'Ngā Matatiki Mātauranga: Māori collections and libraries, Tikanga ways of being'

by

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Karakia for our Journey

Because this research contains mātauranga Māori that at times is tapu (restrictive), the privileging of this information needs to be respected. It is therefore asked of you to invoke this karakia when first reading the paper.

Whakarongo, whakarongo
Whakarongo ki ngā kupu,
Whakarongo ki ngā kupu o Tane rāua ko Pakotī.
Ngā kupu a Tane rāua ko Pakotī, i tohungia nei te tohu o te toiora.
Kapohia, kapohia kākahutia i runga i a koe.
Māhou i hoatu ki te ao nei.
Haumi e! Hui e! Tāiki e![1]

Mihi

Ngā mihi ki a koutou, ko te whānau, ngā atua rāua ko ngā tīpuna.

Through your guiding hands I have been enabled to produce this piece of work which bears the thoughts and feelings of my mātua tīpuna.

Whāia te iti kahurangi ki te piko tō tuarā me he maunga teitei noa
— Hori Tupaea, 1842

Ko manawa tēnei, ngā uri o ngā tīpuna.

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[1] This Karakia was first presented to me by ngā kaiako at Te Wānanga o Raukawa in 2021, when commencing my mahi in mahi toi Raranga classes. It can be applied across contexts, for within us all is an interwoven whakapapa that connects us through both time and space.

Abstract

There is trauma in how Indigenous knowledge collections in libraries are managed. This paper seeks to understand the Māori context of Indigenous knowledges management in library collections. A review of selected library policies regarding collection development and specifically Māori collection content will be explored using Mead's Tikanga Test (2003). From this analysis will be inferred the ways in which Pākehā (Non-Māori/Non-Indigenous persons) manage Indigenous knowledges in culturally-unsafe ways, followed by a best practices guide for culturally-safe management of Indigenous collections. This will draw from a Māori perspective, in Aotearoa-New Zealand as this paper draws upon a kaupapa Māori framework. The framework will drive the findings to tell the story of Indigenous collections in Aotearoa and how best to distinguish our futures.

PART 1: TIMATANGA NGĀ KŌRERO

Mātauranga Māori me ōna Tikanga is a crucial element in Te Ao Māori. Much like other Indigenous cultures, this Indigenous knowledge and information is a foundation for Māori culture as it passes down through the generations and becomes a source of understanding across an entirety of possible interpretations and applications. It has a dynamic and living Mauri (the life force) that is embodied through the actions and consequences made by Tangata Whenua today. To understand and live tikanga Māori, the protocols and knowledge base, is to understand our culture. Similarly, with mātauranga Māori being the Indigenous knowledge of the Māori people it is found within Aotearoa-New Zealand's library institutions. These Māori collections, or general collections which feature Māori knowledge, are not always kept within tikanga Māori standards. In terms of the ownership, and use of Indigenous knowledges, it has therefore become a commodification of our culture in ways that are out of our control. For Indigenous peoples, this represents a changing dynamic in our ability to regulate and enforce our Tino Rangatiratanga - which can loosely be translated as sovereignty - in ways that then reduce our mana ā-hapū or ā-iwi (autonomous and wider familial groups).

The state holds power over the use of mātauranga Māori (traditional Māori knowledge). This knowledge includes the handling of many manuscripts of Māori whakapapa, correspondence, and newspapers. It has become nation-state property as 'archived' collections and national taonga (loosely translated 'treasured inheritance'). This in turn, creates the precedent that anything of value regarding Māori knowledge, is to be kept within memory and knowledge institutions such as Te Puna o Mātauranga Aotearoa (The National Library), away from its actual home - amongst the whānau of the hapū and iwi to which it can whakapapa to.

Research Problem

Therein lies an issue that is often created in the transferral of Indigenous knowledge ownership, and its management, taken over by libraries. These Indigenous Knowledges[2] presented and understood by the institution of a Pākehā (Western) library are oftentimes displayed and managed in culturally-unsafe ways that do not conform to tikanga Māori. The author means to define 'culturally-unsafe' by way of Māori information being accessed in an open-ended way (such as being open-source), where the once-given status of tapu is no longer adhered to, and for the information to be owned by the state. Māori information is any information that is about Māori, from Māori or about the environment in which Māori reside (Tukutai, 2016).

The institution of the library can instil a recurring compromise to the Indigenous peoples where culturally sensitive information is deemed fit for public use through open access, the lack of tikanga-based practices, or through the misdirection of library policies regarding both general and Māori collections containing mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledges). Furthering this problem is that often access and selection of maintenance (collection management) of the Indigenous knowledges is administered and run-by non-Indigenous persons on behalf of Indigenous peoples. This is how the integrity of the Indigenous knowledges can be compromised or deemed 'culturally-unsafe'.

This research seeks to example through best practices of culturally-safe management of Indigenous knowledges through the examination of key collection policies from five major libraries in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Through these findings amidst a discussion of practices that would conform to a tikanga Māori way of managing Indigenous knowledges, the author hopes to restore the mana of their people, and create a better Aotearoa and library system. One that Indigenous peoples can modify, and participate in, to reclaim their Indigeneity and knowledges.

Ngā Pātai Rangahau - The research questions

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[2] I use the term 'knowledges' plurally to ensure the breadth and depth of Indigenous knowledge is not compromised. There are many different forms of Indigenous knowledge and sciences, and so this term seeks to cover this.

<u>The Overarching pātai</u>

What role does kaupapa/tikanga Māori have on how libraries manage mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledges) in their collections?

<u>Supplementary guiding pātai</u>

Through the use of three further questions the author will provide a line of inquiry centred around the presentation and management of Indigenous knowledges in culturally-safe (or unsafe) ways. To consider first, how does Aotearoa-New Zealand present Indigenous knowledge in library spaces? Additionally, how do we as Māori keep our knowledge (Mātauranga Māori) culturally-safe? i.e. How do we identify knowledge and protect this? Third, how then should we organise and present this knowledge in a culturally-safe way within libraries?

By grounding ourselves in what is tikanga and how kaupapa operates, we can infer a way of understanding how Māori look at knowledge transmission, and identify the best practices for libraries to adhere to when managing collections of Indigenous knowledges.

Our over-arching pātai: *What role does kaupapa/tikanga Māori have on how libraries care for mātauranga Māori in their collections?*

This question will be discussed throughout, though to understand this discussion we need to define tikanga which through an English medium proves difficult to do justice with. According to the kaumātua (elder) Sir Hirini Moko Mead (2016: 14), Tikanga 'underpinning all activities that members of whānau, hapū and iwi engage in is an ethical system and a system of common law', and that 'they are following the accepted rules of how certain actions should be done and what they are doing meets the standard of being tika (right) and pono (true to the culture and looking right)" (14).

Tikanga Māori stems not only from a common law approach, but is deeply integrated within Māori society and as whaea (auntie) Ani Mikaere asserts it is Aotearoa's first law (Mikaere, 2011). Tikanga Māori transforms the ways in which Māori dynamically assess and interpret situations around them. This assertion is then applied in a variety of ways, which to kaumātua Moana Jackson includes being grounded in restorative justice (Elkington et al. 2020).

