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# **E HOKI KI TŌ MAUNGA**

## **The Quintessential Elements of Home**

**A thesis  
submitted in fulfilment  
of the requirements for the Degree  
of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
at  
The University of Waikato  
By**

**DEBRA JOY TEPORA EMERY**

**The University of Waikato  
2008**

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## Abstract

*He kāpu puta tahi, he taura whiri tātou;  
whiringa a nuku, whiringa a rangi, te whatia e  
Issue of one womb, we are a rope woven of many strands;  
woven on earth, woven in heaven, it will not break*

(Rev Māori Marsden, 1992)

*Ngati Te Takinga is a hapū (sub-tribe) belonging to the Iwi (tribe) Ngati Pīkiao. An affiliated member of the Te Arawa confederation of tribes, Ngati Pīkiao occupies the Okere and Rotoiti Lakes district of Rotorua in the central North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand.*

This thesis seeks to acknowledge and address the concerns that Ngati Te Takinga has regarding impending cultural discontinuity. The concerns arise due to the hapū's limited human capability and capacity being the result of three things. Firstly, the ongoing demise of tribal elders (and leaders) and the subsequent loss to the hapū of cultural knowledge, skills, leadership and expertise. Secondly, the low numbers of adept, culturally proficient successors 'coming through' (to replace the elders) and finally, the detribalised and diasporic (dispersed) nature of our people. The hapū and the marae Te Takinga (a last outwardly discernible bastion of Ngati Te Takinga cultural identity and distinction) are jeopardised as a result of these phenomenon.

This thesis is part of a hapū strategy that attempts to address these problems. Positing the reconnection of our dispersed Ngati Te Takinga 'away-dwellers' as a beginning solution, the central questions raised by this thesis are "how [does] Ngati Te Takinga 'home-dweller' discourse impact on the 'coming home' experiences and 'reconnection' of Ngati Te Takinga away-dwellers?" and "what are the [are there] implications for Ngati Te Takinga cultural continuity?"

The maintenance of Ngati Te Takinga cultural continuity forms the aho mātua or main thread of this work. Using narrative enquiry as a broad methodological framework, stories were gathered from four different groups of Ngati Te Takinga peoples. The groups were home-dwellers (mana whenua or ahi kaa), te ahi tere (away-dwellers who have returned home to live); te ahi tere (away-dwellers who intend returning in the

future) and te ahi tere (away-dwellers who have no intention of returning home to live). The stories (narratives) investigated notions of home, belongingness and Māori identity in relation to the trichotomy of the connection, disconnection and the reconnection of Ngati Te Takinga peoples; the stories were analysed and co-constructed with participants for meaning.

The stories showed that while the hapū aspires to gather up the strengths of a dispersed people to reinvigorate our culture and the marae, existing and competing discourses around authenticity, authority and Ngati Te Takinga identity create a tension between the home (mana whenua/ahi kaa) and away-dwelling Ngati Te Takinga people; including those away-dwellers who have returned. As a basic requirement, this tension must be diminished in order to build the relationships necessary to improve hapū allegiance (whānaungatanga), to build hapū strength and to maintain hapū culture and identity. As a priority, decolonising strategies that facilitate an understanding of diversity, promote participation, maintain tikanga and include our away-dwellers, our ‘returnees’ and/or our disconnected people in our hapū-marae interactions, must be considered, developed, promoted and practiced.

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## **PART ONE**

### **Preamble**

#### **Ko au ko au: Know then thyself**

*Hokia ki ngā maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau a Tawhirimātea  
Return to your mountains and there be cleansed by the winds of Tawhirimātea*

*This whakatauki says that one should return to one's own tribal area and then learn about oneself prior to going out into the world. Its basic philosophy is 'know then thyself' (Karetu, T. 1992, p. 38).*

#### **Introduction**

The post-World War Two period in Aotearoa New Zealand saw rural Māori communities facing massive social change. Desiring to accelerate Māori detribalisation (abandonment by Māori of their traditional lands and custom traditions in favour of a western urban lifestyle), the New Zealand government began a campaign that actively promoted the migration of Māori away from their rural homes to the cities. Branded as the 'Operation Re-location' scheme, Māori migrants were encouraged to sell their 'useless' shares in their papa whenua (ancestral lands) and to use the money for deposits on new suburban homes (D. Williams, 2004). To further accelerate the process, Māori association (kinship) in the cities was pro-actively repressed and a Government decision not to build Māori communal facilities in urban areas was observed.

Additional moves to urbanise and detribalise Māori were promoted by the Government. Using housing policies, particularly those of the 1960's, Māori people were 'pepper-potted' into suburbia and settled alongside Pākehā households. Together with the 1960 Hunn Report (Hunn, 1960) these post-war policy developments articulated a policy of Māori integration. In order for Māori to 'progress', Māori collectivism had to be stamped out and replaced with western individualism. Contrary to Māori customary hapū community values, 'pepper potting' divided the Māori (hapū-Iwi), intermittently housing separate whānau throughout a wider geographical area (M. Kawharu, 2001). Thus, Māori hapū-Iwi cultural norms and Māori knowledge systems were deemed worthless and

Government policies of racial amalgamation, assimilation, and integration gained momentum (Metge, 1964; Basset, Sinclair & Stenson, 1985; Walker, 1990; Ihimaera, 1998; Williams, D. 2004).

The inevitability of Māori urban migration had been anticipated a decade before it began. The amount of land left in Māori ownership had reduced drastically and, by 1919, of the 1,996,805 hectares of land left in Māori ownership, only 755,280 hectares were actually held by the owners. The rest, comprising 1,241,525 hectares, was held under Pākehā leasehold. Although under the Government-led Māori land development schemes five thousand farms had been set aside for Māori, it was estimated that the farms would support only a quarter of the Māori population, which at that time stood at 82,326. Clearly, employment had to be found elsewhere (Walker, 1990). The stage was set and what followed was a mass rural exodus of Māori people. They farewelled their ancestral lands, their lakes, their rivers, their mountains, their homes and their kinfolk and headed for town. An unanticipated bi-product of this rural-urban shift, the genesis of an existing tension between home and away (town) dwellers transpired at this point in time. As evidenced within some of the stories related in this thesis, leaving home and moving to town unwittingly incurred a reduction of hapū membership rights. The power dynamic that occurred as a result of this shift, remains in play today.

In 2007, a vast majority (85%) of Māori people, including those of Ngati Te Takinga descent, live in urban areas. Second, third and fourth generation Māori have been and continue to be born in towns and cities with many of them having little or no contact with their tribal areas and/or knowledge of, their tribal origins (Gardiner, 1997). Against the odds however, new research from The Nielsen Company (2007) has shown that the significance of traditional cultural values among Māori has, over time, become increasingly more important. In 2007, three quarters of Māori people agreed that traditional values were important to them, compared with under half in 2004:

Three years ago one in five Māori (20%) agreed that traditional cultural values were not important to them. Today, only 11 percent think they're not important. In addition, the number of neutral

responses has also declined – down from 33 percent in 2004 to 15 percent now. Māori are also significantly more positive today than they were in 2004 about the role-models provided by their culture. The Nielsen research found six in ten Māori felt their culture provides them with strong role models, up from four in ten in 2004. And although fluency in te reo has changed little over the past three years, the importance of the Māori language is far more widely acknowledged among both Māori and Pākehā. Today, 82 percent of Māori recognise the importance of the development and growth of the Māori language, compared with 59 percent in 2004 (Nielsen Company, 2007 cited in, New Zealand Press Association, 2007, p. 5).

If accurate, these trends tell us that the ‘E hoki ki tō maunga’ project is timely. Sixty years after the onset of urbanisation, E hoki ki tō maunga is the voice of the mountain calling our urban detribalised kin home. Speaking from home, the stories written for this project tell us not only about our cultural home (our ‘mountain’) but also about journeys our kin have taken from and back to our mountain. In so doing, the stories help us to know the mountain to which (according to the introductory whakatauki) we must return in order to know ourselves. Importantly, the stories confront the types of (negative) discourse that can foil the homecoming journeys of our away-dwellers. The stories therefore, create space for alternative and more transformative going home discourses to be created, voiced and given life.

### **Charting the course**

*Whakapapa contains an extensive narration of birth, of life and of death, ensuring that each individual finds a place to exist, to grow and to stand. Whakapapa is about family, but it is also an all-embracing cultural concept that allows us as Māori to access the past, to acknowledge our deep roots, to select exemplars of affinity and to take pride of place in the moving swirls of time (Tule, P. 2006, p. 7).*

E hoki ki tō maunga is a hapū-initiated research project that emanated at a hui-a-hapū (meeting of the people) in our wharehau (meeting house) Te Takinga, in the winter of 2003. On this basis therefore, it is ‘tika’ (right) that the research ‘journey’ begins in the ancestral homelands of the hapū. **Chapter one** of this thesis deals with whakapapa (genealogy). Divided into three sections, Chapter one presents Ngati Te Takinga’s whakapapa, my whakapapa and the whakapapa of this project. Communicating whakapapa as a point of beginning is important because it establishes a common set of cultural denominators that connect the hapū, the writer, the research and the research

participants. In turn, these denominators set the context and lay the foundations for the nine chapters of the thesis.

As well as outlining Ngati Te Takinga's concerns about cultural discontinuity, **Chapter two** introduces the marae (one of the cultural denominators referred to above) discussing its historical and contemporary significance and function as the centre for hapū-Iwi cultural continuance. Also discussed are hapū membership rights and obligations, with particular reference to the traditional hapū-Iwi 'apprenticeship' process. Still in operation, the apprenticeship process acts as the means by which a person's rights within the hapū are mediated, enhanced, increased and upheld. Foremost in the upholding of these rights is the 'kanohi kitea' (a face seen is a face remembered) requirement or, the expectation that a person will demonstrate their support for the hapū by being physically present at the marae and/or during hapū functions. For away-dwelling and/or disconnected Ngati Te Takinga people, such a requirement is often untenable. This thesis suggests that the traditional apprenticeship process requires restructuring so as to facilitate participation by Ngati Te Takinga away-dwellers in hapū-marae development. Chapter two therefore, explains the complexities between the hapū's concerns and the proposed solution to those concerns given the static systems of hapū governance and leadership that currently operate.

Using both oral-based and literature-based sources, **Chapter three** builds a theoretical and Māori conceptual framework. The framework provides a means by which to ascertain the causes, effects and possible resolves to the problems associated with Māori cultural [dis]continuance. **Chapter four**, the methodology section, describes and rationalises the use of 'kaupapa Māori' and narrative or storying, as the preferred research methods used for this project. Chapter four is also the precursor to the narratives (stories) which make up **Chapters five, six, seven and eight**. These five chapters present the findings of the research. To conclude, **Chapters nine and ten** present the final discussion and analysis. These chapters draws on the synchronized 'story' themes that give rise to a new theoretical framework (or set of discourses) that can guide and support the development of strategies for increasing hapū capacity and capability, towards

cultural continuity and/or maintenance of Te Here Tangata (the infinite and binding rope of people).

English translations of the Māori language used throughout this work are, in the first instance, provided in brackets immediately after the words and/or phrases used.

Frequently recurring Māori terms may cease to be translated, so, for further reference, all terms and their translations can be found in the Glossary of Terms at the end of the thesis.

## Chapter One

### **E toru ngā whakapapa: Laying the foundations**

#### *Three genealogies*

*The aphorism ‘ngā rā o mua’ looking back to look forward emphasises the significance of whakapapa as a point of beginning for any undertaking that involves Māori knowledge (Royal, 1992).*

Whakapapa or ‘Te Here Tangata’ is the binding force of this study. This section of Chapter one establishes the whakapapa of Ngati Te Takinga, locating the hapū in its historical, geographic, socio-cultural and marae environment. In section two, I present my whakapapa connections to Ngati Te Takinga and talk about the beginnings of my involvement in this project. As a research insider who grew up *outside* of the Mourea village and the pā (marae settlement), establishing my whakapapa at the outset is important. Whakapapa is the prerequisite, albeit unspoken, that establishes my right to undertake this research.

The final section of Chapter one presents the whakapapa or the inception and development of this project. In keeping with the practices of other authors (Smith, 1921; Buck, 1954, 1974; Schwimmer, 1966; Metge, 1964; Stafford, 1967; Reeves, 1979; Makereti, 1986; Walker, 1990) and as part of Māori oral custom-tradition, the use of whakapapa as a metaphoric point of inception for this thesis is appropriate (tika). The practice enables the visualisation of the thesis as building layer by layer upon the past towards the present, and on into the future. Likewise the term ‘Te Here Tangata’ (the rope that binds the people) enables the visualisation of the work as being part of a rope which stretches into the past for the fifty or so generations that we can see; and back from there to the moment of creation, and on into the future for at least as long (Kingston Strategic Ltd, 2007).

Presented initially by way of a ‘pēpeha’, the whakapapa of Ngati Te Takinga follows.

## **Te whakapapa o Ngati Te Takinga**

*Genealogies, geographies and history: Ngati Te Takinga*

*Life is shared through a continuous thread of creation and expansion, stretching from the leaves of today, and tracing back into the roots of a deep yesterday. To be born with whakapapa is to share a heritage with the fullness of time, to feel connected to the expanse of memory. It is how Māori people connect with Māori people, how Māori people connect with the land, the waters, the sky (Tule, P. 2006, p. 7).*

Pepeha or tribal sayings, encapsulate the features and characteristics that distinguish a particular hapū-Iwi. Such features can include, but are not necessarily limited to, genealogical connections and significant geographical landmarks of the group. When cited, the pepeha signals a person's connection to their people and their place, locating them in 'a set of identities which have been framed geographically, politically and genealogically' (L. Smith, 1999, p. 126). Ngati Te Takinga belongs to the Iwi of Ngati Pīkiao who, in turn, belong to the wider Te Arawa confederation of tribes or Iwi. The peoples of Te Arawa occupy the Bay of Plenty region of New Zealand from Maketu on the east coast, to Tongariro Mountain in the centre of the North Island.

*He pepeha*

Ko Matawhaura te maunga  
*Matawhaura is the mountain*  
Ko Ohau te awa  
*Ohau is the river*  
Ko te Rotoiti i kitea e Ihenga te moana  
*Rotoiti is the ocean*  
Ko Te Takinga te Tangata  
*Te Takinga is the progenitor*  
Ko Ngati Te Takinga te hapū  
*Ngati Te Takinga is the [sub] tribe*  
Ko Ngati Pīkiao te Iwi  
*Ngati Pīkiao is the [tribe]*  
Ko Te Arawa te waka  
*Te Arawa is the canoe*

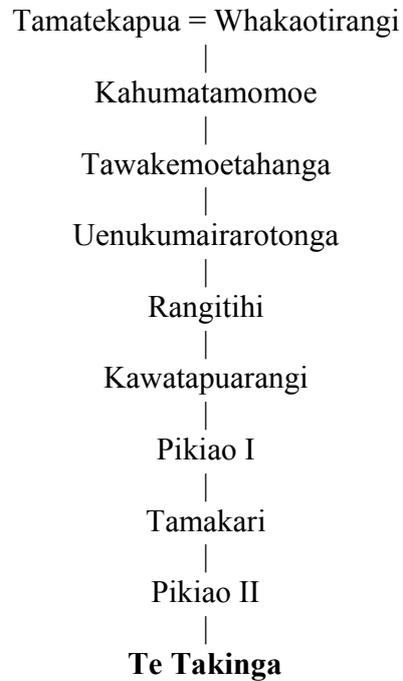
An outwardly discernible and important bastion of Ngati Te Takinga's cultural identity, Te Takinga marae is situated in the small rural settlement of Mourea on the outskirts of Rotorua, in the central North Island of New Zealand. To reach the marae one travels eastward from the city on the main Tauranga highway for approximately eighteen kilometres. Te Takinga can be found nestled on the banks of the Ohau River.

Overlooking the marae the bush clad Motutawa peninsula and urupā (cemetery) stands sentinel; lapped by the restful waters of Lake Rotoiti and Okawa Bay, these features fashion a picturesque marae backdrop. The stunning plethora of natural splendour greets visitors and home people alike as they make their winding way down the main highway and into the heart of the Mourea village; home to the people of Ngati Te Takinga.

Once home to the people of Tuhourangi, Mourea and the Rotoiti Lakes District were usurped by Ngati Pikiāo following a number of historic inter-tribal skirmishes between the two Iwi. It was during one such 'skirmish', that three of Te Takinga's sons were killed by Tuhourangi at Tapuaēharuru, Rotoiti (Stafford, 1967). As recompense for this loss Te Rangipūawhe of the Tuhourangi people, who was living at Motutawa (Te Taiki) peninsula (a then Tuhourangi stronghold,), relinquished his lands unconditionally to Te Takinga. Te Takinga then occupied Motutawa. Some time later, Te Takinga's sons Kiore, Mango, Manene and Te Awanui came to Motutawa to divide up Te Takinga's lands, with Mourea being taken by Kiore (Stafford, 1967).

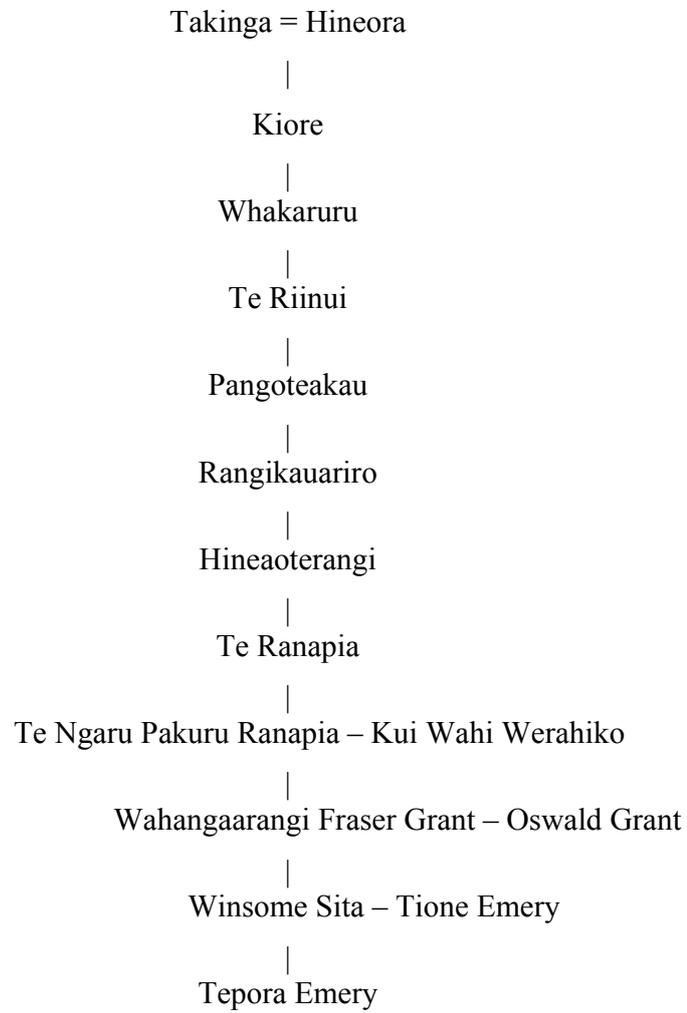
The following genealogical table traces the lineage of Te Takinga to Tamatekapua, the eponymous ancestral chief of the Te Arawa people. Genealogy (whakapapa) is the principal foundation upon which a person's connection to their people (hapū-Iwi), to their lands and to the spiritual world is established (Shirres, 1997; Temara, 2005). Foremost however, knowledge of whakapapa is integral to a person's ability to establish membership rights within their hapū-Iwi. Ngati Te Takinga's position (place) in relation to the wider Te Arawa Iwi is established by means of the following genealogy.

## He whakapapa



This section presented the primary whakapapa and foundation of this project. The following section presents my line of descent from Te Takinga and Hineora, the principal Rangatira (sovereigns) of Ngati Te Takinga. As well as positioning myself within the hapū, in section two I also tell the story of my own tribal and cultural disconnection including my quite recent ‘return to my mountain’. In so doing I locate myself both inside (through my whakapapa) and outside (as an away-dweller) of both the hapū and this research project.

## He whakapapa



(Source: Hakopa Paul, pers. comm., 2006)

**‘Ko au ko koe, ko koe ko au’: I am you and you are me**

*Some personal beginnings*

*‘The ‘unhomely’ (Bhabha, 1994) disconnection felt by indigenous academics who return to work in our native communities is not a new phenomenon’ (Kaomea, J. 2004, p. 2).*

My interest in this project was fuelled by my own desire to connect with and to be part of the Ngati Te Takinga people, lands and marae. An urban-Māori - Ngati Te Takinga ‘away-dweller’, I was born into the Mourea kainga where my parents, my siblings and I spent the very early years of our family life. We lived with my kuia (grandmother) Wahangaarangi Fraser Grant and my Fiji Indian koroua (grandfather) Oswald Grant on papakainga (family) land known as Pungapunga, which was bordered at one end by the Ohau River. The river was the lifeblood of the Ngati Te Takinga people. Our kuia’s home was very small and with an expanding family, in the late 1950’s we left Mourea for the suburbs of Rotorua. Desiring at the time to build a house beside our kuia’s home at Pungapunga, my parents had applied to the Māori Affairs Department of the New Zealand Government for a loan. Unfortunately the application was declined because the steps on the house my parents planned to build did not meet the Government housing regulations (W. Emery, pers. comm., 2005). A subsequent successful loan application to the now defunct State Advances Housing Corporation, saw our family relocated to Owhatiura on the suburban outskirts of Rotorua; where we were ‘pepper potted’ beside Pākehā (European) neighbours.

Although only eleven kilometers from our Mourea home, with neither a vehicle nor a telephone, and with our father receiving a low and therefore limiting timber worker’s wage, our family was both physically and culturally disconnected from our tūrangawaewae (homelands) and kin. Life in the suburbs seemed good. Our parents worked hard and our home life was very orderly. As children my brother, sisters and I attended a high decile Pākehā school where we received an excellent Pākehā education. Under the tutelage of a Pākehā teacher I studied Māori people by visiting the Model

Māori village at Whakarewarewa and, with my Māori identity cast as a relic of the past, I thought that Māori people were extinct! Incredibly, during the course of the Māori study, the teacher made no reference to the experiences of the four Māori children in the class. We didn't question this anomaly. In my child mind everything appeared to be in order and, looking back, it would seem that my integration and assimilation had been extremely successful. While labeled as the clown of the class, according to my primary school reports, I was a well adjusted, good 'all rounder'. I was a relatively high academic achiever, and I excelled in a wide range of sporting activities. There were no overt signs of dysfunction due to the effects of my colonisation, urbanisation and resultant cultural disconnection and detribalisation.

Although seemingly non-problematic and of no particular interest to me during the formative years of my life, my cultural disconnectedness became a subject of my personal interest when I returned to Rotorua. The year was 1998 and I had been away living in other parts of New Zealand for approximately 24 years. At the time I was studying toward my Masters qualification and, as had been my practice in previous years of tertiary study, I applied for an Iwi Education Grant. As part of this process, I was required to list my 'contributions to the Iwi'. Unlike in previous years when, as an away-dweller, I could postulate about my future intent to contribute to the Iwi, I was now living at home. Quite suddenly, the idea of contributing to the Iwi seemed very real and I no longer had an excuse. It was time to 'put my money where my mouth was' so to speak! I was, however, an urbanised, detribalised Māori and, even though I had by this point in time learnt to speak in Māori, I had no real sense of belonging to or being part of my Iwi. The question loomed.... How does one contribute toward, and/or work with, an Iwi they do not really know and/or feel a part of? Seeking answers to these wonderings, I embarked upon a research project that was undertaken as a Dissertation in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Masters of Social Science.

Entitled 'The way home is not yet clear' (Emery, T. 2001), the dissertation investigated the means by which a Māori person (namely myself) who has been disconnected and/or

detribalised through the processes of colonisation, urbanisation and assimilation is able to 'retribalise'. That is, to re-connect, to reintegrate into and to become a full member of their hapū-Iwi including having a place of standing (tūrangawaewae) at their marae. The study also investigated my personal home and belongingness needs or *matemateaone* (longings for home).

The findings of the study have a direct bearing on this project. However, before moving to those findings, it is necessary to take a further step backwards. 'The way home is not yet clear' although undertaken as a result of my experience when filling in the Iwi Education Grant application, was born during a period of [my own] *matemateaone* or longing for home. Having throughout my life had transitory residence in many locations throughout New Zealand, at 39 years of age whilst living in Hamilton, I became plagued by a wistful desire (the *matemateaone*) to go home. The problem being however, that I did not really *know* where home was; hence the return to my place of birth.

As well as looking for home, my return to Rotorua signaled the beginning of what was to become a journey through the past. I had often wondered if the seat of my pressing desire to find home stemmed from the western hospital practice of burning the *whenua* (placenta) of new-born children. The word *whenua* also means land. Traditionally the *whenua* (afterbirth) of newborn children was buried in the earth (land) in a specially designated place. Known as *iho whenua*, the practice was/is a symbolic gesture having its origins in the Māori creation story. *Papatuanuku* (the earth mother) was partner to *Ranginui* (the sky father). The couple's many children are the dominion gods of the Māori world who reign over all elements of earth and sky. The practice of *iho whenua* bonded people both physically and spiritually to their (home) land at birth. *Iho whenua* affirmed their belonging and connection to *Papatuanuku* (the Earth Mother) and, in turn, to her children *ngā Atua Māori* (the Māori Gods). Although the restoration of *iho whenua* is now becoming an optional part of hospital birthing procedures, the practice was not observed during the 1950's being the period of my own birth in the Rotorua Hospital.

My whenua (placenta) was burned thereby, in accord with tikanga Māori, severing my physical and spiritual connection with the land (Papatuanuku-whenua).

Other phenomena drew me home. To some degree my return was foretold within the unforgotten karanga (call) of the late Merepaea Henry, kuia and kai-karanga of Ngati Te Takinga. Also a participant in this research, Merepaea was present at my first university graduation ceremony at Tūrangawaewae marae Ngāruawahia, in 1992. When conferred with my qualification, Merepaea called “hoki mai ki te kainga” (come back home); I took these words to mean, “come home and put your qualification to work for your people”. The seed for my return home was sown. Merepaea’s karanga engendered within me, a sense of belonging to the people amongst whom my grandmother was raised; Ngati Te Takinga, Ngati Pikiāo and I began at that point, to lay foundations for my return to Rotorua.

The physical return to Rotorua was straightforward. I found work at the local tertiary institution and I bought a house. Connecting with the Iwi, however, was problematic because of my previous cultural, physical and spiritual detachment and subsequent disconnection. I did not know the people and while the people knew *of* me through my parents and through my kuia Wahanga, they did not know me. The pain of Iwi ‘strangerhood’ manifested itself by way of my dissertation, which I now realise was my attempt to intellectualise, externalise and to address the problems and the pain, associated with the hapū-Iwi repatriation and integration process and experience.

The findings of the dissertation showed that while genealogy (whakapapa) connects a person to their hapū-Iwi and marae, gaining full membership rights requires more than just having a whakapapa connection. One has to fulfill certain obligations. I termed the fulfillment of these obligations as the hapū-Iwi-marae ‘inclusion process’. The process is premised on five key concepts being: participation, apprenticeship, responsibility, obligation and reciprocity (Emery, 2001). Implicit within these five concepts is the notion

of 'Iwi service' or, acts of service to one's Iwi, which are entered into in a spirit of goodwill. In effect, the forms of engagement required constitute a traditional model of tribal apprenticeship towards full Iwi membership including participation in Iwi affairs. The apprenticeship shapes and secures one's place and/or membership rights within the Iwi.

The tribal apprenticeship process is discussed more fully in Chapter two. Suffice to say, however, the initiation of this doctoral research project at a Ngati Te Takinga hui a hapū (tribal gathering) provided an opportunity to extend my previous research which had been conducted with members of my immediate whānau (family) only. Knowing the positive transformative powers that 'The way home is not yet clear' stories brought to our whānau, I wanted to offer the same teachings and critical learning opportunities to the wider hapū. As well, the research is a practical response to the question asked of me on the 1998 Iwi Education Grant application. 'E hoki ki tō maunga' is part of my contribution to the Iwi, and the mahi (work) is undertaken as part of my Iwi apprenticeship. The whakapapa (inception) of the project follows.

### **Te whakapapa tuatoru: the third whakapapa**

*E hoki ki tō maunga .....*

*Many of our marae are under enormous threat with the erasure at an alarming rate, of traditional tribal values and way of life practices as undertaken on our marae. The substitution of our values system with one that sees no worth in tikanga, no worth in our laws and no worth in our status as tangata whenua is something in my experience, which is a common consequence of the adoption of neoliberal practices within our communities and the pressures of migration to urban lifestyles that our people have been coerced into (Sykes, A. 2007, p. 115).*

This research project was born on a mid-winter's day in 2003. The occasion was the first of a series of Ngati Te Takinga wānanga (learning forums) which were called as a means by which to bring our dispersed peoples together. The aim of the gathering was to reinvigorate our kinship ties and, ultimately, to rejuvenate the Te Takinga marae complex as a central institution of the hapū.

