. With the rise of colonialism and subsequent nationalism, the demonym became part of the nation-building discourse. Paterson offers some explanation for this in the Aotearoa New Zealand context, citing Benedict Anderson's thesis on imagined communities in his study. Paterson describes the rise of Aotearoa Māori collectivism as a product of the rapidity with which colonial settlement, Christian doctrines and

economies of trade quickly necessitated an amalgam of tribal identities as a way of staunching the tide of foreign cultural and structural change. For Cook Islands Māori people, it seems clear that the "Cook Islands" qualifier from a decolonial and nation-building project that, comparatively speaking, occurred much later than in New Zealand for Aotearoa Māori. Admittedly, the use of the Cook Islands Māori identifier is par for the course in international and intraregional, bureaucratic and political discourse and "Cook Islander" rolls off the tongue for many, as the economist conveyed in the previous chapter (Interview 17/8). This seems to exemplify Anderson's theorisations of a national discourse. Given the entangled colonial history of Aotearoa New Zealand and the Cook Islands nation, Paterson's extension of Anderson's imagined community through these popular discourses also offers some fruitful hypothesisising in the Cook Islands context too.

The Māori demonym now carries our ethnic connotations into the complex and entangled, diasporic and (post)colonial context I have begun to sketch in this chapter. In Rarotonga, one of my interview participants with strong papa'anga to both Cook Islands Māori and Aotearoa Māori ancestry described the Māori demonym as follows:

> There's two different types of Māori – or like New Zealand Māori, Cook Island Māori...I just I am me; I'm Māori. I don't normally say New Zealand Māori or Cook Island Māori...I'll never try to say that I am New Zealand Māori and Cook Island Māori; I'm just Māori and I have connections to New Zealand and...Mangaia and here. [Rarotonga] (Interview 12/9)

Another participant, a native speaker of her Ma'uke dialect, a curator and an amateur historian of the Cook Islands, shared even further depth in her interpretation of the word's etymology:

> Māori are indigenous people of the Cook Islands – recognising that there are similarities between us and Marquesan[s], Rapa Nui and Tahitian Mā'ohi, NZ Māori and Hawaiian Maoli. We are people who are both 'ma' and 'ori' - clean, pure and alive with movement. This is

> my definition. I like to think the word came originally from 'tama ori', roving child. How apt because we are a race of rovers, travellers, voyagers since time immemorial. Ori indicates life and movement. In Ngāputoru [the collective of islands, Atiu, Ma'uke and Mitiaro] ori also means to dance. The dance of life...Māori people want these things in their lives. All of these things speak of life. Anything opposite is loneliness, sickness, silence or death. Māori people don't like feebleness - 'ave'aveā - a pejorative to describe slow workers, or slow movements in a person. So, is the phrase kare e ve'u te rango [cannot fan a fly]. Māori people prefer that which is the opposite of these things. (Interview 8/8)

Other participant reflections on the Māori term were variously couched. For some the terms Māori and Cook Islander were equivalent and exchangeable (Interview 11/9a). For others, there were clear distinctions between the two, one participant describing her arrival in the Cook Islands as a teenager from New Zealand, "...cause I don't know anything about the Cook Islands – I can't say I'm a Cook Island Māori. I can say I'm Cook Island but I don't think I'm a Cook Island Māori. Cause I know nothing about who we are, the island itself, the language – I don't know anything – at that time when I was here [Rarotonga]" (Interview 11/9b). In conversations where discussion of the Māori term and its meaning arose, participants conveyed not only the importance of acknowledging ancestral affiliations but also knowing ones genealogy: "...it's like I said right at the start. It's about applying your genealogy to the land" (Interview 26/9).

Of course, the aggregate truism of our identity as Māori explicated by all of the interviewees was expressed with an acute awareness of cousins embodying the same name and demonym in Aotearoa New Zealand. In my contemplation of the various participant reflections, it is clear that not one person felt any insecurity or dominant claim on the Māori demonym inspite of the exclusive ascription of the demonym to Aotearoa Māori peoples in the dominant global discourse and the domestic discourse of New Zealand. Indeed, the shared use of the Māori demonym is a useful analogy because it references what many Māori peoples already know: we share a much older

papa'anga. The title of Te Punga Somerville's book, *Once Were Pacific* (2012), alludes to this papa'anga where she describes the use of the title as a "juxtaposition" of Alan Duff's well-known novel, *Once Were Warriors* – a gesturing to the mythic pre-colonial "once" of Aotearoa Māori warrior ancestors long past – and what Te Punga Somerville called the "timelessness" of Aoteaora Māori connections to the Pacific. As she so aptly puts it, "the project of decolonisation in which all indigenous people are engaged demands the grappling with, not the erasure of, colonisation; it is about re-remembering" (2012, p. xix). Like her title, the demonym of plural Māori peoples demands a re-remembering too. For me, the particularly captivating second half of the first stanza in Mason's poem so clearly draws attention to the power of the demonym and its ability to illuminate and obscure simultaneously:

> I'm sorry but I don't know
> I'm not that kind of Māori
> What kind of Māori are you, she asks
> Cook Islands Māori

The constitutional context has obscured Cook Islands Māori people in the mainstream national discourse of New Zealand, reflecting the fact that Aotearoa Māori continue to contest the settler government on their ancestral lands. However, plural Māori peoples – the normal, the indigenous, the Polynesian – have been engaged in their own diplomacy and relationship building, quite separate from this dominant discourse. Our re-remembering of the demonym's connotational breadth thus begins with locating not only the people, but the various places, to which it belongs.

Māori in the New Zealand beyond Aotearoa

The presence of the New Zealand nation-state is hard to miss in the Cook Islands. If it isn't the more formal and inherited governance structure of the Westminster system and its related bureaucratic structures, then the number of New Zealand tourists that frequent the Cook Islands and returning second, third and fourth generation Māori make New Zealand persistently familiar. Up until the COVID-19 global pandemic of

2020, the New Zealand tourist numbers and the expatriate community on Rarotonga made it hard to forget that the Cook Islands was once a bona fide colony. Of course, there are other older reminders of our relationship with Aotearoa New Zealand too. Scattered throughout the home islands, stories, carvings, buildings, plaques and gifted land provide meaningful access – portals enabling re-remembering – to the shared genealogies of Māori peoples. These discursive retellings, physical commemorations and exchanges represent hospitality and belonging, and are powerful praxes of ‘akapapa‘anga. Unless one peers through this Māori lens, however, these praxes animating Māori-Māori relations are easily rendered invisible.

On the eastern side of Rarotonga, in the district known as Takitumu vaka, the Avana stream lets out into the Muri lagoon and Ngatangiia harbour. It is a stunning part of the island. Its waters and the motu (small islands) that occupy the lagoon are frequented often by tourists and locals who marvel at its beauty. There are many stories of this natural harbour in the great chronicles of founding and eponymous ancestors who travelled, stayed and departed from Rarotonga over millenia (M. T. Crocombe, 1964; Kloosterman, 1976; Manuiri) and these traditions are shared in varying interpretations by all Māori peoples. Ngatangiia is both location and resting place for the great vaka traditions that trace the antiquity of Aotearoa Māori, as well as the great architects of Rarotonga’s society that we know today.

Figure 3: From behind the commemorative stones of the vaka, looking out to the break in the reef, Ngatangiia Harbour in Tākitumu Vaka District, Rarotonga (2020).

At the northern end of Ngatangiia there is now a small picnic area surrounded by toa (ironwood) trees and near the roadside there is a "Garden of Seven Stones" with a plaque commemorating the departure of the seven great vaka that carried some of the

Figure 4: Named the "garden of seven stones", the stones and plaque commemorate the departure of vaka for Aotearoa and acknowledges the genealogical connections of Māori peoples.

first voyaging Māori ancestors to Aotearoa: Takitumu, Tokomaru, Kurahaupō, Aotea,

Tainui, Te Arawa and Mataatua. It is one of the most visited sites by Aotearoa Māori visiting Rarotonga for the first time, a place that contextualises a juncture in the voyaging traditions of Māori, traditions that themselves represent the ways papa'anga stretches across both spatial and temporal planes.

A further contemporary example can also be found in Avarua in an area once called Constitution Park[62]. This complex incorporates buildings comprising schools, a national auditorium, training centres, libraries, museums and large hostels. The hostels were established by communities from the pā 'enua and are used for visiting relations, travelling dance and sports teams, and short to medium-term accommodation. There are hostels for each of the outer islands' peoples. Located nearby is the Aotearoa Marae of Rarotonga, established in 1982 on land gifted by Vakātini Ariki[63] (one of the three major ariki titles in the capital of Avarua) and managed by the Aotearoa Society (R. Crocombe, 1992a). The Society is largely made up of those with strong Aotearoa Māori papa'anga and was established to serve Māori from Aotearoa New Zealand who were visiting or residing in Rarotonga.

The Aotearoa Society hostel is designed in the style of the conventional whare puni. The area surrounding the building has a large marae atea out the front with an open communal area taking the majority of the space inside the house for sleeping and wānanga. It also has a large style wharekai (dining room) and kāuta (kitchen) for hosting large groups like kura kaupapa and whare kura students (Aotearoa Māori-medium schools) who need to be housed when they visit the island from Aotearoa New Zealand. This spatial composition is characteristically Aotearoa Māori in its design and follows many conventions of traditional marae complexes in Aotearoa. For

[62] The land was referred to as Constitution Park when it was gifted by Vakātini Ariki, one of the three Ariki in the area of Avarua making up the tripartite Makea Ariki title. The park was to be used as a national convention area and stadium, a space where Māori people could gather for various public celebrations. At the time of gifting, it was named for the premiere national gathering: the constitution celebration, an annual event marking the Cook Islands' move to self-governance in free-association with New Zealand in 1965.

[63] Though I attempted to contact the Aotearoa Society in writing for a fuller narrative of the site at Constitution Park, and the circumstances of the gifted land, I did not receive any reply. Ron Crocombe makes brief mention of the Society and Aotearoa hostel being a part of the complex on the land gifted by Vakātini Ariki but it is not an extensive account (R. Crocombe, 1992b, 1992c).

Cook Islands Māori people, traditional marae are very different spaces. Well-known Aotearoa and Cook Islands Māori artist and scholar, Eruera (Ted) Nia (2010), described marae in the tradition of Rarotonga as "A ceremonial stone structure or formation owned by a [chiefly] title" (Nia, 2010). Many of these structures are dotted around the islands of the Cooks group and were used for ceremonial rites and other sacred practices in the pre-Christian era. Though some are maintained for tribal investitures today, others have been lost to the island environments they came from.[64] It is important to higlight these distinctions as a concept like a marae, which exists across different Māori peoples, can be easily conflated.

Figure 5: The Aotearoa hostel in Avarua, on land gifted by Vakatini Makea Ariki, one of the paramount chiefs in Te Au o Tonga Vaka, Rarotonga.

[64] In his book, *Ancestral voices from Mangaia: a history of ancient gods and chiefs* (2009), Michael Reilly notes missing marae on Mangaia that were once mapped but can now no longer be found. Local people are determined they still exist, but as yet have not been reconciled against the early maps of missionary William Wyatt Gill who was considered a very knowledgeable outsider of Mangaia's topography and genealogical structures.

The political, social and cultural context underlying the establishment of the hostels in Rarotonga is complex. They represent the awkwardness and inequities of postcolonial nation-building, as well as the importance of 'akapapa'anga as a practice that facilitates new relationship building and genealogical intersections. As I have indicated thus far, 'akapapa'anga is not only about relationships with people but also the sacred relationship that Māori have with the 'enua which are included in the broader relational network of our people. Accordingly, not all Māori are equal when they stand on Rarotonga, given not all Māori people belong to the 'enua there per se. Like Paterson's argument for the ongoing tension between tribal identities and the collective political and ethnic identity of Māori in the New Zealand context, the politics of land tenure and papa'anga on Rarotonga is obscured in the contemporary discourse and politics of the nation-state. Unless 'akapapa'anga is engaged meaningfully by Māori through gifting, adoption or marriage, it is near impossible for those with exlusive papa'anga to other islands to be considered land*owners* as stipulated by 'akapapa'anga and the law. Though it is now possible to buy occupation and lease rights on Rarotonga – a legal contract whereby one can buy rights to either occupy or possess land exclusively for no longer than 60 years – these rights are not in perpetuity and must return to the original landowners and their families unless these contracts are negotiated and renewed. Other issues, like the size of Rarotonga (67km^2, almost half the size of Waiheke Island, where my grandparents settled when they left the Cook Islands), and its role as a governmental, economic and administrative centre for the nation, makes it a highly desirable location for all Māori of the Cook Islands and more recently, those New Zealand citizens (Aotearoa Māori and otherwise) with the money and interest to try life on a tropical island.

The tourism industry, and the exotic imagination it is built on, is an important layer that rests atop of Māori-Māori engagement. For Cook Islands Māori, tourism permeates many parts of local life on Rarotonga, and to a lesser extent, the economic life of the pā enua, Aitutaki in particular. It dominates the Cook Islands economy and is the primary purveyor of its national wealth. With that comes a brand that capitalises on the popular imagination of passive Polynesians, sexually and economically

available to the fancies of holiday-makers. It would be naive to think that Aotearoa Māori are entirely divorced from perpetuating that imagined discourse or that they are not a part of romanticising the Cook Islands Māori culture and way of life too. Aotearoa Māori come searching for their tourists holiday *and* their ancestral roots in equal measure, sometimes glossing the nuance, detail and papa'anga of their Cook Islands Māori kin unknowingly. The messiness of a shared colonising power and distinct colonising trajectories thus demand a consciousness of genealogies that cuts through the political economies of tourism and its various negative impacts on the environmental, cultural and social fabric of Māori-Māori relations.

In this context, the placement and presence of gifted and genealogically narrated sites on Rarotonga are important reminders of the complex genealogical relationships between Māori. As papa'anga has been (re)established, other communities (like Niue residents who have genealogical connections to the island of Pukapuka, discussed briefly in the following chapter) have also been granted land and fundraising support to establish their own hostels. The commemoration of the great voyaging vaka that has come to symbolise Pacific connections for Aotearoa Māori is highly visible in the Cook Islands and importantly acknowledged with these sites. The genealogies that authorise and give meaning to these sites stretch beyond the colonial period, with relations drawn to 'enua embodying what might be considered secretariates of kinship. It is important to underscore the fact, for example, that the Aotearoa Society was provided land to establish a building alongside the other pā 'enua hostels. The Aotearoa marae project would not have been possible without the express acknowledgement of Aotearoa Māori as kin by the people of Rarotonga, enabling the subsequent gifting of land as a metaphorical hitching post to which Aotearoa Māori have access, vindicated through papa'anga.

It is important, as well, to emphasise how current this practice of 'akapapa'anga is in the ongoing navigation of the relational space between Māori peoples. As recently as 2019, the people of Ngāti Kamire, a tribe of the island of Aitutaki, announced that they would look to gift land to their relation, the Aotearoa Māori King, Tūheitia Potatau Te Wherowhero VII also known as Kīngi Tūheitia Paki. This gifting was to honour their

shared papa'anga by way of their common ancestor, Tai-Te-Atainui o Iva. This piece of land would be available for Tūheitia to return to with his whānau, wider relations and subjects (Clarke-Mamanu, 2019). Much like Rarotonga, the current (and overlapping) economic and political context, and the cultural tenets of Aitutaki, make land highly valuable and it is carefully managed by the people of Aitutaki. Its gifting to Tūheitia is therefore an important recognition of shared papa'anga, a leveraging of its relational power in potentia for both groups.

The power of 'akapapa'anga in the context of land tenure, and indeed every other social and cultural norm that derives from and overlaps with it, cannot be overstated. A comprehensive, historical account of how land tenure came to be established through the original chiefly titles and ancestors of Rarotonga (and other islands) is given by the late Professor Ron Crocombe in his PhD thesis "Land Tenure in the Cook Islands" (1961b), his subsequent book publication (1971) and his entire oeuvre and I do not venture to repeat his examinations here. However, his work does align with the context I describe. Crocombe is clear about the centrality of land tenure to the very fabric of Rarotonga and Māori society. Moreover, the historical narratives of discovery, conquest, visitation and usage of these lands have been structured by way of 'akapapa'anga since time immemorial. As discussed by Sobel-Read (2012) in his doctoral thesis, land tenure, and thus 'akapapa'anga, remain at the core of Māori subjectivities and perspectives of sovereignty and are further evidenced in the arbitration of these principles by way of, and enshrined in, current government machinery and legislation.

Both of these examples provide strong evidence of Māori relations in the home islands, underscored by the relational logic of 'akapapa'anga, and indicate how animation of those relationships is ongoing. However, geopolitical, historical and economic discourse is still overwhelmingly dominated by the relationship between Māori and the New Zealand nation-state. To deny the modern importance of this constitutional relationship is impossible and imprudent but other relationships must nonetheless be foregrounded if we are to regain a clearer sense of a decolonial or indeed, sovereign future. While citizenship offers access to a stronger economy and

the social services it also provides, this status clearly offers little in the context of the sustenance the ‘enua can provide Māori peoples in perpetuity *if* we familiarise ourselves with our respective papa‘anga. As in the case of Aoteaora Māori, their clear relational and genealogical connections to Cook Islands Māori circumvent the formal bureaucratic and colonial systems governed by New Zealand and Western-centric rules and laws. It is part of the milieu contextualising the forthcoming arguments I make for how productive Māori relationality can be. The genealogical relationship between plural Māori peoples functions with protocols entirely different from the administrative practices inherited from colonial projects. ‘Akapapa‘anga, I argue, allows articulations and definitions of Māori cultures, and the Māori demonym, to function in a contrapuntal harmony that moves past the ignorances of colonial ruptures and boundaries in our modern contexts.

Māori in Aoteaora New Zealand

Māori have been sojourning and settling in New Zealand-proper for generations. I could rehearse the well-known post-World War II narrative in detail here but it has been writtten about exhaustively by others (mentioned in almost every academic thesis on the Cook Islands in the last decade) and this one-way movement during a specific part of the Pacific region’s (post)colonial history (1950s onwards) is a dominant discourse that obscures the rich parallel relationships that have developed between indigenous Pacific peoples and Māori, as discussed by Banivanua-Mar and Te Punga Somerville and as shown in the brief examples above. Māori-Māori relationships are not only much older than the contemporary mass-migration story, but have been honoured and incited by Māori beyond and during that narrative. Admittedly, it is likely there was a mutual recognition of one another as Māori *tangata* rather than separate Māori nations in our ancestral memories. As indicated earlier, the prominence of tribal and genealogical affiliation (as suggested by Paterson (2010)) would have been primary identifiers for Māori of the Cook Islands too. Accordingly, their meaning and practice would have been undertaken through complex and sophisticated acts of ‘akapapa‘anga.

Throughout the oral and performance narratives of many Aotearoa Māori, connections with Cook Islands Māori have been commemorated variously. These examples are too numerous to list here; however, two related examples will help contextualise the transcript analysis I do in the final section of this chapter. In 2009, Kingi Kiriona, a well-known composer and exponent of kapahaka with the Tainui kapa (performance group) Te Iti Kahurangi wrote "Te Hono ki Rarotonga", a waiata (song) accompanying the whakaeke (extrance section) of the group's bracket during the national kapahaka competition, Te Matatini, in 2010-11[65]. The waiata is a clear homage to the papa'anga of Tainui peoples and the wider Eastern Polynesian region, in particular, Araura/Utataki/Aitutaki and our shared Hawaiki/Avaiki. The performers begin by calling, "Tūrou! Tūrou! E noho ana i te toka ki Ngātangiia e / Te iringa tēnā o Tainui e / i te Moana nui a Kiwa" [Welcome! Welcome! / Here I sit at the isthmus of Ngātangiia / Landing place of the Tainui canoe / In the heart of the Pacific" (Kiriona, 2009). Kiriona's adept composition incorporates the traditional style of the Māori and Eastern Polynesian 'ūtē[66] and īmene tuki. The rhythmic grunts (tuki) of the men and the high-pitched harmonies of the female voices imitated the beats of the 'oe (paddle), thrust into the Ocean and propelling ancient ancestors across the relational spaces between our 'enua.

For another Aotearoa iwi, these relational papa'anga also flourish at a marae of the same name – Te Hono ki Rarotonga – at Tokomaru Bay, an hour drive up the coast from Gisborne on the East Coast of New Zealand. In 1934, a wharenui was built there under the leadership of distinguished Aotearoa Māori, cousins and politicians of the

[65] Te Matatini takes place biennially in New Zealand. The period indicates both the regional competition that took place in 2010 and the subsequent national competition that took place in 2011 in Te Tai Rāwhiti.

[66] Traditional 'ūtē are celebratory songs sung by men and women when in a festive mood, "usually a song with marked four-beat rhythm, often with narrative or love interest, or composed to commemorate some event" (Bambridge, 2016). Jean Mason and Sonny Williams (2013) write in their article, "Tāmataora: the Performing Arts", that "Ute today is different from that of 30 to 40 years ago. According to older Rarotongan exponents of ute, the modern ute incorporates more of the elements commonly associated with 'imene tuki...This they blame on the loss of contact with the art for a period of over 20 years when a church ban was in place" (p. 32). Mason writes that there are few now who know the intricacies of traditional 'ūtē composition. Now, the main place for the performance of traditional 'ūtē is on the festival stage.

time, Wiremu Pōtae and Sir Apirana Ngata. In 1930, Pōtae and Ngata sent a tono (invitation) to the ariki of Rarotonga to attend the opening of the wharenui. The building was to represent the joined papa'anga of the Te Whānau a Ruataupare hapū and the larger kinship group of Ngāti Porou iwi to the people of Rarotonga via ancestors such as Paikea.[67] The then Makea Tinirau Ariki opened the wharenui in 1934 and named its side entrance Te Au ki Tonga. In his special episode for Pacific panel and current affairs show, *Tagata Pasifika*, renowned Cook Islands Māori journalist, John Utanga, had translated this as "embracing loved ones to the south" (*Tagata Pasifika*, 2009a).