To the author, Tikanga Māori, doing things the right way or the Māori way, refers to inviting cultural norms and expectations into the associated activities you are performing in ways that reflect not just on yourself but also for that of your hapū and iwi. Moreover, tikanga guides Māori (and non-Māori) to commit themselves to a collective sense of responsibility and ensuring that the benefits are shared equally, both tangible and intangible, amongst others in a reciprocal and manaaki-centred way. A manaaki-centred way means a concerned and caring approach to the taonga (gifts/treasures) that hold mātauranga Māori. That like other resources, the role of kaitiaki (in this context "guardian"), is a position held by Māori whereby there is a sense of responsibility and earnestness to look after taonga, and our taiao (environment) with due diligence as being members of our whānau (family) through whakapapa (genealogy).

To consider what tikanga means for Māori collections there needs to be a reminder of the key tenet of responsibility. This responsibility is to ensure you are using, and seeking, Indigenous information in the 'correct way' and not over-stepping the boundaries of knowledge between hapū and iwi. Potentially, this could mean deconstructing the ideal of open access information. We could find further ways for interpreting tikanga and kaupapa in library collections through this research by exploring the methodology used.

Methodology and Justification of research method

Kaupapa Māori has been chosen as the lens to which to conduct this research because it reflects a Māori kaupapa, that is, a Māori theme or purpose. By aligning ourselves with Māori values and ways of expression we are creating a familiar and united stance not only for the Indigenous knowledges that are represented but also to the whakapapa that is inherently interwoven throughout this work, in a mana-enhancing way. An example by Moana Jackson is the house metaphor, whereby a run-down house that is being restored takes effort from both sides of society, Māori and non-Māori alike to have a fully functioning whare (Jackson, 2020). You cannot have different parts being brought in that do not fit together well. You need a partnership, which means means we need Pākehā support in libraries and their collections. I will examine this by way of a comparative literature analysis of library protocols/policies using the 'Tikanga Test' (2003) by the kaumātua (elder) Sir Hirini Moko Mead.

The author will investigate several collection policies of libraries in Aotearoa, comparing where these policies both serve and leave room for improvement for Indigenous collections containing mātauranga Māori. My methodology will rely on the 'Tikanga Test' as positioned by Sir Hirini Moko Mead in his book *Tikanga: Living by Māori Values* (2018). This test consists of five segments which follow Mead's understanding of tikanga (2003), modified to include mātauranga Māori:

- Test 1 *The Tapu Aspect - Tapu relates to the sacredness of the person.* When evaluating ethical issues especially amongst mātauranga Māori materials, it is important to consider whether there will be a breach of tapu, if there is, will the gain or outcome from the breach be worth it.
- Test 2: *The Mauri Aspect - Mauri refers to the life essence of a person or object.* In an mātauranga Māori context, one must consider whether the Mauri of an object or a thing will be compromised and to what extent.
- Test 3: *The Take-utu-ea aspect - Take (Issue) Utu (Cost) Ea (Resolution). Take-utu-ea refers to an issue that requires resolution.* Once an issue or conflict has been identified, the utu refers to a mutually agreed upon cost or action that must be undertaken to restore the issue and resolve it.
- Test 4: *The Precedent aspect. T*his refers to looking back at previous examples of similar issues that have been resolved in the past. Precedent is used to determine appropriate action for now.
- Test 5: *The Principles aspect.* This refers to a collection of other Maori principles or values that may enhance and inform a policy or position statement. This includes Māori values such as *manaakitanga (fellowship, caring for others), kaitiakitanga (guardianship), noa (neutrality), mana and tika (right)* amongst other appropriate values from a tikanga Māori perspective*.*

These five segments of the 'Tikanga Test' (2003), refer to the ways in which Māori ascertain and move through cultural and symbolic nuances of actions and information. This author will use the 'Tikanga Test' to evaluate collection policies and other library documents that present Indigenous collections and compare them within a kaupapa Māori lens. What follows after the testing is a discussion regarding the five libraries in which the author synthesises the results.

Discussion of assumptions and limitations

This research will rely on the gathering of documents from libraries, i.e. their collection policies and other relevant policies from councils regarding various topics concerning tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori. In particular, there will be surveyed a selection of five libraries in Aotearoa and their policy documents. The five libraries are Wellington City

Libraries, Auckland City Libraries, Dunedin City Libraries, Christchurch City Libraries, and Tauranga City Libraries. These centres were focused on because of their large populations, and diverse living communities. The author felt it would be more meaningful to survey the urban libraries where tikanga and kaupapa Māori were more likely to be experienced or approached using different values, with the notable exception of course for the Hawkes Bay Region with their Ahuriri Napier libraries. As the scope for this research is quite narrow, it is reasoned that five major libraries in terms of population would be best suited for investigation.

The limitations to this study is the lack of investigation around these subjects in the literature. Although Indigenous collections are plentiful, the objective in finding culturally-safe or appropriate ways in handling mātauranga Māori is not overtly considered often in library policies. By investigating major libraries' policies regarding collections the author hopes to present recommendations for the information to be presented or managed in ways that create a safe environment for Indigenous peoples. Ultimately, this is to access their information and knowledges within the library setting. This will also assist libraries in embracing more tikanga-based policies and actions within their collections and library spaces.

Te Haerenga Tīmatanga: Historical background to libraries and Indigenous collections

To understand how libraries maintain and give access to Indigenous collections and our knowledges we must examine the capturing of Indigenous knowledges by outsiders and the expressions, or lack, of tikanga. This will inform us of how libraries gather Indigenous knowledges into their collections, and the historical context for libraries to be displaying such collections often without regard to tikanga.

Perhaps the most notorious Anthropologist in Aotearoa, Elsdon Best began gathering information on Māori culture and language when he returned to Aotearoa after a short time working overseas. Before his overseas excursion however, Best participated in the Armed Constabulary during their raid on the peaceful Taranaki settlement of Parihaka[3] in November 1881 in a Māori contingent (Sissons, 2022). His return in 1886 heralded a new

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[3] This is a particularly traumatic experience for many whānau of Taranaki, and indeed a shameful and abhorrent period of Aotearoa history.

method of deception, acquired from his friend Percy Smith (another ethnographer), who encouraged Best to study the Māori culture. Eventually Smith's establishment of the Polynesian Society in 1892 made way for Best and other ethnographers to introduce collective works on Māori society, pre-European values and limited understandings of tikanga. (Sissons, 2022).

Arguably Best, like others, were intent on recording Māori history, traditions and culture due to the racist ideology of the Māori 'race' dying out (Byrnes, 2006). This approach towards the Māori people was articulated through various land-grabbing (thefts) of Māori held whenua (lands) and through later periods of the colonial government via active legislation. This legislation sought to genocide Māori culture through assimilation, and physically through the displacement of lands and the destruction of the Māori people in engaged warfare[4] (Walker, 2012). Even amongst colonists outside of government, this viewpoint was held in common (Newman, 1882: 459-477). The commonly held approach of both the Māori culture and as a people were dying out, was widespread not just throughout Aotearoa-New Zealand, but reported globally, especially through the works of Missionaries and early 'explorers' (Stenhouse, 2002: 124).

Throughout this milieu of racism and privilege, writers such as Best formed relationships with Māori and recorded our traditions and cultural knowledge based on their assumptions of the dying out of our people. The knowledges shared in trust to Best and colleagues was considered important, with varying tapu (restrictions) on parts of information. However, what becomes of this knowledge is of most importance to this research. Best most famously works with the Tūhoe (Best, 1925), however in doing so Best's writing is in a particular context and understanding. His personal beliefs and worldview have removed the safety of the Indigenous knowledge, and in some cases has changed the knowledge to fit Pākehā ideals and positions of power or authority.