The April wānanga was a forum in which members of the hapū who grew up in the Mourea village, at the marae and in the surrounding Ngati Pikiāo district, were invited to share their stories about life in the small, close-knit, marae based rural community. The purpose was to begin a process of reconnecting our people with the marae and the associated customs, norms and traditions. More importantly, we sought to connect and reconnect with each other in order to re-establish, restore and strengthen our relationships.

People from near and far attended the wānanga. Many of these people had knowledge of Te Takinga marae as being ‘their marae’ but, due to the processes of colonisation, urbanisation and assimilation, they had very little or no experience of what ‘having a marae’ meant in both practical and cultural terms. The wānanga therefore, provided an opportunity to begin a process of giving new meaning to what was for some of us, an abstract concept. The stories of bygone days recited by our old people captured both our hearts and our minds and the desire to have these stories recorded was expressed by all present at the wānanga. The idea of ‘e hoki ki to maunga’ was conceived and, after further discussion with the hapū, planning for a PhD research project that incorporated Ngati Te Takinga oral histories began.

In its gathering of oral histories from remaining Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikiāo elders, this thesis, in part, represents the zenith of the people’s desire as expressed at our wānanga in April 2003. The stories belong to the hapū. Resonating with the voices of the past, they show the relationships between the people, the lands and waterways of Ngati Te Takinga. Importantly, the stories show us how and why those relationships have, over time, weakened and fractured. In revisiting the past, the stories create a pathway to understanding the present. In turn, knowing how the events of yesterday have shaped our today is the key to creating a secure Ngati Te Takinga present and future. The ‘E hoki ki tō maunga’ stories and the teachings and learning there in, are pivotal to this process. The stories can assist ‘to create collective realities of meaning for [Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo] whānau and hapū in the modern context’ (Sykes, A. 2007, p. 117).

As Sykes (2007), who lives at Tapuaeharuru marae Ngati Pikiāo attests to, our marae are empty except at tangi or birthdays and we must therefore find ways to regroup and ‘collectivise’.

## **Summary**

This chapter has provided an outline of the three whakapapa that form the foundations of this research, that is: the whakapapa of the hapū, the whakapapa of the researcher and the whakapapa of the research. Determining whakapapa at the outset of any Māori ritual of encounter is part of a process of whakawhanaungatanga or establishment of relationships. In showing the genealogical and historical relationships that exist between the three research ‘parties’, Chapter one creates the platform upon which this research project is built. Effectively, the whakapapa form the foundations of the project while the relationships create the platform upon which the research as part of a hapū building initiative can occur. In Chapter two I show how these relationships work within the context of the marae as cultural home of the hapū, and within the life of the hapū generally. Chapter two also shows how this thesis gives rise to an anti thesis. That is, how the hapū’s solution to the problem of cultural discontinuity, a product of colonisation, must begin by addressing our own colonisation including the ways in which we unconsciously perpetuate and unknowingly promote cultural discontinuity, to our own detriment. That is, how we as a hapū, engage in patterns of internalised racism and/or oppression (Freire, 1998; Lipsky, 2007; Padilla, 2007).

### *Internalised racism*

A bi-product of colonisation, the forces of internalised racism present as a barrier to Ngati Te Takinga’s development. Speaking about this phenomenon amongst her own black American people, Suzanne Lipsky (2007) states:

Internalised racism has been the primary means by which we have been forced to perpetuate and "agree" to our own oppression. It has been a major factor preventing us, as black people, from realising and putting into action the tremendous intelligence and power which in reality we possess. On a personal level it has been a major ingredient in the distressful and unworkable relationships which we so often have with each other. It has proved to be the fatal stumbling block of every

promising and potentially powerful black liberation effort that has failed in the past. Patterns of internalised oppression severely limit the effectiveness of every existing black group (Lipsky, S. 2007, p. 1).

Recognising and understanding internalised racism/oppression suggests Lipsky (2007), is critical to eradicating it as an obstacle to individual 'emergence' and group liberation. As a group, Ngati Te Takinga's 'external' struggle for cultural continuity is clouded by our 'internal' struggle against ourselves. These sorts of complexities are explored further in Chapter two. A full analysis of hegemony and internalised racism is located in the context of the stories, and within their analysis, in the final chapter of this thesis.

## Chapter Two

### **He raruraru kei te haere – problems down at the pā .....**

#### *Cultural discontinuity and insecure identities*

This chapter begins with an overview of the issues and concerns surrounding cultural continuity for both Ngati Te Takinga and for Iwi Māori generally. I then locate the place of this thesis within the hapū plan to address these concerns and highlight how the colonised reality of contemporary hapū-Iwi life (our internalised oppression) inhibits hapū innovation. Section three of Chapter two examines the meaning, the significance and the role of the marae within Māori (Ngati Te Takinga) culture, while section four considers the rights and obligations of individuals within the context of the hapū-Iwi membership and apprenticeship (inclusion) process. The final section of Chapter two provides an example of an Iwi apprenticeship in progress and concludes with an overview of William's (2000, cited in James, 2000) classification of Māori to define, identify and to position the 'ahi kaa' (mana whenua) and 'away-dwellers' (te ahi tere) referred to in this research.

#### *Cultural disconnection*

*he kākano i ruia mai i Rangīātea e kore e ngaro  
I am a seed from Rangīātea, I will not be lost*

Colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand and ensuing urbanisation assimilation and hegemony (Fanon, 1965 & 1968; Walker, 1990; Commo, 1993; A. Durie, 1997; Ballara, 1998; Bishop, 1998), has led to the physical and cultural disconnection (detrification) of many Ngati Te Takinga people who live both inside, and outside, of Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiao's geographical boundaries. The resultant loss to Ngati Te Takinga of the human and cultural capital available to people our marae, and to bolster the hapū by way of numbers, is concerning. Coupled with the diminishing numbers of culturally proficient and physically and mentally able elders (sometimes referred to as the mana whenua and/or ahi kaa) in our midst, the situation has become critical. The passing of our elders and/or their age related physical and mental incapacity, constitutes a loss of

our historical repositories of knowledge and of the types of cultural expertise and leadership necessary to support the hapū and the marae, two fundamental institutions of Māori society.

In setting out to address this problem, Ngati Te Takinga sought to bridge the gap between those of our people who remain connected and those who are disconnected. The term connected, within the context of this thesis, refers to those members of Ngati Te Takinga who regularly exercise and maintain their rights and obligations as hapū members; while the term disconnected refers to those Ngati Te Takinga peoples who, through their non-participation and non fulfilment of obligations at hapū and marae levels, have renounced and/or weakened their hapū membership rights. The bridge-building process between these two groups began with the hapū wānanga series. The recording of oral histories of [some] Ngati Te Takinga elders and away-dwellers was the second phase. Perceived as a cultural realignment device, the hapū considered that the telling, the recording and the reading of stories about home, could assist to keep us connected with our marae Te Takinga and also, with each other as Te Takinga descendants. Increasing chances for cultural continuity was the primary goal of the exercise.

The stories that were gathered captured two sets of data. One set focussed on home, belongingness and Ngati Te Takinga – Māori identity, while the other considered issues of the connection, disconnection and reconnection of hapū descendants. The information was produced as a tool for informing the hapū and marae revitalisation strategy.

Knowing that (for an away-dweller) reconnecting with one's hapū and marae can be a daunting task, I wanted to call attention to the need to address the fears and anxieties of away-dwellers coming home. The requirement for more inclusive (and friendly) marae processes was critical to the success of any strategy for rejuvenating the marae. As well, I wanted to consider the possibilities for establishing a contemporary 'distance' (marae) apprenticeship process that could compliment and support the (traditional) apprenticeship process currently in operation. This system (which will be fully explained later in this chapter) has an unspoken requirement for 'kanohi kitea' or for physical presence of hapū members at hapū gatherings at the marae. The requirement can hamper opportunities for

away-dweller's to participate and/or to contribute their knowledge and skills to hapū development. By creating systems that enable and allow our people to fulfil the reciprocal obligations that maintain our hapū relationships from a distance, the chances for strengthening hapū connectiveness are potentially increased. Although the ideal, for away-dwelling Ngati Te Takinga people, and for our people generally, the obligation to be physically present at hapū and marae gatherings can be unrealistic, impractical and often impossible. The obligation however remains.

A cultural value, the 'kanohi kitea' element of tikanga (Māori ways and methods) is a source of tension between the home (those who have remained in the homelands) and the away (those who left) people. Within Ngati Te Takinga those who have left include those who moved the short distance to live outside of the hapū-Iwi boundaries in the Rotorua Township. I am in this latter cohort and as an away person looking in, it appears that the tension is fuelled by a resentment of those who had left by those who had stayed. Regardless of peoples' reasons for leaving the hau kainga (ancestral lands), there is a stigma attached to going away. The stigma, as evidenced within the ahi tere (away-dweller) stories in Chapters five, six and seven and also within the prevailing discourse at hui-a-hapū, remains. While a person may return to live and work among, for and with the hapū, the fact that they left sits like a smudge on their personal record. The smudge dictates the parameter of that person's rights within the hapū which may be limited and/or invalidated because they left. This form of discrimination can result in divisions, disunity and despair which, in turn, leads to a withdrawal of the people (support) needed to grow and strengthen the hapū.

### **He aha te mea nui?**

*What's important really?*

*Hutia te rito o te harakeke kei whea te Komako e ko? Ki mai ki ahau, he aha te mea nui o te ao, māku e ki atu, he tangata, he tangata he tangata'*

*Tear out the heart of the flax bush, where would the bellbird sing? If I was to be asked what the most important thing in the world is, I would respond by saying, "it is people, it is people, it is people....."*

This frequently quoted whakatauki (proverbial saying) tells us that in te ao Māori (the Māori world), people are of paramount importance. That Ngati Te Takinga ascribe to this principle is demonstrated by the hapū wānanga which sought to reconnect our people and to rekindle kinship ties. This thesis is also testament to the hapū's belief that people and history remain integral to the survival of Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiaio culture, as the source of [hapū] identity (Said, 1993). The notion, however, of an anti thesis arises when the principle of people first is juxtaposed with the existing discourse that surrounds away-dweller status in the hau kainga. Within this discourse, the idea that people are valued above all else, becomes a contradiction.

Alongside the climate of resentment, the stigmatisation of away-dwellers contravenes our espoused Māori values of manaaki (to care); koha (to give); tohatoha (to share); aroha (to love and care); and awahi (to assist and support). The culture of exclusion that is created by this discourse thwarts the development and implementation of a strategy for including our disconnected people. It appears that while the hapū wants to strengthen itself by rekindling kinship relationships, there is a fear that increased hapū membership could 'tip' the balance of power and result in a loss of control by the current home rule. The ensuing struggle to maintain the status quo manifests itself by way of the tension (internalised racism) between the home people and away-dwelling people returning home. In addressing the desires of the people to record hapū stories to retain and restore hapū knowledge, this research uses the same stories as a catalyst for deconstructing, decolonising and transforming the socio-cultural and political power base of the hapū. In so doing, the research acknowledges that Ngati Te Takinga 'cannot be the cure if we are the disease' (Battiste, M. 2000, p. xvii).

Exploring events of the past in order to ascertain how they have shaped the present (Temm, 1990), the project considers how the present when informed by the past, might shape a strong Ngati Te Takinga future. The stories from both home and away-dwellers are intended to sow the seeds of understanding that can diminish the tensions and/or transform (decolonise) the discourses that jeopardise present and future hapū development. Central to this development is the institution of the marae. Te Takinga

marae is the socio-cultural and political hub of the hapū. It is from this hub that the customs and collective identity of Ngati Te Takinga is monitored, kept intact and maintained. Examining the marae, the following section explains the place and significance of this institution within both traditional and contemporary Māori society. For Ngati Te Takinga, Te Takinga marae is the common cultural denominator that links us to our past, to our culture and each other as Te Takinga descendants. The marae is both the anchor stone for hapū identity and the harbouring place for our culture.

### **I ngā rā o mua**

*Looking back is looking forward*

*Identifying of oneself with one's people and one's history is a major reason for the family marae and meeting house. To enter the meeting house is to be re-born into the kin group, into the family (Shirres, M. 1997, p. 54).*

### **The marae**

Marae have existed since time immemorial as 'the quintessential citadel of the Māori ethos' (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2006). In former times marae consisted of an area of land centrally located in Māori villages or kainga. Doubling as the village square, the marae functioned as a place where public gatherings occurred, where visitors were welcomed and feasted, where the dead were mourned and, when unoccupied for such purposes, where children played (Schwimmer, 1966). The sacrosanct qualities of the marae were derived from the Māori ethos. In turn, this ethos was a derivative of Māori' cultural imperatives such as language, songs, oratory rhetoric (te reo) customs and practices (tikanga) corpus knowledge and epistemology (mōhio) and inter-relationships, narratives and storytelling (whakapapa)' (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2006). These cultural imperatives shaped the appropriate, befitting and distinct marae etiquette and protocol accorded to those ceremonies that occurred on the marae; none were conducted without religious observances. Ceremonial rituals and prayers formed the most important constituent of the Māori ethos. To absent the marae of religious observances was to render the marae and its environs 'barren and devoid of cultural significance' (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2006).

While the physical marae may have changed, its function remains the same. Marae of old, however, have been supplanted by the contemporary marae complex which usually incorporates a meeting house and a kitchen-dining room. Contemporary ‘modern’ marae still embody the life principle of a people and their place; they act not only as centres for cultural and traditional activities (Durie, 2003) but also as a physical representation of the mana of a people. Marae form an integral component of Māori cultural identity.

European colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand coupled with Māori urbanisation, heralded many changes to Māori ways of life and to Māori ways of being and knowing. Surviving the many upheavals of these eras, marae have remained as cultural ‘touch stones’ for Māori within the urban milieu. Walker (1990) articulates this notion emphasising the magnitude and the importance of the role of marae during this period:

The bastions of cultural conservatism for the Māori were kinship within the tribal polity, the marae and the institution of the tangi. Seasonal and migrant workers returned often to their kainga to be with kin in times of celebration or bereavement. Weddings, tangihanga, twenty-first birthdays and other community events were invariably held at tribal marae. The marae gave a modicum of stability and cultural continuity in the face of Pākehā dominance and assimilationist pressures (Walker, R. 1990, p. 187).

Land loss and alienation also served to strengthen the place and significance of marae during the 1930’s – 40’s colonisation-urbanisation period. Many marae and tribal meeting houses are built on land classified as Māori Reservations under the Māori Affairs Act. On the basis that this land is inalienable, Walker (1990) has suggested that for landless Māori, the marae was their remaining tūrangawaewae on which to hang their identity as the indigenous people who once owned the whole of the country. M. Durie (2001) agrees with this thinking by suggesting that for dispossessed Māori, the marae became ‘the only connection with Papatuanuku (the earth) and the only opportunity to exercise an interest in a greatly reduced tribal estate’ (M. Durie, 2001, p. 74). Under these circumstances, marae became ‘the beachheads from which Māori launched their cultural revival in the twentieth century’ (Walker, R. 1990, p. 187).

*‘Mā te huruhuru te manu ka rere’*

*By feathers do the wings of the bird gain flight*

The Māori cultural renaissance movement of the late 1920’s – 30’s was led by Apirana Ngata who was considered to be one of the most able Māori leaders of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Ngata’s futuristic strategy for Māori cultural revival and continuity ‘focused the Māori cultural revival on the carved meeting house [or wharepuni], as the symbol of Māori identity, mana and tribal traditions’ (Walker, R. 1990, p. 187). For the people of Te Arawa, Ngata’s legacy is a substantial and rich array of elaborately carved meeting houses which are dispersed throughout the Te Arawa region. These houses stand today as a tribute not only to Ngata, but also, to those Te Arawa people of Ngata’s era who brought the dream to fruition. Our old people, my grandparents and great grand parents included, provided the feathers that gave flight to the wings ferrying the dream and, just as was envisioned by Ngata, the meeting house has become ‘the most powerful symbol of Māoritanga’ (Mead, H. 1997, p. 162).

For those Māori communities whose marae complex incorporates a carved meeting house, their house is a source of tribal prestige and pride. These communities ‘are envied for having such an important amenity and for being able to control, maintain and defend the symbols of their cultural identity’. Individuals belonging to that house benefit ‘by the reflected glory of the structure itself and by the gallery of ancestors it contains’ (Mead, H.1997, p. 162). The marae and meeting house affords individual whānau-hapū and Iwi members a sense of participation in the social history of the tribe (Mead, 1997). A magnificently carved house containing a centre post (poutokomanawa) carved by my grandfather Te Ngaru Ranapia (who carved the first/original Te Takinga meeting house), Te Takinga is the principle meeting house of Ngati Te Takinga. Te Ngaru was a prolific and well known carver. His many works are found both locally within the Te Arawa region and nationally, for example, in the Māori Affairs Committee Room in the New Zealand Parliament Buildings. Te Ngaru completed this work in 1919.

Summarising the special qualities, philosophical significance and portable nature of marae, Ngāmaru Raerino (2006) posits the following reflection:

[When you ask “where is your marae?”] it’s like saying “where is Hawaiiiki?”. The marae can be in your mind or in your heart. It was originally a group of stones that imbued into the marae all the sacred things. I can set those stones in a certain place and in a certain way and then I start to draw from karakia to sanctify – that marae. A marae can be anywhere – we can sanctify the area and we become the living pou or pillars of that marae. Ko koe to poupou o Ngati Pikiao ..... i tērā marae. The portability of the marae is when we erect it in our minds and in our hearts. These four things are the cornerstones ..... but right in the middle what connects the whole lot is the rituals – the karakia and the pure – the incantations and spells – One is verbal, the incantations and the spells and the other the pure is the actual things that you do for example the use of water and the placing of stones, the ‘pure’ consecrates your karakia (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2006).

Whether a sanctified area of land, a modern marae complex, or a place in the heart and mind of an individual, the maintenance of the rituals that imbue the marae with its sacred qualities, and the extent to which marae continue to draw together and unify Māori communities, are jeopardised by ongoing urbanisation and detribalisation. The resultant breakdown in the traditional hapū (marae) apprenticeship system may, in turn, lead to the demise of marae as the central socio cultural and political entity of hapū-Iwi.

**‘Mā wai ra e taurima te marae i waho nei .....?’**

*Who the will care for our marae and our traditions?*

*Now that our young people are scattered throughout the cities of New Zealand and Australia, it is difficult both to receive the benefits of identity with a house and to give it one’s labour, time and financial support. By not being associated with the marae, young people are being alienated. They are not learning their traditions, their songs and their customs (Mead, H. 1997, p. 164).*

The ability of many hapū and Iwi Māori to maintain the modern marae complex as ‘the quintessential citadel of the Māori ethos’ (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2006) is hard. Ongoing urbanisation and the subsequent diasporic nature of Māori people has led to a breakdown in traditional collective socio-cultural values, beliefs and structures. In the face of an increasingly neo liberal, individualistic and competitive market driven environment (economy) with its conflicting value base (Emery, 1998; Bargh, 2007; Sykes, 2007) many marae are struggling to survive. Both a cause and an effect of this situation, changes to systems of marae management and breakdowns in the traditional apprenticeships process, are bi-products of colonisation, urbanisation, integration,

assimilation and the resultant detribalisation of many Māori people; including people who are of Ngati Te Takinga descent. Although failing, the marae apprenticeship system (which is inextricably linked with hapū and marae governance and management) remains unchanged. Instigating change requires a review of both systems. To initiate such a process, the next section looks firstly at the Te Takinga marae operational (management) structure and secondly, at the apprenticeship system as uncovered by way of my Masters Dissertation ‘the way home is not yet clear’. An evaluation of the two systems occurs in the final chapter.

### **Te whakahaeretanga o Te Takinga marae**

#### *Managing the marae*

*Marae are very often considered to be the centre of Māori culture. They are part of the wider whānaungatanga relationships that exist and an extremely important part. For many generations of being under cultural siege, marae have been important bastions and havens for Māori ..... marae are still one of the most important tangata whenua gathering places (Smith, C. 2007, p. 102).*

Te Takinga marae is situated on what is now Māori reservation land (Mourea Papakainga 3D). Usurped by Te Takinga from the Tuhourangi people, over time this block (amongst other Mourea lands) were succeeded to and became the residing place of Kiore, son of Te Takinga, whose principal wife was Hineora (Stafford, 1967). Mourea Papakainga acquired reservation status following the New Zealand Government Māori land consolidation scheme. Implemented by Apirana Ngata in the 1929 – 30’s, the land consolidation scheme divided communally owned Māori land into blocks and then assigned them into the ownership of different hapū. Right through occupation decided who got which pieces of land (generally) (Newton, 1988; White, 1994; L. Tamati, pers. comm., 2005). The Mourea and Okawa Bay areas were allotted to Ngati Te Takinga who was residing there at the time. Subsequently, these areas were divided into papakainga (or settlements) for different Ngati Te Takinga families. Mourea Papakainga 3D was ‘reserved as an area to be held in common for all the families’ (Newton, S. 1988, p. 15).

The descendants of Te Takinga (being the whare tūpuna or meeting house) and Hineora (being the whare kai or dining room) are the established mana whenua of Mourea. The Mourea lands, the waterways and the marae are representative of the physical entities and the symbolic ‘spaces’ (McIntosh, 2004) that comprise identity markers and a tūrangawaewae for Ngati Te Takinga peoples. Walker’s (1990) description of marae generally as being the ‘beachheads from which Māori launched their cultural revival in the twentieth’ century, is true of Te Takinga.

The establishment of Te Takinga marae and meeting house was accomplished through the collaborative efforts of all the hapū. Ngati Te Takinga women, my grandmother Wahanga included, were central to this development. By way of the Hineora Women’s committee, the women of the hapū were actively involved in decision making around the operations of the marae. In collaboration with the men, the women assisted to establish, build, manage and run the everyday business of the pā. Remembering how the women’s efforts contributed towards the growth of the marae as the lifeblood (the hub) of the Mourea community, research participant Ngāhuia Walker (2005) said “the ladies, there was Kara and Wahanga, Hera Rodgers, Tepora Pokiha – the four of them [they] were running the Heath League at the marae in the old dining room and they helped us with everything” (N. Walker, pers. comm., 2005).

Other participants who grew up in Mourea also spoke about the integral role that the women had in maintaining the pā as the centre for all social, cultural and political hapū interactions. For a myriad of reasons, the types of hapū collaborations and relationships that once sustained the marae in the times of my grandmother, have diminished. The Hineora women’s committee no longer operates and today, the marae is managed by a group of marae trustees who are predominantly men. As well, opportunities to participate in the life of the marae outside of tangihanga and birthdays, or through attendance at a meeting, are few. The work of the marae committee focuses primarily on the practical aspects of maintaining the marae as a physical entity. Individual whānau who use the marae are responsible for its day-to-day operations (during hui). It is at such

hui that apprenticeships can be served. Whakapapa presupposes engagement in a person's apprenticeship.

### **Nō wai te marae, mō wai te marae?**

#### *Belonging, inclusion, membership and the traditional apprenticeship*

Genealogy (whakapapa) is a permanent connection that a person has to their hapū-Iwi and marae. On its own however, whakapapa does not necessarily afford a person rights of membership to a hapū-Iwi-marae to which they may whakapapa (Emery, 2001; Temara, 2005). Membership rights are acquired through the fulfillment of certain obligations. As stipulated earlier, for the purposes of my dissertation, I termed the fulfillment of these obligations as the hapū-Iwi-marae 'inclusion process'. The process is premised on five key concepts being: participation, apprenticeship, responsibility, obligation and reciprocity (Emery, 2001). Inherent in these five concepts is the notion of 'Iwi service' or, acts of service to one's Iwi which are entered into in a spirit of goodwill. In effect the forms of engagement required, constitute a traditional model of apprenticeship towards full Iwi membership. Engagement in this process, however, can be problematic given the non-outwardly discernible nature of its existence. There are no pamphlets, no 'quick guide to belonging to your marae' handed out at the marae gate! Similarly, nobody tells you that you are 'doing your apprenticeship' you just come to know.

An intangible convention, the traditional apprenticeship model has a number of key components. The components are:

- ❖ Whakapapa or genealogical connections to the hapū-Iwi
- ❖ The strength of the relationships one fosters with one's kinfolk
- ❖ The level of knowledge, skills and areas of expertise displayed by an individual which, if significant, can preclude the requirement to serve, for example, in the marae kitchen

- ❖ The contributions that are made to the collective hapū-Iwi and the spirit in which these contributions are made.

Finally, a person's attitudes and their behaviour are an integral element of the traditional Iwi inclusion - apprenticeship and membership process. One must work their way diligently, and with humility, through the marae ranks. From toilet cleaning and kitchen duties to cultural roles in the marae meeting house and/or leadership in matters concerning hapū-Iwi management and governance.

In traditional times a person worked their way from the kitchen to the wharenuī (Rangihau, 1992). Today, given the loss of Māori language amongst second and third generation Māori, the transition from the wharekai to the wharenuī is problematic. The absence of proficiency in language and cultural knowledge effectively annuls a person's prospects of ascending to a role in the wharenuī in their later years. This situation will (and does) impact on the function of the marae as the current centre for Ngati Te Takinga-Māori cultural continuance.

The traditional Iwi membership-apprenticeship process is in an inevitable period of flux. Three factors impact this change. Firstly, ongoing urbanisation and the continued depletion of people who provide the voluntary services required to operate the marae. Temara (2005) refers to these people as 'the hands, the heart and the feet' of the marae. Secondly, the ever-dwindling numbers of culturally proficient elders and the resultant bereft paepae kōrero (orator's bench) and thirdly, the negative impacts of adhering to tradition namely, primogeniture based systems. In Te Arawa speaking rights are passed from father to oldest son. The loss of Māori language amongst many of the men however, has detrimentally impacted this protocol. Denying speaking rights to those who are proficient in te reo Māori because their father or older brother (who may not be proficient in te reo) is still living, does little to address the issues of cultural continuity currently being faced by Māori. The problem is not new. In the 1970's the same sorts of concerns, while relating specifically to knowledge transfer as opposed to the loss of Māori language, were expressed by John Rangihau:

To pass on knowledge the main thing we have had to overcome is the conservative nature of Māori elders [...] with my own tribe, Tūhoe [...] for a long time now our elders tended to hold back from telling all they knew about our history [but] you have to look at the old people's reasons for not passing things on to young people too soon, and the reasons for not allowing them to speak on the marae in front of their fathers [...] we believe that every time you give of yourself you are starting to lose some of the aura, some of the life force, which you have for yourself. In the case of my son, if he starts to get up then he's drawing something from me and eventually I will be left an empty hull. This is the real reason behind not allowing the young men to speak before the father dies. Because it is possible that he will take some of the mauri which rightly belongs to the father (Rangihau, J., cited in King, M. 1992, p. 11).

The subsequent 'void' created when all the ultra 'conservative' elders died within three years of each other, required Te Rangihau's people to rethink their practices around succession and the passing down of traditional knowledge:

Within a period of something like three years, the elders who would have been the most difficult ones all passed away. It was obvious to the elders left behind that not one of them could say he was an expert on Tūhoe things. So they quickly realised they had to come together and pool their expertise so they could cover all aspects of Māoriness. Once they realised that, it was a short step to get them to understand that if they didn't do anything about passing all the material on, then the children could be left in the same position they had been, by people dying off quickly. When they accepted that, they were very receptive to the idea of setting up schools of learning for Tūhoe children (Rangihau, J., cited in King, M. 1992, p. 12).

Although told some thirty years ago, Te Rangihau's story is an illustration of the compromise and adaptations to tikanga that were made by one Iwi in order to ensure cultural continuity. Other incidences where contravention of tikanga has occurred exist. Within my own whānau (family) my father, who is the teina or younger sibling to a brother, has had the speaking rights of his (older) brother passed to him on the basis of his competency as an orator. Over-riding the primogeniture system of succession, the precedent for such action is set within Māori mythology by the cultural hero Māui-tikitiki-ā-taranga. Being the last born of five brothers Māui, who was aborted at birth and cast away to the oceans in his mother Taranga's top knot, was of lowly status. Against all the odds, Māui survives to become a cultural icon responsible for many great feats beneficial to the survival of people. Summing up Māui Potiki's accomplishment Walker (1992) states:

Māui is the epitome of the idealised character in Māori society. He is the model for all men [sic] and more particularly for teina, junior children. Provided they had the traits so admired by

society, they too could aspire to leadership, to a place of honour. Māui is the hero who rises above circumstances to prove that the principle of primogeniture was not incontrovertible (Walker, R. 1992, p. 172).

The Māui story is an exemplar that can help to make sense of current concerns about cultural [dis] continuity. Not only confined to male roles, primogeniture restrictions also apply to the roles of women, for example, the restriction that applies to the role of kai-karanga (caller). According to protocol, women who have a mother or an older sister still living are not permitted to karanga. Situations can arise however, when the 'rightful' kai-karanga is not available to take or bring an ope (group of people) on to a marae. While a competent kai-karanga may be available, she may be a daughter or younger sister to the 'rightful' but absent kai-karanga and therefore, she is not permitted to karanga. Likewise, it is not 'tika' (right) for close family members to call one another on to a marae or, during tangihanga (funeral) situations, for immediate family members of the deceased (te whānau pani or kirimate) to sit on the paepae (orator's bench) and whaikōrero (speak).