Utanga's story was prompted by the 75th jubilee of the whare's opening in 2009. Similar to the tono sent in 1934, an invitation was sent to Pā Ariki by Te Whānau a Ruataupare, and she then passed it on to her peers. Surprisingly, all the ariki of Rarotonga and many of their mata'iapo accepted the invitation. Many Cook Islands Māori people residing in New Zealand also attended. Rarotonga has six ariki along with their various mata'iapo and rangatira, and all fulfil multiple roles including family commitments, day jobs and community roles, making their collective attendance outside of the ipukarea notable. One of the larger pā 'enua groups to attend were from Ma'uke, their leaders taking the opportunity to reconnect with their Ngāti Porou cousins and educate their young people about their relations through the ancestor Paikea. In Utanga's story, numerous well-known Aotearoa Māori, including the late Parekura Horomia and Selwyn Parata, commented on the significance of maintaining a relationship with Cook Islands Māori kin, especially as it had started to

[67] Popularly known by way of the novel, *The Whale Rider* (1987) written by Witi Ihimaera and made into a film in 2002, Paikea (also known as Kahutia-te-rangi in Aoteaora Māori whakapapa) undertook many feats from which Māori peoples fashion their identities. Paikea is also a key ancestor of Ma'uke, discussed later in this chapter. Known as a fisherman, Paikea was swept out to see as his wife, Kea, waited for him on the shore. Though he did not return, Kea would not leave and died waiting for him on the northern side of Ma'uke at what is known as Araiti Cove. It is a site often frequented by tourists now. For Māori, he is a foundational ancestor of the Ngāti Konohi people at Whāngārā, where Paikea first landed in Aotearoa, and as I go on to describe in this chapter, he is a common ancestor through which the Māori of Ma'uke, Whāngārā and Tokomaru Bay can trace connection to one another in their shared papa'anga (Cook Islands Tourism; Creative New Zealand, Te Waka Toi New Zealand, & Cook Islands Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 1993; A.-L. Siikala, 2019).

wane in the intervening years since their people had visited Rarotonga in 1977[68]. Utanga's story had captured the wonder and commitment of young Rarotonga and Ma'uke peoples, as well as the satisfaction and hopes of Rarotonga elders and traditional leaders for the next generation.

In 2019, a school group from Hatea-A-Rangi School in Tokomaru Bay made the journey to Rarotonga, timed with constitution celebrations ("A hikoi of heritage," 2019). They stayed at the Aotearoa Society Hostel. The principal of the school, Karla Kohatu, was interviewed by Cook Islands News about the itinerary for the group and the purpose of the group's trip. Like many other Māori travelling to Rarotonga to retrace ancestral connections, Kohatu expressed the importance of teaching, remembering and animating shared papa'anga between her people and descendants of Paikea, declaring,

> Our wharenui at Pakirikiri Marae in Tokomaru Bay is called Te Hono ki Rarotonga and so it is essential our tamariki and whanau touch, breathe and feel the land of our tipuna. Our wharenui also has a section called Ruatepupuke and another section is called Te Au ki Tonga...This is about strengthening relationships, whakapapa, reo and tikanga. The navigational stories are also driving this trip...We want to make sure our tamariki, staff and whanau gain a better understanding of where we come from and how our tipuna got to Aotearoa. We want to dismiss the myth of drift theory or landing here by accident. ("A hikoi of heritage," 2019)

Kohatu's emphasis on the need for Aotearoa Māori at Tokomaru to experience the place of ancestors, and more, to foster "...a better understanding of where [Aotearoa Māori] come from and how [their] tipuna got to Aotearoa" disrupts any straightforward relational negotiation between two distinct nations, indigenous state or otherwise.

[68] In 1977, Aotearoa Māori descendants took up the invitation extended by Makea Tinirau in 1934 at the opening of marae to visit Rarotonga where they were hosted by kin (Tagata Pasifika, 2009c).

These examples in Aotearoa New Zealand, or New Zealand-proper, support Te Punga Somerville's appeal for re-remembering, a commitment to digging into the mutual strategies for solidarity that have been built by Māori peoples over many generations, notwithstanding the dominance of the New Zealand nation-state that we have become used to centring. Ancestral papa'anga like that represented in the ancestor Paikea or even Tainui, are more than celebrations of mythological narratives. They contextualise and give meaning to relationships that are, as Te Punga Somerville argued, timeless, ready to be called upon through the practice of 'akapapa'anga at a moment's notice. The building of houses and anniversary gatherings are but one powerful example of how Māori tend to these relationships. This becomes important when the younger and forthcoming generations of leaders are taken to these lands with their legacies repeated aloud, creating a double narration of their identities and subjectivities through identifying shared ancestors and ancestral places in the extensive repertoire of their respective tribal and familial chants, dance choreographies and styles, and the kōrero[69] shared by elders. It is a process of realising themselves and their relations, of warming the space between. While it may seem an encounter between 'them' and 'us', New Zealand Māori and Cook Islands Māori, these practices of 'akapapa'anga allow the invocation of ancestral legacies like Paikea (and others like him) to be called forth for such occasions, recalibrating perceived disjunctures in our modern contexts and re-remembering our relational coalitions and the potential of the community it allows.

Ongoing connections and contrapuntal harmonies

> I always include New Zealand in my story because that was my home for 30 years so yes, that was the home – the first part of my life – and

[69] In Cook Islands Māori language varieties, kōrero can refer to histories or historical narratives usually held by tumu kōrero. It infers histories that are held in the fluid, collective memory of tumu kōrero, their inheritors and future generations, a shared repository animated in the purposeful remembering of papa'anga through various acts of 'akapapa'anga.

> this [Rarotonga, Cook Islands] is my home for the next or rest of my life. Yeah. Yeah. You can't take one without the other. (Interview 23/7)

During conversations with participants during my fieldwork there was a recurrence of stories from interviewees who had built strong relationships with Aotearoa Māori communities in New Zealand. As I have drawn attention to, it is unusual for Māori to *not* have spent at least part of their lives living in New Zealand (and/or Australia in the most recent decade). Unlike the other "discourse dominant" Pacific populations of Samoa and Tonga, and even perhaps more than the other communities of the Realm nations, Māori have been traversing the Ocean and building a discernible presence beyond the urbanscape of New Zealand's cities. Though Māori have long made up significant numbers of Pacific populations in New Zealand's major centres, they have also articulated themselves in rural locations as well, including Tokoroa, Invercargill, Pōrangahau, Ashburton and others I have no doubt missed. The reasons for this emanate from the post-World War II period but the endurance of their presence in these places is about 'akapapa'anga and the relationships that have been built between places and peoples.

In 2019, Māori linguist, Dr Akevai Nicholas described her experience with Aotearoa Māori when she was asked to participate in the *Vocal Fries* podcast, a show self-described as "the podcast about linguistic discrimination" (Figueroa & Gillon, 2019). Nicholas has papa'anga to Ma'uke through her mother, and for the American-based hosts of the podcast show, Nicholas explained where her ancestral language was located in the ethnoliguistic map of eastern Polynesia. She explained a language and peoples who were profoundly shaped by the pervasive colonial project I have referred to throughout this thesis and elucidated the invisibility of Cook Islands Māori people in New Zealand's public discourse, highlighting the near 50 year difference in migration of our people to New Zealand-proper in comparison with the more "discourse dominant" Pacific populations of Samoa and Tonga. She explained how, over time, assimilation and intellectual and cultural neglect from the New Zealand government had made her people socially, culturally and linguistically vulnerable. She also described how her reiteration of the significant Cook Islands Māori

population (until the recent 2018 census numbers, Cook Islands Māori people had been the second largest Pacific community in New Zealand) during her public speaking engagements had become a "'did you know' shocking fact...And everybody - students, colleagues, people in the community, government workers, everybody - were surprised. Cook Islands people who are politicised...they know because they deploy this as well in their discourse but everybody else is surprised, like a good party trick – for anybody, any crowd" (Vocal Fries, 2019). Nicholas described her own language journey with her early return to Rarotonga as a young person, learning and speaking the Rarotonga variety of Māori during her school years before returning to Taranaki on the west coast of the North Island in New Zealand. Her parents enrolled her in Māori-medium education on their return and it is there that she acquired a strong competency in spoken reo Māori Aotearoa. Nicholas' participation in this podcast is concise and compelling. As the only active researcher of Māori linguistics and language varieties (with the exception of Pukapukan which is an ethnolinguistic relation of languages further to the west), her consideration of the historical social, economic and cultural impacts from New Zealand's colonial actions are key parts of her research work.

Nicholas' experience within Aotearoa Māori schooling and the community of speakers within that institution is not entirely unique. She acknowledged how fortunate she had been to have parents who gave her opportunities to learn both Māori languages, but she also gestured to the ease with which Cook Islands Māori people slid into Aotearoa Māori communities. She theorised this historical narrative as a central factor in the invisibilisation of Cook Islands Māori peoples, along with the longer period of Cook Islands Māori migration to New Zealand in comparison to other Pacific communities:

> ...that's given them lots of time to assimilate in two directions...it's getting back to the general sort of colonial cultural norms but also assimilating to New Zealand Māori cultural norms. Because they're buddies, cousins, close relations, very similar, similar language, similar cultural stuff, we get along well, a lot in common – a lot of

> Cook Island people who've lived in New Zealand-proper for a long time have been...integrated into the New Zealand Māori cultural system, so that's what they do and so – we're very invisible (Nicholas in Vocal Fries, 2019).

Admittedly, Nicholas' explanation is anecdotal. As far as I have been able to ascertain, there has been no comprehensive research into the individual and community experiences of Cook Islands Māori people and their relationship with Aotearoa Māori in New Zealand after the post-World War II migrations of the 1960s and '70s[70] beyond brief sections or mentions in academic dissertations. Nevertheless, it is clear from the stories shared with me during fieldwork for this thesis that, like Nicholas, many Cook Islands Māori in New Zealand-proper have gravitated toward relational legacies with Aotearoa Māori as they have navigated a complex cultural landscape, heavily informed by a colonial legacy, assimilationist expectations and the cultural impact of a public discourse that insists on the aggregation of Pasifika peoples.

In July 2019, Dr Sam Manuela, psychologist and lecturer at the University of Auckland with genealogical affiliations to Rarotonga, Manihiki and Atiu, presented a paper at the Cook Islands Annual Health Conference in Rarotonga. His paper outlined his current research project, an exploration of the correlation between Cook Islands Māori identity and the learning and maintenance of the Cook Islands Māori language. In the course of the post-presentation discussion, I asked Manuela whether he had considered the Cook Islands Māori people living in New Zealand who were fluent speakers and learners of reo Māori Aotearoa. My question was informed by my personal experience as a learner of reo Māori Aotearoa, and my struggle to find support and avenues for learning even basic Cook Islands Māori in a formal setting

[70] That said, other smaller projects have attempted to collect these experiences. A collection of oral histories, *Vainetini Kuki Airani: Cook Islands Women Pioneers, Early Experiences in Aotearoa -New Zealand* (2001) was put together by Teupokina Morgan, pulling together personal histories from the wave of early women migrants from the Cook Islands from the 1930s onwards. Many of the women included in that book have now passed on. In recent years, further biographic projects like those done by the Pacific panel show, *Tagata Pasifika* and New Zealand's Māori TV, have also done documentary-style stories of key Māori figures in New Zealand's public life (Tagata Pasifika, 2013b; Taha Tauiwi, 2017) and key reflections on the relationship between the Cook Islands and Aotearoa Māori (Tagata Pasifika, 2009b).

as a young person. My early (albeit brief) career in the New Zealand public sector also heightened my awareness of Cook Islands Māori people who either had strong Aotearoa Māori papa'anga, or found it both easy and intuitive to pass *as* an Aotearoa Māori person in their work places. Most striking of all, I met dozens of Cook Islands Māori in my language learning journey and my professional work with Aotearoa Māori communities, who were fluent speakers of reo Māori Aotearoa themselves. Much like Nicholas, I had been privately theorising the reasons for this and put the question to Manuela to see if he might be thinking similarly. While he had not planned for it to be an explicit exploration in his research project, he acknowledged how important Aotearoa Māori had been to the cultural resilience of Cook Islands Māori young people in New Zealand. He also expressed a gratitude to Aotearoa Māori for their hospitality and care of our people, underpinned by relational tuākana and teina responsibilities. His response resonated with me strongly.

In the course of my conversations with interview participants, there were varying examples of how perceived Māori-Māori kinship informed individual experiences with Māoridom in Aotearoa New Zealand. A daughter and father (12/9a, 20/9 Interviews) who I interviewed separately described clear articulations with local Aotearoa Māori when living in New Zealand and prior to migrating back to ancestral land on Rarotonga in their later lives. Both were born and raised in New Zealand, the father of the pair recounting his early career work as a public servant in the early '80s when there was a concerted (if not, at times, problematic) effort from the New Zealand public service to begin meaningfully acknowledging the Treaty obligations of the Crown in the day-to-day work of public administration. Cultural competency courses began to proliferate and through this experience he explained, "I just knew that...I can be really good here [in the area of Māori cultural competencies]...I felt really comfortable with being on a marae and learning about the cultural things that are involved" (Interview 20/9). He later went on to teacher's college where he majored in Māori language and came under the tutelage of prominent Māori teachers like Amster Reedy and Tipene O'Regan:

> I think about it now and you think about those brown faces and you think about academia and how academically in-tune they were, that was more...encouragement for me to pursue it a bit more and so from there, I did do Māori as a major. One of the other things I did learn from there was that even though I was leaning more towards Māori language at teachers college, they were very quick to put me in my place as well, not being of Māori – not being a Māori – being a Cook Island Māori... And from that Māori education I think came the whole enlightenment about who I was as a Cook Island Māori and I knew I could...feel comfortable in a New Zealand Māori context but more and more, I was seeing myself as being drawn towards who I was as a Cook Islander. (Interview 20/9)

The participant's involvement with Aotearoa Māori kaupapa (topics and initiatives) is only briefly described with these excerpts from our conversation, but the impact of this intersection with Māori knowledge echoes across the parallel stories of his cultural subjectivities and the experiential inheritance passed on to his daughter. I do not want to overstate or embellish the personal stakes for this family; their individual involvement with varying kaupapa is highly subjective. However, my theorisations of Cook Islands Māori cultural resilience – and yes, invisibility – cannot help but hook onto the familiar feelings of kinship experienced by this family with Māori communities, particularly in a national context where the cultural and spiritual wellbeing of Cook Islands Māori is often conflated with a wider "Pasifika" discourse that aggregates peoples native to the wider region under a single "pan-Pacific" banner.

Motivated to move back to Rarotonga with their childen, the participant's daughter reflected on her childhood years and the significance of her father's involvement with Aotearoa Māori communities:

> I know that I wouldn't be who I am today if my parents had never moved here [Rarotonga] or brought us back to learn my dad's culture.

> And I feel like – it's really important eh. It's really important to know who you are and where you come from...if my parents had just kept us in New Zealand and I'd only ever known my mum's like [Pākehā] New Zealand side of things...we would be a part of the New Zealand Māori culture... So, I'm really grateful for my parents to bring us back here and actually let us grow up here and learn. (Interview 12/9a)

The assumed articulation to Aotearoa Māori culture had her family decided to stay in New Zealand suggests one of two things: that her father's professional and community involvement with Māori would have perpetuated her involvement and facilitated her assimilation into the Aotearoa Māori community, or that Aotearoa Māori culture would have been able to fulfil the missing cultural and spiritual sustenance Cook Islands Māori people lack in the wider constitutional terrain of their everyday lives. Other interviewees expressed similar experiences with Aoteaora Māori knowledge and hospitality, an experience that I (and Nicholas) interpret as an association with a cognate peoples who are also kin (12/9a, 12/9b, 20/9, 27/9, 26/8 8/8 Interiews).

The daughter's declaration, "It's really important to know who you are and where you come from" is an iterative statement that I heard time and time again during conversations and more formal interviews. Thus, the deep relevance of genealogies also felt iterative and highly discursive. The affiliation between Māori peoples seems, as Nicholas described, a cultural familiarity that is socially and spiritually intuitive for Cook Islands Māori people in a national context with scant provision for cultural markers reflecting Cook Islands Māori peoples to themselves. Thus, it seems unsurprising that the omission of nuanced understandings of our genealogical legacies and markers in the mainstream discourse of New Zealand-proper leaves Cook Islands Māori somewhat untethered, seeking anchorage with our Aotearoa Māori relations. Another māmā in her 70s who had spent much of her early life living in New Zealand expressed,

> ...lots of our people have gone the Māori pathway to get back – not to get back but to get through to this. This – Cook Islandness. Now – the Māori pathway, to me, was – it's Polynesia as well as our Polynesia is different. This [Cook Islands Māori] Polynesia is different. I came to learn that - not different – we're [Maōri peoples] the same. (Interview 26/8)

Her dialogue reminded me strongly of the question I had put to Manuela as he'd outlined the objectives of his project. As part of the identity-language relationship he proposed to explore in his research project, had he factored in the more discursive trajectories Cook Islands Māori had been taking along a "Māori pathway" *in order to* return home, as my participants had done? How much had researchers contemplated the power of Māori-Māori relationships as part of our collective story and individual trajectories? Had he considered that in finding solidarity with Aotearoa Māori, our people had also found themselves? Our much older genealogical relationships seemed to hold a potential I had suspected but been too afraid to explore further. Intellectually, trying to think past the realities of the contemporary settler context and the genealogical knowledge that remains consistently elusive, made a discussion of this kinship seem too difficult. However, much as Banivanua-Mar and Te Punga Somerville highlighted, it is through this connection that I believe we might reinvigorate not only who we are in our modern contexts but where and how we might go forward.

Living faces

In my brief discussion of current academic literature engaging relational and genealogical theory in Chapter 1, I highlighted the March 2019 issue of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (*JPS*) titled, *Te Ao Hou: Whakapapa as practical ontology* (B. Lythberg, C. McCarthy, & A. J. Salmond, 2019b). The issue focused on the intellectual work Aotearoa Māori politicians and academics, Sir Apirana Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa Sir Peter Buck, began in the early twentieth century. The articles collected in the

JPS issue looked specifically at the actions that Buck and Ngata took to commandeer the discipline of anthropology and ethnographic practice in Aotearoa New Zealand during this time. Independent researcher, Amiria Salmond (2019), described the rationale for this career-long agenda in her article "Comparing relations: Whakapapa and Genealogical Method" describing this disciplinary "take over" as an

> insist[ance] on the importance of being able to compare from within perspectives constituted by the relational fabric under study, as well as being able to look at it from different angles, objectively. Their anthropology turned, in other words, on an ability to *exchange perspectives* – to have an "inside angle" but also "to see ourselves as others see us" (Buck in Sorrenson 1986: 48, 116) – a capacity fundamental to the workings of whakapapa or Māori relatedness". (Salmond, 2019, p. 111)

Buck and especially Ngata worked to develop genealogical method into a practical ontology within the bounds of whakapapa, building on and adjusting theoretical work anthropologist W.H.R Rivers had done with Torres Strait Islanders. In her article, Salmond argues that throughout the chronology of Ngata's oeuvre, it is clear that he came to "think of whakapapa as both a method and a methodology that could facilitate people's sociocultural and economic renewal" and, along with Buck and others, whakapapa was conceptualised as a practical ontology - a collection "of conceptual frameworks, practices, institutions and infrastructures [generated] to realise new things (artefacts, systems, concepts, ways of being Māori)" (B. Lythberg, C. McCarthy, & A. Salmond, 2019a, p. 10). s has been apparent in the preceding chapters, and the modalities I proposed in Chapter 2, my theorisation of 'akapapa'anga aligns closely with Ngata's proposed practical ontology.

As I stated in Chapter 1, I was both delighted and pensive about the seeming coincidence of the *JPS* issue and the clear parallel it drew with my preliminary theorisations of 'akapapa'anga. In my initial reflections on the ability of Māori-Māori relations to illustrate the potential of 'akapapa'anga as a method, the surfacing of this

theoretical graft seemed apt and encouraging. I wondered: was this ‘akapapa‘anga at work? Were our concurrent explorations a part of Ngata’s legacy? Salmond discussed the trickiness of subjective approaches to relationality and connection, the implication of political and ontological allegiances framing such questions and perhaps the correlation I draw is simply that - coincidental. However, I choose to see an invitation by way of the theoretical door Ngata left open. Ngata’s work on whakapapa as practical ontology and genealogical method was intended for a doctoral project, which he sadly never finished. I would suggest, however, that his intellectual catch-cry for whakapapa as an applied method in the future affairs of Aotearoa Māori and the initiatives he helped facilitate, like that at Tokomaru Bay, offer plenty for this discussion.

One of the issues Ngata sought to overcome with whakapapa was the inability of anthropological and European language to capture the depth and significance of relationality in the Māori worldview (something I spoke to at the end of the section on Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand). The obfuscation that results from this linguistic discrepancy requires us to readjust our theoretical and relational register. The tuākana-teina relationship – mentioned intermittently throughout this chapter – is a strong example of this. The translation is taken to mean the relationship between older and younger siblings and it is a linchpin in the relational vā that cannot be overstated. In Chapter 2, I highlighted the work of Tongan scholar, Tēvita Ka‘ili, who stressed the importance of senior and junior lines in the constitution of the Tongan chiefly and social system. Ngata and Buck’s work corroborates this part of the Polynesian genealogical register and I illustrate the importance of tuākana-teina relationships in the following section. Below, I explore how kinship is explored discursively through the narration of that sibling relationship and how, to do so, Māori peoples recount papa‘anga as they seek meaning and mana associated with those same relationships.

In the following section I will also return to the underlying theoretical proposition I made in the previous chapter, albeit with a finer focus on the layering of narratives, rather than naming traditions per se. Salmond referred to this discursive layering as the animation of living ancestral faces, writing,

> ...a person in whakapapa is composed as a concatenation of lineages, or – to adopt an indigenous analogy – as a knot binding different descent lines and relational substance in an all-encompassing fabric of relations. As a "living face" of their ancestors, people may render those ancestors present – depending on their own mana – for instance by assuming authority to speak at formal occasions on behalf of a group of a given ancestor's descendants. Such presence is not considered partial ("fractionalised") by virtue of the multiplicity of lineages of which the person is composed, but might be thought of as non-simultaneous. (p. 119)

This non-simultanaeity is strikingly apparent in the transcript I discuss in the following and final section of this chapter. I use Salmond's framing of whakapapa, and the understandings of 'akapapa'anga in Chapter 2, to suggest that the Māori demonym, and the territories and boundaries that constitute its various definitions, are constantly being re-remembered by Māori. This produces a contrapuntal harmony that does not preclude nuanced tribal and familial specificities and exploits what connections there *are* to facilitate a continuance of 'akapapa'anga and relational solidarities. I show that 'akapapa'anga allows us to draw meaning across time and space that is meaningfully decolonial and empowering for all Māori peoples and the places to which they belong.