As can be assumed from this culturally-held milieu, the basis of operating in Tikanga was not to be exampled in the libraries. With the publishing of Best's notes in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* and the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, came the accessibility to this knowledge to a selective public. In time, these publications made their

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4 This included but is not limited to Te Renga Massacre, as part of the raupatu of Tauranga (See Stokes, *The Raupatu of Tauranga Vol. 1* 1992). These, and other examples of violent destruction of the Māori people are commonplace throughout the history of Aotearoa-New Zealand.

way onto the library shelves following the publication of *Waikaremoana, the Sea of Rippling Waters, With a Tramp through Tuhoe Land* in 1897 in the wake of Pōneke (Wellington) Council's first public library established in 1893 near the site of its Central library (NZ History: 2020).

The trend of ethnographers to publish their works on Māori to the wider public engaged the belief that Māori were dying out, as noted previously, which continued late into the 1930s. This analogous perception was linked to earlier and contemporary missionary activity regarding the 'civilising' of Māori and the spreading of the 'Word of God'. Early missionaries for example were the first to create a Māori language dictionary in 1844 by the Reverend William Williams (Te Ara, 2021), further modifying the Māori language and therefore its mātauranga. This further diminished the role of Tikanga in engaging with Māori communities, and there were no instructions on culturally-safe ways to access the Indigenous knowledges being recorded and presented to the wider public. In fact, due to understanding of the time, the public were more inclined to refute the need for respect or responsibility, as evidenced by later legislation encouraged by the New Zealand Parliament such as the Tohunga Suppression Act (of 1907), as well as further land laws (Boast et al. 2004).

Māori, on the instruction and debilitating actions of the Missionaries, had taken on literacy as a stylised 'saving grace'. This burgeoning expression of Māoridom took on a life of its own with the eventual establishment of Māori newspapers, manuscripts and letters - the former being made available in public institutions such as libraries, as being printed by the government as early as 1842 (McRae, 2022). These materials were also the private domain of Māori whānau and hapū, particularly the manuscripts which often included lists of whakapapa known as 'whakapapa books'. These manuscripts were often sold to private collectors after being written for monetary gains by Māori who could see the value of their information (Lilley, 2022).

Māori knowledge and customs was becoming more and more the preserve of the public, and less restrictive due to the social pressures of urbanisation, warfare of the preceding decades such as the Land Wars (also known as muru raupatu, Keenan 2021) and the ongoing detrimental effects of colonisation. This information was being regularly captured for public and academic consumption across libraries amongst various institutions including local councils.

This early management of Indigenous collections of colonial ideas and expressions about Māori cultural knowledge and information was being presented in these early libraries, both in public and academic institutions, including in newspapers (McRae, 2022).

During the period known as 'the Māori Renaissance' of the 1980s, Māori saw the reclaiming of their whenua, culture and whakapapa expressed in a myriad of ways including that of the Kōhanga Reo, Māori-led preschool and in various publications such as the publicly available *Te Ao Hou* magazine (McRae, 2022). New methods of research from heightened awareness of what it meant to be Māori and the expressions of Māoritanga that grew out of this renaissance heralded the emergence of kaupapa Māori. Originally an opportunity to change Māori education, it represented a turning point for Māori research and methodologies with the rise of subsequent kaupapa Māori models such as the very successful Te Whare Tapa Whā by Sir Mason Durie (1994), who used kaupapa Māori paradigms to illustrate an extension of Māori health and research.

This movement for libraries arose out of the need for resources from the burgeoning Waitangi Tribunal who extended grievance claims back to the year of 1840 in 1985 (Waitangi Tribunal, 20022), where libraries suddenly found themselves hard pressed for archival and historical information in which Māori could present their claims to the tribunal. Eventually uptake in Māori usage of libraries and archives resulted in the publication of *He Puna Taunaki: Te Reo Māori in Libraries* by Hinureina Mangan and assisted by Chris Szekely (1995) This publication outlined ways that libraries could engage in Māori culture and assume some responsibility for the upholding of tikanga Māori (Mangan and Szekely, 1995).

To consider: *How do we as Māori keep our knowledge culturally-safe, how is knowledge identified and protected?*

Before testing the library policy documents for aspects of tikanga, we must understand both concepts of tapu and noa, and how these terms relate to tikanga Māori. This is because te ao Māori, the Māori worldview is predicated upon an overarching truth or way of being: that of whakapapa. The values ascribed to tapu and noa have changed in meaning. This is largely stemming from the works of Best and other Anthropologists or Ethnologists who applied their own cultural values and interpretation onto te ao Māori.

Tapu, in its strictest sense, means 'restriction' (Mead, 2016); to forego actions upon something, and to continue to bring mana to those involved. Tapu, in recent history, has transformed in meaning to an ascribed sense of 'the sacred' within a Christian lens. Indeed, some actions requiring tapu were sacred, and there are certain rites or ways of doing things, the tikanga of actions or aspects, that relate to being sacred. One of these aspects that were made tapu, was knowledge.

Through Tikanga for Māori, learning and understanding our culture is reaffirmed through the gentle (and sometimes firm) guiding by kaumātua (elders). However not all knowledge is shared amongst everyone (Penetito, 2010). There are restrictions based on an understanding of tapu and the tikanga of knowledge for the community. Not every Māori person is entitled to know, for instance, the whakapapa of a tribe they do not whakapapa to. Likewise, not everyone is entitled to traditional mātauranga about te taiao, the environment. It is considered an inappropriate acquisition of knowledge and is generally guarded by elders when communicating these things to their mokos (grandchildren) or other nation members of the same hapū and iwi. Libraries today are growing in their understanding of integrating mātauranga Māori within a tikanga-based way in their collections by hiring Māori specialists in these roles. This is at odds with the Indigenous Australian experience.

Indigenous Australians are likewise encouraged to engage within the LIS system in Australia (Nakata et al. 2005). However, this concept relies on the Indigenous persons having to explain and guide the library to a shared understanding. Nakata and others (2005) have found that libraries are still reliant on gaining knowledge from Indigenous peoples, instead of modifying their own institutions or up-skilling their staff in this modern period of librarianship.

PART 2: The Evidence

To consider: *how does Aotearoa-New Zealand present Indigenous knowledge in library spaces?*

The collection development system in place within Aotearoa libraries is holistic-based. Exampled by Hibner and Kelly (2013), it is a 'positive' system. What is meant by it being a positive system, is that it relates generally to a Māori-centric worldview. Note however this is not a comparative expression of Te Ao Māori but could be likened to a step towards a deeper understanding of the collections and materials held within a library. The holistic collection development system is one that purposefully reviews all materials in the library collections, attuning their usefulness and flexibility against incoming newer materials. These conceptions of information management and organisation, often held today as the appropriate way to manage collections, are similar to Indigenous practices in which the holistic aspects of a function - in this case collections - are maintained in ways that incorporate every part of the process. However these conceptions do not go far enough as they are grounded in Pākehā perceptions of importance or values.

This means therefore, that the system does not account for the actual knowledge itself, its origins and multi-purpose meaning beyond mere utility. This is why we need to investigate culturally-safe ways of managing collections, especially with regards to tikanga in libraries. Through a selection of documents that drive library policy and development, the author will investigate ways that organise and promote mātauranga Māori, assessing whether they utilise tikanga Māori. Afterwards within the results section the author will be suggesting some best practices to incorporate tikanga Māori as the result of understanding library documents and policy.

For libraries, a cornerstone of their development process, and the presentation of collections, comes from collection development policies. These are documents that lay out the acquisition, maintenance and scheduled disposal of materials from their collections (Mack, 2003). These policies usually align to the mission statement of the library, and of the associated council and include guiding principles that the collection adheres to when materials are being selected and maintained. For instance, this may include books of notable worth which should be retained indefinitely either as special collections or in reference. The policy may also outline various descriptors of books that cannot be

collected by the library. Furthermore the policy document may include ways in which a variety of opinions or perspectives must be catered for in terms of selection i.e. a children's collection, adult fiction, periodicals (journals and magazines), and a Māori collection.