Given the ever-dwindling numbers of culturally competent callers and speakers, the rule of primogeniture has become an impediment to cultural continuity. Likewise, the diasporic nature of the hapū means that traditional social systems can no longer operate effectively. These important and urgent concerns are at the forefront of current discussions amongst Ngati Te Takinga, Ngati Pikiāo and Te Arawa people; they are matters of great importance. Highlighting and talking through the dilemmas is a positive step towards ensuring cultural continuance.

The discussion around the system of primogeniture and its impacts is not new. Expressing these same sorts of concerns, Te Rangihau (1992) spoke of a traditional apprenticeship process that saw people working their way from the marae kitchen to the wharenuī. Te Rangihau warned that the loss of te reo Māori amongst second and third generation Māori was making the transition from the wharekai to the wharenuī problematic. Te Rangihau projected a life in the kitchen for non-speakers of Māori highlighting the lack of appeal of such a prospect, especially for older non-Māori speakers for whom kitchen work will become impractical and unmanageable. Te

Rangihau was correct in his thinking. The detrimental impact of the situation he describes is currently affecting hapū and Iwi nationally. The institution of the marae is threatened by the loss of te reo Māori amongst those who would, and should, be the current up-coming cultural ambassadors for whānau-hapū-Iwi and marae. Without a process to formally review, revamp, replace or, at a minimum, to support the old apprenticeship system, some marae are stuck in a time warp. In these situations, consideration of ‘neo tribalism’ or, the realities and the implications for hapū development based on current Māori population trends, is absent. Knowing how the traditional apprenticeship system operates is integral to any review and restructuring process.

The next section expands on the nature of hapū-Iwi membership beginning with Rangihau’s exposition on traditional marae-community apprenticeships. Effectively I equate my notion of the existing hapū inclusion processes (Emery, 2001) with Rangihau’s idea of hapū-Iwi apprenticeships. Key whakatauki (Māori proverbial sayings) are used to give clarity to the system. The whakatauki illustrate the basic precepts of hapū membership.

### **Te ringa raupā, te pā harakeke**

*Calloused hands carrying wood, nimble fingers weaving garments .....*

*The essence of community apprenticeship was young people learning by participating, by becoming the carriers of wood, by chopping the wood and by setting up the hāngi. As you grew older you moved on to being in charge of the butchers, the hāngi men and the people who gathered food. You went through all these processes. Then you were allowed to go and listen to elders speaking on the marae and in the meeting houses. So you progressed by observing and becoming involved in all the activities of the marae. That traditionally was the way a young man fitted into place as the elders died off (Rangihau, J. 1992, p. 183).*

Whakapapa embodies the fundamental basis of a person’s connection to their hapū-Iwi-marae. Whakapapa cements one’s kinship and economic ties to their hapū-Iwi (Walker, 1990; L. Carter, 2004, Temara, 2005). In its simplest definition whakapapa ‘is

genealogies, or lists of names that act as keys to unlocking the way Māori understand the way the world operates and maintains stability. [The] names are a fixed point of reference to an orally transmitted history and knowledge [they are] fixed in genealogies and fixed on the landscape' (Carter, L. 2004, p. 4). Whether spiritual or physical, every entity that exists in the Māori world has a list of names that can trace connections to a founding ancestor (L. Carter, 2004). Alone however, whakapapa does not denote membership to a tribal group. Rather, it is a matter of personal choice, the strength of one's relationships and a person's commitment to a particular hapū-Iwi that bestows on them the right to inclusion and subsequently, to full hapū-Iwi membership (Emery, 2001; Temara, 2005). People may descend from a common ancestor but if kinship relationships are not maintained, rights to full group membership can go into abeyance until such time that relationships are formed and fostered and/or rekindled and restored. The 'rekindling' process includes the fulfillment of the reciprocal 'kanohi kitea' obligations that give full membership rights.

The fundamental difference between kinship exercised at a hapū-Iwi level of whānaungatanga and descent, becomes apparent at a corporate level in Māori society (L. Carter, 2004). Māori are enabled to register as Iwi 'descendants' and to receive various entitlements. The non-fulfillment of kinship-marae obligations, however, can result in a diminishment of their rights (for example to vote on issues) at a hapū-Iwi level. Without 'law' the authority of hapū and Iwi to regulate the rights of individuals accorded by Māori 'lore', is unenforceable. Consequently, there are many instances in Te Arawa where various local Iwi have been 'swamped' by away-dwellers and/or neighbouring Iwi members exercising their descent based 'rights' to vote on Iwi specific Treaty of Waitangi settlement issues. Subsequent fallout caused by the vote of the hau kainga (the keepers of the home fires) being defeated by the votes of descendants who are rarely if ever seen, has been most disturbing. Divisions between individuals, whānau, hapū and Iwi across the Te Arawa confederation of tribes are widespread. An issue of national importance, Iwi membership, the question of who belongs and who says who belongs (who has 'voting' rights and who doesn't and who says?) is a topical, difficult and complex question that remains unanswered.

As explained by Rangihau (1992), the traditional means by which a person secured a place (rights) within their Iwi involved an apprenticeship. People were engaged in a lifelong process of learning that included work and acts of service. Importantly, the generosity of spirit demonstrated within those acts took precedence over the acts themselves. To better understand this ‘modus operandi’, I present the following whakatauki (a set of Māori proverbial sayings). The whakatauki create the philosophical framework for the Iwi apprenticeship system. I begin by unraveling the term ‘whakatauki’.

### **Ngā whakatauki**

#### *A philosophical framework*

*Much of what our tīpuna considered to be important is found in a study of both whakatauki and pēpeha (Karetu, T. 1992, p. 39).*

With their ability to encapsulate the experience of generations in a small ‘compass’, whakatauki display most of the main features of Māori literary art (University of Victoria, 1988). Whakatauki are characterised by several distinguishing features including rhythmical patterns that often consist of both balanced and opposing aspects, given effect through the juxtaposition of key words. While cryptic in nature, whakatauki ‘use concrete images to convey rich abstract and symbolic meaning. Apparently factual statements about natural phenomena such as birds, fish and plants are used to illuminate, by analogy, the behaviour of human beings and the dynamics of social life’ (Victoria University of Wellington, 1988, p.1). Operating on different levels, the sayings often have more than one referent and they can therefore be legitimately interpreted in different ways.

Interpretations of whakatauki can, and do, change according to the times. However, regardless of the context, the meanings that whakatauki transmit can teach us how to ‘be’ as Māori. By way of the wisdom traditions therein (Hīreme, 2005), whakatauki reveal

the fundamental principles of the hapū-Iwi apprenticeship system. Traditional proverbial sayings which were usually hapū-Iwi specific, contain the lore of Māori ethics from which rights and obligations are signaled and a code of appropriate and ‘ethical’ (principled) conduct is shaped.

**Te piko o te rākau, tērā te tupu o te tamaiti**

*As the twig is bent, so the tree shall grow*

*Iwi apprenticeship*

Traditional apprenticeships form the basis of a person’s eligibility for full hapū-Iwi inclusion and membership rights. The hapū-Iwi apprentice will more often be a hapū-Iwi affiliate who lives in their tribal area and who participates regularly in hapū-Iwi and marae affairs. Within Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiaio, there are specific codes of preferred conduct and best practice models for ‘apprentice’ performance. Engagement in one’s Iwi apprenticeship sets in motion a lifelong process of teaching and learning. The process incorporates an ongoing series of performance based formative and summative assessments (judgments) that are conducted by the Iwi throughout the term of apprenticeship. The following whakatauki furnish the philosophical framework of this process (as evidenced within Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiaio).

**‘Kanohi kitea’**

*A face seen is a face remembered*

The conferring of Iwi membership rights implies a set of obligations. Foremost is the requirement for a regular physical presence at hui a hapū, and hui a Iwi. An ongoing and consistent physical presence coupled with appropriate levels of contribution, are a measure of one’s commitment to one’s people.

**‘Ko te amorangi ki mua, ko te hāpai o ki muri’**

*The orators in the front are supported by the workers at the back*

This whakatauki refers to the functions of a marae. Its basic tenet is that the successful operation of the wharenuī (meeting house) is contingent upon the successful operation of the wharekai (kitchen-dining room) and vice versa. Age, rank and status (prescribed usually by way of whakapapa) will determine the respective role of an individual. A person’s knowledge, skills, experience and job task efficiency are observed, noted and duly assessed. The ability of a person to selflessly labour and in so doing, to manaaki or look after others including guests and particularly elders, is a valued attribute that is held in high esteem by Māori people in general. Personal status hinges upon this attribute. Laziness is an undesirable trait to possess.

**‘Moea te tāne ringa raupā, moea te wahine i te pā harakeke**

*Marry the man with the calloused hands, marry the woman who tends the flax bushes*

Relating again to the ability of a person to labour in a consistent fashion as being an esteemed attribute, is the whakatauki ‘moea te tāne ringa raupā, moea te wahine i te pā harakeke’ marry the man with the calloused hands, and the woman who tends the flax bushes. This whakatauki encapsulates the notion of the physical strength, fortitude and the dexterity of a person, as being foremost and preferred characteristics. Possession of the skills necessary to provide for a whānau is the conceptual denotation of this whakatauki.

**‘Kāhore te kumara e kōrerō mō tōna ake reka’**

*The kumara does not talk about its own sweetness*

A fourth whakatauki forming the philosophical basis of the traditional Iwi apprenticeship process encapsulates preferred human attitudes and behaviour. ‘Kāhore te kumara e

kōrerō mō tōna ake reka’ or, literally translated, ‘the kumara does not speak about its own sweetness’ infers that humility as opposed to arrogance is a preferred human trait. For those hapū-Iwi affiliates who may be making the return home with a curriculum vitae enhanced by formal education qualifications, this whakatauki ‘kāhore te kumara e korero mō tōna ake reka’, has particular significance. Humble behaviours are approved of while exhibiting arrogance by, for example, flaunting ones qualifications is frowned upon. Durie (2001) suggests that marae encounters involve the establishment of mutually beneficial relationships. Stressing the need to avoid unnecessary risk in the relationship establishment process, Durie advises that displays of arrogance invite retaliation, causing offence creates risk; rudeness solicits insult and diminishing others breeds contempt. The whakatauki ‘kāhore te kumara’, advises the necessity for, and benefits of, humble behaviour in all marae encounters. In practice, humble behaviour equates to taking a ‘back’ rather than a ‘front’ seat or position.

**‘Ehara taku toa i te toa taki tahi engari, he toa takitini’**

*My strengths are not mine alone, they are the strengths of many*

The whakatauki ‘ehara taku toa i te toa taki tahi engari, he toa takitini’ - ‘my strengths and successes are not mine alone, they are the strengths of many’, reinforces the traditional discourse in which hapū–Iwi–marae inclusion processes are positioned. The intrinsic value encapsulated within this whakatauki is that of collectivism as opposed to individualism. The whakatauki implies the elevation of the mana of all players (Durie, 2001) and, once again, favours the human characteristic of humility as opposed to arrogance. Successful achievement is attributed to collective rather than individual strengths and endeavours. Elevating the mana of others is an act of humility; a much-favored human (Māori) trait.

Collectively, these five whakatauki encapsulate the philosophical values and beliefs that underpin a traditional hapū-Iwi-marae apprenticeship process. Other whakatauki that further elucidate and expand this philosophical framework exist. For the purpose intended

however, the five-whakatauki selected provide an explicit portrayal of the core values of self-transcendence and servitude embedded within an Iwi apprenticeship. The person whose attitudes and behaviour exemplifies these values is considered to be one who displays generosity and humility, has a good work ethic, is skilled in their work and will provide well for, and be committed to, whānau and serving the people. Articulating these same ideas but within the context of whānau, Durie (2003) suggests that there are five primary capacities to perform the tasks which Māori expect of whānau. These capacities are, ‘the capacity to care; the capacity to share; the capacity for guardianship; the capacity to empower; and the capacity to plan ahead. An additional sixth capacity [that is] important to whānau well-being and survival, is the capacity for growth’ (Durie, M. 2003, p. 23). These ‘capacities to perform tasks’ are the performance indicators against which Iwi apprentices and Iwi leaders alike, are assessed.

The movement from one stage of an apprenticeship to the next is determined through an ongoing series of formative and summative assessments. The form and administration of these assessments is outlined in the following section.

**‘Tangata ākona ki te marae .....**

*A person who learns on the marae*

*He tangata i ākona ki te whare, tū ki te marae tau ana ....One who has learned in the house and on the marae stands with dignity.*

This whakatauki says that a person who has been schooled in marae customs, protocols and speech will stand and carry out their respective roles with confidence and admired by those present (H. Mead & Grove, 2001). Integral to this system of schooling, is a performance based assessment process. Apprentices engage in a life long form of practicum where assessments that measure their knowledge, skills and attitudes are constantly in operation. The assessment criteria, against which performance is measured, are established according to the principles that underpin the whakatauki derived philosophical framework. As such these cultural standards of excellence or the

assessment criteria, have shaped themselves according to ‘time and space’ (Meyer, 2005). Practical tests and examinations of apprentices are administered in both cultural and home life settings; they measure the apprentice’s level of competency to undertake roles for, and on behalf of, whānau, hapū and Iwi. Performance judgments while not directly and overtly reported can be ascertained by the degree of responsibility and the levels of knowledge and skills required for the roles ascribed to the apprentice within their hapū-Iwi-marae ‘society’.

Ngati Rongomai–Ngati Pīkiao elder Toby Curtis recapitulated the hapū-Iwi ‘social’ assessment process by saying: “in the Māori world, assessment is ongoing and lifelong. We are continually assessed in all that we say and all that we do” (T. Curtis, pers. comm., 2006). Smith (2006) concurs with Curtis’s (2006) thinking. Discussing community assessment in general terms, Smith (2006) says:

Community people like everyone else assess character at every interaction. They assess people from the first time they see them, hear them and engage with them. They assess them by the tone of the letter that is sent, by the way they eat, dress and speak. These are applied to strangers as well as insiders. We all do it. Different cultures, societies and groups have ways of masking, revealing and managing how much of the assessment is actually conveyed to the other person and, if so, in what form and for what purpose (Smith, L. 2006, p. 12).

On a cautionary note, I recently heard the phrase “today’s Cock Rooster is tomorrow’s feather duster” used to describe (Māori) community assessment; the idiom reiterates Curtis’s (2006) and Smith’s (2006) underlying message to the unwitting. The need for prudence in all our community interactions is advised. Community assessment processes have a narrow margin of error!

Examples of this process in practice could mean that a person having had the opportunity to demonstrate their adept cooking skills, may progress from setting tables and doing dishes to a cooking role the marae kitchen. As well, a person may progress from a cooking, cleaning and/or kitchen management - ‘chef’s’ role, to a cultural role in the meeting house. The age of a person or the death of a parent, or an older brother or sister, can also dictate a change in a person’s ascribed role. Beyond the Iwi-marae setting, a

person's educational, home and work life successes and failures, can also impact the judgment of the hapū-Iwi assessors. In turn these judgments impact one's ascribed roles within the hapū-Iwi. Cases where this apprenticeship process has been circumvented exist. There are individuals who as children display an extraordinary talent at, for example, remembering and reciting traditional Māori songs (waiata) or genealogy (whakapapa). These individuals can be, and often are, singled out and mentored into significant cultural leadership roles from a relatively young age. Their paths can, and do, by-pass the kitchen and in some cases supersede the primogeniture system of succession as well.

To recapitulate, the cultural and the home and work life indicators of a person's competency, as encapsulated within the previous whakatauki, coupled with their whakapapa and their insider (home) or outsider (away) hapū-Iwi-marae status, will dictate their place, status and role within the hapū-Iwi and at the marae. John Merito from Houmaitawhiti, another Ngati Pikiao marae, explained the apprenticeship assessment process in the following way:

It's like an increment system. You know, girl guides and boy scouts get little badges as they move through different developmental stages. Well it's the same for us at home only, the badges are invisible. You just know where you are up to by the jobs you do. If your job changes then you have either passed or failed the assessment depending on what your new job is. Likewise if your job stays the same or is reduced in status..... take one of my koroua for example. For 20 years his job was to liaise between the paepae, the visitors and the kitchen. He would let the paepae know exactly how many visitors were at the gate, who they were, where they were from etc; then he would let the kitchen know how many people they had to feed and who the visitors were as well. If a dignitary or dignitaries were present amongst the ope, he would advise the kitchen and the cooks would then know to serve food befitting of that person or persons' status. That was uncle's apprenticeship and he is now the main Kaumātua of our marae. [They] can identify those ones that express interest, have ability and more importantly, have the will to succeed (J. Merito, pers. comm., 2005).

Entry to an apprenticeship and the power to promote an Iwi apprentice, resides with the people. So too does the power of demotion (the metaphor of the cock rooster and the feather duster). Once earned, one's place must be maintained. Maintenance of place is achieved through consistent levels of participation, achievement and commitment. Just

as the whakatauki ‘ehara taku toa he toa taki tahi engari he toa takitini’ denotes the success of the individual as being attributable to the collective strengths of many, so too can an individual’s failure or improper behaviour constitute a loss of mana across the whānau-hapū and Iwi as a whole.

Rangihau’s (1992) forewarning about cultural discontinuance continues to be relevant. The traditional apprenticeship process is threatened by ongoing urbanisation and the inadequate cultural and linguistic proficiencies of our people being the result of Māori colonisation, dispossession and assimilation (Metge, 1964; Lyons, 1975; Jenkins, 1986; Jackson, 1993; Clothier, 1993; Flavell, 2006). Like distance learning however, the possibilities for ‘distance’ apprenticeships should not be discounted. Rapid and ongoing advancements in technology makes many things doable. While doing my own apprenticeship in the conventional manner, for away-dwellers, engagement in hapū and Iwi service (stoking the home fires) from afar; can be a practical solution to maintaining a cultural connection to, and a place at home. Enabling and facilitating such a process is the dual responsibility of both home and away-dwelling Ngati Te Takinga people. Now a home-dweller (but still from away!) my role is to shoulder some of this responsibility. With care and consideration and with respect for the home people (the keepers of the fire), helping to create and to increase the ways in which those who live away can respectfully maintain their connections, is my contribution towards growing the collective strength of Ngati Te Takinga. As an away-dweller coming home, the road to engagement in this work (my hapū-Iwi apprenticeship) has not been easy.

### **Traditional lines, contemporary times**

#### *A beginning Iwi apprentice*

A late starter, my apprenticeship with Ngati Te Takinga began five years after my return to Rotorua in 1998; I was forty years old (but still a kotiro or ‘girl’ in the eyes of the people). Three things spurred what was the beginning of my repatriation with the hapū-Iwi. Firstly my longing for home (matemateaone), secondly my perceived need to

belong, to be involved and to contribute to the hapū-Iwi and thirdly, my desire to try to facilitate an easier path home for other away-dwelling hapū-Iwi affiliates. Coming home in the way I chose, has been tiring. The road is strewn with spiky barbs, prickly thorns and concealed trip wires. Getting 'in' has required ten years of constant active involvement in hapū and Iwi affairs coupled, at the same time, with ongoing hapū-Iwi workplace assessments and judgments. That I have been judged as competent was reflected through the expansion of my apprenticeship role to include, what H. Mead (2003) describes, as 'Iwi service'. The second phase of the apprenticeship, Iwi service has involved hapū representation on various tribal boards. These roles were in addition to my position as a whānau cook and kitchen organiser at marae gatherings such as tangihanga (funerals) of my immediate whānau members.

Throughout the ten-year apprenticeship period that occurred prior to the writing of this thesis, I often wondered about my own sense of home and belongingness as being grounded within, and incumbent upon, my alignment to my Māori cultural heritage. Given the absence of a direct relationship with my marae, hapū and Iwi during my childhood, teen and early adult years, my need to feel accepted by, and involved with, my Ngati Pikiao and Te Arawa kinfolk seemed odd. The other unusual aspect of this situation was the seemingly secure (non-Māori cultural) identities enjoyed by members of my immediate and extended whānau. They too had shared the same culturally alienated childhood experience as me. As evidenced through my dissertation research, for some of these whānau members, the maintenance of Māori culture and affiliation to our marae were not imperative to their identities. My interest was in this point of difference. The opportunity to explore my wonderings about home, belongingness and identity from within a marae, hapū-Iwi based context, presented itself by way of this project. Subsequently, aspects of the connection, disconnection and the re-connection of Ngati Te Takinga people's became a principal focus of my work.

The 2001 New Zealand census records the Ngati Pikiao population as 5,025. Four thousand and seventeen of these people (4,017) or eighty percent (80%) are urban

dwellers (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). One thousand and eighteen Ngati Pikiāo people live in the Pikiāo rural communities; they affiliate to seventeen (17) different Ngati Pikiāo marae. Although unlikely, if each one of the 1018 rural dwellers supported their local marae, there could only ever be a maximum of 59 support people per marae.

The following table shows the demographics of Ngati Pikiāo.

<b>POPULATION OF NGATI PIKIAO 2001</b>				
<b>Ngati Pikiāo Population</b>	<b>Number of Urban Dwellers</b>	<b>Number of Rural Dwellers</b>	<b>Number of Ngati Pikiāo Marae</b>	<b>Maximum 'mana whenua' possible per marae</b>
5,025	4,017 or 80%	1,018 or 20%	15	67

While the exact number of Ngati Te Takinga urban-away-dwellers is not known, these statistics indicate that the majority of our people live 'away'. As well, ongoing detribalisation means that younger urban Māori are three or more generations removed from their traditional lands, their tūrangawaewae (M. Durie, 2001). Given the improbability that all the away-dwelling Ngati Te Takinga affiliates included in these statistics will seek to return to the hau kainga (home), the notion of a 'deterritorialised' Ngati Te Takinga nation-state began to take shape. Deterritorialisation is a process of nation building where, 'the idiom of the autonomous nation-state remains intact even though the geographic boundaries of the state no longer can be understood to contain the citizens of the nation state' (Basch, et al., 1994, p. 260). Through various processes, the nation state is created and maintained in the hearts, the minds and the imaginations of those members of a society who live outside of its geographical boundaries. This condition gives rise to a strong sense of national and transnational nationhood emanating, in the first instance, from the home territories (the hau kainga). Recording the oral histories of our elders and making them available to a wide audience, presented as one

means by which to begin to create a Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo deterritorialised nation state or, a virtual Ngati Pikiāo nation.

What became apparent during the course of undertaking this research was that my questions about home, belongingness and identity, my desire to facilitate an easier road home for disconnected hapū-Iwi affiliates and the recording and promotion of the oral histories of our surviving Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo kuia and koroua, were inextricably bound. More importantly, the potential for such a study to contribute towards the knowledge base central to the forms of cultural continuity sought by Ngati Te Takinga was evident. In effect 'e hoki ki tō maunga', while in some respects challenging the status quo, became part of my service to the Iwi; a project undertaken by an Iwi apprentice towards the fulfillment of the qualification of 'full Iwi membership'. This thesis is an expression of a part of my own process of coming home (he matemateaone) in order to 'secure' my Te Arawa-Māori identity. A fundamental purpose of the project is to communicate with others who may in the future, or may presently be, on their own journeys home.

Journeys home can be difficult. The existing tension between the home people (ahi kaa) and the away-dwellers coming home, although understandable, can result in fearful and off putting homecoming experiences. Inevitably, people's attempts to be included, to belong, to participate and to contribute to their hapū-Iwi are thwarted. Without support, these people will, and do, abandon their efforts. The hapū is poorer for this loss. Recognising the missed opportunities arising as a result of this situation, A. Mead (1994) suggests '[that] it is one thing for people to recognise their skills, but they must also recognise their limitations and therefore the value of others who can complement and strengthen their own contributions for the collective good' (Mead, A. 1997, p. 112). According greater value to, and fully utilising, the collective and interdependent skills of Ngati Te Takinga people, regardless of their hapū membership status and/or geographic location, can assist to fortify the socio-cultural and political development of the hapū. The skills of analysis, asserts Ramsden (1995), can help to stop the process of Māori

people becoming exotic in our own lands. Maintenance of Iwi Māori indigeneity requires a concerted effort by Iwi to locate and to reconnect those of our people who remain culturally and geographically displaced.

### **Kei hea tō tātou Iwi?**

#### *Home, away and gone*

The cultural and geographic disconnection of Iwi Māori, and its effects, is well documented (Walker, 1990; Barlow, 1991; Rangihau, 1992; M. Durie, 1996; A. Mead, 1997; A. Durie, 1997; Bishop, 1998; Kiro, 1998; H. Mead, 2003; Hireme, 2005). Contributing towards this literature J. Williams (2000, cited in James, 2000) attempts to locate, identify and group Māori according to specific sets of criterion relative to their degrees of connection and disconnection to Māori culture. Māori are assigned by Williams (et al) to four primary groups. Group one consists of 100,000 – 150,000 Māori who live in or near their tribal lands as part of their whānau and hapū. Group two is made up of 100,000 – 150,000 increasingly well educated Māori living outside of their tribal boundaries that participate in whānau or tribal activities. Group three constitutes 100,000 dispossessed, often young Māori people who have no Māori cultural or linguistic connection, and group four comprises 170,000 assimilated New Zealanders of Māori descent who know they have Māori ancestry but mainly identify with European culture (Williams, 2000, cited in James, 2000).

These groupings characterise a continuum of belonging, through to dispossession and assimilation, from the mana whenua to the assimilated. Although a very broad-brush analysis, it is useful for this study because it provides a system for classifying the research participants in this project. Participants were drawn from groups one, two and four. While desiring to include participants from group three, their absence is attributed to their dispossession. Dispossessed Ngati Te Takinga people were unidentifiable and they are not, therefore, directly represented in the study. However, whether dispossessed, assimilated or just absent because of urbanisation, those of our people seeking to connect or reconnect with the hapū-Iwi can encounter significant dilemmas.

One such dilemma is the covert, non-outwardly discernible process of inclusion that exists at marae-hapū and Iwi levels for those hapū-Iwi affiliates with a desire to reconnect, but who are strangers to the marae. Inclusion and embracement of these people is not automatic. Further, the ‘screening’ process to which one may be subjected can be disconcerting and intimidating. Sadly, this situation often results in negative experiences. The impact is two fold. Firstly people become further alienated from their cultural legacy and secondly, the hapū-Iwi-marae is the poorer for the loss of people who could strengthen the socio-cultural and power base of the collective.

A further quandary in the hapū-Iwi repatriation debate is that of the limitations imposed on disconnected and/or away-dwelling Iwi affiliates, when access to Iwi resources are metered according to a person’s level of contribution at hapū and Iwi levels. Often unable to demonstrate a firm ‘kanohi kitea’ commitment, and with no direct means by which to do so apart from perhaps returning to tangihanga (funerals), people become excluded. Providing the means by which our away-dwellers can participate and contribute at these levels, for instance, through the creation of an ‘away-dweller’ division in hapū-Iwi competitions (for example the Te Arawa-Iwi games), can only enrich hapū-Iwi life. Although now redundant, the past Te Arawa regional games (policy) allowed Te Arawa away-dwellers to participate non-competitively in the games. The impact for those affected by this ruling was discouraging and demoralising (anonymous Te Arawa ‘awaydweller’, pers. comm., 2006). Such exclusion is difficult to comprehend.

Finally there is the quandary of fulfilling the responsibilities and obligations (acts of service) implied by collective association with one’s Iwi, while at the same time maintaining full economic and social responsibility for a family, within a western-nuclear context. Opportunities to combine our livelihoods with our culture, while a possibility given the vast tracks of Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiaio land and natural resources held in trust, are few. Although these concerns are personal, they are by no means isolated. There is no pamphlet; no quick ‘guide to coming home’ or ‘guide to

coming back to your marae' the process has been an organic, discovery based learning process that continues, and that has lead to this research work.

This chapter outlined the complexities surrounding the implementation of the hapū plan for cultural continuance and proffered the idea of an existing but covert 'process of inclusion' that exists at marae, hapū and Iwi levels. Contradictory to espoused Māori values, this process can work in reverse and hapū efforts to grow and develop become stymied. To respond to this situation a three-pronged argument has been presented. The first part of the argument called for recognition, understanding and movement beyond the patterns of internalised racism and oppression that currently shackles hapū 'movement'. The second cited the need for change to the primogeniture system of succession currently in place; and the third part to the argument, called for a modification of the traditional hapū-marae apprenticeship 'programme' to include a 'distance' component. The chapter explained the significance of the marae in hapū life and the workings of the traditional Iwi apprenticeship process within this polity. The final section utilised Williams's (et al., 2000) classification of Māori, to define, identify and to 'position' the 'ahi kaa' (mana whenua) and the 'ahi tere' (away-dwellers) referred to in this research.