'Ātuikōrero[71]

In 1993, a group of cultural experts from the Cook Islands and New Zealand gathered to discuss intersections in the genealogies of the great vaka fleet that carried the first Māori ancestors to Aotearoa (Creative New Zealand et al., 1993). The workshop ran for 10 days, three of which were spent on the main island of Rarotonga where the

[71] This title has two major terms conveying its meaning: 'ātui and kōrero. 'Ātui comes from the base, tui, to sew or to thread together. Kōrero refers to stories, oral histories and inherited knowledge. 'Ātuikōrero might then be interpreted as the weaving together of narratives and stories.

group discussed the ancestral vaka that departed from Ngatangiia for their journey to Aotearoa New Zealand. The purpose of the workshop was outlined in an introduction by the late anthropologist, Kauraka Kauraka, in the full transcript of the proceedings:

> The idea [of the workshop] was to discover any connection between the families here in the Cook Islands and the New Zealand Maoris through common ancestors...It was decided at this time to have our New Zealand Maori relatives visit the Cook Islands and share with us their knowledge on some of the canoes that have sailed from the Cook Islands to Aotearoa. Local historians were also invited to come and share their knowledge on connections between our peoples. (1993, p. 4)

In the transcript that followed, those gathered discussed numerous oral narratives from their respective tribal groups and families, comparing and debating the differences and similarities of each. The transcript is unique in that there are few archival sources that record such in-depth discussion across plural Māori traditions with key knowledge-holders of their time. Moreover, it was agreed by participants early in the itinerary that everyone would be able to share their stories in their respective varieties of reo Māori.[72] The record of these two key aspects of the ʻĀtuikōrero gathering are important because it captures excellent examples of language proficiency and cultural knowledge from a generation we may never see again, or certainly not in the same way. I have acknowledged throughout this chapter

[72] I read a copy of the workshop transcript in 2017 while in Rarotonga and prior to starting this project. In 2019, I found the audio-recordings on cassette in the National Library of New Zealand catalogue and went to Katherine Mansfield Reading Room in Wellington, New Zealand to listen to them, along with the transcript copy that is stored with the audio recordings. I am a competent reader of Aotearoa Māori and have a good grasp of the Rarotonga and Atiu languages used in the transcript. I struggled with the Aitutaki, Mangaia and Manihiki varieties of the language. While some sections were easily discernible, there were several parts of the recordings that were not easy to understand. There were three main reasons for this. First, the 16 audio tapes are not in the same order as the narrative given in the transcript. Second, the transcript has numerous spelling and grammar mistakes due, I assume, to the numerous languages and the specific language skills of the Cook Islands-based transcribers at the Cook Islands' Ministry of Cultural Development. Thirdly, the audio recording is poor in parts. It seems there were a limited number of microphones and that they were stationary, making it difficult to pick up the speed of the conversation across several people.

that there are many captivating examples through which we can explore Māori-Māori relations. This transcript has not been examined or widely acknowledged for that purpose and it is pertinent to do so here.

I was not able to secure all of the required copyright permissions due to the constraints of the overall timeline of this project and the overwhelming number of contact information and permissions needed from individuals for the use of key sections from the transcript itself. I am therefore unable to quote from the transcript directly. However, discussion of the transcript and the audio recordings still offers generative ground. A copy of the full transcript can be found at the Cook Islands Library & Museum at Takamoa in Rarotonga, and copies of the audiocassettes are publicly accessible at the National Library in Wellington, New Zealand.

Knots in the papa'anga

To fulfil the purpose of the workshop, the organisers identified a group of genealogical intersections, or knots, representing, as Salmond describes, the "concatenation" of common lineages connecting Māori peoples across time and space. These knots were represented in the framing and structure of the workshop around the seven vaka previously mentioned. Participants with genealogical connections and relevant knowledge to the different vaka presented during the site visits and workshop discussions. Vaka traditions have been discussed at length in Pacific scholarship, and as noted in Chapter 2, their metaphorical potential has been used by Māori scholars in recent work too (Glasgow, 2019; Newport, 2019b). For Māori, the vaka represent more than just long-perished physical vessels. Like the district of Takitumu vaka in Rarotonga (and the other vaka districts of Puaikura and Te Au o Tonga), these vessels are themselves ancestors within the papa'anga, ocean-going islands that have facilitated the centrifugal expansion of genealogies and relationships. The vaka denote entire kinship groups, and as in the example of Rarotonga, these structures have been imprinted onto the land and into the social order, vaka berthing entire kinship groups and their relational networks at the point

of arrival. The accompanying oral narratives and traditions of vaka thus become incredibly important to the ways that we understand the transpacific nature of papa'anga for Māori peoples.

Admittedly, there are also key traditions and legacies that narrate the creation of Māori from the islands themselves and it is important I acknowledge these narratives too. There is an emphasis on the mobility of Polynesian peoples across the vastness of the ocean in Pacific Studies discourse. However, papa'anga also shows us that there are very landed notions of our creation too. There are numerous examples across the Cooks group and the tribes of Aotearoa. Mangaia, for instance, appeared in the hollow of coconut shell from the underworld that is 'Avaiki, with key ancestors already atop it; and Tongareva (also known as Penrhyn), was fished to the surface of the ocean by Vatea, "the eldest son of the great mother in Avaiki...From the time of creation the atoll had been inhabited by the descendants of the mythical Atea (Space) and Hakahotu (Coral Upgrowth)" (Kloosterman, 1976, p. 33). In Aotearoa, key tribes trace their genealogical beginnings to ancestors descendent from the land itself. Ngai Tūhoe, for example, "descend from the tipuna Tūhoe or Pōtiki who, in turn, descends from Toroa...Pōtiki the founding ancestor of Ngā Pōtiki was the result of a union between Hinepūkohurangi, the mist woman, and Te Maunga, the mountain man, giving rise to the description of Tūhoe as ngā tamariki o te kohu (children of the mist)" (Tūhoe, 2014). These narratives sit comfortably alongside the vaka sagas when viewed through the 'akapapa'anga, where Māori are both rooted and routed through and to time and space.

During the workshop, representatives from each vaka (or knot), chosen by their respective tribes and villages, stood to tell their individual papa'anga and retell narratives about the vaka and the ancestors who journeyed upon them. These were shared via rhetorical forms such as pe'e, īmene/waiata, kōrero and haka. Much as Salmond described, each speaker stood and as they began to recount their genealogical narratives, they assumed the "living face" of their ancestors, animating particular lineages as appropriate to the context and dialogue. Participants seamlessly invoked the tuākana-teina relationship throughout, implying what historian and

researcher of Mangaia, Michael Reilly, described as "a moral balance", or the relational kernel shaping the exercise of power or mana within Māori society (Reilly, 2010). Buck's more obtuse approximations noted "the importance of the status of seniority...the satisfaction to the ego in being the tuakana, in having the prestige and name, in beating the other man" (Buck in Sorrenson, 1982, 1986). Reilly and Buck's explications gesture to the ongoing negotiation of senior and junior lines, not singularly in the antecedence of papa'anga itself but in the right to exercise mana and power over, and in service to, genealogical siblings.

In discussions of the Tainui vaka's legacy, Papa Tunui, a tumu kōrero from the island of Aitutaki, recounted a visit to the Waikato region with a travelling party from the Cook Islands some years earlier. Tunui recalled one of the māmās at the time who had physically gestured to land in the vicinity of the Waikato river while on a bus with the group, proclaiming they (assumedly her family) had rights to that land. On the audio recording, the facilitator teasingly asks the Aotearoa Māori guests of the Tainui vaka to send money for their tuākana (implying the Aitutaki people) enabling them to travel to Aotearoa and build a Aotearoa Māori-style marae on their arrival. Those present are recorded laughing uproariously afterwards. The dialogue is surprising in its humour and its frankness, a humourous barb within the relational vā between siblings. This exchange affected some anxiety in me. Joking about the gifting or giving of land in Aotearoa in the context of New Zealand's colonial history would, to me, be considered bad taste. A mainstream discourse purports a bicultural foundation to contemporary New Zealand society that implicates a highly contested public dialogue about Aotearoa Māori tino rangatiratanga (often translated as sovereignty) and mana motuhake (sometimes translated to mean self-determination). However, if we foreground the tuākana-teina relationship in the context of the workshop we see an allowance for such loaded and potentially polemic dialogue to occur between kin.

Moreover, this colloquial dialogue suggests something more: a collective recognition of relation. The metaphorical power of the knot is its ability to gather genealogical lineage together, conveying the intimate relational proximities of shared narratives. At the same time, it also conceptualises divergence without ever fundamentally

breaking connection with what went before. These knots might be imagined as unending, unbroken and topographically lithe. As described by scholars Ty Tengan, Tēvita Ka'ili and Rochelle Fonoti, "cordage", or the knot, is used "as the primary symbol and embodiment of genealogical lines of connection [that] signifies the Indigenous idea that people who are connected are bound together by a single cord" (Tengan et al., 2010, p. 142). These scholars also described how the vaka becomes an extended metaphor for identity formation, showing the rooted, routed and collective nature of 'akapapa'anga between "people, place and gods" (p. 142). For the participants, these genealogical tenets were strikingly apparent in exchanges like this.

Routing relations

I have suggested that the contemporary Māori demonym has been shaped by the politics of place and the presence of the settler government. In contrast to the definitive national boundaries that have framed Māori-Māori relationships, workshop participants traced relation not by tracking Māori across boundaries, but by understanding how Māori-Māori legacies have moved through people and through time. Borders, in this conceptualisation, become trivial. Instead, 'akapapa'anga diverts our attention to how we know vaka traditions, practiced through the layering (the 'akapapa) of multiple narratives, with the idea that one continually works to triangulate their position and relative proximities to others via multiple narrative versions and perspectives. As powerfully described by Vicente Diaz and J. Kehaulani Kauanui (see Chapter 2), the navigational techniques of vaka traditions to triangulate location within the ocean is used, in principle, to locate moving relations and relationships in the ongoing negotiation and understandings of kinship. The collective enterprise of narrative sharing and formation, as so clearly represented in the dynamics and discussions of the workshop, demonstrates how the extended discussion of papa'anga versions necessarily go through iterations of consensus and debate. In the process of layering and situating, 'akapapa'anga accepts that the inexactness of papa'anga is inherent in the practice itself. Thus, genealogies and relation are constantly in a state of becoming.

As the vaka show, there are many ancestors that are shared by Māori peoples. Paikea, for example, travelled aboard the vaka Horouta and has strong affiliations to the island of Ma'uke/Akatokamanava. In some narratives, Paikea's journey began in Ma'uke. In their traditions, Paikea was descended from Uke Ariki (Creative New Zealand et al., 1993, p. 144; Tangata Pasifika, 2015) and is said, by some, to have travelled from Ma'uke to Aitutaki, on to Rarotonga and eventually, to the east coast of Aotearoa. For his descendents in Whāngārā, he arrived in Aotearoa atop a whale, as told by his descendents there. Paikea, Horouta and his whale, traversed the ocean between Rarotonga and Aotearoa once. Now, his descendents continue to traverse that same relational proximity via cultural practices represented, in one way, by the layering of genealogical narratives.

In the transcript, Raina Mata'iapo of Rarotonga, is recorded telling of how the Horouta vaka was made from the ikumanene tree (a tree not known to us today). Instructed by his grandfather, Paikea took Horouta to Rarotonga where they landed at Ngatangiia. There, a ta'unga bestowed blessings upon Paikea before he continued to Aotearoa by way of Kupe's[73] original route. Paikea, Raina said, had left 10 years prior to "the seven canoes" and the vaka Horouta had been carved in the likeness of a whale. When Paikea arrived in Whāngārā[74], he pulled the vaka onto the beach and as it shifted and bobbed in the shallow water, brushing against him, the vaka felt alive between his legs. Raina went on to describe Paikea's venturing ashore and inland and his meeting with Ina-rere-i-te-rangi, already at Whāngārā, who later became his wife. In another part of his narrative, Raina described Paikea's receipt of a gourd that he saw one day

[73] "According to some tribal narratives, Kupe was the first Polynesian to discover the islands of New Zealand. His journey there was triggered by difficulties with fishing in Hawaiki, his homeland. Apparently the problem was a great octopus belonging to Kupe's competitor, Muturangi. Kupe set out in his canoe to kill the octopus, and such was the length of the pursuit that it brought him to New Zealand. With a companion known as Ngake (or Ngahue) in another canoe called Tāwhirirangi, he pursued the creature all the way to Cook Strait (known as Raukawakawa), where it was finally destroyed" (Royal, 2005).

[74] Located on the east coast of New Zealand near the town of Gisborne in the area otherwise known as Te Tai Rāwhiti. Whāngārā was visited by Ma'ukean attendees to the 75th jubilee of Te Hono ki Rarotonga's opening at Pākirikiri marae in Tokomaru Bay once the celebrations had concluded. Attendees had wanted to re-establish links with Aotearoa Māori there and teach their young people about the part of their ancestor Paikea's journey when he arrived in Aotearoa.

floating toward the shore. Once Paikea opened it, he discovered bark from the ikumanene tree, confirming its journey from Ma'uke. On the gourd there was carved three crosses that Raina described as the messages, "Where are you grandson? How are you? When are you coming home?" In response, Paikea carved a further three crosses saying, "I am in Aotearoa, I am fine, I am not coming home". These crosses, Raina claimed, would come to be used in tukutuku panels on the walls of whare.[75]

The oral traditions of the ancestor Paikea, the vaka Horouta and his relations are too complex and numerous to explore exhaustively here; contemplations of his many legacies deserve their own dissertations. He was not the only ancestor (re)remembered during the workshop either. For example, Mokare, a tumu kōrero of Rarotonga, spent some time discussing the vaka Horouta and its name. He told of how, broken up into its parts, horo or 'oro in the Māori variety of Rarotonga, meaning to run and uta, meaning inland, referred to Paikea's escape from his wives. Derek Lardelli, a well-known cultural expert and exponent of Aotearoa Māori art forms, shared the traditions of his people at Whāngārā, refuting some of the parts of Raina's narrative and corroborating others. Mapu Taia of Ma'uke went on to describe how key ancestral names had passed through generations of Ma'ukean families, how some had been affixed to parts of the Ma'ukean landscape through the narratives of sojourning ancestors, and how the ongoing invocation of these names and ancestors in different locations and times begat ever-emergent genealogical legacies. Whether or not we are to believe any or all of these accounts, I argue that it is in the process of layering that we are able to recognise sequences of ourselves and our ancestors.

Conclusion: What kind of Māori are you?

In the communal practice of 'akapapa'anga, the conceptual contours of relation and kinship develop across expansive temporal and spatial ground. The scattered examples of oral traditions and contemporary experience seem disparate and yet, if we engage in the act of 'akapapa'anga – layering, situating and readying – what do

[75] Aotearoa Māori word for house. 'Are is the Māori equivalent.

we see? How does it reframe Māori-Māori relations and hence, the power of the New Zealand nation-state in understanding ourselves? In her doctoral thesis, Christina Newport had briefly explored the potential of Māori-Māori relations by reflecting on the *Koreromotu* covenant that was signed between the Kingitanga (Kingi Tūheitia's seat of power) and the Cook Islands government in 2015. As Newport wrote, "The convenant was an example of how Cook Islands government officials and diplomats might exercise sovereignty to create and formalise relationships that go beyond its sovereign state-defined relationship with the New Zealand government despite New Zealand trading dominance in the Cook Islands" (Newport, 2019b, p. 234). Newport, like Sobel-Read in his dissertation on sovereignty and globalisation, gave comparative reflections on the possible alternatives available to Māori peoples within current bureaucratic structures, gently circumventing constitutional norms and leveraging kinship and genealogical relations. These relations would enable Māori to mutually craft future economic and social justice projects in solidarity. However, as Newport acknowledged, the convenant's terms of reference are still bound by bureaucratic structures that ignore praxes of 'akapapa'anga; it was signed between the Cook Islands government (not the 'ui ariki or traditional leaders) and a Māori tribal authority with their interests squarely fixed on mutual economic development. I do not make an argument for whether this mutual enterprise is good or bad. Instead, I wonder whether such an arrangement, though initially based on kinship, can truly continue to function as such when key praxes of 'akapapa'anga – like the inclusion of our elders and tuākana – are not realised. Even so, the convenant is a very clear example of what is happening between, and what is possible for, Māori peoples.

The reality is we cannot completely ignore colonial cartographies and the imposition of their structural realities. Definitions of the Māori demonym will continue to cite national boundaries, and the co-constitutive effect of the state in its meaning. Indeed, we must acknowledge that its incarnation *as* a demonym is generated from this structual milieu. This is, after all, the nature of 'akapapa'anga too; cultural articulations and continual growth are its ever-developing aesthetic. What 'akapapa'anga can help us to do, however, is locate and lift our genealogies above the

colonial and bureauractic structures that have become so overwhelmingly normative. They not only make our specificities and richness invisible, we also forget our papa'anga and sequences of ourselves in the process. Through undertaking a process of re-remembering in this chapter, I have found our people routed across a much more expansive temporal and spatial territory, necessarily trascending home island borders or, in another way, collapsing them completely in order to traverse the space between people and places in vaka that ground and mobilise us. While in one sense Māori people might be regarded as invisible if we focus on a discourse of deficit, Salmond reminds us that 'akapapa'anga enables us to recognise "living faces" in various locations and in various moments, constituting relation among all Māori in a way that draws power from an emergent and inherited mana, not relatively recent colonial histories and cartographies.

'Akapapa'anga focuses on the processes of genealogical growth rather than the incidental and often divergent lineages that result. Genealogical method, I argue, enables us to understand the Māori demonym as a site of mutual recognition and therein, kinship. In Mason's poem, the tukutuku panels may or may not have been messages between Paikea and his grandfather, but in my own enactment of 'akapapa'anga – the crafting of this chapter and wider thesis – I was surprised to find Paikea woven throughout my contemplations. Of course, even though Mason did not know it to answer the Pākehā woman at the Auckland museum, her ancestor Paikea had, in one narrative, given the tukutuku panels their meaning except, this is not how Mason knew herself or her ancestor. This alludes to how important communal practices of 'akapapa'anga are. Ngata sought to establish the wharenui at Tokomaru Bay in 1934 as a place that perpetually re-remembers the ancestor Paikea, his descendents, and his many legacies that stretch across the eastern Pacific. Utanga captured the growth of that papa'anga in his story when the 'ui ariki, and the people of Ma'uke, arrived in Tokomaru again and bought their young people to re-remember their relations, and therefore their identities, 75 years later. The living face of Paikea has been seen many times and will continue to be called forth.

Mason prompted many questions that underpin this chapter, and it is only as I have explored these disparate examples and re-read (re-remembered) the poem, that I found myself marvelling at how nascent the recognition of kinship for Māori peoples is and has always been, and how ‘akapapa‘anga enables Māori to reclaim the demonym anew. The question “what kind of Māori are you?” therefore seems inadequate, a preoccupation with fractionalising, bordering and defining rather than inquiring into *how one can know* themselves. The omission or invisibility that seems so marked in the mainstream discourse seems so because the colonial project and the nation-state (defined by principles like Westphalian sovereignty) is obsessed with territoriality, definition and exactness. The power of the vaka in this case then, is its capacity to take us beyond those temporal and spatial planes.

Rima: Ka ‘aere koe ki ‘ea?

> ...there’s somewhere every single Cook Islander in the world [has] a square metre of land – whether it’s physical land or the land where they understand who they are – that belongs to them – it’s here. This [the Cook Islands] is the spiritual place. (Interview 17/8)

When I began writing this chapter I’d just returned to the Cook Islands to finish off the major drafting of this thesis and to get final references and citations in the Cook Islands Library and Museum. I had planned to live in Rarotonga for five months to complete this work, with a brief trip to Australia to present some of it at the Australian Association for Pacific Studies conference in Melbourne. This interim trip would have been a welcome opportunity to present my research and network with colleagues, but it would also serve a duller purpose: breaking up the visa conditions of my New Zealand passport that allows me to stay in the Cook Islands for 90 days. By the end of my first month in Rarotonga the COVID-19 pandemic had well and truly halted international travel and the conference was subsequently postponed for the following year. I was then left to problem-solve how I would be able to avoid returning to New Zealand and footing the bill for something that seemed, given my papa‘anga, ridiculous. The New Zealand Realm is a geography that is visualised as an abitrary line around seemingly disparate Pacific islands on a map but it is reified in moments like this. In one sense, the dominant discourse frames the relationship between New Zealand and the Cook Islands as an inclusive one, an expansion of colonial borders and privileges to so-called remote islands. In this moment, however, it seemed ironic that I was having to figure out how to leave a place that literally defines me in order to satisfy the conditions of a bi-lateral arrangement between nation-states.

For those who can prove that their parents were born in the Cook Islands and/or that their grandparents were Cook Islanders and born there, it is possible to have your New Zealand passport stamped, declaring your free right of entryand right to remain in the Cook Islands indefinitely. This stamp is equivalent to a kind of Cook Islands citizenship and is relatively easy to obtain if your papa‘anga can be traced through the

bureaucratic system, using the registration of births, deaths and marriages, and the genealogical records that can be found in the land court in Rarotonga if there are any discrepencies with birth certificates. For many Māori who were born outside of the home islands but want to return to the Cook Islands to live and work, papa'anga and the practice of 'akapapa'anga are crucial to this process. Birth certificates must clearly show your parents and their certificates must list their birthplace in the Cook Islands. If names have changed over time, one must provide evidence of name change, for example, adoption papers or marriage certificates. This can become an expensive exercise.

In my case, my mother had not entered my father's name onto my birth certificate. Though I have not met him and do not have any relationship with him, I know (as do many others in my relational network) that he was born on Mangaia, and though he has papa'anga to places like Ngāputoru, he is known foremost as a Mangaian person. My mother's birthplace (Atiu) *is* listed on my birth certificate but she had been adopted later, as I explained in Chapter 2. Her surname and mine come from my grandmother's papa'ā husband who legally adopted my mother when she was 8 years old. More paperwork was needed to show how my mother had acquired this name in order for the immigration officer to discern exactly where my papa'anga had tacked and to confirm that I did indeed have genealogical affiliations to the Cook Islands. After phone conversations to family and money paid to Cook Islands and New Zealand government departments for the relevant paperwork, I received the stamp in my passport in plenty of time to avoid the 90-day restriction on my visiting visa.