In the literature of library collection development policies we find the required sections of policy development, such as the 'preserving the uniqueness of the city' or town the library is located in such as within Auckland City Libraries (2020). Further in these documents it may refer to widening its collection alongside the history of a region as a group of libraries can represent a wider geographical area such as in Central Otago with the Queenstown and Lakes District (2021).

When utilising Mead's Tikanga Test, we can begin to understand how tikanga can play a major, or minor, role in collection development. Firstly this author tested the Wellington City Library Collection Development Policy (2016) using the Mead 'Tikanga Test' (2003).

In the first instance, the section on commitment to partnership with Wellington Māori is limiting the first test of tapu by way of indicating that a wider heritage and identity can be formed using their collections whakapapa materials. This alludes to the library's open-access to these knowledges, which to Mead and traditional Māori learning, is a breach of tapu. Secondly, the council and library position their partnership not with mana whenua (the leading and authoritative group of hapū and the iwi) but with all Wellington Māori. This perhaps may be giving life to test two in the instance of Mauri (life force) not being ethically compromised. However the policy is limited when going against test three because the Utu of a Take (an issue needing resolution) is to be confronted before moving forward.

The Take here is the open-access to whakapapa knowledges. It does not build in any Ea (resolution) to negate the Take (issue), therefore it fails test three. Furthermore, test four may be passed, as past situations could be considered for use in these collections and the appropriate or *tika* (correct) solution could proceed to enable a resolution (whether they consider the past is undetermined). Finally, under the fifth test, Māori values of *manaakitanga* and *kaitiakitanga* (fellowship and guardianship) could be expressed more fully by way of expanding the collection to include whakapapa materials alongside greater amounts of books on other iwi and if possible the various hapū of Wellington's mana whenua. However to pass the test these materials would have to be carefully monitored and appropriately resourced amongst the other mātauranga within the collection.

Wellington City Libraries - T1: Fail, T2: Pass, T3: Fail, T4: Pass (room for improvement), T5: Pass (possible). Overall the grade is a fail.

Furthering the use of mātauaranga Māori and the allowance of tikanga guiding collections is included in Auckland Library's collection policy, *Auckland Libraries Collection Policy* (2020). The first test used in this policy passes, in that the document does not divulge any tapu information, or infer the direct use of the information. The second test provides a good use of the Mauri of the document, being regularly updated, and provides adequate use of Te Reo Māori throughout giving the status of Māori a proper standing. For the third test, there is a specific mention of mātauranga Māori and a commitment to respecting the tikanga of the collections and knowledge, thus avoiding the Utu (cost) of resolving a take (issue). The fourth test has been passed, however it would bade well for the library to seek out further collection development initiatives that could directly relate to Māori collections in order to take into the future their use of past knowledge. The fifth test of Māori values is conveyed through the *tika* relationship to the collections, and the recognising of Te Tiriti obligations, as likened to the value of *noa* (neutrality) in partnership.

Auckland City Libraries - T1: Pass, T2: Pass, T3: Pass, T4: Pass (but could improve), T5: Pass. Overall the grade is a pass.

As for Christchurch's library policies there was a separation of sections between the main collection policy and separate policies for other genera such as a *Pasifika collection policy* (2019). In applying the 'Tikanga Test' (Mead) to the main collection policy '*Content Development Policy*'(2018), there is found a reasonable comparison against the other library policies discussed.

For test one, there is small recognition of tangata whenua within the principles section, outlining a bicultural commitment in providing emphasis on building a Māori collection, whilst recognising the unique position of "Māori as the Indigenous people of Aotearoa, New Zealand". There is no conflict of information regarding the tapu nature of specific materials, it does not divulge hapū or iwi specific details. For test two, there is little inclusion of kaupapa Māori in the overall policy itself, however there are reflective values guiding the collection as part of the bicultural commitment. In test three the Take (issue), Utu (cost) and Ea (resolution) is perhaps the lack of kaupapa Māori policy outside of this

collection development policy in its main form. In this way, it fails to present a solution for integrating tikanga Māori into its collections (as a general lack for a Māori collection). As for test four, Christchurch library perhaps tries to capture a community spirit in offering a bicultural service and sentiment looking more to the future than to past examples. Christchurch's test five, therein lies the underlying principle of *noa* (neutrality) in relation to a bicultural commitment and effort for positive inclusion in the library collections and therefore only provides one out of two Māori value commitments in its policy.

It is difficult to ascertain where in the library the Māori collection sits, as their specific policy for Pasifika does not include Aotearoa, leaving the majority of information to be tested against the main collection policy.

Christchurch City Libraries - T1: Pass, T2: Pass (limited), T3: Fail, T4: Fail (but could improve), T5: Fail. Overall the grade is a fail.

Dunedin public library has a robust collection policy, alongside a similar approach to Christchurch in that Dunedin library has a list of separate policies regarding aspects of their collection. Unlike Christchurch libraries however, they include a separate Māori collection policy named *Taiehu policy* (2016). Dunedin in this regard offers a refreshing insight into Māori collections directly, and it is this policy which will be tested.

Firstly the policy reflects positively the Tapu test. There is no specific mention of tūpuna, or of particular knowledge relating to any of the hapū or iwi of the region. There is a note that although this policy specifically mentions the Taiehu Māori collection, it states that the principles therein apply generally to smaller Māori collections amongst the Dunedin branch libraries. For test two we can see the document as not being a living document, there are no elements of Te Ao Māori within the policy, but merely a listing of guidelines regarding the collection and its usage. It may be updated which could direct the *mauri* (life force) to being present, however this would rely on the passing of test five. In understanding test three, the Take (issue) is when whakapapa materials are discussed. Although the collection is made up of all things Te Aō Māori, the Utu or cost in this policy is to have whakapapa materials separated from the Māori collection into the Heritage collection assumedly alongside Pākehā genealogical materials.

This presents a situation for Ea, a resolution, to rise up from this separation, and yet this does not happen. There is no explanation provided, therefore in test three the policy fails. For test four the policy clearly has been worked on using knowledge from the past, and is grounded by the history of the collection as mentioned in the policy document, for this reason it passes. Test five, the aim of the policy is to engage southern Māori with mātauranga and to 'foster a deeper understanding of tikanga', therefore what surrounds this policy is the Māori values of *manaakitanga*, *kaitiakitanga* of Māori materials especially in terms of deselection, and *tika* (what is right). It does this by gathering the resources closely together to build a robust collection that is underpinned by mātauranga Māori and is reflective of local Māori needs.

Dunedin City Libraries - T1: Pass, T2: Fail (but could be improved), T3: Fail, T4: Pass, T5: Pass. Overall the grade is a pass.

The final library to be tested is Tauranga City Libraries. There are two policies of note, one for the services of Tauranga City Libraries, and the *Libraries Archives Policy (2020)*. The latter being the one tested as to the general robustness of tikanga Māori within collections and of Māori materials within those collections. Test one is whether there is a breach of tapu, in this instance the policy presents the knowledges as a partnership between Māori and Pākehā under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The policy makes arrangements for the acquisition, management and access of materials through an understanding of tikanga Māori. It passes. Test two, whether the Mauri (life force) remains intact and relevant to the collection as a whole is positively received. This is because the influences of tikanga Māori are shown to be positive and engaging within the document. Although not completely guiding the policy, the tikanga Māori aligns the various hapū and iwi ki Tauranga Moana. Test three in which there is Take (issue) surrounding materials of Māori whānau (families) not being included in the wider policy, indicates the Utu (cost) of mana (recognition) that is accorded to the materials.