## Chapter Three

### **He anga whakaaro: A framework from the literature**

*He kohingamārama*

*A gathering of thoughts and understandings*

This chapter draws on further national and international literature to expand and strengthen the theoretical framework that underpins this study. Additional kaumātua defined Māori concepts (grounded examples) are also utilised for this purpose. The presence of these examples recognises the orality of Māori traditions and those aspects (of the tradition) ‘that could not be changed without destroying the voices’ (Battiste, M. 2000, p. xix). Two interrelated and amalgamated themes share prominence. Drawing attention to the different (competing) discourses that (Māori) people draw upon to explain and understand their lives, this chapter looks at traditional and contemporary notions of home and belongingness in relationship to Māori identity construction. Within the context of Māori transformative development, different views on cultural connection, disconnection and reconnection are also considered. Consulting international literature has provided an arena in which to consider, compare and contrast ‘foreign’ international (and other indigenous) perspectives on the two themes, along with the perspectives of local (national) authors and grounded theorists (Kaumātua).

The literature pertaining to relative topics such as migrant and immigrant identity, decolonisation, deterritorialisation and social stratification, is prolific. The theories central to these subject areas have been considered within this literature review but with specific reference only, to my topic. Further, the selections of international ideas that bolster the theoretical framework of the research have been filtered. Ideas that referred directly to the central arguments of this work were drawn on and used to analyse, expand, corroborate and substantiate my arguments. I begin with some major findings from the literature. Showing the complex, diverse and changing nature of Māori identity, the

findings reveal the origins of the existing and competing discourses that underpin ahi kaa (home) and ahi tere (away-dweller) arguments about the authenticity, authority and identity (and voice) of Māori [Ngati Te Takinga] people. The findings also show that at a global level, maintenance of culture, knowledge of self and origins and tangible (cultural) connection to, and care for, land; are issues of high importance. Social connectedness, trust and participation in communities that are native to their own ground, and in which the past has prepared the present and the present safeguards the future, are found to be critical to the survival of humanity (Berry, 1986; Pretty, 2002). Home belongingness and identity and cultural connection, disconnection and reconnection are global matters.

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first expands the meaning of whakapapa within the context of Māori identity. Inextricably linked to whenua, whakapapa is shown to be central to (traditional) Māori concepts of home, belongingness and identity (ūkaipō, ahi kaa, matemateaone, hau kainga, tūrangawaewae, mana whenua) which are detailed at length. Predictably, whenua and whakapapa are also shown to be central to the connection, disconnection and the re-connection of culturally disconnected Māori people. Without knowledge of whakapapa, connection to one's hapū, Iwi, marae and to ancestral lands is not possible. The second part of the chapter reviews international literature pertaining to home, belongingness, identity and cultural connection and disconnection. I draw also, on postcolonial theory 'to describe a symbolic strategy for shaping a desirable future rather than an existing reality' (Battiste, M. 2000, p. xix) for Ngati Te Takinga. The ideas that are profiled, inform the investigation undertaken within the 'E hoki ki tō maunga' stories and give support to the Mātauranga Māori (whakapapa) based theoretical and interpretive frameworks used to analyse them.

## **Part One: Traditionally ‘sourced’ contemporarily ‘constructed’.....**

### *Sources and constructions of Māori identity*

*For Māori, whānau have never stood alone; they are intimately connected to a whole range of relationships with both the human and the natural world, connecting to all our relations, as First Nations people so eloquently remind us. In our genealogies, we understand the origins of all things in a broad Creation, which we act within, rather than being masters of this universe (Smith, C. 2007, p. 73).*

Traditional Māori concepts of home, belongingness and identity are underpinned by both tangible and intangible elements of the Māori ethos. For example the terms whānau, hapū and Iwi have both conceptual and concrete meanings. Whānau is used to describe a family group but can also mean to give birth; to be hapū is to be pregnant but the term can also mean sub tribe; while the word Iwi can refer to human bones or to groups of people (hapū) who are connected by common ancestry. Notions of self, whānau and individual and collective tribal identity are inextricably linked with the ethos of Māori culture. As explained previously, whakapapa (genealogy) and knowledge and understanding of one’s whakapapa was, and for some still is, the principal and most important component of a person’s (Māori) identity (Barlow, 1991; Karetu, 1992; Rangihau, 1992; Temara, 2005) Whakapapa is a portal to a dynamic, complex and deeply embedded epistemological system that is Māori-centered and which centres Māori’ being’. Premised on a range of intricately woven organisational frameworks, whakapapa act as repositories of and for, a collection of culturally embedded practical imperatives (Takino, 1998). Sense of belonging to one’s community was/is derived from knowledge and understanding of whakapapa (Barlow, 1991).

Used not only to determine human genealogy, whakapapa also functions as a metaphor for the act of Creation and for the evolution of the universe and all living creatures within it (Marsden, 1992; Shirres, 1997; Kingston Strategic Ltd, 2007). The explicit relationship between human kind and the universe, and in particular with land, is demonstrated within Māori mythology which holds that the first human person Hineahuone was created by Tane-nui-arangi. Moulded from Papatuanuku (mother/earth) at a place known as

Kurawaka (Buck, 1974; Best, 1982; Walker, 1990; Shirres, 1997; Weka, 2004) Tāne, a son to Papatuanuku and her husband Ranginui (heaven/sky), then took Hineahuone as his wife and from their union was born Hinetitama (the dawn maid). When Hinetitama came of age, Tane took her as a wife. Their subsequent union gave rise to human kind thereby providing a passage (for humans) into the physical and spiritual realms of the universe. When learning that Tāne her husband was also her father, in her shame Hinetitama fled to Rarohenga (the underworld) to become the personified Goddess of Death Hine-nui-i-te-pō. It is to Hine-nui-i-te-pō that people return after death. The practice of ‘iho whenua’, or the burial in the earth of a new born baby’s umbilical cord and placenta (whenua), affirms and maintains the universal whakapapa connection to Papatuanuku; as does the (Māori) tradition of burying people within Papatuanuku upon their death. Human whakapapa originates and remains within the land, hence the importance of whenua (land) to Māori identity. The land and the placenta sustain life and create a relationship with a wider environment (M. Durie, 2001).

The relationship between whenua and whakapapa is also evidenced within place names. Dedicated by tūpuna to tūpuna, the land of Aotearoa is replete with histories that tie the people to the land and the land to the people. Mountains, peninsulas, rocks, trees, lakes, rivers and places where significant events occurred, all bear names that carry a whakapapa. For example, the full name of Lake Rotoiti which was discovered by the valiant Te Arawa ancestor Ihenga, is ‘te Rotoiti i kitea e Ihenga’ (the small lake discovered by Ihenga). Likewise, the mountain Moehau which is located in the Firth of Thames in the North Island of Aotearoa, carries the name ‘Moehau o Tama’ – the sleeping sacredness of Tamatekapua. Captain of the Te Arawa canoe, on arrival in Aotearoa Tamatekapua en route to Whangaparaoa on the East Coast, claimed ownership of the mountain and in his latter years, returned to live and die there (Stafford, 1986).

Responsible for the naming of many landmarks in the Te Arawa district and beyond, the following narrative demonstrates the process by which Ihenga, grandson of Tamatekapua, went about naming places:

Ihenga travelled by way of Waiomio giving names to places as he went. Ruapekapeka (cavern of bats) was named from the thousands of bats found there in the hollows of the trees; Tapuae-haruru (resounding footsteps) from the noise made by [Ihenga's] footsteps. The hill Motatau (talk to oneself) was so called from Ihenga talking to himself. Going on [Ihenga] came to a river where [he] saw his own image in the still waters, so the river was named Te Waiwhakaata-a- Ihenga (the reflecting waters of Ihenga) (Stafford, D. 1986, p. 40).

Still in use today, the historical significance (whakapapa) of these place names and the places themselves, are an omnipresent link between the land, the events that occurred and ancestors in whose memories the places are so named - and who named them. Authority, or the mana over these places, is vested in whānau, hapū and Iwi who hold the mana whenua.

The term mana whenua refers to those people who remain upon and/or look after traditional hapū and Iwi lands. The concept of mana whenua recognises the authority of the home people (hau kainga) as being sourced through their unbroken relationship (term of residence) on the land (H. Mead, 2003). Likewise the term tūrangawaewae while not always referring specifically to whenua, portrays a *place* where a person has a right to belong or, a place to 'stand'. Determined in the first instance through whakapapa, a person's right to tūrangawaewae is generally forged by their forebears who, for example, may have named, lived, borne children and fought and died on that land. Important occasions such as whānau births, weddings, birthdays and funerals continue to take place upon tūrangawaewae, for example, tangihanga at the marae. For many, tūrangawaewae is a place where ideas of identity and belonging can be publicly affirmed and asserted through explicit means such as whaikōrero and/or mihimihi (speech making) (J. Diamond, 2001).

In both their literal and conceptual translations, other Māori concepts of home, belongingness and identity also mirror the parallels between human genealogies and the physical and spiritual realms (whakapapa) of the universe. For example the term 'ūkaipō' (to feed from a mother's breast in the night) has numerous interconnected conceptual meanings which demonstrate the interrelated nature of people and the natural environment. Sometimes used when making reference to a person's mother, ūkaipō can

also be used to denote the *place* (whenua) where a person is nurtured. In a physical sense ūkaipō relates to human attachment to land and from an emotional perspective, to a sense of belonging, sustenance and nurturing (H. Kawharu, 1979; Barlow, 1991; Metge, 1995; Durie, 2001; Diamond, 2003). The term comes into its own within the desire amongst Māori and other groups of people, to return to their homeland to die and to be buried. Ngāmaru Raerino (2004) described the concept of ūkaipō as being:

Te wāhi i pupū mai ai tō hau me tō mauri – the place from which the vitality of the land and the essence of your being emanates or where the mauri and vitality of your being is from. Intangible concepts such as hau and mauri can be explained this way. Mauri is the life principle, the hau is the little wee thing that sparks the life principle (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2004).

Ūkaipō relates to a very human requirement for comfort that can transcend racial differences and religious distinctions and denominations (J. Diamond, 2001). Like Māori, many other indigenous people also have a notion of ūkaipō within their psyche. Being born of a place (ūkaipō) and remaining connected to a place (ūkaipō) was/is considered to be fundamental to the health and well-being of a person (Smith, 2007). To be without ūkaipō was/is to be exposed to harm: Smith explains:

While indigenous peoples' movement to different places could happen seasonally, there was a continuation of connection to places through generations of memory and responsibility. For Māori, states of disconnection could result in illness. There are common terms for peoples who are considered ill through states of disconnectedness. They are considered to be more of the 'rangi' state, and lacking in presence. Terms exist such as rangirua (confusion), wairangi (mad), haurangi (drunk), and porangi (mad). Such people were considered ill. They could be wanderers with no sense of purpose. In some cases, people who were forcibly removed from their lands did sicken and die. The death rates of Māori who were imprisoned in the South Island and on the Chatham Islands after forced removal were high, believed to be not only from the harsh conditions but also from a deep longing [matemateane] (Smith, C. 2007, p. 69).

The terms *matemateane* [longing for home] and ūkaipō are inextricably linked with the concept of *hau kainga*. Literally translated to home wind, *hau kainga* refers to the winds of home which carry the airborne essences of the land and the water ways (Mutu, 2002). *Hau kainga* is also used to identify the people of a place (*te hau kainga*). The term situates the home people as integral components of both the physical environment and the spiritual essence known as *te hau kainga* or home. In its deepest sense, genealogical connection (*whakapapa*) is at the heart of traditional Māori concepts of home, belongingness and identity.

## **Ta tēnā ta tēnā ....**

### *Variations on themes*

The Māori concepts introduced in this chapter are contextualised and elaborated upon within the stories in chapters five, six, seven and eight. Other Māori concepts of home, belongingness and identity such as urupa – rua Koiwi (burial ground), ahi kaa (home fires) and mauri (life essence) and matemateaone (longing for home) are central to the theoretical framework of this thesis. The concepts are accorded different meanings by different Iwi groups. For example L. Carter (2004) of the Ngai Tahu Iwi in the South Island of New Zealand, explains the concept of ahi kaa by linking it with an interrelated concept known as ahi kaa roa. Explaining these terms Carter writes:

[The] ahi kaa roa and ahi kaa are directly related to the principle of tiakitanga. The people who remain in permanent residence in a particular area maintain the ahi kaa roa – the permanent burning fires. Those who can whakapapa to the area but do not necessarily live there have ahi kaa – burning fires. The extent to which the latter group's fires burn depends on the amount of participation they are prepared to engage in with the permanent guardians and caretakers of the home areas and its resources (Carter, L. 2004, p. 73).

In contrast however, Ngati Mākino-Ngati Pikiāo elder Te Ariki Morehu did not support the use of the term 'ahi kaa' as a means to distinguish a person's state of residence on the land. Te Ariki maintained "ko te ahi kaa ā, kāore au e tino pai ki tērā. He kupu tērā ki āu, he whakatū riri anō i roto i ngā Iwi kōrero whenua" [I am not fond of the term ahi kaa. To me, its use can renew land conflicts between Iwi]. Continuing Te Ariki explained:

Ko te ahi kaa, he kupu tērā ki tōku mōhio mō ngā whenua i whāwhatia i kaa ai ngā ahi a te hunga whāwhaki, tahuna ai ngā whare o ngā Iwi ka mate ana i te Iwi whakaeke ki ngā pakanga, koirā tōku mōhio i te timatatanga o tērā kupu mō tērā kōrero te ahi kaa (T. Morehu, pers. comm., 2005). [To my knowledge, the word ahi kaa refers to lands that have been fought over and won; and the fires that were lit by the victors, after the battle. They burnt the houses of those they killed during battle and the fire notified their presence on the land].

Expanding his commentary Te Ariki stated that historically, war parties, having conquered their adversaries, would move onto the next battle thereby leaving the ahi to go out. If victorious in the subsequent battle, the process of ahi kaa would be repeated: "Ā, kua weto te ahi" – the fire has gone out - maintained Te Ariki "kua kore he take o

tērā kupu” – the use of the term is flawed for there is no fire .... it has no substance. Te Ariki preferred the term ‘mana whenua’ to delineate the long-standing presence of an Iwi on the land. To elaborate he said:

Ko ngā tāngata noho i reira, kei a rātou te mana o te whenua, ki āu, koira kē te kōrero e tika ana, te mana o te whenua. Te mana whenua ko wai kei runga i te whenua e mahi ana i te whenua e tiaki ana i te whenua e whāngai ana i te whenua. Kati tērā, ka mate ngā tāngata e tiaki ana i te whenua, kua nehua i reira nā, te mana o ngā tāngata rā kei roto i te whenua (T. Morehu, pers. comm., 2005).

[The people who live there, they have the mana of the land. To me, that is the right terminology – te mana o te whenua; and that mana .... it is determined by those who reside on the land, who work the land, who look after and nurture the land. And when they die, they are buried in the land and their mana becomes vested in the land; these days many people have left the land.]

Summarising Te Ariki’s literal view, the term ahi kaa refers to the fires lit on defeated lands by invaders, when sacking the homes of the conquered. The use of the term to define a person’s connection to a place can therefore, as Te Ariki suggests, “whakatū riri anō i roto i ngā Iwi korero whenua”: open old wounds and renew old land conflicts between Iwi. This thinking, however, does not deter others from using the term ahi kaa to define the home people in their role as the ongoing occupiers of hapū and Iwi lands (Walker, 1990; Barlow, 1991; Carter, 2004; Temara, 2005). Mana whenua and ahi kaa are used synonymously within this thesis when referring to the Ngati Te Takinga home people. The use of both terms acknowledges those of our people who may have been alienated from traditional hapū lands. Although no longer able to exercise mana whenua due for example to urbanisation, the use of the term ‘ahi kaa’ (as a metaphor for ‘keeping the home fires burning’) acknowledges the roles of these people in maintaining Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiaio cultural imperatives, through their sustained work at the marae and/or amongst the hapū and Iwi.

This section presented an overview of traditional Māori norms that underpin Māori concepts of home and ‘belongingness’. With the understanding of these concepts as a foundational framework, I now turn and examine Māori identity. The examination shows how contemporary and diverse Māori lifestyles, and subsequent attitudes to cultural beliefs, have changed the ways in which people now identify as Māori.

### **Ko wai koe, nō hea koe, nā wai koe?**

*Belonging and connection to land and to family – traditional norms as a basis for Māori identity*

*Ae, ko tātou, ko tātou. Ahakoa hoki pēhea te tawhiti o te tangata, kei roto i ngā whakapapa ka taea anō te whiriwhiri, kua rite ki te whāriki, e rarangatia nei e ngā kuia ana, ki konei tēnā, kua ataahua, titiro anō rātou, oh, kā hē, kā hē. Ae, kei roto i ngā whakapapa, i haere katoa mai rātou mā runga i te waka o Te Arawa, ā Ngati Ohomairangi. Ana tō tupuna i tū mai ra i Pikirangi, a Ohomairangi ...*

*Yes, we are all one. Irrespective of how distant the relationship is between people; genealogy is like the weaving of a flax mat and it is beautiful. It is within the whakapapa. Our ancestors came together aboard the canoe 'Te Arawa' they were known as Ngati Ohomairangi. And that is your ancestor, he who stood at Pikirangi .... Ohomairangi*

(Te Ariki Mōrehu, pers. comm., 2005).

Just as different meanings are applied to particular Māori words and concepts, there are also different ways in which Māori people identify as Māori. Māori conceptual and dialectical (language) differences vary according to different hapū-Iwi. Sources and constructions of Māori identity, however, have become increasingly individualised according to experience and choice. Two Māori identity types are proffered. The first, which is encapsulated within the above quote from renown Te Arawa Kaumātua Te Ariki Morehu, is sourced in (Iwi) Māori tradition (whakapapa) and the second is a modern 'constructed' Māori identity (Carter, 1998). The authenticity and legitimacy of both identities is a site of ongoing contest and debate. To understand this argument, an examination of both sites is necessary. I focus firstly, on Māori identity that is shaped from *within* a traditional Māori paradigm and secondly, on the modern socially constructed (neo) Māori identity. To conclude, I present arguments from both sides of the Iwi-Māori and 'neo' Māori 'authentication of identity' debate.

#### *Organic and authentic?*

Two main points of reference underpin the notion of a traditional (organic) Māori identity. Located within traditional Māori norms (Pickering, 1997) they are: tribal

structures based on descent from a Māori ancestor, closely associated with a tribal location, and cultural practices or, a shared system of understanding that a group deems to be important and meaningful to them. In practice, for a person to have a traditional Māori identity, they would be required to have grown up (or to be growing up) in a Māori community and to have earned (be earning) apprenticeships by engaging and participating in the learning of customs and traditions of their tribal group (Rangihau, 1992). Rangihau conceived of Māori identity as stemming primarily from genealogical descent from an ancestor. His thinking is supported by Walker (1989) who maintains that cultural traits such as language, tribalism, landownership, and tūrangawaewae are critical to Māori identity. Timoti Karetu's definition suggests that the key determinant of Māori identity was/is shaped by the society in which one is raised and through the observance of Māori rites of passage - as opposed to blood quantum or whakapapa (Karetu, 1990, cited in Pickering, 1997, p.3). Having themselves grown up in the traditional ways they describe, the positions on Māori identity that Rangihau (1992), Walker (1989) and Karetu (1990) take are contextually understandable. Ongoing detribalisation however, brings these positions into question.

*Picking up the pieces: Modern Māori identities*

Never static, the degrees to which Māori traditions and concepts of place and belonging shape a person's Māori identity vary. Colonisation, urbanisation and assimilation have led to a decline in Māori tribal based communities. The resultant dispersal of Māori people to all parts of Aotearoa New Zealand and to the world at large has heralded the development of a modern Māori identity. A multifaceted construct, modern (popular) Māori identities are shaped according to an individual's experience/s of being Māori; they can be unique to the individual and, as such, they can be (and are) markedly different. Carter (1998) explains:

There is no unitary Māori reality, no one Māori identity, no single way of growing up Māori. All of us have been subjected to colonisation and colonisation has affected us all in different ways. Some of us identify as 'part-Māori' and others lay claim to being 'full-blooded' Māori. Some of us grow up speaking te reo Māori and some of us grow up not even knowing we're Māori. The thing we need to appreciate is for every Māori who grows up in this society there is another way of growing up Māori. None of us have grown up like our tūpuna did and the way in which we do grow up is our particular reality. All of us were born with the potential to be Māori and it is this potential, which makes us Māori (Carter, J. 1998. p. 259).

Carter's (1998) claims hold weight. Growing up outside of one's tribal homelands and/or without knowledge of one's Māori (hapū-Iwi) origins, customs and traditions does not nullify the existence of the Māori ethos that underpins a person's Māori identity. The traditional elements of their modern identity remain but they are 'locked', sometimes forever, or at other times until they become known. The conscious decision not to construct one's Māori identity according to 'classical' Māori constructs, is also a possibility. The choice to do so can be indicative of a number of cultural and socio-economic realities. According to Mason Durie in *Te Hoe Nuku Roa* (1999), the relevance of so-called traditional values is not the same for all Māori.

Traditional Māori concepts of home, belonging and identity are impacted by modern means of constructing Māori identity. When conducting Mātauranga Māori based research, Royal (2003) recognised:

That a good deal of the way in which we approach concepts in the traditional Māori worldview is to consider them through a paradigm of what it means to be Māori today. Māori cultural identity - particularly our contemporary need to construct a Māori identity - has come to dominate traditional Māori concepts which were created outside of such a paradigm (Royal, T. 2003, p. 5).

The idea that the 'gaze' of 'modern' Māori skews traditional Māori worldview concepts, is also reinforced by Tākino (1998). Tākino refers to this phenomenon as the 'decontextualisation of whakapapa kōrero'. Like Royal (2003), Tākino's concerns arise when traditional Māori worldview concepts are removed from their natural environment and re-fashioned to 'fit' within a western more lineal view of the world. Consequently, dominated or colonised (traditional) 'Māori' concepts become the basis upon which modern Māori identity may be constructed. Participant Te Ariki Morehu's view on the modern day use of the term 'ahi kaa' is one such (possible) example of the colonisation of Māori concepts.

Carter's (1998) reference to a 'popular' construction of Māori identity confronts the questions and the inferences that surround the validity, authenticity and legitimacy of a person's claims to Māori identity. Responding to questions that ask who is Māori, who decides who is Māori and what is it to grow up Māori, Carter asserts:

Someone who grows up the daughter of a Pākehā mother and a Māori father is ‘part-Māori’; someone who ‘grows up Pākehā’ is ‘un-Māori’ and someone who doesn’t know or realise they are Māori until they have grown up or are in the process of growing up is a ‘born-again’ Māori. Ultimately, we may find ourselves suggesting it is only the ‘real’ Māori who ‘grows up Māori’. So ‘growing up Māori’ might include being born of a Māori father and a Māori mother, growing up on or around your home marae, growing up speaking te reo Māori, growing up surrounded by your kuia and koroua, growing up in a world where you know you are Māori. We might say ‘growing up ‘Māori’ involves all those things that we conceive of as being authentically and or traditionally Māori (Carter, J. 1998, p. 256) .

Carter’s (1998) inquiries into the construction of Māori identity speak to Māori people such as some of the members of Ngati Te Takinga who, due to their upbringing, are unable to source their Māori identity within traditional Māori processes and practice. The question of legitimacy, that is, who decides who is a Māori, is an integral component of the inclusion process that exists amongst Iwi groups (Emery, 2001). More often, for those who have not grown up at the marae observing traditional rites of passage, a difference in standing is evident. Being neither mana whenua nor ahi kaa, our ‘ahi tere’ (someone who has left the homelands taking part of the ahi with them) status can be (and often is) interpreted to mean we are no longer ‘truly’ Ngati Te Takinga or, a ‘real’ Māori. The process of validating our ‘Māoriness’ so as to gain acceptance, requires compliance and behaviour modification; it can also involve compromise. Ihimaera’s (1998) idea that Māori today is not the same Māori as yesterday and will not be the same as the Māori of tomorrow, suggests that legitimacy of Māori identity is determined by time, circumstance and situation and not by other Māori. In support of this idea Babab and Willmott (1989, cited in Pickering, 1987) concur that identities develop and change over time, are multi-faceted and shape one’s perception and judgment of self and others.

This thesis draws from both sides of the Māori identity argument. While giving consideration to and supporting the idea of the modern, developing Māori identity, the thesis is grounded in traditional Māori norms (Pickering, 1997). Whakapapa or genealogical descent from our common ancestor Te Takinga is at the heart of this work. To this end, the connective and reconnective focus of the research has sought to provide an all encompassing whakapapa of Ngati Te Takinga as a place where disconnected Ngati Te Takinga people can build a ‘secure Māori cultural identity’ (Durie, M. 1997, p.

6). This form of identity corresponds with Carter's (1998) ideas about identity as being socially constructed. The secure Māori cultural identity (Durie, 1997) can be a modern construction. That is, it may draw on and be shaped by adaptations that are necessary for survival in a complex world. The difference however between the 'modern' and the 'secure' Māori identity is that the latter is reliant upon access to Māori culture and cultural settings. Durie's (2001) position on Māori identity embraces diversity and change and rejects the pronouncement of a single Māori identity as 'a product of narrow and fossilised thinking' (Durie, M. 2001, p. 6). Durie (2001) is adamant, however, that unless a person who claims Māori identity (whether modern or traditional) has access to Māori language, custom, land, the marae, whānau or Māori community networks, then it is unlikely that their cultural identity will be secure. This view is compatible with the concept of E hoki ki tō maunga.

In its broadest sense whakapapa is the core component of Māori (traditional) concepts of home, belongingness and identity. The difference between a traditional and a 'modern' Māori identity however, tends to show the latter as more an individual social construction which can exclude traditional Māori norms such as whakapapa. This research acknowledges the validity of the both modern and traditional Māori identity compositions. The research also acknowledges the positive correlation drawn by M. Durie (1997) between a secure Māori identity and good Māori health outcomes. To this end, the study attempts to facilitate access to cultural norms for disconnected Ngati Te Takinga affiliates in order that they might 'secure' their Ngati Te Takinga (Māori) identity by connecting with our ancestral home. To have a home Cram (2007) suggests, is important because it signifies entitlements and rights and creates a state of belonging:

A sense of place and some form of social standing. [Home] signifies entitlement and rights, and it presupposes membership, however slight, in a social and moral community. To have a home, a place, suggests a sharing of common interests and identity. To have a place is to invest oneself and pledge alliance and solidarity with others and create a state of belonging (Cram, F. 2004, p. 53).

Like the modern Māori identity, however, modern constructions of home are no longer reliant upon a sense of place derived from tribal and ancestral (whakapapa) connections. For some Māori people home can be, and very often is, absent of Māori cultural

imperatives. This research will hopefully offer reason for ‘homeless’ Ngati Te Takinga people to pledge alliance and solidarity with (and to) their hapū-Iwi in order to have the sense of home that creates a ‘state of belonging’ (Cram, 2004).

## **Part Two: Whakaaro tuārangi**

### *Ideas from afar*

*Each of us carries with her the collective history of her group or class, the sense of one’s place described by Bourdieu as habitus (Bottomley, G. 1992, p. 38).*

Cultural disconnection, human displacement and the search for home, place, ‘belongingness’ and identity are worldwide phenomenon that affect people from many different nations and cultures. This section introduces, evaluates, draws upon and synthesises international theories of home and belongingness which relate to (and have informed) this research. While international literature relative to this study is prolific, my search has been narrowed. I look firstly, to authors whose ideas about home, belongingness and identity are philosophically aligned to the Māori theoretical framework of this research; the congruence of ideas is shown in the discussion. I then look at ‘deterritorialisation’ (Basch, et al, 1994) suggesting that this form of nation building could assist Ngati Te Takinga. The final section of the literature review introduces theories that have been drawn upon to explain the existing tension between Ngati Te Takinga home and away-dwellers; and the subsequent complexities of cultural disconnection and reconnection.

### **He orite**

#### *Metaphors, meanings and mutuality*

The concept of the past as being in front of us and informing both the present and the future, is encapsulated within the Māori term ‘i ngā rā o mua’. The concept is not unique to Māori. Speaking directly to this study, Shrilankan born Professor of Anthropology Stanley Tambiah (1979), draws attention to the importance of the past as being critical to understanding current situations:

In our contemporary world the pragmatic here and now is thought to be where the action really is and where the emphasis presumably should properly lie. But the particular historical experience of Western industrial culture should not be automatically universalised. For non-industrial societies, as dozens of books, journal articles, and monographs have documented, the old, or better said, the prior, is not irrelevant and the past is not over; both are still actively bound into society and recognised as part of the environment of the present, both constitute a driving force for the present, and actions undertaken within the present cannot be adequately understood without them (Tambiah, 1979, cited in Helms, 1998, p. 13).