The stamp itself is non-descript. The immigration officer had picked the penultimate page of my passport to put it on, carefully scribing my full name (surname first) and signing it officially. It reads "POWELL, EMMA EMILY NGAKURAVARU...is a COOK ISLANDER within the meaning of the Entry, Residence and Departure Act 1971-72, with free right of Entry". On this page 49 of a 2020 issued New Zealand passport, the watermark features a topographical map of New Zealand's North, South and Stewart Islands. The stamp (a hexagon shape taking up two thirds of the page) cuts across the outline of Aotearoa New Zealand and is headed "COOK ISLANDS

IMMIGRATION". As a Māori person and scholar born outside of the Cook Islands nation, this image and the bureacratic process I undertook to obtain it, offers much to ponder over. When we meet for the first time, my people ask "Ko 'ai koe? Ko 'ai tō'ou ingoa?" and sometimes, but not always, "No 'ea mai koe?" This last question is commonly translated as "Where are you from?" or, as I have chosen to intepret it, "To where do you belong?" When we engage in the relational triangulation of papa'anga, ascertaining the 'enua to which people belong provides another relational post in the space between, another clue as to how the other person(s) might draw relation. The image of the stamp represents the epistemological tension between the bureaucratic power constituted by our colonial history and the need to know one's papa'anga. It was not lost on me that, on a New Zealand passport page, a stamp confirming what I already knew about myself was placed over the outline of a country where my grandmother had buried my 'enua (my placenta). To where do you belong? From where do you come? Indeed.

Figure 6: Image of the author's passport page with the Cook Islands Immigration stamp confirming her perpetual right for free entry into the self-governing nation of the Cook Islands. The stamp cuts across a watermark of a topographical map of New Zealand.

In the previous chapter, I explored the possibility of papa'anga as a way of redefining the place of Māori people in their broader constitutional territory by foregrounding relation to place and other indigenous peoples, folding time and space in a way that more accurately represents a Māori way of moving through the world. This chapter also ties into some of the issues I highlighted in Chapter 3, where the national project has helped to define who Māori people are in a globalising world while at the same time rendering us invisible in contexts where our relational proximities are secondary to our contemporary ethnic and national labels. These descriptions sketch an outlook where the bulk of the global Māori population will likely never be located in the home islands again. One wonders how Māori will continue to practice 'akapapa'anga and animate their ongoing relation to their ancestral soils in those so-called far-off islands as we continue to move ever outward with only intermittent return – if ever. Moreover, I'm moved to ask whether such an outlook really matters to our future building project as a people, given those like my grandmother who were able to move

into new places with new people, and continued to practice ʻakapapaʻanga in spite of that movement. After all, it seems to be, as Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal argued, the prerogative of papaʻanga to grow ever outward and so, this chapter ventures beyond the nation and the Realm with the anticipation of return.

To this point I have emphasised the potential of ʻakapapaʻanga in a Māori future-building project and in this chapter I attempt to dream beyond a nation and a colonial Realm with the logics of ʻakapapaʻanga I have explored thus far. What does a practice of ʻakapapaʻanga look like in such an endeavour? And how does its practice help us collapse the current framings of our identities and society in order to reinvigorate a Māori way of imagining our world and our futures? I begin by discussing the power of imaginaries in Pacific scholarship, before moving to imaginaries offered by Māori people interviewed during my fieldwork. I conclude with discussion of current work being undertaken by Māori people in the home islands, and the ways ʻakapapaʻanga underpins its impetus and potential success.

Imaginaries and the worlds they create

In Pacific scholarship over the last 50 years, imaginaries and poetics have been used extensively by Pacific artists, writers and scholars to theorise issues facing Pacific societies and to set new parameters for dreaming ways forward. This often begins with a revisionist exercise, followed by a re-establishment of the intellectual and physical cartographies across which Pacific people are *actually* travelling and existing. In Chapter 1, I referred to the work of Robin D.G. Kelley who examines the legacy of dreaming in the black nationalist and internationalist movements of the United States, highlighting the different ways radical dreams make room for radical hope and self-determination. In one example, Kelley discusses how even though the imagination of a black future beyond the earth may seem too much like science-fiction, the ability to draw the rough outline of what such a reality could look like opens up precious intellectual space to push beyond current, and oppressive, regimes. In the Pacific, this practice of dreaming has been fundamental to the growth of our intellectual traditions.

From the 1970s onward, orthodox development theory proliferated what Development Studies and Geography scholar, Yvonne Underhill-Sem, recently termed an "enduring process of dismissal consistent with the colonial matrix of power and knowledge" (Underhill-Sem, 2020, p. 317). In response to this, Pacific thinkers have pushed at the boundaries of these dominant imaginaries, conceptions that have left so little room for the nuance of Pacific peoples lives and implicated an outlook for Pacific nations and peoples that was relentlessly bleak: our economies would never be strong or independent, the fact of our isolation would always cause worrying depopulation of our islands and, as people moved toward metropolitan cities where their communities were minorities, cultures, and thus people, would eventually die away.

While I refer here to a metadiscourse about the region, these imagined futurities continue to pervade the economic and neoliberal engine that sets pathways forward for Pacific peoples and this includes Māori. In his article, "Framing the Islands: Knowing and Power in Changing Australia Images of 'the South Pacific'" (1997), Greg Fry describes these discourses of dependence, and the "forthright salvationist message" paired with it from nations at the rim of the Pacific, Australia in particular. His analysis focuses on the presence and purpose of cultural monoliths within the discourse, the imagery used in media to portray what he called "doomsdayism" (inevitable and perpetual dependence on richer Pacific-rim countries), the relationship between the "framers" (journalists, politicians, bureaucrats and economists) and the "frame" (doomsdayism) and, the extent and impact of professed certainty in doomsday discourse. This legacy of doomsdayism has dogged the pages of Pacific history and scholarship since the inception of Pacific studies in the post-cold war period and, despite decades of new Pacific methodologies and writings, there continues to be a discourse of belittlement and smallness that distorts Pacific subjectivities and perspectives of the region.

The reach of this intergenerational conditioning is seen in the correlations – the relationships – that we draw (or don't) in our every day lives. The persistent bickering amongst Māori and the criticisms levelled at government and one another that fill the

pages of the Cook Islands News to overflowing, the invisibility of Māori in New Zealand despite the significant size of the population there, and the incredible rate at which we are losing proficiency in our variations of Māori, all, in some way have a relationship to not only systems-wide geopolitical, historical, social and economic marginalisation, but also reflect a self-imposed doomsdayism too. One participant shared a barbed anecdote in this regard:

> It's sort of like – hey, we're all Māori here – there's only one papa'ā in the room. You know, it's no different in church. They're starting to think like that too. No different in church. You know, there's only sort of like 10 tourists in church and 200 Cook Islanders and the guy will – will go on for 15 minutes or 10 to 15 minutes preaching in English...So, it's – mindset, it's an attitude, it's...I wouldn't say eaten away – but slowly, just worked...on Cook Islands consciousness. (Interview 26/9)

It is hard to say what is "our way" and what has been imposed upon us. Perhaps we have always been a cynical, wry, nepotistic, culturally uncaring bunch. Or perhaps this is the affect of doomsday discourses, compounding and insidious as it is.

Fry's article offers a productive analytical framework through which to recognise the damaging effect of colonial narratives. The "framers" have long set the tone for understandings of the islands and their peoples in relation to one another, and to the world. Such framing pays little attention to Pacific ontologies, beliefs and how their cultural paradigms build worlds, perspectives and discourses that begin from entirely different narrative and epistemological centres. For this reason, writings like Epeli Hau'ofa's essay "Our Sea of Islands" (1994) and Albert Wendt's "Towards a New Oceania" (1976) and "Tatau-ing the Post-Colonial Body" (1996) have persisted as seminal works, fertile beds in which subsequent generations of scholars have cultivated framings that are centred in native Pacific ontologies.

In his "Towards a New Oceania" essay, Wendt uses the poetry of key writers, intellectuals and artists of the time (John Kasaipwalova, Albert Leomala, Vincent Eri,

Mildred Sope and Māori poet, Makiuti Tongia) to punctuate a Pacific condition that had largely gone unnamed in critical discourse at the time: a complex of inferiority, the dangerous precipice of internalised smallness that threatened to drown Pacific empowerment. Wendt declares:

> The chill [colonialism] continues to wound, transform, humiliate us and our cultures. Any real understanding of ourselves and our existing cultures calls for an attempt to understand colonialism and what it did and is still doing to us. This understanding would better equip us to control or exorcise it so that, in the words of the Māori poet Hone Tuwhare, *we can dream good dreams again*. (1976, p. 51)

Hau'ofa's "Our Sea of Islands" is catalysed by a similar reflection. In the framing of his seminal essay, Hau'ofa reflects on the derogatory and belittling views propagated by dominant external actors in the Pacific and how for a long time, he not only believed those discourses but also continued to propagate them in critical conversation and in the classroom. Concerned with the "lasting damage" such problematic views would reap on Pacific peoples' images of themselves, Hau'ofa discursively inverts smallness and dependence, and redraws the Pacific into the much-quoted "sea of islands". In this imaginary, the Ocean becomes the connecting place, the space of comparativity and a representation of our largesse and potential.

Subsequent Pacific writers, artists and scholars have continued to plant and (re)cultivate new and old seeds that imagine and dream their Pacific worlds beyond the belittling doomsday discourses. Much of this intellectual work is a return, but also a progression, in our ways forward. Wendt's "Tatau-ing the Post-colonial Body" reminded its readers that the significance of the Pacific body should be a site of reform and empowerment, a potential that I explored in Chapter 3. Emalani Case examines Kahiki as a place of dreaming and sanctuary that is imagined and dreamed recurrently by her and her people, a place once ancient but also excitingly new. Christina Newport's careful exploration of the vaka moana in the everyday lives of Māori people, reminds us that the region has not only been travelled by Māori and our

ancestors for generations, but also that the vaka moana has been berthed iteratively onto different ‘enua, bringing ashore the papa‘anga of our people while simultaneously anticipating continuing mobility. These writings are additions to an intellectual papa‘anga of critical imaginaries that offer us important ways to recentre our ontologies and begin future-building from a different critical vantage point. I want to emphasise how important these Pacific conceptualisations of the world and of the region are. It is easy to say that these are cultural metaphors, that we are intellectually “window dressing” the “fact” that our islands are still isolated; transport is still limited, expensive and infrequent and we must still wrestle with what Hau‘ofa referred to as the self-evacuation of Pacific peoples to greener pastures at the rim (1994, p. 29). But, as I have argued throughout this thesis, the careful contemplation and expression of these ideas possess powerful ontological and epistemological foundations on which we can narrate and remake our societal structures anew.

In 2007, a short entreaty written by the late Teresia Teaiwa was included in a collection called, *A World of Islands* (2007). The book “celebrates the wealth and scope of what islands can offer in the search for knowledge and wisdom” and in her short contribution, Teaiwa implores the audience to make the word “island” a verb. She writes,

> As a noun, its [island] so vulnerable to impinging forces. Let us turn the energy of the island inside out. Let us “island” the world!...The islanded must understand that to live long and well, they need to take care. Care for other humans, care for plants, animals, care for soil, care for water. Once islanded, humans are awakened from continental fantasies...Yes, there is a sea of islands...But let us make “island” a verb. It is a way of living that could save our lives. (2007, p. 514)

Teaiwa’s words implore readers to engage in the same world-building and future-dreaming that Hau‘ofa, Wendt and many others have been doing for over 50 years in Pacific anglophone scholarship. Implicit in the language of her appeal to readers is the power of islands and ocean – of place – as animate relations that deeply influence and

shape who Pacific people are. This isn't a call to redraw the boundary lines on Western maps of the region but to redefine the very idea and function of the map altogether. It is a call to reappropriate the discourse and more, reassures the reader that it is not beyond the ability of Pacific peoples to name and to language their own realities, territories and relationships. My discussions in Chapters 3 and 4 make Teaiwa's implicit call timely and relevant in the Māori context and I argue that 'akapapa'anga can facilitate that work in the following sections.

Boundaries and the boundless: the papa'anga doesn't stop at the reef

When we explore the genealogies of Pacific people, and indeed Māori peoples, we are able to trace their movement across the expanse of the region's geography. This tracing of movement is only possible if we are able to remember genealogical narratives, and as I demonstrated in the previous chapter with the mapping of Rarotonga by way of vaka traditions, narratives like the great voyaging sagas not only tell the stories of how our ancestors got to our home islands, but also speculate on where they were before, why they came from distant lands and the circumstances of their arrival. In the creation stories of Atiu, Mariri flew and/or paddled from the distant 'Avaiki. The island of Mangaia came into this world in the hollow of a coconut shell that *was* 'Avaiki (Kloosterman, 1976, p. 17). Tongareva, in the north, was fished from the depths of the Ocean that was 'Avaiki by the ancestor Vatea and pulled to the surface (p. 33). Each island and the peoples who belong to them have many stories of their becoming and all have multiple versions that involve different tupuna (ancestors) and atua (gods). These creation stories have persisted because, as I have reiterated throughout this thesis, they give Māori meaning. Moreover, in retelling these narratives, one not only engages in a re-examination of "traditional tales" but in dancing, singing, retelling and debating such narratives (all acts of 'akapapa'anga), Māori communally traverse spatial and temporal trajectories that ultimately build the imaginaries in which Māori exist.

During my fieldwork in 2019, I attended every night of the Te Maeva Nui festival. I love to watch Māori performance and Te Maeva Nui is a rare and exciting opportunity to hear and watch the histories and stories of our people and their islands. I am a strong supporter of the Atiu dance team who perform every year at the festival. I support them for the usual reasons of loyalty but also because it is a precious time for me to learn more about my people and therefore myself. As I described in Chapter 3, the image of the Atiu man playing Mariri and his extravagantly designed wings, was technically clever and visually arresting. It conveyed a pivotal moment of becoming in our collective identity as Atiu people. The image has stuck with me since, as has the new generation of Atiu dancers who continue to make me proud of our shared legacy. I am comfortable claiming that almost every Māori person who attends Te Maeva Nui experiences some feeling of pride as they watch on. Young students and the elderly will rise from their seats during the ʻūtē performed by their relations. They will shuffle and jive to the front of the stage and dance in conversation with the team performing. The audience is honoured and honours the performers with their dancing in response, and will often lay money and gifts at the front of the stage in thanks and with aroʻa for their teams, a reciprocity of ʻakapapaʻanga. It is difficult not to feel moved in some way when you sense the anticipation of an entire arena packed with relations who want to stand and dance as soon as the paʻu (large bass drum) is hit for the first time in the performance or when women begin to sway in unison and the first tuki (grunts) from the men begin. The teams for 2019 were strong and well-prepared but for me, even more than the Atiu dance team, I was most impressed with the Pukapukans.

The people of Pukapuka, or Te Ulu o te Watu, are a unique part of the national project that is the Cook Islands nation and their dance teams are always watched carefully and discussed at length. They have strong intergenerational language transmission and their dancers are always technically strong. The second name above references the creation story of their founding ancestor, Mataliki, who formed the atolls that Pukapukan people call home. Pukapukan people and culture have been written about extensively by papaʻā scholars, in part because of their distinct differences from the other islands of the Cook Islands nation (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1938; Borofsky,

1982; Salisbury, 2002). In his article, "Social Change in Pukapuka", Jeremy Beckett (1964) observes changes in Pukapukan society at the time of writing, pulling on the early work of Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole in the earlier twentieth century. Many of the observations he makes still remain, including the discrimination levelled at Pukapukans who came to settle in Rarotonga after Pukapuka was made a part of the Cook Islands nation. Pukapuka has been relatively isolated over the last thousand years and even when European explorers encroached on the Pacific in the nineteenth century, its isolated position and limited arable land for growing food never became attractive for settling outsiders. Despite that, the connections of Pukapukan people to other parts of the Pacific litter ethnographic work about neighbouring islands, their narratives and their papa'anga. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there is evidence and acceptance that Pukapukans had intermittent contact and influence on tau tagata Niue (Niue people), and Samoa, which is located much closer to Pukapuka than Rarotonga is (Loeb, 1926; Smith, 1983). Their distinction from other Māori is often framed by their distinct language, Leo Wale, which is much closer to languages to the west, particularly the gagana (language) of Tokelau and Samoa. Indeed, their language is almost unintelligible for most Māori speakers who grapple with their own varities of language in their cross-communications. For all the differences though, the people of Wale (a reference to the main site of dwelling and community on Pukapuka, and meaning 'home' or 'house') are incredibly proud and resilient, and maintain strong traditions.

In drawing boundaries around what a "Cook Islander" or "Cook Islands Māori" person is, then, Pukapuka prompts us to go beyond national borders and the boundaries of the constitutional Realm to necessarily consider where their papa'anga might connect them to the world beyond the reef. In his analysis of sovereignty in the Cook Islands context, Kevin Sobel-Read offered insight into more recent strategies from the Pukapukan people who are contemplating how they can capitalise on their proximity (relational and otherwise) with Samoa as an option for transport and trade in lieu of proactive options offered and facilitated by the Cook Islands government (2012, pp. 236-237). Transport from Rarotonga to Pukapuka is still infrequent; there is

one flight from Rarotonga every 6 weeks, carrying government workers, plus anyone else who can afford or fit on the plane, and that is only if there is enough fuel waiting on Pukapuka in order for the plane to return[76]. For Pukapukan people, it would make sense to offer another option for their overseas community and others wanting to travel to Wale through Samoa, which is much closer and often more affordable than travelling to Rarotonga first. Here is a compelling example of how relations and the Pukapukan world, at least for Pukapukan people, is constantly being reimagined in order to fit more comfortably with the hopes and future-building of Pukapukan society.

Wale is an obvious example but it is not the only one. Many Māori people have papa'anga that stretch across the Eastern Pacific in ways that are often ignored and sidelined in the discourse of the nation-state. These are not papa'anga lost to time. The people of Ngāputoru all remember ancestors in a near past who came from further east and these connections have continued to be animated even as language barriers of French and English-speaking descendants have had to find new ways of recognising one another in the relational network. In the late 19th century, a group of Atiu peoples settled in the southern part of Pape'ete, Tahiti where land called Patuto'a was set up to take care of Atiu people who had gone to work there. Though the land was purchased, the movement of Atiu people back and forth to Tahiti and into the Society, Austral and Tuamotu archipelagoes has been facilitated by legacies that were celebrated and acted upon right up until the height of colonisation and missionisation. Patuto'a wasn't just a suburb that happened to have a number of Atiu people living there, but was governed from Atiu with representatives from the three main Atiu tribes (Parua, Ngamaruariki and Rongomatane) who acted as proxies, managing land, food and matters of the people in line with the wishes of leaders at home (Kautai et al., 1984). This kind of governance has continued with hostels built in Tahiti, Rarotonga and Auckland to serve Atiu people where ever they might be. These Atiu

[76] The COVID-19 global pandemic has caused a severe reduction and inconsistency of flights to the outer-islands.

centres continue to provide shelter for Atiu and Māori people to this day (L. Williams, 2020).

I want to underscore how relevant these places of meaning are for Māori subjectivities. Tracing connection to these places happens on the festival stage and in the movement of a giant wingspan but is also called forth when we narrate who we are aloud. When describing his papa'anga, one participant said "I 'akapapa back from places like Samoa, Rurutu, Rarotonga, Ma'uke – even Ma'uke - I found out recently but you know, that's what 'akapapa is. 'Akapapa is wide-reaching" (Interview 20/9). Rurutu is considered part of the modern-day Austral Islands archipelago and French Polynesia. It is relatively close to the islands of Mangaia and Rarotonga[77]. Therefore, it is unsurprising that over generations of travel and exchange, there are families from Rurutu that still keep contact with their relations in Rarotonga and some, though controversial, also maintain landownership rights in the Cook Islands as well. Given my intensifying contextualisation of how precious 'enua is throughout this thesis so far, one can see how significant such connections are even though we might think them too obvious to be particularly noteworthy. Even in my own papa'anga, my staunchly Atiu family have always acknowledged our connection to Bora Bora (an island understood as part of the Society Islands and located north of Tahiti and Ra'iātea) through my great-great-grandmother, Ngakuraevaru, after whom I am named.

The controversial nature of families wishing to reclaim landownership rights in the Cook Islands after multiple generations of absence intersects with the issues of land availability on Rarotonga that I gestured to in the previous chapter, and the growing resentment of those families who stayed and maintained their relationships in the home islands, investing time, money and labour into the care of ancestral lands. This tone of resentment feels deeper with Tahitian and Paomotuan descendents who attempt to re-establish their landrights in the Cook Islands. Through the various

[77] Rurutu is much closer to Rarotonga (881km) compared to the over 2,000kms between Pukapuka and the capital. Even compared to the distance between Pukapuka and Samoa (753km), Rurutu is still very close to islands touted to be isolated. In our sea of islands, all is relative.

informal conversations I have had with Māori in the home islands during my two fieldwork blocks in the Cook Islands, I now suspect these feelings of antipathy are deepened because of divergent colonial experiences. Recognition of kin from other parts of Eastern Polynesia are increasingly shrouded as living memories and experiences are lost with passing generations. The rarity of travel by current generations to the islands of their ancestors further east is perpetuated by national borders and the awkward interlocution of visa and travel regulations between island nations.

The point I wish to make is that the papa'anga of Māori cannot and does not stop at the reef. Māori understand their relational networks beyond the discourse dominance of nation-states and constitutional boundaries. However, persistent framing from colonial legacies and the Western imagination has made the enactment of 'akapapa'anga in service to these genealogies increasingly difficult. Over the past 100 years, the expansiveness and proximity of our kin further to the west and especially the east have all but disappeared from popular imaginations of a Māori world. This has been facilitated by the dominance of French and English instutionalisation and the mutual unintelligibility of these languages for post-colonial generations. With the rapid loss of varieties of the reo Māori and reo Mā'ohi, even communicating in our ancestral languages is difficult (Heinrich, 2019). With this narrative, I do not want to argue our papa'anga have been broken. In some ways it has been obscured but not irretrievably. Instead, I propose that 'akapapa'anga can help us re-remember those Māori papa'anga, and therefore our world, in more expansive ways.