To achieve Ea (resolution), the policy refers to the inclusion of Schedule One which relates the conditions that librarians can meet when acquiring or disposing of materials. This in some way limits the exclusion of Māori materials from the collection but it does not provide ample understanding of Ea (resolution) to any reference of Māori collections. Therefore in total there is a solution offered for the general materials, and in respecting the mana of the materials and persons related to the materials, it passes test three. Test four indicates that

Tauranga City Libraries looks to the past when reviewing their policies, as evidence by the inclusion of a previous policy document, Library Services Policy 2013 in reference to the more updated version of 2016 similarly to this document. Test five, the final test indicates the *mana*, another key Māori value, of the various hapū and iwi are considered in the Libraries Archives policy whereby the tribal boundaries are included in the acquisition and management of the materials. The partnership alluded to earlier indicates a sense of *manaakitanga* also.

Tauranga City Libraries and Archive - T1: Pass, T2: Pass, T3: Pass, T4: Pass, T5: Pass. Overall the grade is a pass.

Through these concepts of Pākehā learning and rights of access, deemed in ways to be transparent 'ownership' of the information, Māori have tried to retain their ancestral knowledges and rights of access and restriction in Māori spaces. This is because in these spaces Māori can effectively manage their resources and knowledges. However, in library spaces under collection development policies, Māori specialists are reclaiming through tikanga their mātauranga.

In this struggle, Māori attempt to assert our sense of belonging and the intricacies of whakapapa against a milieu of colonising and assimilationist rhetoric regarding our inherent traditional knowledges and intellectual property. Metge (2015) in her book about Māori methods of learning and teaching, underscores valuable lessons of how information and knowledge is transferred by Māori - including how we identify and protect this knowledge through specific practices (tikanga) and collective concepts such as whakapapa. It is here next that this author attempts to provide further safeguards derived from tikanga for Māori knowledge and collections in libraries.

The Results: A guide towards culturally-safe best practices
To consider: *How then should we organise and present this knowledge in a culturally-safe way within libraries?*

What follows is a series of recommendations for ways in which libraries can present Māori knowledge and collections in culturally-safe ways through the use of tikanga Māori.

Recommendation examples include using library policies, limiting access controls, and some helpful tikanga practices amongst other ways.

Policy and other library documents, a Discussion and Recommendation

Libraries	Test 1	Test 2	Test 3	Test 4	Test 5	TOTAL
WELLINGTON	F	P	F	P	P	Pass
AUCKLAND	P	P	P	P	P	Pass
CHRISTCHURCH	P	P	F	F	F	Fail
DUNEDIN	P	F	F	P	P	Pass
TAURANGA	P	P	P	P	P	Pass

Figure 1. Results of Mead's 'Tikanga Test' applied to library policies relating to tikanga within their collections.

What was interesting to note about the Mead 'Tikanga Test' is its versatility in applying the method to the different parts of the collection policies.

Wellington City Libraries for example has an attractive policy document that semi-regularly undergoes review. It acts as a baseline product in which to negotiate weeding protocols and selection criteria on book requests by patrons and staff. This perhaps is at odds with a changing and dynamic library system, which is unlike Auckland libraries who regularly review their collection policy, comparing their collection development 2020 document to the 2016 policy of Wellington City, where there is substantive difference in approach to principles and the opportunity for tikanga Māori in collections. Wellington's approach to tikanga is improving through the use of their inter-council policy document He Waka Eke Noa (2020) which ties together engagement with Mana Whenua (iwi Māori that reside in authority of a particular rohe) as well as initiatives that can contribute to a better service or professional development amongst library (and wider council) staff.

Auckland City Libraries is managing to integrate tikanga practices into their collections more easily than in other libraries' policies. This comes down to the increasingly positive relationship between Mana Whenua of Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland), alongside the recognition of other Māori communities such as the MUMA (Manukau Urban Māori Authority). It is these key relationships that Auckland libraries have crafted their collection

development policy around prior recognition, and under consultation with Māori of the region, to directly engage in their library policies.

In Christchurch City Libraries, the kaupapa of biculturalism is shaped where the document prefers to knit together the community as a collection for all people, rather than demonstrating Māori as both tangata whenua and a part of the bicultural community. This leads to the Utu (cost) of the issue, which renders their bicultural commitment lacking a culturally-safe position. This is demonstrated by the lack of kaupapa Māori across the rest of the policy and the lack of a Māori collections policy specifically. Moreover, in Christchurch libraries the commitment to biculturalism is noted, yet it does not go the one step further as in Auckland City libraries to which identity and heritage is cultivated into policy. This is similar to Wellington City libraries policies which involve a working partnership with mana whenua in their policy requirements.

This author feels that that way Christchurch handles their collections is an appropriate style, by way of separating collections into different policies, however it falls short in providing for a specific Māori policy or even a direct partnership as in Wellington libraries' collection policy. To find a collection policy that relates to Māori collections, one has to investigate Christchurch's *Permanent Collection policy* (2021) which includes a section on Māori materials showing their presence of mind is elsewhere. It does not relate mātauranga Māori in any of its initiatives and does not state a reference to the respecting of tikanga, such as Tauranga City Libraries and Archive does in their collection policy.

Interestingly in Dunedin's policies whakapapa research information is treated separately and is contained within their 'heritage collections', as separate from the Māori collections. This is particularly interesting as it is both commodifying the whakapapa as a service provided alongside Pākehā heritage, yet providing an access buffer from being within a general Māori collection. Thus, the provision here of separation from the additional mātauranga is at odds with the open-access policy of libraries in general. However, removal of whakapapa materials from other Māori collection subjects is the antithesis of mātauranga Māori. Whakapapa is linked within all things that binds and connects us to Te Aō Mārama, the world of light and Te Aō Māori. Therefore by removing the whakapapa materials from their knowledge context, this represents a direct challenge to tikanga which is alluded to in the earlier testing of the policy.

For Tauranga City Libraries there is not direct mention being given to kaupapa Māori throughout the whole of the policy. For example, although it mentions respecting tikanga practices amongst Mana Whenua and iwi-Māori community groups, it does not detail how tikanga Māori methods or understanding will be followed when acquiring, managing and giving access to the collections. This is actioned however through various sections describing tribal boundaries and the use of te reo Māori in describing how the collections will be stored and preserved. This reflects a definite use of tikanga and kōrero Māori (Māori discussion) as evidencing the partnership of Tauranga City Council and Mana Whenua, and iwi-Māori.

What is novel is the uniqueness of recognising tribal boundaries within the collections, of the wider Tauranga area. This respects and upholds the mana of both Mana Whenua and the iwi of Tauranga Moana. This demonstrates in particular, Tauranga City Libraries and Archive's commitment to Māori, and their understanding of the adherence to tikanga Māori within their collections. This is a superb use of tikanga integration, and really highlights the positive directions that the library is heading towards.

There has been for sometime, a movement from libraries to now accept Indigenous knowledges into their library collections and services. An analysis from Mhlongo working in South Africa (2021), indicates that Indigenous knowledge can be integrated into services, recommending that to build a framework for this integration one needs to work with the Indigenous communities and stakeholders to ascertain what knowledges can be brought in and how best to reflect this in your collections. This author agrees, and recommends that in structuring collection development policies, to ensure that mana whenua have a say on how the information in collections will be presented, looked after and indeed disposed of.