The use of Tambiah's (1979) work in this study is important. Drawing (philosophical) parallels and showing the relationships between indigenous cultural knowledge and knowledge systems, helps in the struggle to retrieve, affirm and revitalise these systems. By so doing, this study becomes a significant site of struggle between 'the interest and the ways of knowing of the west and the interests and ways of knowing of the other' (L. Smith, 1999, p. 2) or, in this instance, indigenous people. Firmly embedded in whakapapa, this study recalls and captures past events as a means by which Ngati Te Takinga can make sense of the 'pragmatic here and now' (Tambiah, 1979). The study looks between the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices in order to uncover and reclaim our own indigenous (alternative) 'truth' to explain, improve and to transform our current state of being. Through the use of our traditional knowledge and heritage, the study forces 'a paradigm shift on the modernist view of society, self and nature' thereby creating 'a new assumption for the state of nature and an Indigenous theory of society' (Henderson, 2000, p. 13).

Similarities between conceptual and philosophical parallels are found within the cultural frameworks of other cultural groups/peoples. Like the Shrilankan example, they too can assist in the struggle against the hegemony of western ideas that dominate our daily lives. In her quest for cultural reconnection and identity, Chancy (1997) identifies relationships to the land (whenua) and place of birth (ūkaipō) as being paramount. An 'Afro Caribbean woman in exile' Chancy's expressed need 'to connect to fore/grandmothers and the ancestral Afro-centric knowledge they represent' (Chancy, 1997, p.168), mimics Ngati Te Takinga's need to record the oral histories of our elders as a place of reconnection. For Chancy, home is articulated as a 'site of recovery' and her experiences of migrant 'alienation and prejudice' mark 'the beginning of the journey home' or, a return to land

(whenua), a reconnection to genealogy (Whakapapa) and a recovery of her indigenous knowledge systems (tikanga/Mātauranga). The process of reconnection is central to Chancy's (1997) desire for 'liberation' and 'transformation'.

The idea that cultural reconnection is an antecedent to personal transformation and liberation, is supported by Essex University's Professor of Environment and Society Jules Pretty. With a special interest in human connections to nature, Pretty (2002) affirms that separation from language, from memory and from stories about land and nature causes disconnections that promote a persistent dualism - that nature is separate from people. A return to the land, therefore, is central to shifting peoples understanding of the world around them (Pretty, 2002). Aboriginal author and storyteller Boori Pryor (1998) agrees.

Land and genealogy (kin) are intrinsic to Aboriginal cultural identity. Separation from land is inextricably linked with cultural disconnection (Pryor, 1998). A product of Australian colonialism and subsequent discrimination and racism against Aboriginal people, separation from the land and the subsequent breakdown in kinship relationships and cultural connectiveness are named by Pryor as major causatives in the catastrophic suicides of his two brothers and his sister (Pryor, 1998):

The land and Aboriginal culture go hand in hand. You can't separate them. The land is the give or life. It is our mother. It's like the vein of life. If you cut this, if you separate these two things, we die (Pryor, B. 1998, p. 6).

Daes (2000) affirms the link between separation from land and culture, oppression and the suicide of whānau members like Pryor's brothers and sisters:

The experience of oppression is spiritual death. It is about the destruction of our inborn spiritual faith in the importance of individuality and, indeed, in the value of trying to stay alive. Victims of oppression not only lose interest in self-preservation but also find it difficult to maintain their relationships as parents, friends, and neighbours. If you have been made to feel irrelevant, you cannot understand why anyone could possibly love you, and you anticipate betrayal from anyone who tries (Daes, E. 2000, p. 5).

Pryor's brother Paul, a story teller and a dancer, hanged himself in 1988. After his death, Pryor returned to his homeland to learn the things he'd missed by 'going away'. Taking up 'the baton' and 'picking up' where his brother had 'left off' (Pryor, B. 1998, p. 7),

Pryor then began, through story and dance, to portray the healing powers of reconnection - with the land, with the people and with Aboriginal language and culture:

It's very simple. The basic message I base my performances around is this: To feel happy about yourself, you must feel happy about the place you live in. To feel happy about the place you live in, you must get to know that place. To get to know that place, you must ask the people who lived there the longest, the Aboriginal people. We have the key that can open the door to the treasures of the land (Pryor, B. 1998, p. 7).

'Hokia ki ngā maunga' is Pryor's resounding message; albeit to a nation that more often decries the authority and voice of Aboriginal people (Lippman, 1991). The failure of successive Australian Governments to acknowledge and address the enduring cultural racism rife in Australia since the onset of colonisation (Lippman, 1991), manifests itself by way of cultural denial. Pryor explains:

It is hard for white people to see we live in two worlds when they think our traditional lifestyle and culture is gone. They see us living in the white way and often they don't realise that we are still living by the beliefs and ways of our ancestors [...] you're not a real Aborigine if you're not standing on a boulder, one leg up, leaning against a spear. You're not a real Aborigine unless you stamp your feet, throw spears and paint up (Pryor, B. 1998, p. 31).

Issues of authenticity of identity (who decides who is indigenous - Aboriginal/Māori - and on what basis) are widespread. Relying on the false assumption that cultural behaviours and identities are biologically determined (Jones & Hunter, 2003) the thinking Pryor (1998) describes, expunges the responsibility for those in power to recognise Aboriginal people's rights and the validity of Aboriginal ways of being and knowing. The situation is repeated through simultaneous struggles across many other groups of indigenous peoples including Māori.

South African born freedom fighter Nelson Mandela also writes from a site of racist struggle. Pondering the meaning of home Mandela (1994) describes his 'heart home' (that isn't his place of birth -home) and his 'house' (where he lives) that isn't home:

Alexandra occupies a treasured place in my heart. It was the first place I ever lived away from home. Even though I was later to live in Orlando, a small section of Soweto for a far longer period, I always regarded Alexandra Township as a home where I had no specific house and Orlando as a place where I had a house but no home (Mandela, N. 1994, p. 26).

The interesting differentiation Mandela makes between a house and a home, was also expressed by participants in this research project who had moved from their home at

Mourea (which wasn't necessarily a house) to their 'house in town' which wasn't necessarily a home. Similarly, an Australian dwelling cousin used the term 'heart home' to describe the home of his grandparents at Mourea. Although not born there Mourea occupied a treasured place in his heart, and was home, because of his associated childhood experience of holidaying there with his grandparents (C. Fraser, pers. comm., 2006).

Thus far, this literature review has shown that the home and belongingness and the identity 'needs' and constructions of (other) colonised and displaced peoples, are impacted and shaped by their experiences of cultural disconnection and dispossession. The review also shows that a wider human call for a reconnection with our land, with our kin and with our indigenous cultures (languages, values, beliefs, customs, cultural memory and stories) is emerging. Beyond cultural continuity, care for the land, social connectedness and trust and participation in community are central also, to current (global) issues of environmental sustainability. That is, to the wise sharing of natural resources and preservation of them for future generations (Pretty, 2002; Peet, 2007). With the future generations in mind, this research offers a place where Ngati Te Takinga people may find a connection home that enhances their sense of belonging and their Māori identity. The research acknowledges however, that for a myriad of reasons many of our people will never make a physical return to Ngati Te Takinga lands. To this end, Basch's notion of 'deterritorialisation' (Basch, et al., 1996) is useful. Through a study of immigrant groups in America, the authors show how cultural connection can be achieved and maintained, without the necessity for a sometimes impossible physical return home.

#### *Deterritorialisation*

*Māori are becoming a trans-national people, and if we are interested in Māori development, we have to look beyond the shores of New Zealand and see what's going on - Māori in Australia are a rapidly growing proportion of the Māori population (Hamer, P. 2007, p.17).*

Deterritorialisation is a form of nation building whereupon the the idiom of the autonomous nation-state remains intact, even though the geographic boundaries of the state no longer can be understood to contain the citizens of the nation state (Basch, et al,

1994, p. 260). Deterritorialisation is achieved through the creation of the ‘virtual’ or ‘imagined’ nation within the hearts and minds of the people of the nation, who live outside of its geographic boundaries; its relevance to this study can be understood by examining the degrees to which New Zealand based Māori tribal entities implement (or don’t implement) activities that connect, reconnect and maintain links with tribal members who live outside of their tribal boundaries. We can also look outside of tribal geographic boundaries and examine the extent to which, and the ways in which, away-dwelling Māori people retain and maintain their ethnic identities.

Examples of deterritorialisation movements within Te Arawa and Aotearoa New Zealand exist. The Te Arawa Tribal authorities drive to register national and international Te Arawa affiliates on the tribal roll, and the ‘Te Arawa News Online’ magazine, are two such examples. A third and very recent example of deterritorialisation, is the development by a private computer company of the ‘NaumaiPlace.com’ website (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). Seeking to connect and reconnect Māori people throughout the world with their tribal origins, ‘NaumaiPlace.com’ actively promotes and advances deterritorialisation (Basch, et al, 1996) by offering hapū-Iwi affiliates anywhere in the world, twenty four hour ‘cyber’ access to their marae and to current local ‘news’ (panui) from their tribal homes. Creating ‘global whānau’ by linking ‘all marae and its members worldwide’, the project is a response to the concerns expressed by Ngati Te Takinga four years ago. NaumaiPlace.com attempts to address issues of Māori cultural discontinuity by way of an ‘imagined’ (global-Māori) community (Anderson, 1983): Te Puni Kokiri explains:

Increasing gaps have occurred within Iwi Māori between hau kainga and significant numbers of Māori living away from their local rohe due to employment, education and other whānau interests. New technology combined with our unique system and processes enable NaumaiPlace to offer a solution to bridge this growing gap and return significant benefits to Iwi Māori impacting positively to local marae. This vision is achieved by supporting people to engage an online facility to establish meaningful, lasting connections to their place of belonging our place of origin, Te Marae (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007).

The notion of Anderson’s (1983) ‘imagined’ community, is called into existence ‘when substantial groups of people are in a position to think of themselves as living parallel to those of other substantial groups of people – if never meeting yet certainly proceeding

along the same trajectory' (Anderson, B. 1983, p. 188). Naumai.Place.com opens a way for away-dwelling Māori people to 'imagine community', to 'live parallel' with their kinfolk at home and to 'proceed on the same trajectory'.

Reports indicate that within one hour of the launch of NaumaiPlace.com, there were one million hits logged on the website (Taylor, 2007). The figures indicate that connecting to the marae, to the hapū and having knowledge of hapū events etc, remains important to Māori people. In its attempt to connect and re-connect hapū-Iwi affiliates throughout the world with their tribal homelands their people and their marae (i.e. to create the 'imagined community'), NaumaiPlace.com is deterritorialisation in action.

#### *A history of deterritorialisation*

The development of deterritorialised nations is reliant upon the strength of affiliation and the allegiance of away-dwellers to their place of ethnic origin. More often people relinquish their ethnic identity in order to 'fit in' in their new home. The phenomenon as noted by Deloria (2004) is evidenced within the American Indian fraternity: Deloria explains:

Our goal, three decades ago, was to replace the non-Indians who performed the heavy lifting in law, medicine, social science and education with Indians who could do the same job but with, we assumed, the concerns about the future of the tribes at heart. No one figured that the younger generation would make the progress they have or that they would not share the concerns we had. We have discovered that we should have tried to ensure that young Indian scholars were firmly connected to the people in the home communities (Deloria Jr, V. 2004, p. 16).

Similarly, a study of the identities and cultural practices of Carribean, Vincentian, Grenadian, Haitian and Filipino immigrants in America (Basch, et al, 1994) found that during the initial 1960's settlement period of their migration, and for some time after, the immigrants did not construct themselves as ethnic subjects. Further, in order to avoid positioning on the social bottom of American society, they maintained their distance from African Americans. Haitian immigrants, because of intense stigmatisation, organised themselves around 'a myriad of public identities from Taoists to teachers (Basch, et al, 1994, p. 255). For some of these 1960's immigrants, the reclamation of ethnic identity began in the 1970's as the result of an influx of 'new' immigrants.

The new 1970's immigrants to America comprised radicalised youth, intellectuals, and political elites. They brought with them experiences and knowledge of anti-imperialist struggles. They had 'pride in nation'; grown in response to periods of political upheaval in their home societies and the racial barriers the immigrants confronted in the United States. Their residence in America was to be associated with the development of neo-nationalist organisations. The ensuing creation of multiple transnational fields lead to immigrants living in 'old' ways but 'beyond the confines of national borders and in ways that gave new meanings to concepts of space and geography' (Basch, et al, 1994, p. 256).

Although transnational in nature, Basch's (et al., 1994) writings around immigration and deterritorialisation have parallels with the Māori urbanisation experience. A snap shot of Aotearoa New Zealand history between 1950 and 1980, illustrates this experience making explicit the parallels between Māori and those immigrant experiences as spoken of by Basch, et al (1996). For Māori, the 1950's and 60's was the period of urbanisation, integration and assimilation (see Metge, 1964; Walker, 1990; Durie, 1997; Ihimaera, 1998). In the 1970's an increased political consciousness amongst Māori gave rise to the birth of Nga Tama Toa, a Māori rights activist group. What followed was the Māori renaissance movement which, through the 1980's, saw the birth and growth of Māori language based early childhood, primary and tertiary education initiatives known as Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga (see Nepe, 1991; Walker, 1990; Webster, 1998; Hemara, 2000; Bishop & Glynn, 2003).

Māori neo-nationalism (and neo-nationalist activity) continues to feature on Aotearoa New Zealand's political landscape. Often referred to as the 'tino rangatiratanga' or Māori self-determination movement, the work of Māori organisations including tribal groups, is increasingly focused on the re-centering of the hearts and minds of Māori people (tribal affiliates) on their Māori culture and identity. Current tribal efforts to swell their 'human capital' by bringing the hearts and minds of tribal affiliates home, although physically they remain outside of their tribal boundaries, are increasing (S. Thom, pers. comm., 2004). Providing an avenue of support for this work, is the New Zealand Government's Ministry of Māori Development's recently released report, 'Māori in

Australia: Ngā Māori i te ao moemoea' (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). With approximately 125,000 Māori people living in Australia, the report fulfils a New Zealand Government requirement to take a more serious approach to long-term Māori development, by including Māori living in Australia in New Zealand Government policy (Stuff, 2007).

With particular reference to identity, the report found that many Māori living in Australia found the experience challenging. While moving to Australia prompted a heightened sense of identity and a strong desire to embrace Māori culture, low levels of access to Māori language, cultural practices and knowledgeable Māori elders, inevitably meant that support, retention and ongoing development of Māori identity was/is stymied (Hamer, 2007). Consequently, many younger Māori reported feeling uncertainty about their identity - 'not feeling particularly Australian but also reporting a degree of rejection in New Zealand' (Hamer, 2007, p. 14). Ongoing plans to expand NaumaiPlace.com by increasing the numbers of internet accessible marae and hapū in New Zealand may help to alleviate this situation.

Ngati Te Takinga joined the NaumaiPlace.com network in October 2007. A new concept for many of the hapū, the potential the site holds for cultural reconnection, recovery and revitalisation is as yet unexplored due to its very recent establishment (at the time of this research). Likewise the possibilities the website holds as a tool for deterritorialising the Ngati Te Takinga nation state also remains unknown. The success of any plans for cultural revitalisation is dependant upon social cohesion, co-operation and support. A general lack of unity amongst the hapū, however, has lead to a weakened sense of community amongst the hapū. The situation is not helped by the sovereign nature of the current marae management systems and, as a consequence, hapū 'movement' is stalled. The situation derives from the hegemony of colonialism and ensuing internalised oppression and racism and/or horizontal violence (Thiong'o, 1986; Jenkins, 1986; Fanon, 1965, 1968; Mikaere, 1994; Freire, 1996; Bishop, 1998; Te Awekotuku, 1999; Battiste, 2000; Padilla, 2007) that 'undeniably undermines love and trust amongst its victims' (Daes, E. 2000).

Restoring trust amongst whānau and the hapū is foremost in the struggle to maintain Ngati Te Takinga cultural continuity and identity or, to imagine and to realise a ‘postcolonial’ Ngati Te Takinga society. In turn, the necessity to define our positions within a neo colonialist world of the oppressor and the oppressed (Battiste, 1986) is also necessary. Reviewing our adopted individualist worldviews in order to return to ‘a more community oriented way of life that is more existentially and spiritually meaningful’ (Duran, B and Duran, E, 1995, p. 155), is key to creating our own sustaining and nourishing realities (Battiste, 2000; Little Bear, 2000).

### **In summary**

*The voices of [the] victims of empire, once predominantly silenced in the social sciences, have been not only resisting colonisation in thought and actions but also attempting to restore Indigenous knowledge and heritage. By harmonising Indigenous knowledge with Eurocentric knowledge and heritage they are attempting to heal their people, restore their inherent dignity, and apply fundamental human rights to their communities. They are ready to imagine and unfold post colonial orders and society (Battiste, M. 2000, p. xvi).*

This Chapter has presented the theoretical and conceptual framework of this research. Being a hapū-Iwi (Indigenous-Māori) study; the framework is constructed predominantly from Māori customs and practices (tikanga), corpus knowledge and epistemology (mōhio) (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2006). As such, the framework originates from four main sources being: oral communication and Māori published and unpublished literature including oral literature. Theories additional to those introduced within the literature review have also been used to interpret the stories (findings) of this study. Their absence from the framework at this point is due to the ‘unfolding’ and often unpredictable nature of the stories (the findings) and the resultant ongoing research and subsequent literature searches that were necessary throughout the story co-construction and analysis process. Throughout the stories, the theoretical and conceptual framework constructed from this literature review; is used as an interpretive framework to unravel the multiple layers of our people’s experience and knowledge of colonisation. Juxtaposed with the framework, the stories become a place where we can reflect on our own position in order to begin to

shape a desirable future for the hapū and the Iwi, outside of our existing marginalised and individualistically driven colonial reality.

The way in which the stories have been gathered and co-constructed is detailed in the next chapter. Drawing from Māori cultural imperatives such as inter-relationships, narratives and storytelling Chapter Four, the research method and methodology section, follows.

## Chapter Four

### Methodology and method

In order to create a context for investigating cultural continuance within Ngati Te Takinga a dual historical and socio-cultural analysis was necessary. The first part of this process required an investigation into the lives of remaining Ngati Te Takinga elders to determine factors defining and impacting ahi kaa. The oral histories of these elders were gathered and the investigation occurred in conjunction with the collaborative co-construction of their stories as gathered by way of tape recorded interviews. The stories will augment Ngati Te Takinga's tribal and cultural knowledge repository for successive generations. They will stand as a point of connection and re-connection for Ngati Takinga peoples throughout the world. The second part of the historical and socio-cultural analysis comprised an investigation into the movement away from ahi kaa. The oral histories of Ngati Te Takinga away-dwellers, including away-dwellers who have returned home, were gathered and studied in order to ascertain two things. Firstly, the positions that these hapū members assumed in relation to their identity as Māori, and secondly, their construction of home in connection to place, and attachment to place (Innes & Reynolds 2002; Ritivoi, 2002; Ponzetti, 2004), with specific relevance to Mourea, Ngati Te Takinga and Te Takinga marae.

The study considered the influence that colonisation, urbanisation, assimilation and hegemony had on the assumption of their positions (as Māori) and also, as Ngati Te Takinga. The stories co-constructed with these participants, explored the tensions faced by away-dwellers seeking to return home to participate in tribal life and the impact of these tensions on cultural continuance. Importantly, this study is two-fold. That is, it is a collection of narratives of experience *within* an ethnography of Ngati Te Takinga undertaken by an insider of the hapū. The stories can stand on their own to inform others of the experiences of their tellers while the ethnography, undertaken at the same time through participation, allows for understanding of the context within which the stories have been developed. The impact of the context on the sense that has been made

of the stories, is reported in chapter nine the final chapter. For the purposes of this research, the investigations of participants' lives, the recorded oral histories, the collaborative-constructive storytelling process and the ethnographic study, were conducted in accord with kaupapa Māori theory and methodological practices.

This chapter outlines the methodological framework that underpins this study; it is divided into two parts. Part one presents an overview of three facets of kaupapa Māori theory, there being: the philosophical beliefs and values that underpin kaupapa Māori; a description of the relationship between kaupapa Māori and research and finally, an explanation of what kaupapa Māori Research attempts to accomplish. To conclude, details of qualitative research and the process of co-construction will be outlined.

Part two gives an account of the research engagement process including initiation, negotiation of benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability. As well, this section will explicate the interview procedures used to gather the oral histories and the method used to co-construct the narratives with the research participants. An in-depth reflexive description of the research processes will be intertwined with the accounts of the research engagement, interview and story co-construction procedures.

### **Part One: Kaupapa Māori**

Kaupapa Māori acknowledges and validates Mātauranga Māori as being a valid and highly complex knowledge system that offers a unique way of analysing issues for Māori both historically and in contemporary times (Pihama, 2004). In validating a Māori cultural knowledge base, kaupapa Māori activates and operationalises the self-determining endeavours of Māori people (Bishop, 1991; Bishop, 1996; Smith, G. 1990, 1997; Smith, L. 1999).

Described by Tuakana Nepe (1991) as the 'conceptualisation of Māori knowledge' (Nepe, T.1991, p. 17), as a philosophy, kaupapa Māori is derived from a Māori metaphysical base which influences the ways in which Māori people think, understand,

interact with and interpret the world (Bishop, 1998; Jahnke & Taiapa 1999; Nepe, 1991; Royal, 1992; G. Smith, 1992; Walsh-Tapiata, 1998; L. Smith, 1999). Further, kaupapa Māori is underpinned by those Māori cultural values, beliefs and imperatives that remain fundamental to the institution of marae, the ‘quintessential citadel of the Māori ethos’ (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2006). It follows therefore, that ‘Māori language, songs, oratory rhetoric (te reo) customs and practices (tikanga) corpus knowledge and epistemology (mōhio) and inter-relationships, narratives and storytelling (whakapapa)’ (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2006) are central to kaupapa Māori. In keeping with this definition, G. Smith (1992) describes kaupapa Māori as being the philosophy and practice of ‘being Māori’ and taking for granted the social, political, historical, intellectual and cultural legitimacy of Māori people.

Traditionally these same cultural imperatives shaped the ways in which Māori-tribal-societal institutions of law, religion, education, economic distribution and political authority were fashioned, governed and operated. Whānau, hapū and Iwi were the nucleus of traditional Māori society and the principles of obligation, reciprocity, co-operation and group responsibility were the pivot upon which Māori communities functioned (Metge, 1964; Schwimmer, 1966; Walker, 1990; Mahuika, 1992; Ballara, 1998; A. Durie, 1997; H. Mead, 1997; M. Durie, 2001). These principles although not always overtly discernable, remain intrinsic to whānau Māori and Māori tribal communities within a contemporary western-societal context; they continue, albeit sometimes indiscriminately, to influence our ways of being and of knowing as Māori.

As with Māori-centred ways of being and knowing, kaupapa Māori theory also exists in multiple forms. That is, there is no single or privileged truth according to kaupapa Māori theorising. The central precept of kaupapa Māori theory however, is a ‘commitment to ending systems of domination and oppression and the restoration of our dignity as human beings who call our wisdom and ways of being and knowing, Māori-centred and kaupapa Māori’ (Takino, N. 1998, p. 287). As a basis for a Māori responsive code of research ethics and conduct, kaupapa Māori is premised on the understanding that an array of Māori means of constructing, accessing, defining and protecting knowledge existed prior

to the European colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand (Smith, G. 1990; Bishop, 1991, 1996, 1998; Irwin, 1994; Royal, 1992; Smith, L. 1999; Pihama, 2004;).

Kaupapa Māori research is the Māori academic's 'portal' to the Māori world. Kaupapa Māori retrieves, restores, and revitalises the quintessential elements of the Māori ethos. This recovery from the margins, the centering of Māori ways of being and knowing, has propelled Māori forward; reawakening Māori imaginations long stifled and diminished by colonisation and its processes (G. Smith, 2003). Kaupapa Māori as a movement of resistance, confronts, rejects and 'frees the indigenous mind from the grip of dominant hegemony' (Smith, G. 2003, p. 3). In its wake kaupapa Māori bequeaths spaces in which Māori ways of thinking, understanding, interacting with and interpreting the world can be upheld, often within contexts of 'unequal power relationships with the coloniser' (Smith, G. 2003, p. 5).

### **The relationship between Kaupapa Māori and Research**

*Kaupapa Māori challenges the prevailing ideologies of cultural superiority which pervades our social, economic, political and educational institutions (Bishop, 1996, p. 12).*

In the face of ongoing colonisation, urbanisation, assimilation and hegemonic dominance, the maintenance by Māori of the values, beliefs and cultural imperatives that underpin kaupapa Māori, has involved relentless struggle. The erosion of the institutions that upheld, reinforced and promulgated a Māori-tribal-worldview saw them captured and redefined in accordance with a western (Pākehā) worldview. For example the Pākehā notion of the nuclear family has over-shadowed the Māori concept of whānau while the basis of Māori religion, although syncretic in its nature, has become that of Christianity. The outcome of this Pākehā domination has been the replacement of an ancient, inimitable culture with an alien philosophy; an all-pervasive foreign ethos that has given meaning to all that is regarded as good (Jackson, 1993). It follows, that all that has become to be regarded as good, is not Māori.

Attempts to reverse this situation and to recapture kaupapa Māori as a philosophical basis upon which to rethink and reshape Māori people's lives, have gained rapid momentum. Contemporary Māori society 'has become increasingly focused on issues of self-sufficiency, self-determination and whānau, hapū and Iwi development' (Jahnke, H. & Taiapa, J. 1999, p. 40). Of crucial importance to this revitalisation process is the precept of people development as hinging upon Māori willingness and ability to decolonise and reconscientise their minds (A. Mead, 1995; G. Smith, 2003). To shrug off colonial baggage such as 'the burden of self doubt and shame for being Māori' (Ramsden, I. 1995, p. 120) and to re-centre kaupapa Māori ways of knowing, being and doing as a pivotal foci for Māori existence. Such a revolution, however, requires Māori to take responsibility for transforming their own condition. Rising above the repressive reproductive forces of dominant society requires us to engage in a process of transformative praxis (Thiong'o, 1986; A. Mead, 1995; Ramsden, 1995; Freire, 1996; G. Smith, 1997, 2003; Said, 2003, 2006; Mulholland, 2006) requiring in-depth self reflection and a 'shift' in the psyche of Māori people. Only by recognising and knowing the colonial 'baggage' we carry, can the first step in the 'shrugging off' process recommended by Ramsden (1995), and the transformation of our own 'condition', occur. In addressing the contradictions of the colonised reality in which our people exist, the core findings of this research help us to a point from which transformative praxis can begin.

Foremost to the realisation of kaupapa Māori research and researcher aspirations, is the urgent need for research and research practices that value and produce works which speak with clarity, truthfulness and power about Māori worlds. A vast amount of past research 'on' Māori has reflected the belief that Māori were a dirty, barbaric, savage, heathen race whose end was imminent. Consequently, researchers focused their gaze on events which they believed supported this thesis, recording gruesome details of war, cannibalism, methods of killing and polygamy (Royal, 1992). Within these writings, Māori history was critiqued and scrutinised from the usually Pākehā, Christian cultural perspective of the researcher. Effectively, the actions of Māori people were, and continue to be, judged according to the information available to, and sought by, the Pākehā

researcher rather than the information available to, and disseminated by, Māori people. The tragedy of these impositions is that the works produced have created and embedded a negative mindset about Māori across not only Pākehā New Zealanders, but within Māori themselves. According to Royal (1998) ‘works that have emerged from the pens of Pākehā writers have said more about the writers than about their Māori subjects’ (Royal, T. 1992, p. 26).

The scarcity of research pertinent to the needs and the concerns as expressed by Māori is also expressed by Jahnke and Taiapa (1999):

Much of the research done on Māori in the past has proven to be of little benefit to Māori themselves, tending to emphasise negative statistics without attempting to provide the information necessary to effect positive change. As a consequence, many Māori treat research with a degree of suspicion, questioning both the motives of researchers and the methodologies employed. Research is, however, vital in the formulation and implementation of suitable and effective policies for Māori, and the issue of appropriate methodologies needs to be considered to ensure that the research is satisfactory both to the researchers and to the researched (Jahnke, H. & Taiapa, J. 1990, p.40).

The need to establish a kaupapa Māori based research methodology, or research methods that are more suited to, and appropriate for, investigating the lives of Māori people, has been extensively highlighted by both Māori and non Māori academics for some time now (Te Awekotuku, 1991; Irwin, 1992; G. Smith, 1992; Bishop, 1994; L. Smith, 1995; Cunningham, 1998; Jackson, 1998; Reid, 1998; Royal, 1998). The evolution of kaupapa Māori research addresses the need to ‘understand and respond to the struggle for the academy; to reclaim the validity and legitimacy of our own language, knowledge and culture; to position Māori ways of knowing as being relevant and significant in the ‘elite’ knowledge production and reproduction ‘factories’ (Smith, G. 2003, p. 4).

### **Kaupapa Māori Research**

*The spaces within the research domain through which indigenous research can operate are small spaces on a shifting ground. Negotiating and transforming institutional practices and research frameworks is as significant as the carrying out of actual research programmes. This makes indigenous research a highly political activity and while that is understood by very experienced non-indigenous researchers and organisations it can also be perceived as a threatening activity (Smith, L., 1999, p. 140).*

The theoretical framework that underpins kaupapa Māori research is derived from the Māori metaphysical base that influences the ways in which Māori people think, understand, interact with and interpret the world (Nepe, 1991). It follows therefore, that this method of researching must be premised upon, and operate within, a Māori context. kaupapa Māori research is that which occurs 'in a cultural environment that is spiritually and tribally based, where emphasis is placed on people, whānau and hapū, and where principles such as generosity, reciprocity and co-operation abound' (Jahnke, H. & Taiapa, J. 1999, p. 43).