Māori imaginaries

The demonym, the national border and constitutional boundaries, as well as the wider social structures that force us to conceptually fight our way out of imposed definitions, has driven my search for new ways of thinking through and beyond these hard conceptual and institutional lines. It's part of the frustration that drives this thesis. Māori are too often framed in language and with ontological premises that do not

account for Māori ways of understanding themselves and the world, and it produces awkward fitting analytical frameworks that, with enough repetition, begins to normalise deficit. The work of the late Tracey Banivanua-Mar, *Decolonisation and the Pacific: Indigenous globalisation and the ends of empire* (2016), is striking in the ways she describes the fluidity and correspondence happening across the Pacific without diminishing the strong papa'anga of individuals, community-led initiatives and political movements of sovereignty and self-determination. Hau'ofa described this as the "world enlargment" of Pacific peoples who "have been making nonsense of all national and economic boundaries, borders that have been defined only recently, crisscrossing an ocean that had been boundless for ages before Captain Cook's apotheosis" (1994, p. 30). Similarly for Māori, and as shown in the examples of Pukapuka, Ngāputoru and Rurutu, we have been doing the same for some time as well.

This movement continues to sit awkwardly in the prominent discourses of economic and political analysis. Banivanua-Mar's work is timely and relevant as Pacific and Māori scholars attempt to make sense of contemporary trajectories without falling victim to doomsday discourses and the analytical frameworks that have long been assumed in the workings of rim, donor and colonial institutions operating in the region. In 2006, Māori researcher and development studies scholar, Evelyn Marsters, and her colleagues Nick Lewis and Wardlow Friesen, reflected on the MIRAB (migration, remittance, aid and bureaucracy) model. This economic model is used to describe and make sense of the political economies of small island nations by using this economic and political terminology as an analytical framework. In their paper, Marsters et al critique the suitability of the model's parameters in the Cook Islands context, and describe the complex mobilities of Māori people and their resources. They highlight the need to move beyond such models in order to understand the subjectivities and realities at play for Māori writing:

> ...the futures of the Cook Islands and Cook Islanders do not, and will never, map onto each other in any simple way. There may be anywhere up to a 10-fold as many Cook Islanders who identify as

> Cook Islanders and retain links beyond the Cooks as there are resident in the Cook Islands. Cook Islands lived realities are transnational. Nation and people are intricately connected by these lived realities...and they are inextricably linked because neither has too much meaning or future without the other. Building policy for the nation that recognises the structural context is the real challenge. (2006, p. 31)

Though I do not attempt an economic analysis here, I agree with their conclusion and cite their argument as a way of prising open the nature of Māori trajectories further. Their mapping of transnational trajectories incites a reframing and insists on the foregrounding of how Māori themselves perceive the spaces they and their papa'anga cross.

A Cook Islands Universe

During the early stages of my project, I came across a video of a speech given at the University of Auckland in 2015 by Cook Islands Prime Minister Henry Puna. The address was given to the Māori community in Auckland to mark the Cook Islands 50th anniversary of self-government. Earlier that month, annual constitution celebrations had been larger and more elaborate than usual, reflecting the importance of marking the half-century milestone. It drew a large-group of high-profile diplomatic visitors from New Zealand including the Prime Minister of New Zealand at the time, John Key, and his foreign ministers and department heads. As the Cook Islands Prime Minister described the speech given during the celebrations in the ipukarea he said,

> I spoke about the large Cook Islands universe and that means Cook Islanders where ever they are... There's over 80,000 of you [Māori] here in New Zealand, 15,000 back home. But people talk about depopulation as a major issue for the Cooks. It is not a new phenomenon. People wanting to leave our home land. People

> wanting to make their home somewhere else. After all, voyaging and travel is in our genes...Now there's 15,000 of us, plus 80,000 here, plus 15,000 in Australia. We have grown. (Pacific@The University of Auckland, 2015)

The speech suggests that the political (and Māori) leaders of the ipukarea are aware of their relations and peoples elsewhere. In resistence to a deficit depopulaton narrative, the Prime Minister inverts departure, reframing it as an expansionist project, and a growth of our people beyond "our home land". Though subtle, this reframing provides a critical perspective on the argument I was starting to form around the planting of umbilical cords, and therefore the carving out of our worlds, elsewhere. 'Akapapa'anga frames this movement beyond (contemporary) national boundaries, not as a displacement of indigenous others from their own ancestral soils, but as a potential that is relational and genealogised. While I won't make the argument that all Māori peoples move across new and old boundaries with the intention of making meaningful and respectful relations with all indigenous peoples elsewhere, 'akapapa'anga prompts us to consider this framing as a way that holds the *potential* for our collective (re)remembering or new, respectful relations, as we are routed through new places and 'enua.

In the two years following, my attention shifted to framings of Māori society from the perspective of Māori themselves. I became fixated on trying to theorise Māori society in a way that properly reflected how the growth and trajectories of papa'anga are exacerbated by colonisation, transnational movement and increasing globalisation. I came to realise that the rapidity of this largely imposed change also led to a forgetting of 'akapapa'anga as a crucial practice to our world-building and identity-forming practices. The consequence has been an untethering of Māori identities, setting us adrift in non-Māori social structures and ontologies despite, ironically, being carefully bordered by colonial cartographic legacies - but not irretrievably. In New Zealand's national discourse, our families in the French Pacific are often omitted from an imagination of the Pacific entirely. Current discussions amongst Pacific scholars warning of the Polynesian-centricism developing in critical indigenous and Pacific

studies focus mostly on the dominance of Samoan-Tongan and Aotearoa Māori-Hawaiian dialectics but forget, as well, the marginalisation of an expansive eastern-Pacific between Aotearoa and the Hawaiian archipelago (E. Case, 2019). In this context, Polynesian-centrisim does not include, in any significant and contemporary way, the relational proximity of kin located geographically and genealogically closer to these discourse-dominant locations and peoples. I highlight the use of the Cook Islands universe because it opens up and provides permission for rescaling our ontologies beyond the current cartographies we know. It does so by using papa'anga as the relational scale that re-remembers and populates the ostensibly empty imaginary of the Eastern Pacific.

I do note, however, that the idea of a "universe" is abstract and has an etymology that implicates multilayered discourses that include Christian ideology and other Western philosophical traditions. These implications suggest a genealogy of meaning that sits awkwardly in a Māori imagination. However, its potential lies in the extended intellectual, unbounded space it generates for *all* Māori where ever they might be located. In the description of the Māori population and their locations, it is clear that the nation-state at least (represented by and synonymous with the Cook Islands Prime Minister) is aware that national borders are an inaccurate way of capturing where we are and why we are there and why we implicate one another regardless of the nation-based paradigm. Indeed, this is one of the central issues that preoccupies current Māori scholars and this thesis: how do we understand ourselves and the places and people to which we belong, when people and even place exist beyond national boundaries?

When I put the idea of the Cook Islands universe to participants during my fieldwork, interviewees largely felt resonance with the idea. For many, it was a different way of describing something that Māori people are deeply familiar with: the knowing that what defines them is the fluidity of Māori culture, and thus people, past and present, who are their kin. Sentiments about genealogical and relational ties saturated the reflections of participants during our conversations. Many described their relation to people and place as key anchors for their view of belonging and home (Interview

11/9a, 17/8). Like the academic who had professed that "We [Māori] exist beyond [the reef]. Those relationships prevail beyond that, just like they prevail across time. Past and present" (Interview 27/9), other participants described their persistent interest in the goings on of their relations and the Māori community located in New Zealand and Australia. The Māori school teacher who spent her younger years in New Zealand explained,

> I'm always interested to see how they [Māori] do it in New Zealand...are they still being able to nurture, encourage, our Cook Island people there to still say they're Cook Islanders, and how do they do it? 'Cause sometimes I look at it, they actually do a better job than we're doing here. (Interview 11/9b)

The awareness of what is happening to and by Māori in places other than the home islands is underpinned by a cartography constituted by Māori relationships. The comments from the Māori school teacher imply her sense that the construction of Māori cultural meaning (an identity to which she is clearly articulated) is occuring elsewhere and that she has personal stakes in the success of that social enterprise. And likewise, for some this same concern is occurring in places other than the home islands. As one Māori woman, raised in New Zealand but residing for most of her life in Rarotonga declared, "[It] doesn't matter where you are in the world, you're still a Cook Islander, you're still drawn to whatever's happening back home in the Cook Islands, [even if you] don't necessarily live there" (Interview 23/7).

Of course, though many interviewees felt resonance with the idea of the Universe, there were others who were not immediately convinced (11/9b, 12/9b, 20/9, 27/9, 22/8 Interviews). In one example, I asked an interviewee who had spent his early life living in Auckland what he thought about this idea. He responded, "I just think that it's [the Cook Islands universe] something that is on the wayside...it doesn't have any impact on me, personally. So, if it doesn't have any impact on me personally, then why should I worry about it?" (Interview 26/9). Later in our interview, I asked him to describe home and he answered:

> Yeah, it's [Rarotonga] only a...3 and a half, 4 hour plane flight from Auckland...I guess I haven't sort of really thought about that. But...obviously comes in or fits into...that question you were asking about the Cook Islands universe...I mean, what it really is, is just an extension of the borders – the national borders – instead of stopping on the reef, it goes out to whatever – to Mangere or to Ōtahuhu or what have you. Yeah...I think there's that sense of- I wouldn't say belonging...And I don't know if I'm sort of saying this because you know, we have a New Zealand passport, but – what's the word – probably oneness – there's that oneness with...New Zealand. Yeah. I suppose I haven't really sort of given that – what you're sort of coming up with – I haven't really given that a lot of thought. (Interview 26/9)

Though it seems that the imaginary of a universe is clearly too new to the discourse of Māori society to be recognisable to Māori people, in the relatively short space of our interview, it had planted seeds for a reimagining of home, of the ipukarea, for this Māori person. It offered him an opportunity to invert distance and diassociation and instead, extend the parameters by which he understood himself *in relation* to a place he had spent a large period of his young life. As it had done for me, the concept of a Cook Islands universe seemed to create new space for reframing popular discourses of separation, depopulation and worrying displacement.

To be clear, I am not arguing for a Cook Islands universe as an imaginary that reflects the totality of Māori subjectivities. That would be impossible. A universe feels unwieldy and though a definition is provided as "Cook Islanders where ever they are", 'akapapa'anga can still capture this definition without incorporating the connotations of a universe that are so boundless as to be obscuring and senseless. The universe does, however, provide impetus for considering what other Māori imaginaries might be at work, as I gestured to at the end of the last section. The political leaders of the Cook Islands evidently sought new conceptual language to reflect the condition of Māori society at the 50th year milestone of self-government. It

is no surprise that Māori voyaging traditions were conjured to this end, for even as imaginaries unfold through 'akapapa'anga, we must also be able to navigate the spaces between. While the language of a boundless universe may not provide the necessary orientation for charting or navigation of a Māori imaginary, the rich work of Pacific scholars who have developed the 'sea of islands' imaginary suggests that the edges and spaces of a Māori imaginary rest in the language of more Oceanic topographies and of Māori themselves.

The reef: a compass in the relational space between

In conversation with the two participants quoted above – the Māori academic (Interview 27/9) and the Māori man who had spent his young life in Auckland (Interview 26/9) – they used an analogy that arose time and again during my conversations with other relations and in some critical discussions with colleagues – the reef. In our dialogue, the reef was used to mark the amorphous point at which papa'anga goes "beyond" the edge of the ipukarea or the home island. The coral reefs of Māori are peculiar spaces. In a literal sense, the reef is a place "outside" the island and yet it is not really a place at all. It is more of an edge. Certainly, many of the reefs that rim the 'enua in the ipukarea appear as large and jagged shelves above the Ocean and with the swing of the tides, exist in cyclical states of emergence and submergence. The reef isn't a boundary that encloses per se but it does help to create both deep and shallow lagoons from and within which Māori cultivate and harvest seafood, teach their children to swim, a place they traverse in order to fish from the edge of the reef. The lagoon is where Māori do important food-gathering, craft-making and gossip-cultivating work with their relations. These spaces are important parts of the Pacific imaginary and clearly they are a part of a Māori imagination too. But why do Māori continually express the desire to look beyond it and how does it help us to see a Māori world in its becoming?

One important way might be to understand the reef as an edge – a very dynamic edge – of a Māori imaginary. In her essay, "L(o)osing the Edge", Teresia Teaiwa uses

renderings of conceptual edges in Pacific, Native and Cultural Studies to interrogate the different edges she and other Pacific scholars have necessarily occupied, formulating their contribution to the intellectual frontiers of Pacific scholarship. In her essay, the edge becomes a conceptual place that allows shifting perspectives of Teaiwa's work, and the intellectual disciplines and relationships, places and peoples, to which she belongs. She writes,

> From the edge, the islands look restricted. Look backward. Look embarrassing...From the edge you can take what you want from the islands – the colors, the food, the memories...From the edge, the islands can sometimes look liberating. Look exciting. Look promising...Is the edge always held at the edges of the Pacific? Is it possible to have an edge in the world's largest ocean? Epeli Hau'ofa says *our edge is the ocean*. No other people had their history shaped so much by an ocean...*The ocean has the edge*. (p. 345)

Creatively composed on the page, the essay is arranged in two columns; on the left Teaiwa reflects on the various edges that occupy these different fields of study and how she has moved toward and away from these peripheries. She traces the geographic edges of the Pacific and the fields to which she has intellectual relations, mediated through scholarly and personal relationships from Fiji to Santa Cruz, California, to Hawai'i. On the right, Teaiwa rehearses a papa'anga of Pacific, Native and Cultural Studies conversations that took place at various conferences held throughout the region over almost a decade (1990-2000). Her discursive reflections on moments at these different meetings are accented by concluding phrases in each subsection that convey a narrative that fixes these moments into the aesthetic of the papa'anga. At the 1990 Pacific History Association (PHA) conference in Guam, Teaiwa meets Laura Souder and Joakim Peter: "we all went to the governor's mansion for dinner – but the pig wasn't cooked properly and was taken away before we all got sick from it". In 1991, she reflects "I cannot describe the strange thrill of discovering that Nicholas Thomas wore mismatching socks". At the 1992 PHA conference she relates the gifting of a Samoan mat to the Māori hosts at Canterbury University in

Christchurch, New Zealand, writing, "'Okusitino Mahina muttered that somehow the exchange was not equal, and someone else noted that the Samoans seemed to have a lot of hundred-year-old mats" (Teaiwa, 2001, p. 345). It is an interesting way to convey a layering of edges. Perspective reveals itself at a distance, temporal and spatial. In the seemingly one-dimensional chronology of these formative memories, Teaiwa effectively shows these iterative and nuanced gatherings of people and places as fixtures in her ever-growing intellectual papa'anga, and at the same time, emphasises how important such edges are to progression in our thinking and our relational proximities.

Figure 7: The reef with a break, on the northern side of Rarotonga, Avarua (photo courtesy of Debi Futter-Puati, July 2020)

In my research, the reef has revealed itself as a physical and narrative edge in the workings of 'akapapa'anga. It appeared in the conversations I undertook with participants but also appears multiply across the writings and reflections of Māori people (Kokaua-Balfour, 2019; Rasmussen, 1991). On Rarotonga – the official gateway into the Cook Islands nation – the reef surrounds the entire island. At any location

along Rarotonga's circumference, the near unbroken line of crashing white foam beyond the shoreline makes the differentiation between "here" and out "there" very clear. The arresting imagery and physical power that the Rarotonga reef exudes thus becomes an evocative idea on which Māori hang their iterative conditions of withdrawal and return. For those located in the ipukarea, and for Rarotonga as the proverbial gateway, the reef represents a porous boundary, a vantage point and a kind of edge in the Māori imaginary that helps make sense of our belonging and our relationality. The reef is the edge at which we pass beyond, and sometimes stand, in order to understand why the ipukarea contextualises Māori differently in comparison to locations "beyond" but doesn't break papa'anga as the Māori academic reflected on above. One of Rarotonga's ancient names, "Tumu-te-varo-varo" (used variously to this day) was defined by Kloosterman with reference to Stephen Savage, "Tumu means 'cause' or 'source'; 'varovaro' means 'continuous sound', especially 'deep, hollow, booming sounds'"(1976, p. 45). In consultation with various sources, Kloosterman suggests that this name refers to the sound of waves hitting the Rarotonga reef which one can hear as they approach the island by sea (p. 92). The reef provides the edge at which Māori make distinction between the ipukarea and elsewhere, and yet reef does not truly keep the Ocean, Māori or papa'anga out – or in.

Tei te akau roa: At the edge of Māori imaginaries

'Akapapa'anga in the time of COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic began its rampant spread across the world in early 2020. By the time I arrived in the Cook Islands in February, borders had begun to shut and by the end of March, the Cook Islands had locked down almost completely.[78] Government officials urged Māori to prepare themselves and begin practicing social

[78] As I described in Chapter 1, I returned to Rarotonga for a second fieldwork block in early 2020. This coincided with the global COVID-19 pandemic and the closure of international borders as countries attempted to prevent the spread of infection. I arrived in Rarotonga in February 2020, the Cook Islands border was closed at May 2020, and I returned to New Zealand in November 2020. New Zealand opened its border to Cook Islanders travelling from Rarotonga on Thursday 21 January 2021.

distancing measures. For the first time in living memory, Māori in Rarotonga stopped greeting each other with the customary kiss on the cheek. Families were encouraged to stay home and not visit one another until the government could be sure that the virus had not landed on the island. Though many kept a careful eye on what was happening with the "bubble" initiative implemented by the New Zealand government, Māori were not able to keep to the nuclear family arrangement. A customised version of the Māori "bubble" became a village project, where 10 puna (crisis centres) were established around Rarotonga in every tapere and 'ōire. Health professionals were assigned and stationed at each puna, established at local meeting houses and empty buildings, and began to operate as a devolution from centralised services at the single hospital and the few health clinics located predominantly on the northern side of Rarotonga. The puna leveraged localised relational and village networks and prepared accordingly; a flag system was developed where colour-coded flags were placed outside houses that were particularly vulnerable, such as those housing elderly, young children or those with pre-existing health conditions. Prescription medicines and triage processes were provided at local puna centres to restrict movement of peoples, and businesses and local organisations were given clear safety guidelines from Te Marae Ora (the Ministry of Health) for those entering their premises.

The constitution of the puna model had its beginnings in the Cook Islands' response to tuberculosis (TB) in the early twentieth century. The Cook Islands was widely lauded for its near eradication of the disease with an approach based on what Debi Futter-Puati, Linda Brider, Julie Park, Judith Littleton and Phyllis Herda call "multi-scale partnerships" (2014). There were regional and international partnerships at play (particularly with New Zealand and the South Pacific Commission) but the localised response relied on the partnerships and relationality of Māori. In their article, "Partnerships for health: Decimating tuberculosis in the Cook Islands, 1920-1975" (2014), Debi Futter-Puati et al correlate a large part of the Cook Islands' success to the relationships that were leveraged by Māori and Aotearoa Māori doctors of the time, a coordination of collective response, fostering of public confidence in the health system

led by Māori clinicians and Māori doctors' understanding of how crucial 'akapapa'anga is, and continues to be, in the mobilisation of Māori people. Futter-Puati et al highlighted "...the importance of individuals, such as Tau Cowan, Tom Davis, Manea Tamarua and Pari Tamarua as well as interpersonal relationships to successful treatment completion in the Cook Islands. The partnerships are very different, and not at all deemed as acceptably empowering in the current health promotion literature cited...Yet in the Cook Islands it is the interpretation of the relationship rather than its external appearance that is important" (p. 17). The authors pay careful attention to the challenges of the social and physical environment of the time. Trained bio-medical professionals were still scarce in the island-Pacific for much of the twentieth century and, as the authors note, Māori continued to look to indigenous medicines and ta'unga for treatment and advice. Knowing this, Tom Davis encouraged Māori to continue consultation with ta'unga, especially for mental health illnesses. To overcome the physical barriers of the time, Tom Davis also pushed for the re-design of medical equipment which "entailed designing a portable MMR unit to take across the reefs of the 14 outer islands: 'light weight equipment that could be broken down to single components and weighing no more than 200 lb, packed in water proof boxes for easy transport'" (p. 14). These approaches have underpinned the response of Māori to COVID-19 and provide a powerful example of how the Māori epistemology of 'akapapa'anga can be used as a practical ontology, much as Ngata and Buck argued in their correspondence about whakapapa. Indeed, Futter-Puati et al argue that medical professionals operating in the Cook Islands paid careful attention to community initiatives that were used by Aotearoa Māori in New Zealand at the time.

The puna model was set up efficiently in 2020, eased by the past success of partnerships and relationality used by the Cook Islands in its TB eradication programme. However, the public discourse clearly showed that Māori watched New Zealand carefully once the World Health Organisation confirmed the global pandemic on 11 March 2020 (World Health Organisation, 2020). The guidance of New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern and her government has been commented on widely

in the global media and for the Cook Islands, Ardern has provided significant comfort and guidance for Māori, both in the ipukarea and further afield. It is at this time of global crisis that the Māori world beyond our reefs is very apparent. It has always been assumed that the travel between Rarotonga and Auckland would remain open, but for the first time since Rarotonga opened its international airport in the 1970s, the Cook Islands has had to contend with the abrupt and immediate halt to its economy-booming tourism industry and in this global moment, it has been forced to seriously consider its futurity in an economy sorely needing diversification.

On 1 April 2020, a Canadian journalist Emmanuel Samoglou, stuck in Rarotonga with his wife and family, wrote an article entitled "Rarotonga: the threat beyond the reef" (2020b) and published it on the online news platform, *Newsroom*. There it was again, that casually prolific phrase: "beyond the reef". Samoglou and his family lived in Rarotonga some years earlier and returned in 2020 to visit friends when the pandemic struck. In the article, Samoglou reflects on the abrupt change that has taken hold of Rarotonga with the closing of borders, the ban on cruise ships, the disappearance of the tourist industry and the "mild melancholy" he and his family experienced with the unusual "quiet" of Rarotonga. Samoglou wrote, "As the virus began to take hold in New Zealand, the Cook Islands government appointed an emergency taskforce to prepare the country for the moment it would make its way over the reef". I am not sure whether Samoglou had deliberately missed the obvious interpretation of the conceptual reef or whether he had simply not spent long enough contemplating the metaphor, but in his evocative reflections on empty roads and melancholic engagements with local Māori, it is clear that the reef could not stop the threat of COVID-19 in all the ways that matter and even now, Māori and the Cook Islands nation are caught up in the dangerous economic and geopolitical currents that churn at its edges.