Other sources for tikanga use in libraries, or guidance for how to maintain Indigenous collections includes council-led policies that can be integrated into libraries. An example of this is the Wellington City Council's use of *He Waka Eke Noa* (2020). This document is a guidance-based initiative that offers an outline of a framework of performance when engaging with tangata whenua (the Mana Whenua, and Māori people), alongside the upholding of Te Tiriti obligations. These document types can come in many different forms and often provide a framework for advancing cultural competency and capability. This is seen in *He Waka Eke Noa* which is the all-of-council document that libraries and their staff can call upon when deciding services and collection development.

They are designed to be integrated across council work environments. Similarly, some of the collection policies of libraries directly relate to council-wide initiatives. An example of this is Auckland City's libraries collection policy aligning with both *The Auckland Plan* (2020) and *Te Kouroa - Future Directions* campaign. These are major pieces of local government structures that align many values and positions. How closely this reflects tikanga Māori is difficult to gauge but could prove useful as tools for libraries to model more progressive tikanga Māori-centred approaches.

For these collections to reach the heights of Auckland City Libraries, and Tauranga City Libraries and Archive, there must be a genuine reflection of respect for tikanga in the presentation and management of the mātauranga Māori collections. This must come through in the policy documents. A simple statement of adhering to tikanga via the direction of Mana Whenua is a good starting point, however further directions of usage should be detailed across the entire policy document.

As an example, the author recommends perhaps that in policy documents under the 'loaning section' a limited access system be put in place. Similar to a reference collection, all materials from the Māori collection are to be given limited access loans for either short time loans of a few days to a week, or to be read within the library's quarters. Exceptions could be made for Tangata Whenua for which the information belongs to in spirit and through whakapapa connections.

From Open-Access to Limited-Access
The problem of open information sharing and access is a difficult one to consider, especially when one considers the freedoms accorded to persons under various human rights conventions. For example, particularly for libraries there exists the global *w3 internet conventions* for access.

Our materials, including whakapapa and tikanga are openly displayed in libraries across the country, and in various online databases or websites that the library has access to - for the good of the public. In digital collections as well as physical, how do we consider the value of these collections and their integrity whilst maintaining tikanga to guide ourselves?

There are several ways of doing this, and thus allows for culturally-safe methods to arise when managing Indigenous knowledges collections in libraries. One of the ways in which Māori maintain cultural safety and the integrity of knowledge in collections is exampled through the use of whakapapa, as demonstrated by the participants of the Liew et al. study (2021). Whakapapa was identified by the participants as an important aspect of knowledge that if digitised, should be securely held and acquired by members of the same hapū or iwi as that of the whakapapa it pertains.

Liew et al. (2021) shows the commodification of Indigenous collections is continuing in a digital or digitised format; moreover, how these collections impact knowledge transmission and cultural norms across a variety of institution type. What is interesting is the knowledge transmission aspects, and the nuances of culturally-safe and in some cases unsafe management. A particular concern is access to Indigenous knowledges from one iwi (loosely defined as 'tribe') to another. Particularly around the Indigenous language of te reo Māori, the researchers noted another layer of complexity.

This complexity involves obtaining access to language-specific information with regards to dialectal differences, or phrases, that belong to an iwi different from the research participant's own (p.1576). This seems to suggest that a kawa, or tikanga process is to be followed when accessing another iwi's particular Indigenous knowledge, and with this the understanding that the person accessing this knowledge outside of the hapū or iwi knows the particular kawa appropriate to that iwi. Perhaps this type of action could be demonstrated by manuhiri (visitors), to such information as well as between iwi Māori who are accessing this information.

A particular example is the Grey Collection in Auckland City Libraries, it is a special collection that holds Māori taonga and knowledge which can be accessed freely within the library. As the information has transferred in ownership to Governor Grey, and when he died his collection was donated to the library. This changing provenance is complicated further by the difficulty in ownership status from those who the materials of the collection originated from. This could represent a situation for libraries to 'right past wrong's' by either partial restriction of access to the Grey collection, or even returning some items to the originating hapū or iwi.

Helpful tikanga practices

One way to keep in mind the whakapapa of various iwi and hapū, and for example to explore waka traditions, in a safe way that doesn't trample upon the mana of others would be to practice tikanga that reflects the realities of the knowledges that we hold dear. "*Perhaps, one could say a karakia before starting to read on a certain waka?"* Suggests the author. For some texts, such as that of Rerekura's *Whaikōrero* series (2007), the procedure to engage with the book is to not leave it near kai (food), and to say a karakia before listening to the accompanying audio CD. It could be suggested therefore, that in accessing such information which involves tapu or restricted access, the reader could state a simple but effective karakia to instil a level of *noa* (neutrality) when dealing with tapu knowledge.
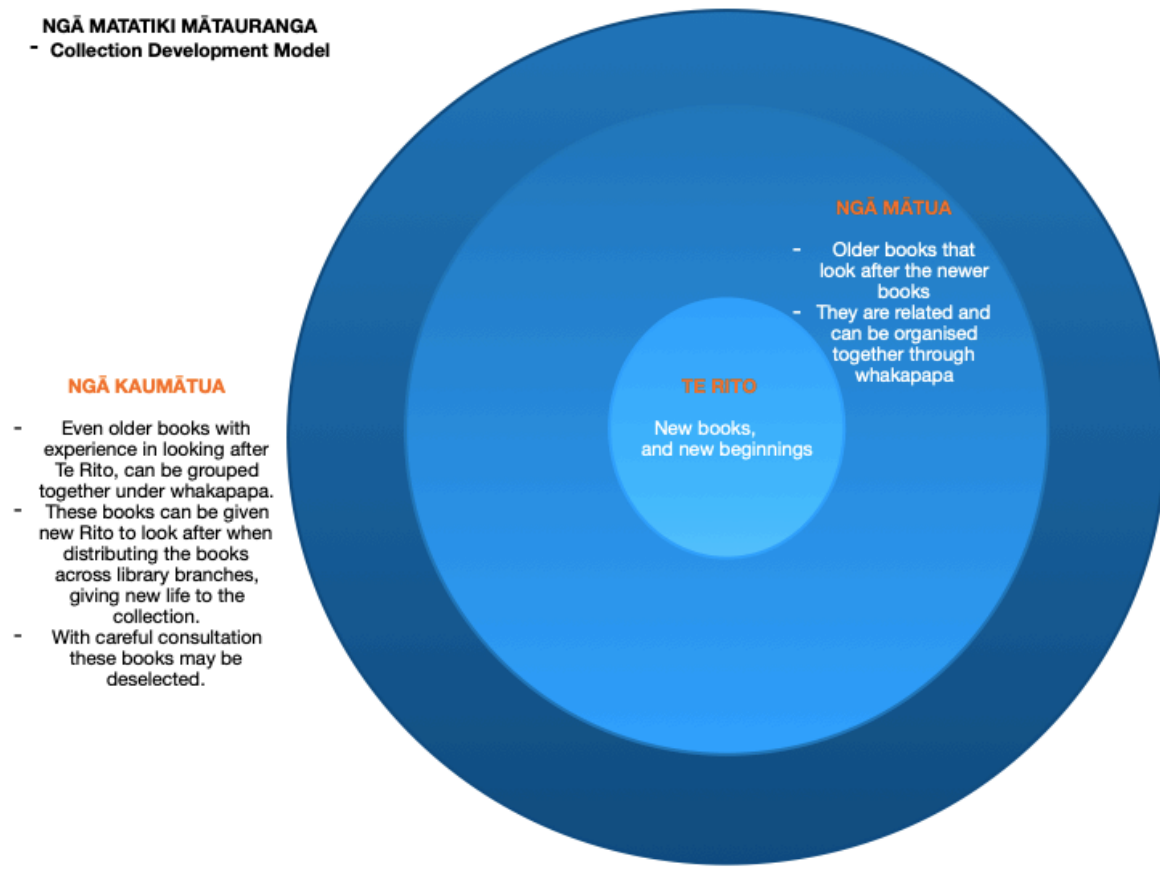
These ideals may change through different library systems as the operative *kawa* of a wider tikanga, however, this should be determined not by the library personnel themselves but by the iwi in a particular rohe. Preferably this would be the *mana whenua* of that particular site, however when a library services multiple iwi or even hapū, then wider decision-making rests with the various iwi.