Irwin (1994) expands Jahnke & Taiapa's (1999) description characterising Kaupapa Māori research as research which seeks and involves the mentorship of elders, is culturally 'safe', relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of research. Irwin (1994) suggests further, that navigation of the Māori contextualised research realm is the express dominion of Māori researchers and not researchers who happen to be Māori. This view implies that other forms of culturally sensitive research models have failed to meet satisfactory levels of cultural 'safety' (L. Smith, 1999). For those researchers implicated by this assertion, Smith (1999) advises four strategies which encompass the shifts towards becoming more culturally sensitive in undertaking research with Māori. The first suggests a strategy of avoidance whereby the culturally unprepared researcher avoids dealing with the issues, or with Māori. The second recommends that researchers prepare themselves more fully by learning Māori language, attending hui and becoming more cognisant of Māori concerns. A third critical strategy promotes the need for consultation with Māori in order to gain support and informed prior consent. Finally, at an institutional level, Smith (1999) encourages organisations to create and designate 'space' for more Māori researchers and 'voices'.

Two fundamental principles underpin the conduct of 'culturally safe' kaupapa Māori research. The first requires the establishment of the research context through the identification of the historical setting and cause. The second entails the identification of appropriate methods by which to research with people while, at the same time, promoting their self-determination. Bishop's (1996) kaupapa Māori research framework used in

conjunction with qualitative research methodology employing a narrative and/or a collaborative co-construction storytelling approach, addresses both of these requirements.

Bishop's (1996) framework acts as a mechanism by which 'to deconstruct the hegemonies which have disempowered Māori from controlling and defining their own knowledge within the context of unequal power relations in New Zealand' (Bishop, R. 1996, p.13). The model addresses the concepts of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability as subsets of power. It also provides a means by which to address the issues and concerns of Māori that have arisen as a result of the traditional, impositional models of research that have been implemented in the past. Identifying the critical questions of power relations creates a means whereby researchers are able to undertake research that enables research participants to maintain control of their own voices and the legitimation of their voices. As well, researchers are enabled to establish lines of accountability through shared initiation and identification of benefits.

The idea of using the concepts of the initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability within the context of kaupapa Māori research, was developed when a series of studies were undertaken by Te Roopu Rangahau Tikanga Rua, the bicultural research group of the Department of Education at Otago University. The review identified an appropriate method by which to analyse the research processes applied in various research projects using a series of questions. These questions stemmed from the above analysis of power relations and sought to aid in the creation of a research ethic that was participant driven and premised on the sharing of power between the researcher and the researched.

Bishop's (1996) 'IBRLA' model was employed as a framework to guide the formulation of questions for this study. That is, from the outset, consideration was given to the initiation of and the setting of research goals. Representation of interests, the needs and the concerns as addressed by the research and the perceived research benefits and the receiver of those benefits were of paramount importance in establishing this project. Emphasis was also placed on the accuracy of reporting, the theorising of research

findings and the accountability of the researcher in relation to accessibility to the research findings and control over the distribution of knowledge (Bishop, 1996).

In conjunction with the fundamental requirements of kaupapa Māori research as outlined, data collection for the purpose of this study took the form of interviews conducted using qualitative research methodology and a narrative or collaborative storytelling approach.

### **Qualitative Research, Narrative Inquiry and Collaborative Storying**

*The world of human experience must be studied from the point of view of the historically and culturally situated individual (Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. 1994, p. 512).*

Qualitative research involves the use of qualitative data, for example interviews and participant observation, to understand and explain social phenomena; it does so by placing emphasis on processes and meanings which are not necessarily rigorously scrutinised or measured in terms of quantity, intensity or occurrence. Qualitative research highlights the socially constructed nature of reality, the close relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Seeking answers to questions that illustrate how social experience is created and given meaning (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994) is central to this form of researching.

In keeping with the aims of this study, a combined interpretive and critical qualitative research method was adopted. The method was used to explore the life experiences and events which influenced and shaped how participants viewed, understood and constructed meanings and notions of home. The qualitative data collected took the form of oral histories gathered by way of formal interviews, ‘interview’s as chats’ (Bishop, 1996) and an ethnographic method based on observation, photography and note taking. Analysis and interpretation of the data involved the co-construction of stories based on the recorded oral histories of participants as told during both ‘formal’ and ‘chat’ interviews. The individual stories sometimes included corroborated information drawn from secondary research sources, and field observations and notes.

## **Data Collection**

*The oral tradition is considered by Māori as the most important historical tradition for Māori. This is so because the learning of tribal and family histories and traditions is supervised by families and tribes (Royal, T. 1992, p. 20).*

Oral histories encapsulate and disseminate tribal information that deals with the recent and distant past over a series of generations (Te Maire Tau, 2003). Using storying as a vehicle, the participants interviewed for this project recited oral history. That is, they recalled events that occurred within their lifetimes. These stories were recorded; they constitute the main source of data gathered for this project. To facilitate the storying (oral histories recitation) process as a data gathering tool, interviews utilising qualitative research methodology and a narrative storying approach, were conducted. Narrative, open ended type questions designed to draw out specific information from the interviewees, were used to initiate interviews as conversations. The telling and retelling of stories occurred naturally throughout these conversations; the stories acted as a means of remembrance and a tool for understanding and learning (Binney, 2001; Attwood & Magowan, 2001). In turn listening to, and hearing, the stories (oral narratives/histories) allowed the autonomy of the Māori world emerge (Binney, 2001).

As a contemporary research information gathering tool, story telling draws its authority from the integral role it has, since time immemorial, always played in indigenous cultures and traditions throughout the world. This authority is validated and confirmed 'through the use of story telling, oral histories and the perspectives of elders and of women' (Smith, L., 1999, p. 144) as being a legal means by which Māori and other indigenous groups identify themselves, define ownership of territories and assert their rights to self determination.

Using stories in this way, is exemplified by Temm (1990) who cites an example of a Ngati Pikiao tribal elder giving oral evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal. The elder was opposing the proposed discharge of effluent into the Kaituna River, by the Rotorua City Council. In describing the course of the river from the shores of Ngati Pikiao's Lake

Rotoiti, the elder's evocative narrative acted as a powerful mnemonic key; opening the door into the lost world of the ancestors into which his audience was lead:

He told us of the sequence of the natural features, illustrating the history of each. He spoke with deep emotion of the place called Te Wai-irangi, a stretch of water near to where the discharge was to take place as the pipeline is now planned. This point on the river (a lovely clear pool from which the river flows on into a green tunnel of vegetation) was, he said, 'the place where my ancestors returning from battle would go to the water and rid themselves of the tapu upon them after the bloodshed of warfare.' The silence in the meeting house as he spoke showed the close attention which all present, Māori and European, paid to his words (Cited in Temm, P. 1999, p. 41).

Story telling is a retrieval of memory that links the past to the present in ways that enable both the teller and the listener to construct new meanings. In turn, these new meanings have the potential to inform, influence and change our understanding of events and also, our current ways of being, knowing and doing. E. Durie (1994) explains:

The artifices of story telling included the telescoping of drawn-out processes to present them in short order, the collapsing of time with ancestors of distant generations speaking to one another, and the re-arrangement of sequence. Māori chronology in oral tradition was not lineal but was categorized according to how the purpose was best achieved, the main purposes being to relay messages, transmit values, describe the essential outcome, explain the nature of the world, legitimate the current social or political position or to justify proposed action by ancestral precedent. Time was telescoped or collapsed according to the tradition that the ancestors and the past speak to and are part of the present. The order and spacing of events was not as important as the outcome and the value or ancestral advice to be relayed (Durie, E. 1994, p. 7).

Using narrative type questions to promote interviews as conversations is a culturally appropriate, kaupapa Māori responsive method for gathering research data. Inevitably, conversations lead to the recounting of experiences in the form of story.

The value of stories / narrative within the research context is affirmed by Jackson (1998) who states that 'when we come together and talk about the old people or the escapades of the young' we are 'reclaiming the past to make sense of it for ourselves' (Jackson, M. 1998, p. 77). In addition, Bishop (1996) suggests that storytelling is a useful and culturally appropriate way of not only representing the 'diversities of truth' (Bishop, R. 1998, p. 24) but of allowing the participant rather than the researcher to retain control. Jackson (2007) agrees, suggesting that 'our people have always believed that there is never just one truth or one way of doing things. The very notion of our whakapapa implies generations of different stories layered on top of one another' (Jackson, M. 2007,

p. 172). Telling stories was/is a journey to a point of enlightenment that we know as the explanation or, the whakamārama (Jackson, 2007). Oral histories (and stories) represent a multiplicity of truths; they allow us to ‘get close to the data’ in order to ascertain how people interpret/ed their social relationships (Burgess, 1984) in ‘far more intimate ways than dry impersonal political commentaries’ (Smith, M., 1998. p.249).

Although the ultimate aim of research is ‘to produce knowledge that is of value to others’, the need for research to be accessible in the first instance, to ‘the research community’ (Hammersley, M. 1992, p. 132) is a non-negotiable requisite of kaupapa Māori research. This project was a stories gathering exercise initiated by Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo. The choice of method for data collection was therefore dictated by the hapū on the premise that everybody has stories to tell and because story telling as a mode of inquiry, combines respect and appreciation for an individual’s authentic story with inquiring around ideas, concepts and questions that might illuminate, and be illuminated by, that story. Story brings experiences alive. As the research ‘whānau of interest’ (Bishop, 1996), Ngati Te Takinga’s needs were prioritised in selecting the data collection method (the hapū chose oral histories as their preferred method). Hapū needs were also prioritised in the writing up of the stories, through the process of story co-construction. In keeping with fundamental kaupapa Māori research imperatives, the product of this thesis, the stories, and the knowledge they generate, have been constructed in ways which add value, first and foremost, to Ngati Te Takinga as a people.

The following section is an in depth reflexive description of the ways in which the issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability were addressed in the development and implementation of ‘E hoki ki tō maunga’. The reflexive aspect of the description addresses the requirement to reflect on the research processes used. Reflexive practice enables the researcher to determine the effect that the research methods, and their presence, may have had on the nature and scope of the information gathered or, in this instance, the stories told.

## **‘E hoki ki tō maunga’ – A pā based initiative**

### *Initiation*

Concurring with the fundamental principles of kaupapa Māori research, this project is grounded in the desires and expressed needs of the people of Ngati Te Takinga. ‘E hoki ki tō maunga’ was initiated by the people of Ngati te Takinga. The project transpired as direct response to the hapū’s express desire to record the oral histories of our remaining elders. This need became apparent at the marae based hapū wānanga in 2003. At the time I was contemplating engaging in doctoral studies. Having successfully recorded the oral histories of my direct whānau in completion of my Masters Dissertation research and wanting as part of my Iwi apprenticeship to contribute to the hapū-Iwi, I began to formulate ideas around combining Ngati Te Takinga’s desires with my own aspirations of completing a PhD. Merging the three objectives, the recording of oral histories, my Iwi apprenticeship and the completion of a doctoral qualification, allowed for these three challenging tasks to be carried out concurrently.

The timing seemed right. Royal (1992) counsels the fledgling researcher of tribal histories; advising that one should begin with their own family history before expanding their horizons to include the history of those related whānau outside of their immediate whānau circle. Although not purposely designed to coincide with this advice, having completed research on my own family history in 2000, the genesis of ‘E hoki ki tō maunga’ in 2003, was consistent with Royal’s (1992) recommendation.

### **Tribal research protocols (kawa)**

#### *Engagement - The offer and an unwritten contract*

*Indigenous peoples who have wanted to ensure their stories are handed down within their own communities or passed on to non indigenous audiences have sought scholars’ help to do so. In some cases indigenous history making has taken the form of community oral history and life stories and this too has seen collaboration of various kind (Attwood & Magowan, 2001, p. xiii).*

This project stands as an indigenous history making exercise. The gathering of community oral histories and the co-constructed collection of life stories of Ngati Te Takinga peoples that has been produced was the result of a collaborative venture between Ngati Te Takinga and a (related) Ngati Te Takinga researcher. While a strong basis for the formulation and cementing of a research relationship, shared tribal affiliations do not, however, exempt the indigenous researcher ('scholar') from the need to gain research ethics approval from their kin. On the contrary, the nature of this particular type of researcher-researched relationship, demands extraordinary levels of accountability. We have to live with our people post research and, therefore, our work amongst and with them incurs much risk and responsibility. Acquainting ones self with these responsibilities and mitigating the associated risks is a matter of negotiation, strong alliances, good supervision and a commitment to excellence. Foremost, one must have a sound working knowledge of Māori ways of being and of knowing.

Te Takinga Marae is Ngati Te Takinga's political institution and our marae meetings are forums in which hapū and Iwi decision-making interactions occur. It was over a course of three such meetings, that the research idea and then the formal research proposal were presented to Ngati Te Takinga. Their consent to undertake the project was gained through the careful cultivation and preparation of the ground prior to sowing the seed! I had become heavily involved with the Ngati Te Takinga community-marae and had used every opportunity that presented itself to discuss my ideas about the stories project. People were aware of and comfortable with the project, prior to being presented with the proposal. Their consent to undertake the research was given following a written and oral presentation which outlined general and some in-depth, project specific information. The unspoken, trust implicit based terms of our researcher-researched contract were established when consent was granted. I became bound by the principles of hapū and marae inclusion. I had a responsibility to uphold the integrity and the dignity of the hapū; to reciprocate their gesture of trust by returning their stories; to represent the voices of the hapū truthfully and with respect; to be physically present and involved in the life of the hapū and at the marae (i.e. to apply my research) and to recognise the collective hapū contribution to this research and their role in it.

Employing these methods of engagement endorses Māori interactional processes that uphold the ‘mana (power/status) and tapu (the potentiality for power) (Bishop, 2006) of the research ‘whānau of interest’ (Bishop, 1998). Foremost in these processes is whānaungatanga or the establishment and acknowledgment of shared genealogy (whakapapa) and genealogical links. In the case of this research project, whakapapa formed the backbone of and cemented the research relationship between the ‘whānau of interest’ – Ngati Te Takinga and ‘their’ researcher. Utilising the marae ‘space’ to formally ‘ritualise our relatedness’ proactively promoted a Māori world view as legitimate, authoritative and valid (Bishop, 2006) within the context of routine research ethics processes as applied by western-based learning institutions and research organisations.

Effectively, the interactions and the research-related negotiations that took place created an unwritten but binding contract. Kawharu (1998) explains:

A marae is a forum ..... the most viable political institution left to Māori. The words and gestures of a speaker are as binding on him [sic] as if he were on an oath in a Pākehā court of law’ (Kawharu, 1998, cited in Durie, M. 2001, p. 72).

The ‘marae’ negotiated research proposal and any ensuing research ‘contract’ can present as a heavily biased and perilous platform from which to launch a research project. In explanation, the power to terminate the contract for whatever reason rests with, and is at the discretion of, the hapū. Failure on the part of the researcher to fulfil their ‘contractual’ obligations can result in a loss of mana or reputation not only for the individual, but also for their whānau. Herein lie the risks and responsibilities inherent within the role of tribal researcher. The insider researcher of tribal histories bears the power and prestige (mana) of their whānau, hapū and Iwi; our success is their success likewise, our failure. The successful completion of the project was an unwritten, non negotiable condition of my research agreement with Ngati Te Takinga. This condition is as binding as if I were on oath in a Pākehā court of law! I was forever cognisant of the non-negotiable ‘no exit’ clause in my marae negotiated research contract; often times feeling overwhelmed, anxious and frightened by my undertaking. I pushed on, keeping the aims and benefits of the project at the forefront; spurred by the gratitude of whānau in

receipt of the oral histories and photographs of participants (kuia and one koroua) who had died during the course of the project. At the time of writing this methodology, two participants, one participant's husband and the father of a key (Ngati Te Takinga) research supporter, had passed on. Copies of their completed stories and/or mounted photographs, taken over the course of the project, remain with their families.

Although daunting, these face-to-face ('kanohi ki te kanohi') kaupapa Māori methods of researching transform the activity of research. The retrieval of some space in which to convince Māori people of the value of research for Māori, the involvement of more Māori in research and the setting of new directions for the priorities, policies, and practices of research for, by and with Māori are greatly enhanced when the research dialogue and 'exchange' can occur on the marae and/or within the tribal meeting house (L. Smith, 1999).

*'Kanohi ki te kanohi': face to face  
Research benefits, representation and legitimation*

The requirement for 'face to face' engagement with the Māori (Walsh-Tapiata, 1998) is one of the non-negotiable imperatives that underpin the exercise and implementation of kaupapa Māori research within a tribal context. A mark of respect, 'fronting up' and presenting in plain language; the 'E hoki ki tō maunga' research proposal to Ngati Te Takinga in both written and oral form, enabled the people to assess two things. Firstly, the worth (benefits) of the proposed research to Ngati Te Takinga and second, and more importantly, the 'worth' and the 'spirit of intent' of the researcher. Foremost in the hapū's assessment were issues of trust, humility and integrity in connection with Ngati Te Takinga's representation in *all* my research related activities.

As a hapū-marae based research project, 'E hoki ki tō maunga' is unequivocally related to 'being Māori'; is connected to Māori philosophy and principles; takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language (te reo) and culture (tikanga) and finally, is concerned with the 'struggle for autonomy over our own cultural

well being' (Smith, G. 1990, cited in Smith, L. 1999). Although not couched in these terms, my 'pitch' to the people reflected these central kaupapa Māori research tenets. The acceptance of the proposal, while granted initially on the basis that the oral histories gathered would be published and available to Ngati Te Takinga in book form after the doctorate is completed, hinged on a number of other significant factors. These factors included the authenticity of my kinship ties and proximal links to Ngati Te Takinga, the acceptance of the proposal by all the right people and groups (in this case the hapū), other anticipated benefits of the project to the hapū, assurance that regular project feedback (accountability) would be provided and evidence of my long term commitment to the hapū-Iwi beyond the research project (Tapiata, 1998).

Disclosure of external interests was integral to the research ethics and benefits negotiation process that took place. In this regard, the hapū were informed that the University of Waikato would be in receipt of the research findings. Ethical issues such as the rights to remain anonymous and to withdraw information were discussed in conjunction with legitimization of the stories. Although having a right to anonymity, all participants chose to be named. In their naming, the participants (people) become the physical representation of the stories.

In response to questions around the authenticity of the stories recorded for the post doctoral publication, Ngati Te Takinga was made aware of the processes by which the stories would be legitimated in accord with narrative storying methods. People were informed that they would receive copies of their narratives for editing and personal analysis. As well as the assurance of a book of stories post doctorate, the hapū were also informed that all research participants would receive final copies of their personal narratives. Using examples from Ngati Te Takinga's history, I highlighted the general principle applied to differing versions of the same story as told by different hapū or Iwi. In articulating this principle Denzin and Lincoln (1994) state: 'no permanent telling of a story can ever be given. There are only always different versions of different, not the same, stories, even when the same site is studied' (Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. 1994, p. 506).

Responding positively to these issues Ngati Te Takinga accepted the concept of ‘multiple truth’ as being intrinsic to the telling of stories by individuals. To assist their understanding of this concept, I drew on our own understandings of ‘truth’ in story. After telling a known Ngati Pikiāo story, I juxtaposed it against another version of the story as told by a different Iwi. The underlying principle within the example was that it is not for us to challenge another person’s truth; we can only tell our own. Expanding this thinking Chamberlin (2000) suggests that ‘the way in which people define themselves may occasionally accommodate a forgetting of some of the events in their past, but it will always require a remembering of the words that constitute their history (Chamberlin, J. 2000, p. 127). Along with this recognition, the people also acknowledged the worth of [my] PhD qualification as a tool for the future development of Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikiāo. The acceptance of the research proposal by Ngati Te Takinga incurred an explicit responsibility to uphold, strengthen and promote the integrity (mana) and well-being (orangatonutanga) of Ngati Te Takinga throughout all my research activities and through my work in general. This obligation manifested itself in my subsequent 2004 nomination and election to the Runanga o Ngati Pikiāo Trust Board as the Ngati Te Takinga representative. Effectively I had entered the ‘Iwi service’ phase of my apprenticeship and the test of my long term commitment to the hapū-Iwi had begun. Although unspoken, Ngati Te Takinga’s actions were an expression of their covert rules of representation as applied to this research. The message was “we acknowledge your ability, we choose you to represent us, you are accountable to us, prove yourself”.

#### *Accountability*

Securing consent to undertake indigenous - tribal research can be a mammoth and hugely daunting task. The real test however, begins once consent is granted. A double edged sword, engaging in research with ones people while exciting, fulfilling and an honor, triggers enormous responsibility. Royal explains:

Tribal history is family history and it is rooted in whakapapa. Historical traditions explain to the descendants who they are, how they came to be and why they are as they are. Therefore, anything to do with tribal history is a spiritual matter and must be treated with much respect and humility (Royal, C. 1992, p. 42).

With Royal's (1992) ideas in mind, L. Smith (1999) also cautions the 'licensed' researcher of tribal and family histories. Spelling out the power and privilege inherent within the researcher's position, Smith (1999) lays open the potentialities for research 'abuse' and invites the kaupapa Māori researcher to a candid confrontation with their own motives:

Researchers are in receipt of privileged information. They may interpret it within an overt theoretical framework, but also in terms of a covert ideological framework. They have the power to distort, to make invisible, to overlook, to exaggerate and to draw conclusions, based not on factual data, but on assumptions, hidden value judgments and often downright misunderstandings. They have the potential to extend knowledge or to perpetuate ignorance (Smith, L. 1999, p. 176).

The rigours of the kaupapa Māori research ethics as applied to this project demanded an accountability that extended not only to the participants, but across the tribe as a whole. Aside from the accountability measures mentioned prior, two other compulsory measures of accountability to Ngati Te Takinga were applied.

The requirement to provide regular research progress reports to Ngati Te Takinga was standard. However, the expectation that I translate the teachings of the elders as gathered in the research into practice was unanticipated. There was an expectation that I would, for example, accompany the kuia (participants in the project) to the marae and learn how to prepare the meeting house for a tangihanga and/or attend and support all tangihanga at Te Takinga. Discussions about this issue with my father-in-law Ngāmaru Raerino drew the following comment: "sitting outside the circle of 'Māoriness' and thinking I will grab this bit and that bit and I will leave those 'other' bits because they are too hard, is inappropriate and unacceptable" (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2006).

Similarly, Clothier (1993) advises that interaction with research participants in the hapū-Iwi setting, is 'not merely located at the site of timetabled discussion' but requires the formulation of 'a continuous relationship that touches virtually every aspect of the research' (Clothier, H. 1993, p.12). Balancing the time needed to complete the doctoral qualification and the time needed to fulfill a number of unanticipated responsibilities added to an already challenging task. Although a difficult choice to make, the commitment to complete the project more often took precedence over the obligation to be

physically present, and in assistance, at the marae during hui and tangihanga. In my view, the loss of esteem (mana) through non completion of the project outweighed the loss of mana through my non attendance at the tangihanga. Fortunately my immediate family, including my mother and father, were able to be present thereby fulfilling the 'kanohi kitea' (the obligation to be present and to contribute) requisite of hapū-Iwi membership, on my behalf. The decision to absent myself from tribal meetings in order to focus on the research was also swayed as a result of a new tribal research related development. In 2006, I accepted a part-time position as the Research Project Co-ordinator for the Tribal Council, Te Runanga o Ngati Pikiao. Holding a PhD was critical to the future success of the Runanga's research unit.

Ngati Te Takinga's willingness to engage in this project was premised, as Smith (1999) suggests, not on the technical design of the research but rather, on the 'open and good' intentions of the researcher. Native Hawaiian researcher Julie Kaomea explains:

Indigenous academics who attempt to work and research our native communities assume a difficult position as we struggle to meet the sometimes competing expectations of the academy and our home communities. While the academy expects that its members will speak from theory, Native Hawaiian communities expect that their member will speak from experience. While the academy expects that research relationships will be detached and objective, Native Hawaiian communities expect that these relationships will be intimate and enduring. While the academy expects that its members will contribute to the scholarly community through rigorous intellectualism, Native Hawaiian communities expect that their members will contribute through vigorous activism (Kaomea, J. 2004, p. 28).

In the case of this study, Kaomea's (2004) teachings manifested themselves in a constant 'binary oppositional' – torn between two worlds - state of being throughout the 'lock down' writing up phase of the research. Rationalising the decision to remain at home and write a PhD, rather than attend tangihanga and major Iwi meetings, was difficult, unsettling and worrying.

In recognition of, and support for, the dual responsibility of the Indigenous researcher to meet the often conflicting ethical requirements and expectations of the both the academy and their indigenous research community Smith (1999) challenges indigenous researchers to 'work across these boundaries'. In so doing, the focus and direction necessary to think through the complexities of indigenous research is established. In turn, the forum in

which researchers working in this field can dialogue and collaborate on common concerns is created.

### *Getting Started*

#### *Representation: whose are the stories that will be told?*

Like a candle gradually diminishing as it burns, the window of opportunity to gather the oral histories of the last Ngati Te Takinga elders fluent in tikanga and te reo Māori o Ngati Pikiāo, grew smaller as time passed. As it happened, one of our kuia died the day prior to her interview. Two others passed away within one year of their interviews. Fortunately, their stories were complete. Time being of the essence, fieldwork was a high priority in the initial implementation phase of this project. This section discusses participant selection, interview processes and the construction and legitimation of the collaborative stories.

The issues of access to a setting and personal relations with the members in a setting are pragmatic issues concerning most researchers. What was important in this study, were the constraints imposed by Māori cultural ‘norms’ in the field research data gathering process and in the production of research findings generally.

The invitation to participate in the first phase of the project was extended to any and all of Ngati Te Takinga at a hui-a-hapū. This open invitation was necessitated by three very critical factors. Although seemingly straightforward due to the principal role of Ngati Te Takinga in the initiation of this project, my access to participants in the early stages was inhibited due firstly to my ‘unhomely disconnection’ (Baber, 1995, cited in Kaomea, J. 2004, p. 27). That is, because of my lack of personal connectedness and former involvement and engagement with Ngati Te Takinga, I did not know who to approach. Secondly, I was hindered by my relative youth – in the eyes of our old people – and finally, my gender was perceived by some as a barrier to accessing the male elders of Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo. Paradoxically, I was a disconnected outsider, I had no rapport - relationship with the people, I was ‘young’ and I was female.

Excluding the gender element these preliminary research impediments, the relational and age issues, were eventually surmounted. The issue of gender was partially reconciled but remains an ongoing concern for Māori (Te Arawa) women. Prior to describing the ways in which each of these obstacles was overcome in order to ‘select’ participants and begin researching, I present an explorative account of the reasons for their existence.

### **Disconnection, ageism and sexism?**

The absence of the type of relationship necessary to undertake research with Ngati Te Takinga, was a direct result of my own colonisation, urbanisation, assimilation (Walker, 1990; Durie, 2001; Emery 2001). As with other younger urban Māori who are two generations and more removed from traditional lands and tūrangawaewae, the challenges that present to ‘away-dwellers’ such as myself who seek passage home, are often the result of frayed, weak and/or non-existent relationships with kinfolk. In contrast to those of our counterparts who have remained close to the ahi kaa, to tribal lands and resources (Durie, 2001) the initiation and establishment of trusting and fulfilling relationships with the home people can be a time-consuming, long and drawn-out process. Despite being a self-professed kaupapa Māori researcher undertaking ‘kaupapa Māori research’ with the intent of promoting the ‘self-determination / agency / voice’ (Bishop, 2001) of Ngati Te Takinga, the initial stages of this project were not easy. I experienced many anxieties due to my outsider and ‘townie’ status.

#### *Sounds of silence ...*

*If I was with [my grandmother] in the garden or if she was showing me how to scrape flax with a mussel shell, I didn't ask questions. She wanted me to observe her and follow, and often, she would put her hands over mine and make the action that I was to follow ( Smith, C. 2007, p. 70).*

The second of my research concerns related to my age. In the eyes of the old people, I was/am considered, sometimes, still a girl. On this basis, it was/is deemed inappropriate for me to hold counsel with them. As well, asking questions of them was/is considered disrespectful. C. Smith (2007) explains. Speaking from her experience with her own kuia, she says:

Asking questions was considered rude in [my grandmother's] generation. Questions interfered with what you were doing. You had to observe, listen and then do the action. I hear quite a few of my relations telling me the same story. They had to just observe, learn the job and get on with it. They too have notice a marked increase in the number of question that are asked – 'why' and 'what' questions. The assumption is that such questions are signs of curiosity and intelligence and that it is healthy to ask questions. Silence is considered unnatural, and working in silence is considered foreign; yet silence is important, because knowing is not translated through words, but through direct observation. Silence gives us space to observe the needs of others and opportunities to observe how things change over time (Smith, C. 2007, p. 70).