Though the virus has not landed in the Cook Islands, it is still present in the "quiet" "melancholy" of Rarotonga and the palpable anxiety of those who have lost jobs, livelihoods and any certainty for their futures. Early in April I began to see more and more Fijians fishing from the reef. The Fijian community on Rarotonga are largely

made up of hospitality workers but with the closing of accommodations and resorts, they needed to look for other ways to feed themselves and their families. I experienced a new awkwardness outside my local store when a Mama refused to sanitise her hands or wear gloves because, as she claimed, she'd washed her hands at home. Māori staff did not know how to tell an elder that they could not enter the store without hand sanitiser. In early April, the first few of what would be many tourist villas were advertised at around $200 per week for long-term rent on social media - an unbelievable bargain for pre-COVID-19 times but still cripplingly expensive for many Māori who were no longer employed. I wonder if Samoglou understood that the reef never really keeps anything in or anything truly out for Māori.

There is much criticism from Māori who live in the ipukarea directed toward those Māori who either choose to go or remain in places other than the home islands. I believe that the papa'anga does not stop at the reef and yet papa'anga contextualises Māori in particular ways. I have experienced a lot of criticism about my research practice, asked to explain why I spend more time "out there" in disparate parts of the world and then have the audacity to think I can write about my various homes, even though I spend so much time away from them. Part of this is about how I traverse and stand at the reef within my Māori imagination. It is about perspective and comparative practice. It helps me to understand myself, home(s) and my research work in relation to our region and the world. Even as we give thanks for our COVID-free status, our lives are held in the fine grip of global and Oceanic currents that even the reef cannot help but greet. Our future is whipped into its churn and it is hard to know where and what we will be in the weeks, months and years ahead. All of a sudden, the reef feels like an important space where we might see what comes, what (and who) goes, and what remains underneath our feet as the tide recedes along the passages in its cycles.

100 years beyond the reef

We are always at the edge of the reef in some way. Yes, the ipukarea is the spiritual place for so many of us and for some it is still the physical place where we go through the motions of 'akapapa'anga, seeking a place to build homes, raise families, plant the land, connect and (re)remember again. For others, the edge of the reef is the place demarcating a threshold to our collective papa'anga, always situated and always accessible. At this particular moment, the Māori world stands at an unusually uncertain and dangerous edge with limited visibility beyond it. This is a culmination of climate change, economic instability, compromised sovereignties, and perceived cultural loss, all now exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic at the time of writing. The latter lends an urgency to those other issues that Māori have attempted to prepare for since self-government and beyond it. In the Cook Islands, successive governments and traditional leadership in the form of the 'Ui Ariki (the paramount ariki of the different islands) and the Koutu Nui (the group of sub-chiefs or mata'iapo) have worked hard to develop security for the future of the country and Māori people. In an interview with Pā Marie Ariki at the 30th anniversary of her reign in June 2020 she said, "We [te aronga ariki] are not, nor will we ever be, competitors with the Government. Rather, we embody the spirit of our small nation as Ipukarea...We are the rock around which our language traditions, and customs can cling and find refuge, no matter how rough and frightening the seas of the world around us" (Tanirau, 2020a). For the last 15 years, the mechanics, operation and aspirations of the nation have been guided by the Cook Islands' National Sustainable Development Plan (NDSP)[79]. The document lays out the broad goals of the Cook Islands nation and was designed in consultation with what is referred to as the three pillars of power: the Ekalesia (the Church represented by Religious Advisory Council [RAC]), the 'enua

[79] The establishment of the NSDP in 2007 came about as an attempt to align the various government and community organisations operating in the Cook Islands as they worked to achieve collectively agreed objectives and aspirations for the nation and Māori. The plan also provided a framework within which the Cook Islands' international agreements and donor relationships could be measured, designed and implemented. Consultation and development of the overarching 15 year plan, and the smaller five-year strategies and monitoring reports, were complex and lengthy work programmes for government but involved community, via the three pillars, at every step.

(the people and traditional leaders) and te Kavamani (the government). For the last 15 years, the NSDP has focused on strengthening the country's economy with the goal of ever-enabling sovereign decisions over the future of Māori and the ipukarea. That plan was divided into five year blocks with the last, named Te Kaveinga Nui (the overarching guide or compass), to end in 2020.

Before COVID-19, the Cook Islands experienced a prosperous economic boom, driven by the strength of its tourism industry. By January 2020, the Cook Islands had become one of the most economically stable nations in the island-Pacific and it looked to continue steadily upward in the coming calendar year. As a result of this, the intergovernmental organisation, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, otherwise known as the OECD, had advised that the Cook Islands would be the first Pacific Island nation to graduate to developed status as a "High Income Country" (Ministry of Finance & Economic Management | Government of the Cook Islands, 2019). In the approach to remapping the kaveinga in the new period beginning in 2021, the outlook from the conceptual reef had seemed a prosperous and steady one. The 2019 indicator report from the final period of the 2016-2020 NSDP had glowing statistics for the economy but also showed a range of concerns for every other sector of the Cook Islands. With the country's economic strength, the post-2020 kaveinga NDSP plan looked to pivot and focus on the well-being of Māori both in the ipukarea and abroad, a strategy for dealing with the other parts of Māori society that needed further, and in some cases significant, improvement.

Explicitly underpinned by a philosophy of papa'anga, the three pillars of the Cook Islands nation began to discuss an unprecedented new plan that would stretch across 100 years. I was invited to be a part of this work after the working group's preliminary discussions and to hear that papa'anga had been proposed as a key principle in the design of, and evidence base for, the plan. One hundred years was to encompass a generational methodology that privileged the growth and change of papa'anga. Unusually, the working group began to discuss how Māori relations beyond the reef would participate in the 100 years of work ahead and how Māori would be shaped by the surrounding Ocean of uncertainties and challenges that now look particularly

ominous in light of an unprecedented global economic recession. As part of this, the working group is beginning to collect data and plan for consultations with those in the ipukarea, Māori in New Zealand and Australia, and perhaps surprisingly, the significant number of our people residing in French Polynesia to the east.

The NSDP continues to be formulated at the time of writing. While it is still too early to see how exactly ‘akapapa‘anga will be practiced or used in this work, it is still abundantly clear that now, as it has always been, ‘akapapa‘anga is an important process in the becoming of the Māori world and how Māori imagine themselves, their legacies, their loyalties and their meaning. It is exciting that as Māori in the ipukarea stand at the reef, and perhaps Māori beyond the reef gaze back at it from afar, there is collective attention focused on the precipice of our future. To where do you belong – indeed.

Conclusion: We have never really arrived

> Still got a long way to go – I know – and I think you’re fooling yourself if you ever think you’ve arrived. (Interview 20/9)

In Chapter 2 I gestured to the selfish and highly subjective ways this project began. I wanted to understand the meanings of papa‘anga. In the second year of my doctoral work, I spent my birthday in the Ministry of Justice building on Rarotonga, searching for my own papa‘anga, a long lead up to my application for the Cook Islands stamp in my passport. I’d allocated a few hours in the morning for locating a block file or a parcel of land that I knew for sure my great-grandmother, Tekea Tongiariki, would be listed as a landowner on. I hoped I would find either a copy of my maternal great-grandmother’s papa‘anga or a specific reference to it in the minute books of the court so that I could request it from the registrars. I spent almost the entire day searching for Tekea’s papa‘anga via block files and the digitised public records that were made accessible by the Mormon church online (familysearch.org).

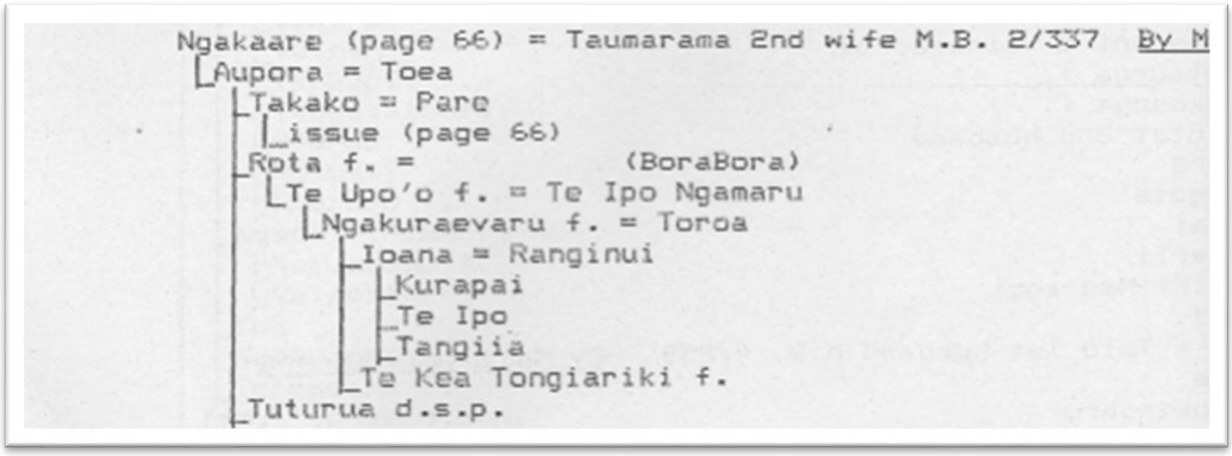

Figure 8: Image of the Atiu Minute Book 2/337 showing the author's papa'anga submitted by Makakea.

When I found Tekea's papa'anga, I searched the public records and began to build the papa'anga for my own generation, for the one before and the one before and so it went on. I had toed the edge of the spiral and fallen through. I spent my entire birthday travelling through time. Anyone who has tried to build papa'anga, Māori or not, will know what this feels like. Through one ancestor and another, even the ones that have come after you, we continue to find ourselves, and the more we find, the further we wish to travel to find more, not only "backward" but across, through, upward and below, a spiral of meaning that leads back to the ipukarea and back out beyond the physical and conceptual reef, again and again.

One ancestor Te Upo'o clearly took her name from a Bora Bora relation. It is the name of my grandmother who spells her name in the Atiu way, Teupoko. Her husband, Te Ipo Ngamaru, is from a senior line to Ngamaruariki Rongotini, the husband of Makea Takau, the couple responsible for seeking protectorate status from Britain in the late nineteenth century, as I discussed in Chapter 3. Te Ipo Ngamaru is also the ancestor after which the network of Atiu Hostels, discussed in Chapter 4, and the meeting house in our village, is named: Atiunui Maruamarua i te tangi'anga o Teipo, the great shelter of Teipo's sympathy and sorrow. It was also the name my grandmother gave to my younger brother's father when he married my mother, and the name my brother now carries. Ngakuraevaru is me. And my great-grandmother. Yes, as I quoted Grace in Chapter 2, "the old people" as she refers to, but especially papa'anga, have "a way where the beginning is not the beginning, the end is not the end. It starts from a centre

and moves away from there in such widening cirlces that you don't how you will finally arrive at the point of understanding, which itself is another core, a new centre" (1998, p. 28). At the reef, this storying, this 'akapapa'anga, seems particularly true. In a Māori imagination we have never really arrived, physically or discursively. At the reef, Māori never truly stay and they never truly go, but return, with the tide, in its cycles.

Figure 9: Image of the Atiu Niu Maruarua III hostel in Rarotonga (2020)

The epigraph that heads this conclusion came from a conversation with an interviewee who described his long journey to learn his ancestral language and the cultural practices of 'akapapa'anga when he made the decision to move his family to the Cook Islands. "I've been back 16 years, I've managed to navigate my way a little bit better so...I stand a bit prouder today as who I am as a Cook Islander...Still got a long way to go – I know – and I think you're fooling yourself if you ever think you've arrived" (Interview 20/9). His reflections resonated strongly with my critical thoughts on the purposes of papa'anga and the 'akapapa'anga we undertake in our journey to

find ourselves, who we are and the relations that give us meaning. At the time, it felt as if I could have spent days in that dusty cubicle at the Ministry of Justice and never finished

This chapter came from a theoretical impetus to explore the bounded nature of nationalist and ethnic discourses. I believe ‘akapapa‘anga can free us from such bounded critical cartographies and in doing so, enable a reassertion of a sovereign Māori future. This seems nascent with the different initiatives I discussed in the sections above. I argue that the prerogative of ‘akapapa‘anga to always grow encourages Māori to move past the national and constitutional boundaries I examined in Chapter 3 and 4, and remember our relations in other seemingly disparate places: Sāmoa, Niue, Tokelau and further east to the Tahiti, Bora Bora, Rurutu, the Marquesas and beyond. Papa‘anga never leads us singularly in a straight line backward and nor does it ever really arrive at a singular conclusion or location.

The centering of the Ocean in Hau‘ofa, Wendt and Teaiwa’s work is powerful because it allows the fluidity of belonging to obliterate national boundaries as papa‘anga already does. A Cook Islands universe can do the same thing and yet, at least in the framing used in the Prime Minister’s speech, it lacks the relationality inherent in the presence of the reef. The myriad of navigational, Oceanic and island-centred metaphors in current Pacific scholarship are not simply conceptual mechanisms that beautify the poetry of our ancient pasts but instead, empower Pacific and Māori peoples to begin their world and future-building from their own epistemological centres. As Marsters et al argue, the Cook Islands and Māori people will never map onto each other in any neat way.

Within ‘akapapa‘anga this is not surprising or debilitating. Instead, it frees Māori to think about their people as nodes in a relational network that takes them beyond the reef with the persistent potential of return, physically and spiritually. There is much work being undertaken in the ipukarea to this end, a progression from colonial institutionalisation by returning to ‘akapapa‘anga and its compulsion to (re)remember who and where all Māori and our relations were and are. The reef is not the edge that borders a Māori imaginary consisting exclusively of the home islands. Instead, it gives

us a reference point in the geographic, but more importantly, the relational space between.

Ono: ʻE pito kē

> I practice it because it's going to be the gate when we're gone. My parents practiced it with us and I look back and in their lives, it's been practiced with them. And only because of it, it's easier for us to track who we are – because of it. (Interview 17/8)

Throughout this thesis, I have referred to the ways that I believe ʻakapapaʻanga is apparent and working to shape the everyday lives of Māori people and their futures. ʻAkapapaʻanga ara tangata is the foundation of what it means to be a Māori person and it is one of the most powerful intellectual tools and frameworks that we possess as a people; the epigraph above aligns with this. In designing and choosing this research topic, I wanted to build a project that celebrates what I perceive to be the intellectual tradition of ʻakapapaʻanga ara tangata. Though it has not been theoretically delineated in any academic work to date, I have nonetheless believed in its philosophical, theoretical and explanatory potential since scrawling the first drafts of my research proposal. I have captured an understanding of it here that I hope honours the ancestors who reify its teleology and that it provides some meaningful elucidations for the generations to come.

In the process of this research, the theoretical and critical arguments I have formulated required a series of subtle pivots in my approach. Wilson's (2008) argument that, "We *are* the relationships that we hold and are part of" (p. 80), reflects this well: though from one perspective ʻakapapaʻanga certainly is about being *in* relationship, the more powerful realisation is that the ʻakapapaʻanga who we *are* through a commitment to discerning relations and relationships. For Māori, any assumption that the primary or only purpose of genealogies is to lead us backward to our ancestors in a straight line is a misnomer. I felt turned around in circles during this project as I attempted to construct concrete and cogent descriptions of what I believe ʻakapapaʻanga is and what it does. The theoretical delineation of the three modes that I provided in Chapter 2 of this thesis – cultural paradigm, cultural practice(s) and research methodology –

went some way to addressing that difficulty. These modalities provided a way for my critical engagements with what often seemed like an investigative "hunch", the wild certainty in my pito (my belly button) that even though the theorised delimitations seemed to writhe and twist in my mental grip, the power of ʻakapapaʻanga awaited my committed attention. By foregrounding the relationality of ʻakapapaʻanga, elusive correlations all of sudden seemed to make sense. Perspectives of temporal and spatial distance have been prominent in analyses of Māori peoples and the Cook Islands; emigration from the home islands has been framed as worrying displacement and depopulation in almost every critical work to date; published colonial narratives have persisted in contemporary discourse, partly reflecting the perceived temporal proximity of a more recent and documented past; and blood quantum has been conflated with a purist discourse about who is and isn't a part of the collective. As a cultural paradigm, ʻakapapaʻanga incites an inversion of temporal and spatial scales. Much like Hauʻofaʻs inversion of the ocean from the disconnecting to connecting place, the cultural paradigm of ʻakapapaʻanga and its relational prerogative suggests emigration might be better reframed as an extension of a Māori imaginary beyond the reef; that through cultural praxes of dancing and chanting, our so-called deep pasts are much closer than the colonial period would imply; and that quantum will never be as powerful as the relationships that are inherited across generations.

These inversions of scale are best illustrated by cultural practices of ʻakapapaʻanga woven and discussed throughout this thesis. In early versions of this research project, the constitution celebrations, Te Maeva Nui, seemed an excellent case study to explore the significance of genealogies on the performance stage and in the organisation of the festival itself. I soon came to see that while it offered a further layer of methodological boundedness by centring discussions of ʻakapapaʻanga in the performative practices of the festival stage, it anchored stories like that of Mariri-tutu-a-manu, to a specific moment in a specific context, and I wanted to be able to see his relation across the entirety of the Māori imaginary. This is not to say that the performance stage is not an important site of genealogical practice; it is one of the most precious repositories of knowledge that Māori society has. One participant, a dancer and choreographer,

described performing for Māori outside the ipukarea, stating, "It's about legacy – it's like reminding them who and where they're connected to. I think, if you take a group from here overseas and you've got people in the audience who are Cook Islands...it'll always bring them back to their roots" (Interview 7/8). And with her experience, dancing, teaching and choreographing in Rarotonga she reflected,

> ...in terms of Te Maeva Nui – your genealogy more is about the tribe that you come from – not specifically yourself and your connections but your link to that tribe and the history of that tribe. And for me, in all the years that I've been part of Te Maeva Nui, that's what it's been about because everyone – everyone's connected to a tribe – so you go back far enough you're gonna have – you know – the same ancestor – so that's, I think that's what it is – connecting everyone to that ancestor and feeling like a family – feeling the connection and coming together and performing because of that connection that you feel. (Interview 7/8)

Cultural performance – the training, teaching, theory and composition – is one of the most evocative and meaningful social sites of 'akapapa'anga in our society. It is the place that we can express our pride, sorrow and connection by having the literal bodies of our people move, breathe and feel together while we celebrate the legacies and stories, peoples and places, that we belong to. But there are other more subtle praxes that I have touched on in this thesis too.

The story of my grandmother and the legacy of feeding that I now benefit from when I return to Rarotonga and visit with our Manihiki family is one of the most compelling examples I have for illustrating the temporal scale of relationships within the paradigm of 'akapapa'anga. The acts of care, respect, and reciprocity were formed at least three generations before me and yet they continue to bind our families still. As well, the naming traditions, as discussed in Chapter 3, also reinforce this relationality – one of the Manihiki family was bestowed all the names of my grandmother, an

acknowledgement and honouring of a legacy of care, forever fixed into the aesthetic of their papa'anga.

My discussion and analyses of inherited legacies like these track along theoretical pathways that signal potential scholarly frontiers for Māori. As a research methodology, 'akapapa'anga centres relationality and in so doing, *de*centres any specific mode, time or location. It is a practice that represents a decolonial approach by necessarily favouring relations and relationality as the epistemological baseline in research enquiry. In any critical examination, theoretical tenets like the prerogative of genealogical growth, or the ability to hold multiple and contradictory stories of creation without contestation, suggests that as a research methodology, 'akapapa'anga simply accepts key principles of a Māori ontology that operate across temporal and spatial scales that are not currently apparent in the scholarship.

Historiography, nationhood and futurity

There are some key terms, concepts, and lines of argument that have recurred throughout this thesis: historical revisioning; conceptions of indigenous territory contrasted against persistent colonial cartographies; the idea of a genealogised future. For Māori, the obsession with genealogies and our connection to the 'enua might be described by some as symbolic and metaphorical but ultimately contradictory and counter to the sovereignty and self-determination of our indigenous Māori futurity. In her essay, "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity Among Scholars and Refugees", Finnish anthropologist Lissa Malkki (1992) unpacked the "taken-for-granted ways of thinking about identity and territory that [is] reflected in ordinary language, in nationalist discourses, and scholarly studies of nations, nationalism and refugees" (p. 25) and touched on the arguments Arjun Appadurai made about the ecological immobility of the native, perpetuated with the anthropological ascriptions of "native status: natives are not only persons who are from certain places, and belong to those places, but they are also those who are somehow *incarcerated*, or confined, in those places" (p. 29). Later

discussions from James Clifford, Elizabeth DeLoughrey, Teresia Teaiwa, Vicente Diaz and J. Kehaulani Kauanui among many others have gone some way to extending these early conversations, building on the ontology of being rooted *and* routed, particularly in the context of islands. In this thesis, I have attempted to genealogise past such easy interpretations of relation to ʻenua as temporally and spatially fixed. In many ways, it is *because* of our praxes of relationality through ʻakapapaʻanga, that a Māori futurity is enabled to unfurl – sovereign and uniquely shaped by ancestral knowledges.

This endeavour has illuminated the possibility of an alternative historiography, shaped by ʻakapapaʻanga. In Chapters 3 and 4, I discussed narratives and relationships existing beyond the colonial period and gave several examples of how those same connections are still relevant today. Furthermore, the analyses in these two chapters make an implicit argument about Māori historiography: that the historical "text" for analysis must necessarily look at culturally and genealogically relevant sources other than the documentary record of colonial texts and the ephemera of collection in the cultural museum. ʻAkapapaʻanga beckons the historian's gaze not only to the Māori body or persons but to the *relationships* that tell us about our pasts, the depth of our present and the potentiality of our future. In Chapter 4, this ʻakapapaʻanga-shaped historiographical approach applied genealogical frameworks like the tuākana-teina relationship and Amiria Salmond's "living faces", enabling a recognition of relational sequences between Māori and Māori throughout this expanded historiographic record.