Ngā Upoko Tukutuku - Can this be culturally-safe for Māori?

In Aotearoa there exists a framework for Māori-led classification of publications in libraries, it is called *Ngā Upoko Tukutuku* (the Māori Subject Headings). Although this current system is a particularly effective way of organising Māori Indigenous knowledge and materials, it however remains linked to a Pākehā system of librarianship. Although this system relies on the Dewey Decimal Classification numbering system, Lilley (2015) illustrates the interface between Ngā Upoko Tukutuku and the epistemology of the Māori worldview and advocates that it is a positive engagement within the Pākehā-based system. Lilley posits that the knowledge epistemology of Ngā Upoko Tukutuku is ordered through te ao Māori conceptions of creation, and structure. Doing so fits into the adherence of the cataloguing principle of identifying a resource and its place in the collection (481). Through Lilley's conception of the stages of creation, as in moving from Te Kore (the void of potential) to Te Pō (the dark, its form) through to Te Ao Mārama (into the light, and the world and environment we have always inhabited), we are akin to understanding a resource through its rawest form into an intelligible object of place within a collection.

It is in this structure, that the author agrees, that we find the inner workings of whakapapa at play. This understanding of Ngā Upoko Tukutuku and the Māori epistemology resonates deeply within the context of whakapapa, and creation. In terms of tikanga, we can understand that this likens to the correct way or perhaps the Māori way, of understanding our place within the world by right of whakapapa to all things with Mauri (lifeforce) and therefore how best to catalogue and describe Māori collections.

Te Rito process & the model: Ngā Matatiki Mātauranga

NGĀ MATATIKI MĀTAURANGA
- **Collection Development Model**

NGĀ MĀTUA
- Older books that look after the newer books
- They are related and can be organised together through whakapapa

TE RITO

New books, and new beginnings

NGĀ KAUMĀTUA
- Even older books with experience in looking after Te Rito, can be grouped together under whakapapa.
- These books can be given new Rito to look after when distributing the books across library branches, giving new life to the collection.
- With careful consultation these books may be deselected.

The author will attempt to illustrate an alternative system which could symbolise a way in which libraries in particular could embrace te ao Māori, and thus create a culturally-safe way of managing Indigenous knowledges (IK) through the use of tikanga-Māori. Pākehā collection management processes, the basis of which is Capitalist-driven, posits their alternative system of holistic thinking towards collection management emphasising the re-use of information in a removed and value-less way. This is especially true in the treatment of knowledge where older published works became 'use-less' rather than being 'use-full'. This is demonstrable particularly in academic libraries where knowledge is their currency. An example of this is the budget spent in one institution on electronic materials being

around 92% whilst the remaining percentage is spent on print materials and ephemera. This leaves the bulk of their collections to be discarded for study space.

This model of the author's is called *Ngā Matatiki Mātauranga*. In this provision of collection management and classification, knowledge is posited as 'use-full' regardless of what stage it is held at. However, there are flexible boundaries put in place to discard materials that could be put to good use out in the community. Let us focus on *Te Rito*, in Te Ao Māori the harakeke (New Zealand flax) has a central role in the whakapapa of Tāne Mahuta (God of the forests) and commanded by the goddess Hine-te-iwaiwa. The harakeke is a whānau, a family of leaves and shoots.

The central shoot, the *rito*, is the pēpi (baby) of the whānau and must be protected. It holds the future of the hapū and of the whānau through whakapapa. Surrounding on either side are the mātua (parents or guardians) of the *rito*. Their job is to protect the pēpi, and by gifting their expertise of whāngai (raising a child), enable the *rito* to grow up healthy and strong. Surrounding the mātua are sometimes the various uncles and aunties, they too protect the pēpi. Finally, there are the kaumātua. These are the grandparents of the whānau, the elders, who from their wisdom and rangatiratanga (sovereignty and authority) guide the whānau to strength and the ways of the tīpuna (ancestors).

In the sacred art of weaving, you never take the *rito* from the plant. Doing so will kill the harakeke, and the mātua and kaumātua will be distraught and die from heartbreak. If you take the *mātua*, the many parents who can be aunts or uncles, you risk damaging the *rito* because without their guidance the *rito* cannot grow strong and flourish. Therefore the *kaumātua* become the rau (leaves) of choice for harvest. Their skills and experience allow them to pass on to the spirit world more freely, and ensure that the next generation can stand strong as the *rito* grows in their strength.

In this model of growth and the appropriate ways to harvest the harakeke, we can identify a Te Ao Māori way of collection management undergoing the process of tikanga Māori. This model by providing access to Indigenous knowledges, ensures culturally-safe practices and reaffirms the mana of tangata whenua through the Indigenous collection. Furthermore, the *rito* or pēpi in this situation becomes the new books that have come into the collection, and includes those yet to arrive into the cataloguing inventories. These are precious taonga that represent the latest information, be it an amazing pūrākau ('roots' of

origins and stories) for kids to learn from, or a history book that positions or comments on our history a little more than before. These items are to be distributed widely and with intent on reaching our most marginalised patrons.

The mātua in this situation, all the aunties and uncles or other parents of the *rito*, appear as slightly different books but perhaps belong to the same kaupapa (concept/struggle or issue). For instance, a new *rito* book on poi comes along, but you have a book on Māori performing artistry, *this would be a matua* (parent/guardian) *of the rito*. These books are important in connecting the kaupapa together, and in forming the hapū being built from each *whānau* (or related subject. You may want to distribute the new *rito* books amongst these *mātua* books more evenly than thought previously, because keeping them together they will be stronger and provide a richer understanding of our knowledges.

Then we have the *kaumātua*, the elders of our hapū and that of the whānau. There will be many kaumātua that exist, some are considerably older than others but they share great wisdom and experience. Some of these *kaumātua* may be older editions of the same book. Some of these *kaumātua* will be less circulating books that may know a lot about one area of tikanga such as the paepae or wharekai for example, but are not so knowledgable on other areas of tikanga. That is ok, we are not here to judge but instead we listen to them and try to understand their place in the wider collection hapū. Some of these books could be replaced by the *rito* books, they are of the same topic but are now much older and perhaps are signalling that they are still useful but might make the hīkoi over to the spirit world i.e. weeding.

The real skill is seeing how many books you have related to a subject, or genre, and treating the information at hand accordingly - with the respect any book deserves (digital or print). Sometimes you will have enough of something to let the elders hīkoi (being weeded), at other times the materials can stay on the shelves or the digital space a little longer - if they provide greater experience and flexibility in terms of information. This system can be extended beyond an Indigenous collection.