Young people (including me at 50 years of age!) are more often perceived as lacking in experience from which is born wisdom. On this basis, youth are often considered to be under-qualified and lacking in credibility within elder forums; often being perceived to do things without thinking - on account of their younger age level. This thinking is encapsulated within and conveyed by Māori proverbial sayings for example, *tā te tamariki, tāna mahi he wāwahi* - 'all the young person does is break calabashes.' In explanation, calabashes in times past were treasured articles being the only vessels available to carry water. This proverb professes but accepts that youth are adventurous, that they challenge the conventions of society and often take risks that can end in serious accidents or even death. The proverb can also imply that the customs and thinking of the ancestors are being disregarded by today's youth.

A second proverb '*ka haere te mātākahi, ka noho te mātaāpuna*' or, 'youth rushes in where age deliberates' reinforces the notion of youth as being hasty and thoughtless. Finally, the proverb '*ōku whakakaumātua, ōku ora, ōku whakatamariki, ōku mate*' or, 'my acts of wisdom and maturity are my salvation; my acts of childishness are my affliction' is a precept for young adults. These two proverbs are self explanatory. Interestingly, although middle aged I was still classified as a girl by the elders and therefore, I was under qualified to hold formal council with them. When setting up the first interview for this project kuia Merepaea Henry, now deceased, speaking in rhetoric said, "you're going to bring someone with you aren't you, someone I can talk to". This request reflected her need as an elder, for a conduit. Someone her own age that she could talk 'through' was preferable to talking directly to me as a 'young' person, researcher and interviewer. This situation was a recurring theme throughout all the interviews conducted with our tribal elders.

Responding to the significance of age to the standing of Māori people M. Durie (2003) maintains that men and women in their forties and fifties may still be regarded as being quite young as far as some roles are concerned. Likewise, discussions with Ngati Pikiao elder and academic Toby Curtis about youth and elder relationships within the context of this research project drew the following comments:

There is a saying by Brahmin that talks about knowledge as needing to be ‘hidden from the superficial enquirer, the uninitiated and the spiritually unworthy’. The old people have never seen you, they have never seen you waiata. They would have needed to assess your wairua. When you are interviewing them you are interviewing their soul. When you are writing about them you are presenting their soul. That’s why they are not open to the superficial enquirer and to the spiritually unworthy. You were using a Pākehā method of interviewing. Taking a tape recorder and taking a Kaumātua. The old people’s past experience of that type of research process is checkered. In the past researchers, people have taken and given nothing back. The old people, they have never seen you, they don’t know you (T. Curtis, pers. comm., 2006).

In retrospect, Curtis’s revelation seemed a logical, reasonable and obvious explanation! Curtis maintained that the caution exercised by the elders was a direct result of my status as a virtual unknown as opposed to being based upon my preconceived notions about youth behaviour and attitudes. I remained unconvinced but qualifying his ideas, Curtis (pers. comm., 2006) went on to quote an example of a person who, in their very young years, demonstrated remarkable ability to remember and recite waiata on the marae. As a consequence of this talent, although still a child, tribal knowledge was openly given to this person by female tribal elders. Subsequently, the person was ‘groomed’ and promoted to various positions of leadership at hapū and Iwi levels. This phenomenon is also mentioned by Durie (2003) who refers to circumstances where a young adult with exceptional skills has joined the ranks of Māori elders.

Further, Curtis (2006) outlined the need for the elders to ‘assess [my] wairua’ prior to divulging any information to me. The issue, he insisted, was one of trust rather than my age. To this end, when attending interviews I relied on the established trust the old people had in my father (the project kaumātua) to initiate the type of relationship necessary to conduct research with them. In so doing, I also overcame the fear that the

elders may have had regarding possible misappropriation (by me) of their knowledge.

Jackson (1998) explains this phenomenon further:

We're all aware of what the missionaries, and what Irihapeti Ramsden has called the 'ethnographic trappers', did to our knowledge, of our way of seeing the world in the past. We know what they did to the beautiful poetic metaphors of our faith. We know how they marginalized women in our history and we know how they rewrote what happened (Jackson, M. 1998, p. 71).

Royal (1992) also writes extensively on the unpleasant experiences Māori have had with Pākehā recorders of Māori knowledge and the subsequent misrepresentation of Māori by Pākehā historians throughout the last century and prior.

Perhaps I had been fabricating tikanga Māori based theories to explain issues whose origins more likely lay in an historical colonial context about which I had just been writing? Discussions with other 'young' male and female Te Arawa researchers however, supported my view with regard to the attitude of some (mostly male) Māori elders towards 'young' people. The analogy 'ihu hupe' or 'runny nose' is often used in reference to young people who are working in 'elder' forums. 'Ihu hupe' likens the status of young people to a snotty nosed child. On this basis the views of the young can be, and often are, denigrated, disregarded and/or ignored.

The third factor inhibiting the implementation of the data collection phase of the research was that of gender and my status as a Māori woman within the context of Te Arawa tribal protocols (kawa) which stipulates that "women don't have a voice [and therefore] they have to speak through the men" (anonymous participant, pers. comm., 2006).

*Tikanga, chauvinism or assumption?*

*If the subaltern (male) has no history and cannot speak, then "the subaltern female is even more deeply in the shadow" (Spivak, 1995, p. 28 cited in Cary, L. 2004, p. 80).*

Prior to the commencement of field work I was advised by a Ngati Te Takinga male elder that the probability of engaging Ngati Te Takinga men in this project was highly

unlikely. The elder's grounds for predicting this circumstance were simple; the elder maintained, "you are women. I will talk to you but most of the men are not like me. My mates are chauvinist" (participant, 2004). Disappointingly, four of the Ngati Te Takinga male elders approached to participate in this project declined to do so. All of these men were from the hau kainga and their non-participation was unfortunate as they had spent their entire lives at Mourea kainga and their views on home, belongingness and Māori identity would have added great value to the project. Two have since died and the missed opportunity is lamentable. The reasons for their non participation were not given; neither were they sought. However, four potential scenarios seem to warrant consideration.

Scenario one suggests that the male elders had no interest in participating in the research. Scenario two concurs with Curtis's (2006) views suggesting that because the men did not know me well, they were suspicious of my motives and they were therefore, exercising caution. A third scenario, which emerged during an interview with distinguished Rotorua (Te Arawa based) historian Don Stafford, supports a notion that traditionally women were the repositories of tribal knowledge. Stafford's (2005) declaration that the key informants in his Te Arawa based research projects were predominantly Te Arawa kuia, is revealing. Coupled with the fact that all the women approached to participate in this project were open and immediately amenable to the idea, Stafford's revelation is telling. Concurring with Stafford's experience Ngāhuia Te Awēkotuku (1999) states:

Growing up in Te Arawa in the fifties I remember that the ones who were regarded as the keepers of the correct record were the elderly women. If an orator incorrectly recited whakapapa, if he made an error in his tauparapara, certain women – an aunt, an elder sister, his wife – would gently correct him. That was their right. If he persisted or reacted adversely, they would humiliate him. Such a right indicated that they, too, had the knowledge and the training (Te Awēkotuku, N. 1999, p. 60).

The fourth and final [possible] reason for the non participation of these men reiterates the declaration of the anonymous participant; the men would not talk to me because I am a woman. To this end Te Awēkotuku (1999) suggests that 'Māori men have greater access [to male research participants] because they are men ...and their questions may be received with more bemused tolerance; for what they are doing is serious mahi. Males are expected to ask questions, and have them answered, because they are men' (Te

Awekotuku, N. 1999, p. 58). The inference is that the voices of Māori women are not only invalid, but lack credibility; demonstrated here in Te Arawa by the silence of our women which is fostered and enforced in, for example, the following comments made by an anonymous male elder (2006) in response to a question about the speaking rights of women at a meeting of the Te Arawa Tribal Council of Elders. His words were, “women don’t have a voice; they have to talk through us [the men]. That is the kawa of Te Arawa”.

### *More colonial baggage*

The existence of sexism among Te Arawa males appears a very real part of the tikanga dynamics. Evidence of this fact was publicly highlighted in the case of Ngati Rangitahi woman Cathy Dewes’s 1994 nomination and subsequent election to the Te Arawa Māori Trust board, an historically Māori male-only committee. Citing Māori protocol, the Board rejected Dewes’s nomination. The Board argued that Te Arawa marae protocol which does not allow women to sit on the paepae (the space designated for [male] orators) extended also, to the Boardroom. Dewes, supported by her Ngati Rangitahi people, took the case to the High Court where it was heard and, in her favour, ruled upon by Justice Cartwright. Dewes’s court action sought not to malign tribal protocol but rather, to forge a space for Māori women to be more fully involved in tribal management. The case highlights existing Māori [Te Arawa] male attitudes towards the role and place of Māori women in contemporary Māori society (Waikato Times, 1994).

In explanation, Mikaere (1994), speaking generally, asserts that over the decades the erroneous notion that Māori leadership was the predominant domain of Māori men and that Māori men exercised power over Māori women, has become firmly entrenched as being ‘tikanga Māori’. Rebuttals of this thinking abound. Authors Mahuika, (1975); Pere, (1982); Jenkins, (1986); Edwards, (1990); Mikaere, (1994); Ramsden, (1995) provide an abundance of evidence that demonstrates that the respective roles of women in traditional Māori society were valued, protected and equal to those of men. Supporting this assertion Mikare (1994) states:

Traditionally, both men and women were essential parts in the collective whole, both formed part of the whakapapa that linked Māori people back to the beginning of the world, and women in particular played a key role in linking the past with the present and the future. The very survival of the whole was dependent upon everyone who made it up, and therefore each and every person within the group had his or her own intrinsic value. They were all a part of the collective and it was therefore a collective responsibility to see that respective roles were valued and protected (Mikaere, A. 1994, p. 1).

Mikaere continues pointing to colonisation, Christianity and the introduction of English common law and ‘the vestiges of this law approach in New Zealand law’ (Mikaere, A. 1994, p.3) as directly contributing to the changed perceptions and consequential negative impact on the status of Māori women. More specifically Mikaere (1994) cites the overlaying of Māori ‘marriage’ with Pākehā legal marriage, Māori family (whānau) with the Pākehā nuclear family and Māori child adoptive practices (whāngai) with the Pākehā legal adoption, as being directly responsible for the reduced status of Māori women.

The onset of colonisation including the introduction and entrenchment of these new institutions saw Māori women relegated to the same culture specific defined positions as their Pākehā counterparts. This position is encapsulated within the views of the early colonisers as noted by Linda Smith:

Māori women were perceived either in family terms as wives and children, or in sexual terms as easy partners. Women who had “chiefly” roles were considered the exception to the rule, not the norm ..... Māori women were considered attractive in the absence of a pool of white women. Their autonomy was interpreted as immorality and lack of discipline. Christianity reinforced notions by spelling out rules of decorum and defining spaces (the home) for the carrying out of appropriate female activities (Smith, L. cited in Mikaere, A. 1994, p. 5).

The sequel to this development saw Māori women rendered as being of little value and subsequently by-passed when early settlers and Crown representatives (Pākehā men) sought to ‘deal’ with Māori. Māori men were the ones with whom the colonisers negotiated, traded and treated. This practice continues. Mikaere (1994) notes that Māori women as an identifiable group remain virtually invisible to the law and absent from consultative and advisory bodies set up by the Crown to provide Māori input into decision-making processes. Recent research (Whenua.biz, 2007) has also identified that the situation described by Mikaere (1994), is repeated here in Te Arawa. Scoping the capacity and performance of Te Arawa (tribal) land governance bodies, amongst its

findings Whenua.biz (2007) reported that the leadership of Te Arawa's trusts and incorporations was typically male. From a total of 110 trustees the research found that only five trustees were female and, of the 18 Chairpersons of the trusts, only one was female. The average age of trustees was 65 years and 60% of those interviewed had spent more than 10 years on one or more trusts (Whenua.biz, 2007). The dearth of Māori women currently engaged in Te Arawa governance and management is representative of the general attitudes that our men hold towards our women as learned through the processes of colonisation and hegemony.

The question as to whether or not colonial influenced attitudes towards Māori women impacted the decision of Ngati Te Takinga male elders not to participate in this project remains unanswered. The same question also hangs over existing dismissive attitudes towards the 'young'. The bigger question: does the colonised reality in which Māori protocol (kawa) currently exists render it as tool of domination, suppression and oppression also surfaces through this research work. The hanging questions posed by this topical and contentious issue cannot be fully addressed in this forum however; the suspended and silent space created by the questions, invites critical dialogue to occur.

Describing the function of an intellectual, Foucault (1982) notes 'it is my role is to show people that they are much freer than they feel, that people accept as truth, as evidence, some themes which have been built up at a certain moment during history, and that this so-called evidence can be criticised and destroyed. To change something in the minds of people – that is the role of an intellectual' (Martin et al. 1988, p. 10, cited in Ball, S. 1990, p. 2). As an academic piece of work, this research responds to Foucault's challenge. Exposing and examining the 'learned' (colonised) dominance of Māori women by Māori men, the research shows how this theme of dominance has been built up in a moment during history (Foucault, 1982). The research insists that the so-called evidence that supports this practice can be criticised and destroyed.

*Participant Selection: An open unrequited invitation*

The invitation to participate in the first phase of this project was open to all members of Ngati Te Takinga. The invitation was extended to the people at a hui-a-hapū in April 2003. A potential but necessary risk, the open invitation was extended because I was unfamiliar with the families of Ngati Te Takinga and therefore, did not know who to approach directly. It was my hope that Ngati Te Takinga would collectively decide who the participants would be. This system of selection would reduce the possibility of excluding people who should have been included thus circumventing any possibility of offending or insulting people. Had the numbers of potential participants been excessive, Ngati Te Takinga would also have had the discretion to prioritise and reselect participants.

While a culturally 'safe' participant selection process, voluntary acceptance/s of the invitation were not forthcoming. As well as the issues of age, gender and my 'unhomely disconnection' (Baber, 1995, cited in Kaomea, J. 2004, p. 27), people were still unclear and apprehensive about the collaborative storying project and the process. As well, people did not think that their 'stories' had worth: "what do you want to write about me for, I've done nothing" was a common reply from the old people in response to the invitation to participate; the inference being that one had to have been 'someone' or done 'something' of major significance in their lifetime in order to be story 'worthy'. Attwood and Magowan (2001) trade mark narrative as a 'cognitive instrument', a primary means for understanding or making sense of the world. While such explanations were lost on our old people, the benefits of story telling amongst my immediate family during the study towards my Masters qualification provided me with the necessary impetus to push on.

Three months into the project however, my interview schedule lay bare! Resolving this situation required a comprehensive 'kanohi kitea' – 'face seen is a face remembered' – relationship - trust building strategy. Smith (1999) explains:

Gender and age are two quite critical factors in some indigenous contexts. For younger students there is a very real constraint on access to knowledge when working with elders. There are also protocols of respect and practices of reciprocity. The relatively simple task of gaining informed consent can take anything from a moment to months and years (Smith, L. 1999, p. 136).

I spent many months being part of an extensive array of tribal gatherings. Tangi, birthdays, unveilings, commemorative events, tribal meetings and even a rugby game featured regularly on my 'how to build a relationship with your Iwi' list of things to do and places to be! The process although time consuming and slow, was one means by which people became more familiar with me. During this period my intent, trustworthiness and commitment to Ngati Pikiāo were under intense scrutiny. The propensity of the old people's observational skills can be very unnerving at times. They watch, they 'see', they 'know' and they judge a person's worth by way of that person's deeds and the spirit in which those deeds are performed.

During this period I began a new 'casual approach to the old people' strategy. This participant recruitment method was used at Iwi gatherings when the old people were either in the meeting house relaxing between formal visitor welcoming rituals or, in the dining room relaxing after a meal. At these times I made informal approaches to the eldest male and female members of the hapū giving them an overview of the project. Injections of humour often helped to 'soften' my approach. For example, on one occasion when sitting with the old people in the wharenuī, I took the time to explain the project and the interview process to the kuia. Noticing that a male elder was listening intently to the discussion, I turned to him and asked teasingly "do you want to play too uncle?" The ensuing peals of laughter from both the uncle and others present served to relax and help people to feel more comfortable with the 'researcher' in their midst.

Over time, the high degree of acceptance people eventually felt when I was present and 'researching' at the marae, led to my very privileged ability to use a laptop computer in the wharenuī to record stories while elders were 'just chatting'. I was also permitted to take photographs and video footage during hui, including tangihanga. Permission to engage in such activities was not formally 'given, but I had earned their trust and extended friendships with the old people during the 'kanohi kitea' relationship building

and recruitment phase of the project. Throughout this period I gathered phone numbers of people who expressed an interest in participating in the project. Times for interviews were then set by way of phone calls made within a week of the initial encounters. All women approached to participate in the project, were amenable to the idea. The majority of male elders (koroua) however, were ambivalent. They declined the invitation directly, didn't respond at all, or said they would "let me know". Subsequent encounters with this group were absent of any reference to the stories project. I did not seek to revisit the subject.

The approach and invitation to the male elders was extended in the knowledge that it would probably be declined. Although a difficult undertaking, the risk of their offence at my approach was marginal in comparison to the possible wrath I faced had they not been approached! To counter the non participation of these koroua, I set up structured interviews with other Ngati Pikiāo male elders. These participants knew me well through my work in education. Our established relationships allowed the interview process to take a more direct line of questioning that focused specifically on the research question. The interviewees presented their conceptual views of home, belongingness and Māori identity. Interestingly, the concept definitions given were more often couched in story. For example Ngati Pikiāo elder Te Ariki Morehu in defining the term 'hau kainga' related this story:

Home for me was Otaramarae but as a child I lived with my grandmother in Murupara. In the evenings I would go and climb onto the top of the wood heap. I would look towards home and I could see the Mountain – Tarawera - I could feel the wind on my face and I would call - "muuuuuuum, muuuuum" calling to my mother. To me, that is the hau kainga. The wind, the feeling when I looked to the mountain calling to mother - feeling the pull of home ..... (Te Ariki Morehu, pers. comm., 2006).

The recorded dialogue was then transcribed and used to embellish the co-constructed stories, the findings and the conclusions sections of the thesis.

The range and number of research participants interviewed included:

- ❖ Te ahi kaa: people who were born in either Mourea or other areas of Ngati Pikiao and Te Arawa and have never left - two.
- ❖ Te ahi tere: people who were born in Mourea and then moved to live in Suburban Rotorua areas ('townies') - two.
- ❖ Te ahi tere: people who were born in Mourea (and other areas of Ngati Pikiao) and who left to live in other parts of New Zealand (and then returned) - five
- ❖ Te ahi tere people who were born in Mourea but left to live in other parts of the world (and have as yet to return) - one
- ❖ Two people interviewed were born on the East Coast of New Zealand (Te Whānau a Apanui) and moved to Mourea – Ngati Pikiao in their early childhood years.
- ❖ One person interviewed was born and lived in Taheke, a neighbouring village to Mourea. Leaving New Zealand in his teens to pursue a music career in Australia, at the time of interview, he had no intentions of returning.

Twenty people were formally interviewed. Participants were drawn from a wide range of backgrounds including home makers, labourers, musicians and professionals. Several Māori intellectuals, academics and cultural experts participated in the research. The participants' ages ranged from 40 – 90 years. Two interviews were conducted as group (whānau) sessions and eight collaborative co-constructed stories were written for inclusion in the study. Several stories wait in the wings; they will be published post doctorate as part of the Te Takinga stories (book) requested by the hapū.

### **Changing perceptions**

The intent of this study was to record the life experiences and views (stories) of two groups of Ngati Te Takinga affiliates. Group one was to be made up of people whose kinship ties and proximal relationships had remained intact, while group two was to constitute people whose kinship ties and proximal relationships had been severed. The aims of the study were:

- ❖ To record the oral histories of our (Ngati Te Takinga) surviving kuia and koroua (elders) considered to be ‘ahi kaa’, in connection to notions of home, ‘belongingness’ and identity.
- ❖ To investigate the reconnection of those Ngati Te Takinga, Ngati Pikiāo descendants who may have been disconnected from the hapu - Iwi, and who may now seek passage home.

What emerged in the early stages of the study however, caused me to rethink the notions of ‘severed ties’ and ‘disconnection’ that formed the baseline for the study. It became apparent that regardless of their geographical location and for some, their compromised ‘connection’ because of distance, the research participants, in varying degrees, all felt a sense of connection to Ngati Te Takinga lands, water ways, marae, cemetery (urupā) and to the people. This revelation came as a surprise requiring me to re-evaluate my notions of ‘disconnection’ and ‘severance’ of ‘kinship ties and proximal links’. It became apparent that my perceptions were based on my own definition and experience of ‘disconnection’ from Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikiāo and was not theoretically, socioculturally grounded.

Another revelation concerned the urban participants who, despite their ‘away’ factor, all knew the genealogical ties that gave them connection to Ngati Te Takinga. As well, all urban participants had maintained a ‘contact person’ (Nikora, 1995, cited in Pickering, 1997), or persons, through whom their ties were maintained and kept continuous (Pickering, 1997). Kinship ties and proximal links while sometimes weak were never severed, thus reiterating the enduring nature of whakapapa. This trend is explained by Pou Temara (2005) who maintains ‘whakapapa connects a person to their people, their natural environment, the spiritual world and more. It cannot be taken away from anyone and is personal to them’ (Temara, P. 2005, p. 5).

### **The interview process**

*... she knows probably like Zora Neale the insider-anthropologist knew, that she is not an outsider like the foreign outsider. She knows that she is different while at the same time being Him. Not quite the Same, not quite the Other, she stands in that undetermined threshold place where she constantly drifts in and out.*

*Undercutting the inside/outside opposition, her intervention is necessarily that of both a deceptive insider and a deceptive outsider ... (Minh-Ha, T. 1991, p. 74).*

Research participant interviews were conducted at either the interviewees' homes or places appropriate for them, and at times that were suitable to them. Cups of tea and food were served either prior to, or after the interview. The sharing of tea and food was a figurative representation of the successful completion of the negotiation of the research initiation, benefits and accountability. Likewise, the timing of the cup of tea was symbolic, determining the interviewee's 'perceptions of positional power' (Watkin Lui, F. 2004. p. 115). If tea was served prior to or during the interview I was being positioned as an 'insider' – one of the whānau. In these instances, the interviews were quite casual and informal. Some participants however, took a more formal approach to the visit of the 'researcher' and on arrival I would be taken to a room or place especially prepared for my visit. On these occasions tea and food were served after the discussions.

Discussing 'insider' / outsider research Linda Smith (1999) speaks of the barriers constructed to keep 'the outsider at bay, to prevent the outsider becoming the intruder'. Likewise Watkin Lui (2004) as an 'insider' researcher mentions being subjected to behaviour that firmly positioned [her] in the role of an outside researcher during her research fieldwork. Although conscious of the different treatments I had received from participants during interviews, the realisation that for example, being shown to the garage as a preferred venue for an interview was one means by which participants were able to control and resist the prying eyes of the researcher (L. Smith, 1999) was significant. In this instance I was not invited into the house being firmly positioned as an outsider / researcher. Interestingly, on my next trip to the marae the same kuia who had shown me to her garage, patted the mattress beside her motioning me to sit with her during a funeral service; once sitting, she covered my knees with her blanket. And finally, towards the end of the project when I was returning her story, I was 'allowed' into the kuia's bedroom and invited to sit on her bed. We chatted together while she did her weaving and before leaving she presented me with a piece of material that she had been saving "to make a dress". Effectively these acts of acknowledgment, acceptance and aroha represented my shift from a suspicious outsider position to one of trusted insider.

Another participant, who I was meeting for the first time, chose the pub as a preferred place for interview. The following day after he had had sufficient time in which to consider the research initiation, benefits and accountability aspects, I was invited back to his home for dinner.

*'Ko tōu rourou, ko tōkū rourou'*  
*By your contribution and by mine ...*

Contributing toward the cup of tea ritual was essential; a small offering of food being sufficient. In a formal sense I would liken the cup of tea phase of the interview process to whakawhānaungatanga, or the re-establishing our family links and ties. It also equated to the process of pōhiri, or welcome, practiced on the marae. My father, and sometimes my mother, was present at all interviews conducted with the elders. Dad played a key role in the process, opening and closing interviews with karakia and mihi – formal prayer and greetings. There were also many times when interviewees used Mum and Dad as a point of reference or to check the accuracy of their statements. At other times Mum and Dad were able to prompt the interviewees when their memories failed them. Personally I found the presence of an elder at the interviews to be reassuring and at times comforting.

As we engaged in casual conversation I would turn on the tape recorder and, although still just talking, the interview became a natural progression from the discussions. At times narrative type questions designed to draw out specific information from the interviewees were posed. Examples of these questions follow:

- ❖ Where is home for you Aunty / Uncle?
- ❖ What is it about that place that makes it home for you?
- ❖ He aha te ahi kaa ki a koe: what does the term 'ahi kaa' mean to you?
- ❖ He aha te ukaipō ki a koe: what does the term 'ukaipō' mean to you?
- ❖ He aha ki a koe te turangawaewae: what does the term 'turangawaewae' mean to you?
- ❖ He aha te hau kainga ki a koe: what does the term 'hau kainga' mean to you?
- ❖ So, lots of memories at Mourea – what about memories of the marae?

Rather than standing alone, these questions were generally incorporated into the conversation through paraphrasing or mirroring. If stand alone, questions were always open thereby inviting the participant to speak. Often times the constraints imposed by my relative youth in the eyes of the old people, restricted my ability to ask questions. To do so was viewed as rude. This situation often resulted in my leaving an interview with hours of taped, non-directly related information; the priceless experience of being with and listening to the old people however, far outweighed consequent tape transcription costs. Interview sessions would last for two to three hours and always concluded with karakia followed by a cup of tea and food. This final act symbolised a satisfactory conclusion. During the final stages of the interview I would reiterate the next step in the fieldwork research process and where appropriate, the participants would be invited to sign the informed consent forms. As Smith (1999) attests to, confronting the issue of informed consent within the context of a kaupapa Māori research setting can be awkward:

Asking directly for consent to interview can also be interpreted as quite rude behaviour in some cultures. Consent is not so much given for a project or specific sets of questions, but for a person, for their credibility. Consent indicates trust and the assumption is that the trust will not only be reciprocated but constantly negotiated – a dynamic relationship rather than a static interview (Smith, L. 1999, p. 136).

Confirming Smith's assertions re the differing nature of consent within cultures, over the years in which this doctoral thesis was written, my evolving relationship with Ngati Te Takinga was constantly negotiated, re-negotiated and indeed, very dynamic. As I worked with our people during the period of the research, I gradually won their trust; eventually being permitted to film and take photos on the marae, in the wharenuī and at the ūrupā – cemetery during tangihanga. In the past, such practice has been considered inappropriate due to the sensitivities surrounding death, grief and mourning. Tangihanga however, being one of the now rare occasions when all our people come together, are an opportune time to not only reacquaint ourselves as whānau-hapū and Iwi, but as well, to listen, learn and to gather information from those present.

Being afforded the privilege of 'researching' during tangihanga was a gradual process requiring respectful, reciprocal practice. To this end, the return to whānau of stories and

photographs was an unspoken condition of consent. As well, I was always cautious in my practice taking care to ensure that people's privacy was respected. I avoided photographing the deceased and/or immediate family members whilst grieving and, by way of an exhibition, I ensured people had access to the photographs that were taken. Gaining recognition as a hapū 'resource' (person) was a major accomplishment which demonstrated the high level of trust built within the hapū as the research whānau-of-interest (Bishop, 1996).

The second phase of the fieldwork process involved transcribing interviews and co-constructing stories. This process involved more visits to each of the participants to confirm the accuracy of representation. On completion of first drafts, the stories were returned to participants who, in order to legitimate the work, were asked to read the stories while considering the following questions:

- ❖ Is this what you meant?
- ❖ Have I represented you correctly?
- ❖ Is there anything written that you want to be taken out?
- ❖ Is there anything you want to change?
- ❖ Is there anything you would like to add to this story?
- ❖ Are you and your whānau happy for this story to be read by others?

In one instance the first draft of a story was left with a participant (Hilda Inia) for almost eight months. At the time Aunty Hilda was very ill. With her energies waning, she was guided by her eldest daughter and together they worked through the draft document completing the story in September 2006, approximately one year after our first interview. Aunty Hilda died one week later. In retrospect, her daughter Audrey spoke of the pleasure they gained from sifting through memories to 'get things right'. The last months of Aunty Hilda's life produced an invaluable treasure that belongs and remains with her whānau. The significance of this taonga emerged when she died. In preparing his speech for her tangihanga my father, who had been in attendance at our first interview, took and read her story and listened to the taped interview; Aunty Hilda was one of the few remaining Ngati Te Takinga kuia morehū fluent in te reo o Ngati Pikao. In reading her

words and listening to her voice, Dad was able to represent Aunty Hilda with accuracy and authenticity in his speech making. Aunty Hilda's own words embellished Dad's poroporaki, his farewell to her.