Alongside this revisioning of historiography in the Māori context, I have demonstrated the ways ʻakapapaʻanga can also productively revision spatial conceptions of indigeneity, territory and rootedness. In Chapter 3, I outlined the papaʻanga of the Cook Islands name and the nation. I then routed a genealogical narrative through the complex overlap of constitutional and colonial territory in Chapter 4, complicating any straight-forward conception of a sovereign and self-determined Māori nationhood. There has been limited discussion of the politics of the New Zealand Realm or the trans-indigenous solidarities of Māori peoples in popular and scholarly discourse. Bound up in the idea of the nation are genealogical, linguistic

and territorial markers and borders that help us make sense of ourselves as a collective. In a Māori sense, such measures would be framed through ‘akapapa‘anga. Does the name for that ‘enua come from your papa‘anga, as with the story of the husband and wife who reside in Tikioki, discussed in Chapter 2? What enables or compels Makea Vakatini Ariki to grant land to Māori cousins for a hostel in Rarotonga? Was it really just a joke when the Aitutaki people asked for a piece of land next to the Waikato river in Aotearoa? Yes, nationhood looks a particularly Māori way when viewed through the cultural paradigm of ‘akapapa‘anga.

And so does the future. The well-known “old Pacific adage” as Marsh (2004) called it – the maxim of walking into the future facing it with our backs – alludes to the spiral-time temporality I discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis and reflects the temporal scale at work in the practice of ‘akapapa‘anga. Through the collection of the ethnographic vignettes and recorded conversations in this thesis I have discovered the wonder of this ontological pivot in new ways. As I explained in Chapter 5, the radical and decolonial work started by the Pacific thinkers of a recent past (e.g. Wendt, Hau‘ofa, Teaiwa) has taken Pacific scholarship forward into new intellectual frontiers by turning to, and *believing in*, the power of our indigenous intellectual heritages. Our futurity, therefore, can be contemplated through persistent *return* – to our ancestors, to our intellectual institutions and traditions, our ontologies and epistemologies, and to the places and ‘enua we belong to.

In the remainder of this final chapter, I will briefly situate the arguments I made in this thesis against some of the current legislative design being undertaken alongside the NSDA preparations mentioned in the previous chapter. The arguments I made in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 were analyses in a conceptual and literary mode. It is the critical approach that characterises my style of analysis as a Literary Studies-trained scholar. In the remainder of this chapter, I will show how the modes of ‘akapapa‘anga I demonstrated in the preceding chapters have real-time relevance to the policy-making and development of te iti tangata Māori. I do so partly because I think ‘akapapa‘anga can offer an evidence-based perspective on current legislative and policy design affecting our people and I believe it has a place in policy-making and societal

scaffolding. Though interventionist policy is not known to be the concern of humanities disciplines like literary studies, Teaiwa's prescription for interdisciplinarity and my view of Pacific Studies as both humanities discipline and social science, has made visible correlations between my theoretical realisations and the world as it continues to expand and contract around this project. Through a brief discussion of the unusually large number of controversial legislative drafting that Māori were consulted on in 2020, I will show how 'akapapa'anga appropriately encircles and contextualises the sectors of Māori society that they touch. This analysis will necessarily echo with some of the earlier discussions in this thesis and provide portents for a Māori futurity.

In the final section of this conclusion, I briefly summarise current and ongoing scholarly, creative and cultural work that intersects with this project. Over the duration of this work, I have learned to recognise the workings of 'akapapa'anga, its influential ways appearing in different parts of Māori society. Coalescing events (as I showed with COVID-19 in Chapter 5, and will show in the coming section) and my ongoing theorisation of 'akapapa'anga, have made the importance of relationality in the Māori context seem more relevant than ever before. The production of writing, response and commentary that seriously questions the futurity of Māori people must therefore also reconcile who exactly is a part of te iti tangata Māori and where they belong to in a world characterised by the spatial discontinuity of states and an increasing inability to value and subscribe to the concomitance of distinction *and* community. In this, 'akapapa'anga can make us known to each other in ways counterpoint to colonialism and disenfranchisement.

A new centre

> … you know, and I worry about it because this is their future. Because there are bad family members out there that once you're gone they could take advantage of your children and their rights and be bossy and bully and I want my kids to know exactly what their entitlements

> are and also who is who. You gotta know who is who in your family. It's always gonna come back to that. (Interview 23/7)

At the end of the previous chapter I discussed the next National Sustainable Development Agenda for the Cook Islands, which is currently underway and set for release in early 2021. When I was approached to join this work as a member of the research subcommittee, the secretariat of the working group developing the new plan had already identified key concepts in their policy design. The first was the horizon scanning method (scanning), developed by the OECD, a "…technique for detecting early signs of potentially important developments through a systematic examination of potential threats and opportunities, with emphasis on new technology and its effects on the issue at hand" (OECD). The method sits within a wider suite of OECD methodologies called "Futures Thinking", all of which arose with the unexpected nature of the global financial crises in 2007-8, and the resulting need to build methodological practices that would be able to recognise longer-term trends and changes in economies and societies. The scanning method was identified as a complimentary method for the planning of the Cook Islands' sustainable development.

When I joined the research subcommittee, the secretariat proposed a methodology that incorporated scanning and the concept of 'akapapa'anga for the preparation of the evidence base that would underpin the final NSDA. I should be clear that I did not propose 'akapapa'anga to the NSDA working group, but once I accepted the position, I offered critique and framing of the proposed methodology as it developed under these two approaches. The now proposed methodology does not include anything noteworthy from the work outlined in this thesis except to say that it pays particular attention to the power of relational networks and therefore, takes cognisance of Māori peoples outside the Cook Islands nation in more ways than the previous NSDP (National Sustainable Development Plan, 2016-2020). If anything, the most important correlation between this doctoral project and the NSDA policy development is that it proves how relevant genealogies are, not only to academic work but to the policy

design of government and community decision-makers, perhaps a practical ontology in the style of Ngata's proposed theories in his unpublished doctoral thesis.

Occurring alongside the development of the NSDA has been consultation and drafting of key legislative change in the Cook Islands: the Crimes Bill, the Immigration Bill, the Agriculture Bill and the Tō Tātou Vai Authority Bill (Losirene Lacanivalu, 2020). The bills went into public consultation phases over 2019-2020 and the final phases of planning for their respective sub-committees have occurred with the backdrop of closed national borders in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the ongoing issues of climate change, and a change of leadership with the resignation of Prime Minister Henry Puna in September 2020 (Tanirau, 2020b). In November 2019, a Select Committee for the Crimes Bill proposed the recriminalisation of sexual acts between men and proposed the same be applied to women in the name of equality. The Immigration Bill went into its public consultation phase in early 2020, igniting public debate about the definition of a Cook Islander in the bill, and initiating tangential discussions about indigeneity, intergenerational security, and societal and cultural change (Godfrey, 2020). Further debate ensued when the Tō Tātou Vai Authority and Agriculture Bills were tabled with the public to incorporate new water infrastructure and provisions (prominently on Rarotonga and to a lesser extent on Aitutaki) and increased regulatory powers for government officials over local farmers, bringing into question fundamental principles underpinning the land rights and sovereignty of landowners. These deeply sensitive pieces of legislation induced ferocious debate right across Māori society, evidenced in the numerous letters to the editor of the *Cook Islands News*, the lengthy talk-back radio conversations in New Zealand on the Pacific Media Network (PMN Cook Islands, 2020, 2020), and the responses of Māori in the home islands and abroad, across social and print media. I highlight these debates because 'akapapa'anga and the importance of relationality is a key thread that runs through them all, and as I conclude this thesis, I want to make clear the need for deeper, wider and *ongoing* considerations of 'akapapa'anga in the lives and futures of Māori peoples.

Ko ʻai koe: The Immigration Bill and definitions of a Cook Islander

Throughout Chapters 3-5, I explored some of the ways ʻakapapaʻanga can facilitate our critical framing of nationalism and international relations beyond colonial and nation-based paradigms and how such re-framings can be productive and self-determining. Those arguments are based on the notion that Māori are able to build their identities through knowledge of papaʻanga, and their relationships with one another and the ʻenua. With ʻakapapaʻanga, this knowing is acertained through discursive and communal practices of meaning-making animated in the various acts that facilitate the (re)remembering of genealogical legacies and relationships. In the day to day bureaucracy of societal mechanics and policy, however, how Māori know themselves, each other and their indigeneity, continues to be measured and regulated through legislation. Though the laws in the Cook Islands are informed by custom in principle, the translation of ʻakapapaʻanga into the minutiae of legal drafting is problematic at best. Recent work on a new Immigration Bill in the home islands has been evidence of this.

In 2017, the Cook Islands government began work on the new Immigration Bill, explaining that the current Entry, Residence and Departure Act 1971-72 was "outdated and difficult to read and apply" (Parliament of the Cook Islands, 2020a, p. 1). As announced by the Immigration Bill Select Committee, the new bill was intended to "…manage immigration in a way that balances the national interest, as determined by the Crown, and the rights of the individual...[It] reforms and modernizes immigration law in the Cook Islands and takes account of extensive consultation in the Cook Islands about how to change the immigration system in a way which best suits the needs of the Cook Islands" (Parliament of the Cook Islands, 2020b). After an initial round of consultations, a first draft of the bill was completed in 2018. In 2019, the bill was developed further against national and international regulations, public submissions, and consultations with key stakeholders and a final round of public consultations was undertaken in 2020.

Three issues with the bill arose quickly as sources of debate for Māori society: the definition of a Cook Islander in the bill; the changing status of adopted Cook Islanders

and the potential effect this would have on land rights; and expatriate work visas and the powers of discretion for granting permanent residence permits. These are overlapping issues that cut close to discourses of identity, indigeneity, land occupation, ownership and political power. As I have gestured to throughout this thesis, the depopulation and migration narrative has characterised the Cook Islands and its people in much of the published literature, a dominant discourse that has been internalised by Māori as part of colonialism's structural persistence. The potential (no matter how unlikely) of permanent displacement from the home islands produces what I perceive to be unnamed anxieties about belonging, entitlement, and identity among Māori - a proverbial pile of tinder waiting to be lit by the match of Western and colonial legal systems that persuade us to police each other with unproductive essentialist criteria.

In the current Cook Islands Entry, Residence and Departure Act 1971-72 the definition of a Cook Islander reads, "'Cook Islander' means a person belonging to the part of the Polynesian race indigenous to the Cook Islands; and includes any person descended from a Cook Islander" (Legislative Assembly of the Cook Islands, 1972). This two-part phrasing intimates a racial baseline, underpinned by genetic discourse, and provoked several reactions from Māori. Submissions in the ipukarea sought for the definition of Cook Islander to be tightened by removing reference to "Polynesian". President of the Koutu Nui, Terea Mata'iapo Paul Allsworth, stated that it should be replaced with references to native or indigenous Cook Islanders: "Any person who has direct heritage, genealogy and blood right to the 15 islands of the Cook Islands and who is indigenous or native as a Cook Island Maori through his or her great-grandparents" (Kumar, 2020a). Other murmurings across the social network controversially suggested that there be limits for the absence of families who had not returned to the home islands for at least three generations. The stipulations were vigorously debated during public consultations as Māori clashed over who should be allowed to reside in the ipukarea and one day return.

The definition of a Cook Islander fed into a tangential debate on a proposed adoption clause in the bill that a "child adopted by an indigenous Cook Islander in a manner

recognised by Cook Islands law can also be referred to as a Cook Islander" (Losirene Lacanivalu, 2020). For Māori, the rules of adoption in the context of land tenure has been a sensitive issue for many years. Adopted children are not able to succeed to land under tribal custom and the law has (largely) followed that principle. The underlying argument follows that adopted children will have entitlement to land rights through their birth parents and that, though the wider adoptive family may grant permission for an adopted child to live on, lease or occupy a piece of land for their lifetime, their children are not entitled to succeed or inherit it as of right unless they are also a descendent of the family's papa'anga[80]. In recent years, land law regarding adoption has been heavily contested in the court and is the cause of many family rifts. When the public became aware that there would be a clause in the Immigration Bill confirming that those adopted by a Cook Islander would themselves be considered a Cook Islander for the purposes of the Act, it was quickly conflated with the adoption clause in the Cook Islands Act 1915 which (separately) governs land tenure.

Over the last decade, these issues have risen prominently in the public discourse. This has been driven by notable economic growth experienced up until the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, and the parallel increase in expatriate labour needed to fulfil labour demand in the tourism industry. One result of this has been the perceptible change in the ethnic make-up of the population in the home islands and on Rarotonga in particular. On this, Radio New Zealand journalist, Dominic Godfrey, commented in his coverage of the bill's public consultations, "Indigenous Cook islanders fear new laws being prepared for parliament will increase the number of migrants allowed to permanently reside in the country, by stealth" (Godfrey, 2020). His tone implies xenophobic sentiments amongst Māori. This was flagged as early as 2006 when Elizabeth Wright-Koteka (2006), now the High Commissioner from the Cook Islands to New Zealand, wrote in her Master's thesis, "Te Uu No Te Akau Roa: Migration and the Cook Islands", "The increased number of foreign workers relative to the local

[80] In my view, a judgement from the Privy Council made in 2018 in response to the appellant case *Browne vs Munokoa* significantly changes custom and law regarding this understanding of tamariki 'āngai, but there has so far been no published legal analysis or commentary endorsing this assessment.

population validates the concerns regarding the presence of foreigners in the Cook Islands. There is an apparent fear that Cook Islanders could become a minority in their own country" (Wright-Koteka, 2006). In Wright-Koteka's thesis, the migrant labour force was characterised by her participants as largely Fijian, Indian and Chinese. Now, Filipino and Indonesian workers also make up a significant part of this expatriate community and though largely disenfranchised, they have increasingly sought to settle in the Cook Islands and participate in public life (Losirene Lacanivalu, 2020a).

A discourse analysis reading xenophobia into the public sentiment is reasonable. Wright-Koteka's observance of the "apparent fear" amongst Cook Islanders meets the definition of xenophobia squarely and there have been innumerable anecdotes of alleged poor treatment and racism toward expatriate workers in the home islands as one interviewee shared,

> We have a lot of immigrants here now too. Fijian. Fijian-Indian. Filipino. Indonesians are a new one. And we're bringing them in. Because we don't have the population to do certain jobs that we think are – think we're too good for now…There's been a lot of controversy and complaints about these people that have been bought in to work. They've been taken advantage of. Money-wise. Made to work extra hours and not being compensated or just – we all will just say treated like slaves. You know. That's not us. (Interview 23/7)

As I attempt to understand the apparent fear and controversy over expatriate labour in the ipukarea, 'akapapa'anga inevitably prompts me to ponder the relational space between myself and the issue at hand - and finding resonance is easy. In New Zealand, where our people continue to occupy the more worrying percentiles of socio-economic statistics, the attitudes of Māori toward migrant labour in the home islands represents a sad irony (J. Kokaua, 2014; McAllister et al., 2020). The collective story of our shared papa'anga tells of the significant number of Māori who migrated to New Zealand in the 1970s and onward to fulfil labour shortages there, further driving the narrative of Cook Islands depopulation (Connell, 2016; Marsters et al., 2006; Wright-

Koteka, 2006). The treatment received by our families from the New Zealand government and much of New Zealand society in the generations since consists of a familiar cocktail, mixing gratitude and belittlement, resignation and ambivalence, and reliance and resentment. Of course, I and my family are a part of this story.

In thinking about the movement of Māori peoples away from the home islands and the fears of Māori in the home islands as new migrants enter and begin to build their lives there, I find it hard to imagine that our ancestors ever feared losing their deep connections to ʻenua and to their relations in the same way. As they fed blood relations and new kin, as they married new lovers from beyond the reef and named the ʻenua and their children again and again, danced and sung into existence both on the home islands and away, calling papaʻanga forth iteratively, the potential of the irreversible loss of their place on the ʻenua, and amongst each other, seems unfathomable. And yet, xenophobia and other anxieties about the uncertainty of the future seem to be driving fractures through te iti tangata Māori.

One can see how such feelings might become inflamed during debates on issues that cut so closely to the very definitions of who our people are. On one hand Māori desperately want to see their own people empowered and employed in the home islands but the vast majority don't wish to work in the single tourism sector that drives the economy. Family members committed to living on and caring for the ʻenua feel resentment and frustration for relations that contribute little intellectual or physical labour to that care and those located elsewhere, generations on, hunger for the knowledge of their papaʻanga. I think these are legitimate arguments to make from the discourse that surrounds this bill. However, I suspect that underlying these defensible views is the desire to know and be known. I have said it repeatedly throughout this thesis: ʻakapapaʻanga is about recognition, and through communal recognition, relation, and through relation, responsibility to one another.

The question "ko ʻai koe?" is one of the most powerful initiating questions one can ask in practices of ʻakapapaʻanga. There is no wrong or right answer to this question - only ʻakapapaʻanga, understanding who you are *in relation* to someone else, to your people. While the use of ʻakapapaʻanga would not stop debate amongst Māori society

altogether - nor would it be good if it did – it *would* frame the issue in a different way: can "Cook Islanders" find themselves in the papa'anga? As with the experience I relayed at the beginning of Chapter 5, the journey to find ourselves and each other in the papa'anga might make definitions a verb rather than an inherent set of legal essentialisms.

No 'ea mai koe: The Agriculture and Tō Tātou Vai Authority Bills

The public discourse regarding the Agriculture and Tō Tātou Vai Authority Bills have often dovetailed together, evidenced in the parallel administrative timelines for both pieces of draft legislation and the cross-cutting submissions from local lobby groups and stakeholders (Losirene Lacanivalu, 2020). The Tō Tātou Vai Authority Bill (referred to as the "Water Bill" hereafter) is a part of the Cook Islands government's water infrastructure project and establishes the new Crown-owned authority expected to operate and maintain water and wastewater infrastructure. The Bill sets out its regulatory powers and the framework for public water provision to the public. The Agriculture Bill was tabled in June 2020 and contained new provisions for sustainable agriculture practices, the Ministry for Agriculture's new data gathering powers, and enabled the establishment of an advisory committee to assist with the functions of the Act (Ministry of Agriculture Cook Islands, 2020).

There were various criticisms of the bills. The Water Bill (the wider project of which has had ongoing controversy[81]) incited outrage from local lobby groups and communities in Rarotonga regarding the planned used of chlorine in the water supply, submissions citing the potential risk to public health and the environment. Proposed water charges also incensed the public. Growers were advised at public consultations that they "[would] be charged for irrigation water. Charges are to be introduced for connection; water access…and water usage. Agricultural users will be

[81] In 2012, a tripartite agreement between China, New Zealand the Cook Islands was signed to construct a new public water system on the island of Rarotonga. The details of the agreement and issues with progress, which are too much to relay here, have been followed closely by the *Cook Islands News* and has been the subject of analysis for international relations pundits (Beer, 2018; Greenwood, 2018).

charged at a different rate than domestic users. Each connection must be separately metered; and periodic charges apply even when water is not being used" (Losirene Lacanivalu, 2020b). Water has never been charged for in the Cook Islands, reflecting a wider context of comparatively minimal regulatory frameworks, characteristic of so-called small island "independent" states. The increased regulatory provisions added into the Agriculture Bill was described by representatives of Natura Kūki ʻĀirani (the Cook Islands Growers Association) as "divisive, punitive, and culturally inappropriate" (Samoglou, 2020a), reflecting the implicit sacred and sovereign ways ʻenua is provided for and cared for by land owners.

Throughout this thesis I have reiterated the importance of ʻenua to te iti tangata Māori and have attempted to build an intensifying argument for the power of ʻenua in our ever-developing subjectivities. The provision of water is deeply tied to ʻenua and to tangata Māori (Māori people) as a life-giving source. As I relayed in the practice of ʻiriʻiriʻanga, one of the identifying markers of how you are woven to others in the community is the identification of the puna vai that you share with others. Though this evidence came from an Atiu context, the concept of the puna vai as a genealogical feature that organises tribal land divisions is used by those living on the southern group of raised volcanic islands (as opposed to an atoll like Aitutaki and those in the northern group). Puna vai are river valleys but are also synonymous with family and tribal lineages.

In a public statement from the Koutu Nui, the aronga mana expressed concern that powers being legislated under the Water Bill would contravene principles central to the practice of ʻakapapaʻanga, "…the Bill runs counter to the Polynesian world view held by Cook Islands maori of aroʻa, or having regard for the well-being of their community"(Kumar, 2020b). It went on to confirm that in keeping with the philosophy of aroʻa, landowners of the catchments where water was being taken for public supply agreed to provide water to the matekeinanga (the wider family or community). The Koutu Nui explained, "This is in keeping with the sense of obligation that landowners who are also traditional leaders feel, in order to ensure the well-being of their matakeinanga..." (Kumar, 2020b). The Koutu Nui argued that if the

new water authority proceeded with implementing a water usage charge, then the landowners should be paid annual royalties that "they [landowners] would receive as of right in a developed country" (Kumar, 2020b). The Koutu Nui seem to be arguing across two different philosophical terms of reference (one about collective responsibility, the other about applying principles of private property ownership rights) but made clear the point that for Māori, the caring relationality of 'akapapa'anga was paramount to landowners.

As I quoted in Chapter 2, the philosophy of aro'a is at the heart of piri'anga and relationships. It is not simply the idea of romantic love but for Māori captures notions of respect, hospitality, kindness, concern for others and forgiveness ("Piri'anga," 2019; "Piri'anga," 2018). The large majority of the funding for the water infrastructure upgrade has come from outside sources but is not divorced from the relationality at work in Māori society. The puna vai that feed into the villages and districts of Rarotonga are inherently tied to the very identities of the people who belong to them. But it can be easy to forget about this when the politics of aid, international relations, and development make big contract decisions increasingly urgent and with contracted timeframes comes contracted relations. The water project, and the bill that goes with it, will be one of the biggest development milestones the Cook Islands nation has ever achieved. It is a significant reinforcement of food and water security that will serve many generations to come. But for all that, it also signals the need to ensure that our own ontologies and epistemologies remain at the centre of our future-building policy agendas.