For presenting these knowledges this author suggests to make further use of *Ngā Matatiki Mātauranga* as the leading classification system. Many of the *pukapuka* (books) will present overlapping themes, kaupapa and knowledges. This is because Te Ao Māori is intimately connected to tikanga and whakapapa. To separate out these knowledges in a

general collection is the opposite of tikanga Māori in ways that transgress whakapapa connections between all things. Therefore when collating your collections, group together books on a continuum basis. Try not to categorise primarily by Dewey Decimal Classification, or other call number systems, because these ways are inherently Western and Pākehā-centric. In other words, we must reclaim our knowledges and rescue them from the systems that lay as nooses.

This author suggests using an icon sticker system that perhaps has overlapping qualities within a continuum so that the books can be dynamically placed within the collection by patrons and the librarians. This continuum could be made functional by an understanding of tikanga and kaupapa, or *take*. By establishing groups of books along the tikanga of each area's mana whenua you can begin to understand where certain books could be placed. Or alternatively, you could base your continuum on the ideals of tikanga in the forms of tapu and noa. This will still provide interwoven expressions of placing the books/materials into their relative subject whānau and the construction of the collection as a hapū more broadly, while presenting knowledges as an unbroken whole.

There's a certain fluidity with this method which could arrange the manuscripts and tomes of various kaupapa in creative and culturally-safe ways. This will allow the appropriate tikanga to be observed when interacting with the collection, as stated earlier[5]. You could still have a call number as an item identity number, yet not secured in the DDC cataloguing purposes. If you must catalogue these books, then do so within broad kaupapa such as *ahi kaa* for instance, as in 'keeping the fires burning', instances of community and ideals of *Tangata Whenua* or *mana whenua* identities. Remember too, that environmental beings, personhood, represents our full and undisturbed living tūpuna (ancestors) and therefore classifying them as te taiao (the environment) or even 'pūtaiao' (science) is inappropriate to the whakapapa held within. More research clearly must be done before we can ensure a complete system becomes available.

Ideally this process will be undertaken by an Indigenous librarian, not to act as a separatist but to invert the dominant nature of Pākehā (non-Indigenous) librarians who often take on this task. This may mean that the library has to hire more Indigenous persons to fulfil this obligation via cataloguing. The obligation remains that in order to accommodate culturally-

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[5] See '*Helpful tikanga practices*', above.

safe management of Indigenous knowledges in collections, you need Indigenous peoples to be centred in the making, distribution of, and continual maintenance of Indigenous collections and associated knowledges. Anything less is regressive to the promulgation of Indigenous rights and responsibilities, under the Māori values of *kaitiakitanga* and *manaakitanga* through the understanding of tikanga Māori.

Winiata's Five-Way Test and the intellectual property rights of Indigenous peoples

The rights of Indigenous peoples the world over regarding their intellectual property rights, especially within libraries, has been left exposed based on the premise of open access to information. This does not represent a tikanga way of understanding Indigenous knowledges and collections. You could lend a book out, it is made publicly available, and the material is immediately able to be copied regardless of the content the book may hold. These collections however, still perform their functions, especially with regard to Indigenous collections now taken online by hapū representatives through the use of Facebook for instance. This allows for digital libraries, as 'ad hoc' ways to reconnect whānau through whakapapa. This keeping together of whānau extols a very tikanga-based expression perfect for Indigenous collections. This is important for considering the use of Indigenous materials in collections and their application within the library environment.

Whatarangi Winiata (2002) has devised a five-way test that allows Indigenous intellectual property rights to be integrated within a library collection setting through the premise of Tikanga. It has been incorporated into the International Federation of Librarians Associations and Institutions' (IFLA) *Guidelines for Professional Library/Information Educational Programs* (Smith et al. 2012) and thus stands within an international body of acceptance within library institutions.

The five-way test is summarised thus through the tikanga of Kaitiakitanga:
a) Receiving the information with the utmost accuracy.
b) Storing the information with integrity beyond doubt.
c) Retrieving the information without amendment.
d) Applying appropriate judgement in the use of the information.
e) Passing on the information appropriately.

This knowledge paradigm, as summarised from Lilley and Paringatai (2013: 5), allows for the preservation and protection of Indigenous knowledges. This paradigm represents a way in which libraries when implementing Indigenous collections in their institutions can keep front of mind the desires and needs of Indigenous peoples. By applying this set of guidelines within the library, collection selectors and their distributors, i.e. librarians, can help Indigenous voices be maintained and uplifted. Of course, this involves understanding of tikanga Māori - doing things the right way, and this model is underpinned with a core of Māori values not least Kaitiakitanga. In tikanga values kaitiakitanga represents the responsibility and rights of Māori, to protect and ensure their *taonga tuku iho* (inherited treasures) are maintained and provided for, for future generations (Mead, 2016).

Tikanga Māori in library situations can be accounted for in the workplace practices of librarians. This does not mean that Indigenous librarians are the centre-point for all things Indigenous. It means however, that non-Indigenous librarians educate themselves on the ways of the Indigenous peoples they seek to represent and provide for in their collections. The work of Winiata (2002) is recommended as a way to provide for cultural safety to be expressed when utilising or presenting Indigenous collections within libraries.

Implications (what this means for libraries) **and Future Research**

For libraries, these practices represent ways in which tikanga can be integrated into the library space when collaborating with Indigenous peoples, and Indigenous collections. Having culturally-safe ways of understanding Indigenous knowledges provides a window of opportunity to appropriately present and build the collection for use. Here described are ways that people can be culturally-safe in their duties as librarians when dealing with Indigenous knowledges, as well as provide an environment for Indigenous librarians to flourish. With the innovative design of *Ngā Matatiki Mātauranga*, there is a future for libraries in which Indigenous knowledges and our collections can be utilised in culturally safe ways, in celebrated ways and in expressive de-colonial ways.

In terms of future research one could expand on the topic of Indigenous data sovereignty. This has not been featured as it is beyond the scope of this current research, however there are Tikanga that can and should be developed. Indigenous data is another source of Indigenous knowledges, one where ownership again is a crucial struggle for Indigenous rights. It would be of great benefit to memory and knowledge institutions to enable the

intellectual property of Māori to be deposited by Māori, for Māori. As discussed it is often a state-led enterprise whereby the protection, and indeed ownership of these knowledges are taken from the Indigenous community. Sometimes this is done voluntarily, yet in most cases this is done through subtle measures. Indigenous peoples are still fighting for their intellectual property rights to this day, and in some small way this research hopes that we gain a foothold towards our Tino Rangatiratanga in this space. There is always more work to be done.

Conclusion

Libraries across the country of Aotearoa are making changes to better accommodate, and provide for, tikanga Māori in their collections. However there are still major challenges to be faced by these memory institutions if tikanga Māori is to be integrated successfully into collections. There is *tikanga* to be explored, and provided for across the collections and in the ways of collaborating with Māori librarians, and our taonga. As we have seen there are numerous solutions to providing *tikanga* within library spaces where some of the work has already been started by way of the collection policy documents seen earlier. These changes are being started today. Whether it be chanting a karakia before materials are read or viewed, or implementing a collection development and classification system such as *Ngā Matatiki Mātauranga*, there are ways forward for integrating tikanga into libraries within Aotearoa-New Zealand.

This would indicate that aspects of both tapu and noa, the vestiges of tikanga and culturally-safe ways of engaging with Indigenous collections can be maintained, celebrated and understood. This may in time, remove some of the colonial entrapments that permeate such memory institutions. In doing so, Indigenous knowledges may in fact take their rightful place as being a special, unique and worthwhile resource for Māori who in turn will continue to add to these knowledges for future generations, our mokopuna.

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