Ko au, ko koe, ko tatou: The Crimes Bill, me, you, all of us

The Crimes Bill has been a prolonged process that began in 2017 when it was proposed for the removal of sanctions against "indecency between males", sodomy and "keeping place of resort for homosexual acts", Sections 154, 155 and 159 in the 1969 Crimes Act ("Cook Islands Crimes Act," 1969). "Under the current Act, there is a penalty of up to five years' imprisonment for 'indecent acts' between two men, and a

sentence of seven years' prison for consensual sodomy" (Kumar, 2019). In 2019, the Select Committee for the bill advised the public that with strong submissions from the religious community, these "anti-gay" laws would be retained with an extension to women in the name of the equality ("Cook Islands 'anti-gay' bill needs review," 2019; "Cook Islands retain ban on homosexuality," 2019; Hopgood, 2017; "Petition calls for homosexuality to be decriminalised in Cooks," 2019). Those identifying as LGBTQI+, their families and their friends, protested loudly across social media, on the streets of New Zealand and Rarotonga, through online petitions, and with further submissions to the Select Committee. In the lead up to the Committee's presentation to the House in 2020, a last-ditch campaign was mobilised by the Te Tiare Society (a representative organisation for the LGBTQI+ community in the Cook Islands) and Pride Cook Islands (an associated brand set up to be a front-facing campaign vehicle for the Society, its associates and their initiatives). The 2020 campaign was buoyed by the catch-cry: "Ko Au, Ko Koe, Ko Tātou" – Me, You, All of us", an emphasis on the human rights issue underlining the bill and more importantly, the significance of kinship and relations to our people. In a campaign video released on Facebook and played on local television in September 2020, the President of Te Tiare Society, Valery Wichman, opens the video, "We are your rainbow community," (Pride Cook Islands, 2020). She is followed by a montage of heartfelt statements from different members of the rainbow community on Rarotonga; "good enough to make your costumes" one member says, "good enough to do community projects" another states, "good enough to fundraise for you", "good enough to compose for you", "good enough to provide sponsorship", from a local businessman. "Good enough to nurse you", a local nurse says pointedly. The video does an excellent job of juxtaposing the incriminating inferences of the proposed bill and the real lives of our relations, so deeply enmeshed with the lives of the audience.

What strikes me about this issue, and the campaigns for and against the human rights of our LGBTQI+ relations, is the way 'akapapa'anga encircles the issue while simultaneously being side-lined. There is much at stake for our society given the issue overlaps so crucially with our mental wellbeing, an area where Māori suffer more than

most other Pacific peoples, particularly in New Zealand[82] (J. Kokaua, 2014). The risk of suicide and mental illness for our people and the LGBTQI+ community is much more likely. This issue has a difficult critical point that is not about centring the usual wealth, "cultural tradition", education, health or even religion, as much of the public discourse has done. For once, it is not about borders and national projects. It is perhaps not even just and only about sexual orientation. It is the idea that the bill represents a state-led imposition of conditions that limit how one can love, grow happiness and feel joy. Through a lens of 'akapapa'anga, such impositions seem particularly disturbing. "We *are* the relationships that we hold and are part of", Shawn Wilson writes, a sentiment that I believe is true of 'akapapa'anga. Our relationships and papa'anga irrevocably tie us to family, community and our wider relations and it seems clear that to empower and to impose restriction and to criminalise the way our LGBTQI+ relations love is to inherently impose restrictions on the aro'a and wellbeing of the collective. In this, 'akapapa'anga ara tangata is a stark reminder of the interdependence of wellbeing and aro'a, poetically framed in the epigraph to the piri'anga section in *Lokal* magazine. It fittingly ties together this section below.

Ka 'aere tātou ki 'ea?

One of the most compelling theoretical aspects of 'akapapa'anga is its temporal reach. In Patricia Grace's conception of the spiral's widening circles, future planning requires an ontological pivot to the near and distant past. If we can be sure of anything, it is what we already know, or at least, what is available to us to know. The issues outlined in these bills brushed against sensitive topics for Māori peoples and I believe some of this comes from the need to understand who we are in the context of these changes. At the core of our fearful, betrayed, angry emotions is a deeper need for community, trust, acceptance and hope for our future. As Reeves and Ataera pointed out in their

[82] A current project from Māori researchers, Sam Manuela, Evangelene Daniela-Wong and Jesse Kokaua aims to ascertain the prevalence of mental health in the Cook Islands (Rarotonga particularly) in lieu of any comprehensive epidemiological study to date. The proposal for the study has been informed by the worrying statistics of the New Zealand-based Māori population apparent in the work of Kokaua and his collaborators. The study is being funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand (Health Research Council NZ, 2020).

Lokal section on piri'anga, "Nothing in nature lives for itself. Rivers don't drink their own water. Trees don't eat their own fruit. The sun doesn't shine for itself. This section is about aro'a – what happens when we don't practise it and how it saves us from ourselves" ("Piri'anga," 2019). Aro'a is one of the most important acts in the Māori world. It is the highest regard we can have for our communities, our ancestors and each other and it is crucial that we continue to practice it as part of 'akapapa'anga and our relational labour.

I highlight these bills in this chapter to show how much 'akapapa'anga can help us locate ourselves and each other in the wider issues at hand. When we peel back the layers of interlocution with international borders, the enormity of public water infrastructure and land management that serves future generations, and the conservative, religious, national identity many of us align ourselves with, we are all still deeply implicated and imbricated in each other's futures. In Chapter 2, I discussed the etymology of 'akapapa'anga and emphasised the senses related to preparation and arrangement. 'Akapapa'anga not only represents these acts but implies nascence, the assumption that papa'anga is always in its becoming and that it is always, therefore, concerned with the future.

Such widening circles

This thesis has explored highly theoretical contemplations of how Māori ontology and epistemology, and 'akapapa'anga specifically, can help us to engage critical questions about the social, political and cultural issues that face te iti tangata Māori. As I have reiterated throughout this thesis, one of the major drivers for this work has come from a frustration with the analyses used in various academic and policy research undertaken about Māori society. Most have foregrounded non-Māori theories of how, for example, migration should be framed, how cultural essentialisms are often fixed, or how political and economic phenomena are not only assumed but inescapable, given the world order of political economy and ethnic discourse. Admittedly, such normative realities are hard to problem-solve, let alone dream beyond. However, as I

have shown, Māori people are engaged in this subjective world-building anyway, underscored by the meaningful practices of ‘akapapa‘anga that reify such imaginations.

This work adds to an already developing scholarly discourse about relational theory and genealogical methodology in the Pacific. Explicit examples like those I listed in Chapter 1 - the *JPS* issue on whakapapa (Lythberg et al., 2019b), the critical writing in the Nālani Wilson-Hokowhitu-edited, *The Past Before Us: Mo'okū'auhau as Methodology* (2019) and the theoretical work of Tēvita Ka‘ili and Hūfanga ‘Ōkusitino Māhina (Ka'ili & Mahina, 2017; Māhina, 1992) - are strong examples of how current and contemporary this work is. These writings show a commitment to prising open our intellectual heritages as cogent, logical and highly valued systems of knowledge-making. All these writings purport that deep contemplation and understanding of genealogical method and practice can meaningfully assist us with decolonial approaches to problem-solving the pressing issues of our time: climate change, global pandemics, environmental, social and economic sustainability, security and intergenerational inheritance. In that light, the theoretical arguments made in this thesis sit alongside these other critical and theoretical offerings, inspired by and in conversation with, the claims they make. Though I was piqued by Ngata and Buck’s practical ontology, I am not prepared to delineate exactly what such an ontology might look like across the diversity of the Māori community, nor would I claim equivalent genealogical practices based only on the cultural and linguistic cognates between Māori, and the Hawaiian or Tongan worlds. Nonetheless, it is in the practice of comparison (Teaiwa’s comparativity) that I see such theoretical dialogues underpinning new frontiers of genealogical and methodological philosophy and theory.

Excitingly, the exploration of relational and genealogical theory sits within a wider context too. Pacific intellectual traditions are now being explored with zeal by scholars of the Pacific. Symposiums, conferences, webinars and academic journals abound with calls for contributions that push the boundaries of indigenous and Pacific critical studies, methodologies, philosophy and theology. Whether that is because Pacific

scholarly work has been nominally flourishing, or because the persistent ineffectiveness of European and Euro-American-centred ontologies has forced institutions to look beyond their own normative biases, it seems clear that critical scholarship about Pacific-centred ways of seeing and being are on the rise. For Māori, it is true that we now have more graduates and scholars than we have ever had before[83] and it is clear that this number are now meaningfully building on the work of key Pacific scholars like Epeli Hau'ofa, Albert Wendt and even the late and dear Teresia Teaiwa. As recently as November 2020, I was invited to participate as a panellist at La Trobe University in Melbourne. The symposium organisers asked panellists to share their experiences of collaborative methodologies and thoughts on how external institutions and outsider researchers could best work with Pacific communities and scholars in order to amplify Pacific agency and decision-making. It was exciting to feel that mostly white academics from an Australian institution were genuinely interested in the knowledge and critical thinking of indigenous Pacific scholars and that they leant into the arguments I put before them: the future for the Pacific happens when we undertake good relations, with aro'a, and that requires *everyone* to deeply inquire, nurture and honour our individual and intersecting genealogies.

As well as this growth in new scholars, there has also been a proliferation of work that continues a post-colonial revisionist tradition that fills out omissions in the intellectual histories of the region. Before Hau'ofa, Wendt and Teaiwa, what other intellectual work was being produced and continued across the Pacific? In their recent edited collection, *Modernisms and Modernities in the Pacific* (2019), papa'ā scholars, Matthew Hayward and Maebh Long gathered essays from papa'ā and indigenous Pacific scholars dismantling and reframing what contributor Susan Standford Friedman called "prevailing metropolitan and continentalist assumptions about modernity" (Standford Friedman, 2019, p. 245). Tracey Banivanua-Mar's *Decolonisation and the*

[83] In the 2018 NZ Census, it showed that the number of Māori higher level graduates had grown, but slowly. For example, in 2006 the census recorded 15 doctoral graduates born in and outside New Zealand. This took 12 years to double to 36 in 2018 (Statistics New Zealand, 2020a).

Pacific: indigenous globalisation and the ends of empire (2016) peered again at decolonisation, decoupling it from the 1960s United Nations-dominant narrative in order to resurface its genealogy beyond just UN intervention. And more recently, Alice Te Punga Somerville's Marsden-funded project, "Writing the New World", steps around the giants of the Pacific literary canon to re-remember the many Pacific writers and writings beyond the veil of a Pacific literary canon that has for so long purported to begin in the 1960s-70s. This thesis follows in this tradition of re-remembering. It is a project that "returns" to a Pacific intellectual tradition in order to address urgent issues from an indigenous Pacific, and specifically Māori, intellectual approach. Before Westphalian principles, nation-states and the dominance of ethnonationalist discourse, how were Māori and indigenous Pacific peoples understanding their relationships to people and place? In returning to those ontological and epistemological orientations, how might we see the social issues and our futures in more productive ways?

This return to our own ways of knowledge-making was eloquently captured by Māori scholar, Stacey Kokaua-Balfour in October 2020 when she published a reflective piece of writing in the arts and culture journal, *The Pantograph Punch*. In the article, "The Shared Whakapapa of Raranga" Kokaua-Balfour reflects on her learning of raranga, or weaving, during the COVID-19 lockdown in New Zealand in early 2020. Kokaua-Balfour has papa'anga to the islands of Palmerston and Rarotonga and in her article she shares her experience of learning to weave from, and alongside, mana whenua (those with territorial rights to particular lands) in Ōtepoti (Dunedin). Kokaua-Balfour's papa'anga is deeply embedded in this piece of writing, contextualised with poignant reflections on moments shared with her Māori grandmother as a young person when she begrudgingly learnt to tuitui – to sew – from her. In an artistic practice taught by tangata whenua, Kokaua-Balfour ultimately finds emotive memories of her own ancestor, her māmā. Her lyricism shows an ongoing and committed practice of genealogically situating herself to the place that is Ōtepoti and to the indigenous mana whenua of that same place. As she writes, "I have my old

pāreu on the floor. I look at what I'm making, the base of my kete whiri[84]. It's a shape I have constructed under the guidance of tangata whenua, using an ancestral practice. Ancestors who came from across Te Moana Nui a Kiva, deliberately, to settle, who sought ways they could make Aotearoa more like home. I know my work would surprise Māmā as much as it surprises me. Look at this, I've woven harakeke into coconut palms" (2020). In this thesis, I have offered explanation of moments like this and Kokaua-Balfour's work confirms what I have suspected all along: 'akapapa'anga is a useful practice in our contemporary times, a way of discovering knowledge about our people and *ourselves* as Māori that mainstream institutional discourses continue to make elusive to us.

From Christina Newport's (2019b) theoretical work on relationality, Liam Kokaua's (2019) recent Master's dissertation on traditional environmental governance in Rarotonga, and even Pāpā Ted Nia's (2010) thesis on the importance of 'akapapa'anga to the ways we build sacred space to govern, this thesis rests alongside these projects of re-remembering and continued Māori intellectual tradition. For a long time, Māori have been missing from some of the urgent, post-colonial, and activist conversations happening in the academy but these exemplars of new (re)thinking signal a reorientation in the intellectual capital Māori society currently holds. In August 2020, historian Miranda Johnson gave a presentation for the seminar series convened by the Department of History at the University of Waikato. As I listened in via Zoom, I realised the rarity of being a Māori scholar in the proverbial room as a non-Māori scholar described the research she was undertaking on the colonial history of the Cook Islands nation. As she spoke about connections formed between Ngāti Whātua ki Ōrakei and Te Au o Tonga vaka, Rarotonga via the relationship-building of Aotearoa Māori rangatira Pāora Tūhaere and the Ariki Nui of Rarotonga, Makea Takau and her husband (and my ancestor) Ngamaruariki Rongotini, I keenly felt the workings of 'akapapa'anga as the historical exercise of understanding past relationships between indigenous peoples might reveal something more, some deeper potential, in the

[84] A woven flax basket with an open weave called whiri, made and named by Aotearoa Māori.

cultural practices of hospitality and kinship that has long been ignored in contemporary politics and nation-building (Paterson, 2018).

Though this particular exercise in building an understanding of ‘akapapa‘anga ara tangata is concluded, there is still much to test about its theoretical potential and to explore about its cultural significance in other contexts. Many of the examples discussed throughout the chapters in this thesis deserve deeper and more sustained work which could not be done here. The nuances of the naming traditions and the “tribalism” of plural Māori communities across the diverse peoples of the Cook Islands, referred to in Chapter 3, remain surprisingly unmapped and though they are persistently mentioned in anecdotal accounts and across the scholarly literature (particularly naming), I believe the full breadth of their theoretical potential for Pacific and Polynesian research remains uncharted. As well, Māori peoples and students would benefit from the record and analyses of the shared and contested genealogies of Māori peoples referred to in Chapter 4. While there seems to be a growing popular discourse about Aotearoa Māori origins in French-occupied Polynesia (Salmon & Smith, 2020), the richness of the ‘Atuikōrero transcript prompts closer attention to materials and knowledge in a nearer past. For example, what might be learnt from a more dedicated study of the audio tape and transcript? What might such a study reveal about the papa‘anga of the different Māori language varieties? Finally, the imaginary I presented in Chapter 5 is a reminder that as the Māori world persistently contracts and expands, there is a need for research that reflects as much as it dreams and theorises ways forward. Quantitative and qualitative data that reflects the Māori world is severely outdated and disparate. I have tried to present a true picture of what ‘akapapa‘anga as I believe it is being practiced across the discreet interview material I have gathered and in my observations during my fieldwork blocks. However, there is much room for extended studies that stretch beyond the reef.

From the very beginning, this research project has taken me in seemingly disparate directions. I have had days feeling guilty for spending hours exploring a cultural tradition, a specific family genealogy, the curious archaeology of the ancient road built by the ancestor Toi on the island of Rarotonga. I have read across the theoretical work

of the Pacific, debating with myself about what to appropriately interpret as cognate while meditating on what those other cultural and genealogical contexts might suggest about connections and disconnections across the histories and papa'anga of Māori peoples. This analytical wrestling has, in itself, produced one of the most important findings of this doctoral thesis, one that truly represents the practice of 'akapapa'anga and the communal meaning-making and storying that I have spoken about throughout each chapter: it is in the comparative realm of the space between, of the great ocean and through the work of 'akapapa'anga, that we might find each other and ourselves.

Conclusion

> I really do think genealogy, genealogy stuff – is so key in knowing who we are and what we are. However, in knowing that it's also – it can be troublesome because it brings up many historical stories that we don't even know about it. And now, it's gonna be us, you in particular, younger ones, to bring it together, to make some sense for the future. (Interview 26/8)

When I think about my grandmother, I imagine a ka'a – a sennit cord – stretching from her, to my mother, to me, and now to the 'enua at our many homes. I imagine her strong fingers, gripping the baby olive tree and putting it into the soil. She packs the crumbly Waiheke clay tightly around the trunk, closes her eyes and begins carving out my world. Of course - it probably wasn't like this at all. My grandmother has green fingers and when I was born she was much younger, a physically strong woman, who took on raising her granddaughter with aro'a.

Figure 10: The olive grove where the author's 'enua and the 'enua of her siblings and first cousins are buried.

She went about working on the 'enua as she did with everything else in life – as normal, as given, as in need of care but never with too much sentimentality. She is much older now and moves more slowly on the 'enua than before, but we still sit under the olive trees together as she tells me stories about Rarotonga and Atiu, and we pick fruit for the oil that we give to our family members and friends.

My grandmother has rarely returned to the Cook Islands since leaving in the 1970s. I took her to Rarotonga during my fieldwork so we could check in with the Ministry of Justice about land matters and so she could visit for what she believed would be her last journey there. When the plane landed, I remember feeling sad, knowing that there would be none of our relations to meet her at the airport with the flower 'ei our people give to visitors who come home. All of her closest relations had left the Cook Islands long ago or had passed away in recent years. I felt ashamed I hadn't thought about this before we got on the plane. When we emerged through the arrivals door, a dear

friend of mine (and a distant relation) who I'd become friends with on my many solo trips to Rarotonga for work and research over the years, bustled toward us with three large 'ei thick with the smell of tiare taina. I wanted to cry that she had remembered we were arriving that day. In the way Ngāputoru people do, she wanted to make sure my grandmother didn't arrive without the customary welcome. She pressed coconut bread and meika (bananas) into our arms, a quick exchange of papa'anga in her Ma'uke language to my grandmother and aunt to explain who she was and how she was related, and then she was gone, back to life on Rarotonga with an invitiation to come and visit her the day after. As we drove out of the airport, another friend saw me as I waited to turn into the traffic and beeped their car horn loudly, waving out of the car window. My grandmother murmured to me in the front seat, "Gosh, they all know you, darling". I felt proud that she said so but mostly just grateful for the praxes of 'akapapa'anga I'd engaged in during the duration of this project and the many years I'd committed to learning about our people.

This was the first time my grandmother and I had ever been in Rarotonga together. I'd spent years wishing she would agree to come with me so we could visit the places she told me about, so she could introduce me to our relations without the anxiety I'd become accustomed to during my years of learning about our papa'anga. I expected every growing and learning pain to disappear when she was with me. In truth, the many years she'd spent away from the home islands along with the relational connections she'd lost throughout the years, made the Rarotonga of 2018 unfamiliar to her for the most part. New buildings, new generations of families, new ways of speaking te reo Māori, all disorientated her. The 'enua looked different, she said. This was not what I had expected, but I found something else. As I ferried my grandmother and aunt from one village to the next, (re)introducing them to relations and moving about the homes of our families with an ease that surprised them both, I realised I'd been doing so much relational work in the preceding years I hadn't even noticed it for what it was.

All of the learning, research, conversations and acts of 'akapapa'anga that I've learnt about and engaged in over the years leading to and throughout this project, has taught

me so much about te iti tangata Māori and about myself. And in learning about myself and the discursive ways of my papa'anga, I have also learnt about our people, particularly the aspects of genealogical practices that I believe to be at work in our every day lives. While preoccupied with wanting my grandmother to guide me through the relational acts we as Māori find meaningful, I found I'd been doing so all along, spending many hours sharing stories and listening to elders in the Cook Islands, days spent contemplating the significance of our language to our world-view and knowledge-making practices, many more hours thinking deeply about the subjectivities that are built from knowing one's puna vai or the intention and meaning being invoked by the planting of 'enua and the umbilical cord. At the conclusion of this project, I find myself marvelling at the power of 'akapapa'anga ara tangata and the correlations it has empowered me to see in the discussions and argumentation offered in this thesis. It has given me an understanding of my world and of my relations, my people and my loved ones that I am and will always be deeply grateful for. As I think about our collective future, I feel sure that recentring our own ontologies and epistemologies, and 'akapapa'anga in particular, will allow us to determine our own, sovereign ways forward. May we always practice 'akapapa'anga ara tangata and in so doing, may we always find each other, and ourselves, in the papa'anga.

Appendices

Appendix A: Guiding Interview questions approved by the Victoria University of Wellington, Human Ethics Committee

POWELL, E
300107485

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Probable Guiding Interview Questions

Te 'akapapa nei tātou: Discursive genealogies and (re)mapping the 'Cook Islands Universe'

1. Where did you grow up?
2. What does 'akapapa'anga or genealogy mean to you?
3. How is your 'akapapa'anga or genealogy a part of Te Maeva Nui?
4. What motivates you to be at Te Maeva Nui this year?
5. Please describe your favourite part(s) of Te Maeva Nui.
6. What does the phrase 'Cook Islands Universe' mean to you?
7. How would you describe 'home'?
8. How are the Cook Islands [and/or New Zealand/Australia] a part of 'home'?
9. How would you describe your national identity?
10. Please describe what the terms 'Cook Islands Māori' and 'the Cook Islands' mean to you?

Appendix B: Cook Islands Research Permit

COOK ISLAND RESEARCH COMMITTEE
OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
PRIVATE BAG, RAROTONGA, COOK ISLANDS
Phone +682 211-50 Facsimile +682 20-856
Email: research.secretariat@cookislands.gov.ck Web: www.cook-islands.gov.ck

File ref: 510.3
Letter no: 19-015

26 June 2019

Miss Emma Powell
PHD candidate
Victoria University
Wellington
New Zealand

Kia Orana,

RE: APPROVED RESEARCH APPLICATION

I am pleased to advise that the National Research Committee has granted approval for your research titled "Te 'akapapa nei tātou: Discursive genealogies and (re)mapping the 'Cook Islands Universe'" in Rarotonga from 28 June 2019 to 28 June 2020

Enclosed is your research permit issue # 15/19

The following conditions listed below have been imposed by the National Research Committee

- The researcher complies with the Cook Islands Immigration
- The researcher provides a preliminary report to the Office of the Prime Minister at the earliest
- The researcher provides three (3) hard copies + one (1) e-copy of the final output generated from this research to the Office of the Prime Minister by June 2021.

[redacted]
CHAIRPERSON

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