All participants were afforded ample time in which to proof read, legitimate and check their stories for accuracy of representation. For some, this process involved collaborative family efforts which in turn, lead to valuable 'whānau' relationship building, strengthening and restoration. Often times participants were overwhelmed by the cathartic power of their stories; they spoke of feeling liberated, enlightened, rejuvenated and transformed. Such is the gift of story which unlocks shapes and anchors memory, deciphers messages from the past in order to construct meaning and gives purpose to the present (Binney, 2001).

The third and final phase of the process involving participants, constituted the act of gift giving – the researcher to the participants. As well as their stories, participants also received copies of relevant photos taken throughout the years in which the project was conducted. Sadly some of the stories and the photos were gifted to whānau on the death of the participants. Attending the tangihanga of these kuia and koroua was not something I had anticipated at the beginning of the project however, gifting stories and photographs on their passing although tinged with sadness, came with a certain sense of satisfaction; their stories and their most recent images, were captured and are now held by their whānau for successive generations. One particularly poignant photograph of kuia Merepaea Henry was kept by her cousin Paremeria Mason. Also a participant, Paremeria is the Ngati Te Takinga kuia responsible for looking after whānau pani (bereaved whānau) at the marae during tangihanga. Paremeria asked for Merepaea's photo so she could "bring it down to the pā to put on the wall" at future tangihanga. As the photographer – researcher, this means of giving back to the participants, to their whānau and to the community and marae as a whole, proved deeply satisfying.

This chapter has elaborated around the detail of kaupapa Māori principles governing the method and the methodology used for this research project. By employing the concepts of

initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability throughout the project, a participant-driven research ethic premised on the sharing of power between the researcher and the researched, was created. The shared beneficial outcomes of this process include the following collaborative stories.

## **PART TWO**

### **PREAMBLE**

#### **The Stories**

##### **A hundred years of histories**

*Narrative researchers collect stories from individuals and retell or restory the participants' stories into a framework such as chronology of the characters, the setting, the problems, the actions and a resolution of those actions. Throughout this process collaboration occurs with the participant, and the story composed by the researcher tells of the participants' life experiences (Cresswell, J. 2005, p. 490).*

For Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikiāo, the ordinary, everyday life stories recorded for this project are a unique resource. Through their 'ordinary' tellers, the stories connect our present to our past and to the future; they connect one generation with the other; the land with the people and the people with the stories (L. Smith, 1999). Each story taken alone offers a fragmentary microscopic representation (Fort, 1996) of an individual Māori life in the 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, as it was experienced and is remembered. Spanning approximately one hundred years, when read together the stories offer a broad composite of the hapū's pre, current and possible future social condition. The first-hand accounts reveal the texture of Ngati Te Takinga - Māori life; illuminating and exploring some compelling themes through the provision of expansive social commentaries captured through the voices of both the young and the old. Most importantly, the windows into the past, the journeys to the present and the hopes and concerns for the future of Ngati Te Takinga, and for Te Takinga marae, offer a navigational point; a foundation for whānau-hapū and Iwi future directions and decision making purposes.

The past, the present and the future are all encapsulated within the following stories. From the nostalgic, 'telling' accounts of home as relayed by the elders, to the tensions, the conflicts and the complexities associated with the disconnection and re-connection of Ngati Te Takinga peoples; the stories are a site of transformation; they work to address the central concern of the 'critical school' whose task is to emancipate people from the positivistic domination of thought (Carr & Kemmis, 1986). Recording the relationships among the people, tying everyone by whakapapa and honouring the mana of the

ancestors of the past, the stories provide an opportunity for Ngati Te Takinga, and other Māori people, to critically reflect upon our own situations and to change them through our own actions (Carr & Kemmis, 1986).

The chapters into which the stories have been incorporated are loosely arranged in accord with J. Williams's (cited in James, 2000) assignation of Māori as described in Chapter Two. Chapter Five constitutes stories from mana whenua/ahi kaa participants Merepaea Henry and Nancy Mason. The absence of further 'mana whenua' voices from this chapter is the result of three factors. Firstly the low numbers of 'mana whenua' kuia and koroua; secondly, the passing of one Ngati Te Takinga kuia the day before her scheduled interview and thirdly, the non participation of Ngati Te Takinga home-dwelling men/elders in the project. The non participation of these men was discussed fully in the previous chapter.

Stories in Chapter Six are drawn from Te Arawa or, Ngati Te Takinga people who moved from Mourea to live outside of the Ngati Te Takinga tribal boundaries but remained within the wider Te Arawa region in the Rotorua Township. Due to their 'tino' kuia status and their continued residence upon Te Arawa lands, these participants have also been classified as mana whenua/ahi kaa. Although living outside of Ngati Te Takinga's geographical boundaries, both participants have continually participated in whānau or tribal activities at varying levels. Following on from chapter Six, Chapter Seven constitutes stories from 'te hunga hoki (mai)' or, people who left Mourea to live in other national and international locations but returned to Rotorua in later years. These stories take account of the participants experiences of living away while maintaining varying degrees of connection to, and participation amongst, Ngati Te Takinga, Ngati Pikiāo; all have made a permanent return to live in the Rotorua Township, with one returning to Mourea.

Stories from nationally and internationally located Ngati Te Takinga away-dwellers - te hunga haere/te ahi tere make up Chapter Eight. The first of these away-dwellers currently resides in Nelson in the South Island of New Zealand; he has been away (from Mourea

and Ngati Te Takinga) in excess of fifty years and has only recently begun the process of reconnecting with his Ngati Te Takinga kin. The second participant profiled in the *hunga haere* section of the stories, has been an Australian resident in since 1969. The participant knew (knows) his connections to Ngati Te Takinga but chooses not to use his Māori ancestry as the fundamental basis of his identity. He classifies himself as an ‘ANZAC’ – an Australian New Zealander of Māori descent, who knows he has Māori ancestry but doesn’t necessarily identify as Māori.

As expected, the depth of meanings contained in each of the stories differs. This occurrence is attributable to the age and status of particular participants. Asking questions of the old people was often-times highly inappropriate and offensive to them. For example, when co-constructing meaning within the text, asking the old people what they meant by what they said often met with the response: “what do you mean what do I mean? I mean what I said!” Likewise when using a question to extract meaning from a particular action one *kuia* had taken in response to an event that had occurred in her home, she responded by saying “he hopuhopu tēnā” [I didn’t think about the consequences because to think about the consequences will cause them to happen]. Despite the research context in which such questions were posed, her response drew attention to the inappropriate nature of my lines of inquiry. Asking ‘why’ was both tactless and inconsiderate. Referring to these same types research concerns, authors Gluck & Patai (1991) cite the experience of a co-researcher, an Indian woman who was interviewing other Indian women from various Washington tribes. Gluck and Patai noted: ‘[that] she felt torn between a need to gather specific information and an awareness of appropriate relationships between young and old: the rules she had learned as an Indian child prohibited questioning elders, initiating topics, or disagreeing in any form even by implying that a comment might be incomplete’ (Gluck, S. & Patai, D. 1991, p. 14).

On this basis therefore, the old people’s stories are, in part, semi co-constructed; they are couched within a framework that guides the reader’s interpretations of the stories thereby enabling them to ‘hear’ what has been said. The stories are surrounded and cosseted with

an interpretive framework that adheres closely to the normality of who we are as Māori (Ormond, et al, 2004). Constructed from secondary research sources that validate, fortify and enhance the old people's kōrero, the framework is important for two reasons. Firstly, because it ensures that the diversity of the voices recorded, are heard; rather than just the most articulate of the participants whose words can be left to stand on their own without analysis. The absence of an interpretative framework would have silenced the voices and therefore, the important messages and the traditional wisdoms of our kuia. Secondly the interpretive framework, in tandem with the careful crafting of words, better enabled the old people to become active participants in the legitimisation phase of the project.

In contrast to the old people, the younger research participants were more open to questions. Subsequently they were active participants in the story co-construction process. A difference therefore in the analysis across the four chapters of stories, may be discernable. Being more open to questions and discussion, the younger and more articulate of the participants had an applied role in the analysis of their stories. In many cases, they gave full and comprehensive meanings to their own stories and the interpretative framework became a tool by which to complement their own interpretations. Importantly, the stories while written as a part of a 'whole' are also designed to 'stand alone'. The writing method used is consistent with the principles of kaupapa Māori research and takes account of participants (and hapū members) who may desire only, to read the stories section of the research. To this end, some information may be repeated across different stories.

English translations of Māori phrases spoken by participants occur in the text. Although validated by the speakers, the translations are not represented as quotes because they are the work of the author. Acknowledgment is due also to those participants who had passed on at the time when this thesis was written up. They are, Merepaea Henry and Hilda Inia. Their stories remain as they were written prior to their passing, on the basis that these were the stories validated by them. Notions of home, belongingness and identity and the trichotomy of connection, disconnection and reconnection are discussed

within the stories. The key emergent themes arising from these discussions are gathered together, and analysed, in the final chapter.

## Chapter Five

### Ngā reo o te kainga: Voices from home

*Te mana whenua ki Mourea: Merepaea Henry & Nancy Mason*

*Tēnei kē taku tūrangawaewae i te mea, i tipu mai ahau mai rā anō – i te timatatanga, kaore rawa i nuku atu i konei”*

*This land is my place of standing, my place of belonging. I grew up here and have been here since my birth. I have never left (M. Henry, pers. comm., 2005).*

#### Merepaea Henry

At 75 years of age, Merepaea Henry is an active and valued member of the Mourea and wider Rotorua community. She is engaged in a diverse range of activities and her contributions and service to the community are encapsulated within her many roles. These roles include, Kai-karakia in the Anglican church, healer – health worker at Tipu Ora Whānau Health Centre, Ohinemutu, and student at Te Wananga o Aotearoa where she attends the Arataki Manukōrero – Te Arawa Kaumātua programme. Having lived all her life at Mourea, Merepaea maintains an integral role as kuia and kai-karanga for and on behalf of, the marae the hapū and the Iwi of Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pīkiao. On occasion, her kuia - kai-karanga role extends across Te Arawa whānui and beyond. She is also widely known for her visits to the homes of the sick and the ailing to whom she offers comfort and healing through karakia.

Our first meeting took place at Merepaea’s home located on Hamurana Road, Mourea. On our arrival we were invited inside to meet her whānau; the countless photos that fill her sitting room walls with no space left bare. People past and present were kept close and her connections were kept strong through these portraits. After this brief conversation, Merepaea informed us (my father the project Kaumātua and I) that she was going to go and pick up Nancy, her first cousin, and that they would have their interview together.

## **Paremiria Nancy Mason**

*“Ka tū mai i roto i te pā, nōkū hoki te pā, nōu te pā; he tūrangawaewae tēnā nō tātou”. [When we stand inside the marae; the marae is mine, the marae is yours and it is a place for us all to stand] (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005).*

Nancy Mason lives in the family home located beside the meandering waters of the Ohau channel. At the time of writing this story, she was 81 years of age. The impressions I formed of her through our engagement in this story-gathering project were of a strong, independent and energetic kuia with a deep commitment to caring for her whānau and for Ngati Te Takinga hapū in general, through her work at the marae. Our second meeting saw her fixing her car and our third meeting, cleaning the house next door which she was also painting and fixing. On the fourth occasion of our meeting, she had just spent the week mowing her son’s, her daughter’s and her own lawns!

Not unlike Merepaea, Auntie Nancy maintains an integral and significant role at Te Takinga marae, being the kuia responsible for preparation of the wharenuī for hui. Her role includes laying the mats – whāriki and preparing the beds. More importantly, she cares for the bereaved families during tangihanga, including the deceased or tūpāpaku. Auntie Nancy’s unexpected presence and participation at what was to be Merepaea’s interview, was a great bonus; her free, open and significant contributions to our discussion enriched the whole process. In addition, the majority of the discussions were conducted in what is now considered to be rare Pīkiao dialectical reo, which considerably enhanced the special nature of this interview. The essence of Māori philosophical values and beliefs and Māori conceptual thinking is irrefutably best articulated and captured, through the medium of te reo Māori.

## **Te Kainga**

### *Home*

The aunties began their stories by reminiscing about bygone days. Okawa Bay and the surrounding area “the church right up to the mill” a block of land belonging to “Ratema’s father” emerged as a place of significance for three reasons. Firstly because the Aunties’ kuia and koroua resided there; secondly because it was from a point on this land that

tūpapaku were transported by waka across Okawa Bay, to the urupā Motutawa and thirdly, because of the Rotoiti Timber Company mill which was located where the Duxton Hotel, formerly Okawa Bay Resort, now stands.

‘The mill’ featured heavily in the conversation. As well as being a primary employer of many of the local men, the mill also supplied whānau with wood for the fires by which water was heated for baths during the winter months and also, for cooking. Aunty Nancy recounted this feature of her childhood in the following way:

In the wintertime the old lady and the old man Ngāwiki and Wītika they used to light a big fire for us outside to heat the water. We would take our big cups and sit around the fire while the water was heating. That’s how we had our bath and we would go down to the river ki te horoi ngā kākahu [to wash the clothes]. But in the summer time well, kei te pai, plenty of water summertime (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005).

In addition, the mill barge having dropped its logs at the Okawa Bay, on its return trip across Lake Rotoiti to either the skids below Matawhaura or at Komuhumu (Gisborne Point), served as a handy means of transport for the locals. In Aunty Nancy’s words, “a, ka hari mai i ngā logs ki te mira, ana kua hoki empty, no logs ana, ka peke mātou ki runga me o mātou koroua, kuia ki te haere ki Te Rotoiti ki te tangihanga”. [The barge brought the logs to the mill and would then return empty. Then we would climb aboard with our kuia and koroua and travel to tangihanga at Rotoiti.]

Further descriptions of everyday life at Mourea during the Aunties’ life times, included washing clothes in the river, using outside toilets and, the use of candles and then kerosene for lighting, in the absence of electricity in homes. While agreeing, “it was a good life”, on reflection the couple both agreed that it seemed “like a hard job now” and for Aunty Nancy, not a life she would like to return to although she did say, and “you could do it again if you had to”.

When asked about the “good life” they had referred to, Merepaea said: “there was something that brought us together in that concept [the good life] that made us all one”. Merepaea pondered the thought further and added:

The younger generations have lost out. There is another way coming in with them, which is not a deep sense of knowing about the strengths, the power of the Holy Spirit and the wairua that we

got, and that was what the old people had. Te wairua tino kaha kei runga i a rātou, hei awahina i a rātou, hei mahi katoa i ngā mahi; tenei wa, kaare rātou [*te hunga, rangatahi*] e mahi, kua ngaro (M. Henry, pers. comm., 2005).

[They [the old people] had great spiritual beliefs, which were present at all times, and in everything they did. In these times amongst the young people, that spirituality is lost].

## **Te whakawhānau tamariki**

### *On childbirth*

*“Ko te pito tonu, ko tērā te hononga ki te wairua”  
the umbilical cord is the spiritual connection (M. Henry, pers. comm., 2005).*

Having broached the subject of the younger generation the conversation then turned to childbirth and traditional practices around this event. As well as having witnessed the birth of children aided by kuia in attendance as midwives, both Merepaea and Aunty Nancy raised six children each; hence they were both well versed in this matter. Aunty Nancy spoke first:

Kite au hoki tērā āhuatanga i a Kere [Kerehitina]. Whakawhānau ana ka noho ia ki runga i te tūrū ana, kei raro te kuia ara, ngā turi. Ka haeremai te tamaiti ra rā, ka taka i runga i ana turi – te tamaiti. Tērā te whakawhānautanga o te wahine i tērā wa. Ko nga turi o te kuia ara, ki waenganui o turi ana kei reira koe e mea ana, ka haeremai te tohu, ara kei te pirangi puta te pēpi, ana ka haeremai, ka taka tonu ki runga i ngā turi o te kuia. Nāna tonu e tapahi te pito o te pēpi (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005).

[I was witness to Kerehitina giving birth. She sat up on a chair and the kuia was below her. The kuia’s knees formed the platform upon which the baby landed when it was born. Another way was for the kuia to place her knees between your knees when you were about to give birth. When the time was right and the baby was about to come, the baby would be born onto the knees of the kuia. The kuia would then cut the babies umbilical cord].

When quizzed as to the instrument with which the pito or umbilical cord was severed, Aunty Nancy responded “he pipi”: the shell of a pipi.

The pito and whenua of newborn babies were taken and buried by the kuia and koroua however; the place of burial remains unknown to both Merepaea and Aunty Nancy. They were resolute that ritual as such, was the sole concern of the kuia and the koroua.

Merepaea stated “kei nga koroua, nga kuia tērā āhuatanga. Ka whānau ano he pēpi ana, ka haerehia anō tērā wāhi”. She continued and added: “kei a rātou te wā – tanuhia ki hea? Ko koe tonu ana e mohio” [They the, old people, were the only ones that knew where that burial place was].

Aunty Nancy affirmed these statements. She said “ko rātou anō e mohio ana; kaore mātou e mōhio i tēnā wā”: [in that time, they [the old people] were the only ones that knew]. The practice of burying the umbilical cord and the after birth of newborn babies was, in the view of both Aunties, he hononga wairua, he hononga tangata, he hononga whenua. That is, the affirmation of a child’s spiritual and physical connectedness to God, to their people and to the land (M. Henry, 2005; N. Mason, 2005, pers. comm.).

In accord with both Merepaea and Aunty Nancy’s thoughts about traditional Māori child birthing practices or iho whenua (Walker, 1990), authors Makareti (1986); Walker (1990); Metge (1995) and M. Mead (2003) assert that returning the the pito or the umbilical cord and whenua of a new born child to the earth, is a symbolic gesture having its origins in the Māori creation story. Hineahuone, the first female, was created by Tane nui a Rangi from Papatuanuku his mother. Tane nui a Rangi took Hineahuone as his wife and, when their first child Hinetitama was born, Tane was instructed by Papatuanuku to return the whenua or the afterbirth and the pito (umbilical cord) of this child, to Papatuanuku – the earth. The act of iho whenua bonded people, both physically and spiritually, to the land at birth; thereby affirming their ownership of and connection to, the land – Papatuanuku and through this connection, their link to ngā atua.

Best (1929) and Buck (1949) affirm the accounts relating to iho whenua given by all the authors mentioned, including those of Merepaea and Nancy.

### **Kua hoki mai nei ki te ukaipō**

*This expression relates to the child that is nurtured in a spiritual and emotional sense as a tangata of that whenua or kainga*

Mentioned within the discussions on iho whenua, was the notion of the disconnection of some of the younger generation [of Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pīkiao] through western (hospital) birthing practices. Aunty Nancy stated “i whānau katoa ki te hohipera. Kaore koe e mōhio atu ai i aha anangia e rātou because kua kore ke hoki rātou i whakamohio mai” [all our births were at the hospital and you did not know what they [the doctors and nurses] did, because you were not told].

The hospital's practice of burning the placenta and umbilical cords of newborn babies is discussed as follows by Taare Tikao (1990) who states:

When a child is born to a Pākehā, the doctor or nurse burns the afterbirth, the Māori did not do this; it would be against the mana of that child, it would destroy the child's mauri. Burning the whenua of a child born alive, was destroying its mana, the mauri of the living child would be gone. Therefore the whenua was never burnt, but buried in the whenua [land] and so the child's mana and mauri were preserved (Tikao, T., 1990, p. 95).

Tikao's (1990) views support Merepaea and Aunty Nancy's thinking. The practice of iho whenua represents he hononga wairua, he hononga tangata, he hononga whenua. The discontinuance of the practice (as per Tikao's example) raises questions around the 'disconnection' and/or alienation of those of our people for whom the tradition did not occur. While warranted, an examination of this notion is beyond the scope of this research. Presenting the question however, opens a space in which further dialogue may occur.

### **Ka pū te ruha ka hāo te rangatahi**

*The old net is cast aside, the new net goes fishing*

*Me whakaatu ki ngā mokopuna kia mōhio ai.*

*Show the mokopuna so that they know (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005)*

Within the context of the tikanga Māori birthing practices that were discussed in the previous section, the restoration of the tikanga of iho whenua by some of the younger generation of the Aunties' children and grandchildren was also raised. There was a general acknowledgment that reclamation and restoration of tikanga Māori in this instance, by taking possession of the whenua of our newborn babies, is positive. Exercising our rights in this way and then taking and returning the pito and whenua of our babies to the land is an encouraging development that both Merepaea and Aunty Nancy supported. They cautioned however, that reclamation and implementation of tikanga Māori practices required adherence to correct procedures; they stressed the need to teach and properly guide the successive generations of children.

The improper implementation of tikanga Māori and the need to exercise caution, especially in the practice of iho whenua, was encapsulated within Merepaea's comment: "te wāhi i moe ai – ka haere au ana i roto i te paake mō ngā kai kē, e noho mai ana taua mea. Aue taku aroha! Ana, ka tango, ana, ka nehungia" [at the place where I sleep, I went to the freezer a place reserved for food; and inside was a placenta. I was greatly affected by this discovery. I took it [the placenta] and buried it].

When asked to explain the effect that this incident had on her, Merepaea said "he mea tapū i ngā wā o ngā kuia; it's is a very very special thing". She would not speak of any possible consequence of transgressing tikanga in the manner as expressed within her story, but instead she stressed the inappropriateness of thinking, or speaking, of any consequence saying instead, "he hopuhopu; kaua e hopuhopu. Kaore au e whakaaro mō tēnā. Ka tango ana, ka nehungia, ka mutu" [I did not think of any consequence for to do so, is to invite consequence. I took it and buried it and it was done and the matter settled].

Based on the occurrence as described by Merepaea, it is evident that while some of the younger generations of Māori are choosing to follow traditional Māori child birthing practices, there is a knowledge gap which must be bridged in order to avoid possible breach and therefore transgression of tikanga. That is, we need to know and fully understand the meaning and significance of the tikanga or the methods in which we engage, prior to engagement.

### **Cultural continuity**

Exposed by way of this storying project, has been the extensive tikanga Māori knowledge and practice base of our old people. Through dialogue, their guidance and counsel on matters of tikanga can assist to fill the knowledge gaps around tikanga Māori for the younger generation/s thereby assisting the process of Māori cultural continuity.

Having been raised by 'the old people' Aunty Nancy spoke of the differences in upbringing and the western schooling system as impacting on the loss of tikanga Māori

experienced by her children. As one means to counter this loss, she said she has been talking to them “about home, the old life, what we used to do and how close you are to this one and that one [whakapapa]”; She went on to say:

I think it is too modern for them now. They don't know it from the start. I think if they were to know it from like when we were little, like us now, they'll understand.

The differences in the upbringing of Aunty Nancy's generation and her children's generation were reinforced by Merepaea. Merepaea maintained that the main point of difference in the upbringing of the two generations was that of the omnipresent taha wairua in which the old people who bore, raised and nurtured both herself and Aunty Nancy, were steeped. Repeating herself and once again emphasising the loss of spirituality amongst the younger generations, Merepaea said “te wairua tino kaha kei runga i a rātou, hei awhina i a rātou hei mahi katoa i nga mahi. Tēnei wā, kua ngaro” [They [the old people] had great spiritual beliefs, which were present at all times, and in everything they did. In these times, that spirituality is lost].

Karakia was an integral component of all aspects of life during the times of our kuia and koroua and, in Nancy and Merepaea's view, the wairua or spiritual deficit of the current generation coupled with, in most cases, a limited knowledge of tikanga, has lead to a weakened sense of connection to one's marae. An example of this 'weakened sense of connection' was provided by Aunty Nancy who said:

Ki te tūpāpaku ka mate mai ana, ka moe mai i tētahi tāne nō Iwi – hapū kē, me karanga anō tētahi o o pā, kua pirangi te tāne, te wahine rānei, me whakahoki ki tērā pā. Ka pehea hoki taku tūrangawaewae? A rātou taima, i a rātou, ka huri, kaare e waihongia te pā; ka huri a, ko Te Takinga kei reira tāhuri koe ma te taone, ka hoki mai ana ka hari mai ki tēnei pā. Kaore koe e paahi tō pā, tō tūrangawaewae. Koira a rātou mahi ana, ki roto i a mātou, oh well, e tika tonu ana. Inaianei, warewarengia wērā mea (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005).

[If a person who has married outside of their own hapū or Iwi should die and then be taken at the request of their husband or wife to the husband or wife's marae while bypassing their own, then that which is forsaken, is their turangawaewae, their own marae. In the times of the old people it was right and proper that the deceased did not bypass their tūrangawaewae, their own marae. Today these things are forgotten]

In tandem with the stories gathered for this research project, statements such as this one form an integral component of the intergenerational knowledge transfer required in order

to assure Māori cultural continuity; a process for which Merepaea and Aunty Nancy are strong advocates, as evidenced through their korero:

Ko ngā kōrero o mua, ka hari mai ki mua ki ngā mokopuna kaore anō i rongo ki ērā kōrero. E rite ki ta mātou ngā kaumātua. Mō ngā mokopuna kua pakeke ana. Ka whakaatuhia ki a rātou, he whēnei, he whēnei, he whēnei”. (M. Henry, pers. comm., 2005)

[It is time for us to bring forward the teachings of the old people of our times. The time for these teachings to be used to show the older children amongst our mokopuna how things were, and can still be, done in accordance with tikanga Māori as taught to us].

Ae, he tika tēnā, me whakaatu ki ngā mokopuna kia mōhio ai. (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005)  
[yes that is correct. Show the mokopuna so that they know].

Hīreme’s (2005) views in relation to this same issue, gives credence and support to the words of our kuia. Hīreme states:

Disturbingly, our Iwi communities are telling us that the rate with which the transfer of this knowledge and skills is able to take place, is becoming increasingly more laboured. Our old people tell us they want to pass on this knowledge. Our young people, both local and away, are telling us they want to learn. But somehow it is not happening fast enough. And so increasingly more and more of our old people are taking their knowledge and skills with them (Hīreme, H., 2005).

While kuia such as Merepaea and Aunty Nancy are actively engaged in Māori cultural continuance by virtue of the active roles they uphold at Te Takinga marae, Hīreme’s (2005) words are a reminder of the depth of gratitude owed not only to these two kuia, but as well, to those of our people who have stepped outside of convention and taken the time to sit, to talk, to be recorded and to be part of this stories project.

## **He tamaiti tohu**

*Children whose roles are predestined*

*“He tamariki tohu; kua tohia ia ki tēnā āhuetanga kei te haeremai te wā, ana ki a rātou – kua tohutohutia” (M. Henry, pers. comm., 2005).*

*Some children are chosen for certain things and the when the time is right those who are chosen emerge to take up the role as was predestined for them.*

The notion of the “tamaiti tohu” (M. Henry, pers. comm., 2005) was referred to by Merepaea and alluded to also, by Aunty Nancy. At first, Aunty Nancy approached the subject in a roundabout fashion referring simply, to those “who want to listen” and others

who think “oh who wants to know about that?” (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005). After further ponderings however, Aunty Nancy went on to say:

Ko te tamaiti tohu ko ia pea te mea ka whakaaro ki tana tūrangawaewae, ae. Ko ētahi, kao. Kaare mau i a rātou” (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005): [perhaps those children with predestined roles are those who have thoughts for, or embrace, their tūrangawaewae. Some children do, some do not].

In speaking about her children Merepaea maintained that they had a depth of spirit and a certain insight detectable by the discerning. In Merepaea’s words, “te tohu o te wairua kei roto i a rātou, [ōna tamariki] ka titiro koe i a rātou, ngā kanohi titiro tonu atu ki a koe, hōhonu tonu a rātou titiro” (M. Henry, pers. comm., 2005). Merepaea spoke of her children as being staunch supporters of the marae through their work “ki muri” or, at the back in the kitchen. “Tēnā tō rātou mahi” that is their work, she said.

As the whakatauki ‘ka pai ki muri, ka pai ki mua’ [when all is well at the back it follows that all be well at the front] implies, the roles of those who work “ki muri” or at the back of the marae, are integral to the overall life and workings of the same. Service to one’s Iwi in the manner as described by Merepaea with relation to her children is the Henry whānau’s means by which to contribute to the upkeep of the ahi kaa. By providing the ‘hands and feet’ (Temara, 2005) that maintain the marae, they are part of the maintenance of the fire. Accordingly, the mana whenua of their whānau is upheld and their rights to participate in decisions are respected (Temara, 2005).

### **Tūrangawaewae**

*“Ko tō wāhi, ko tō whenua” (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005)*  
*Your place, your land ...*

The land, the marae and the men formed the basis of Aunty Nancy’s thinking around tūrangawaewae. Her words were: “tō whenua, tō pā me ngā tāne, koina ōku tūrangawaewae. Ki mai koe te pā, ka tū mai i roto i te pā, nōku hoki te pā, nōu te pā; he tūrangawaewae tēnā nō tātou.(N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005): [the land, the marae and the men they are my tūrangawaewae. The marae is mine, the marae is yours and it is a place for us all to stand].

Likewise in the case of Merepaea, although having strong links to Tūhoe “tētahi wāhi ōku, no Tuhoe; ko Tuhoe hōhonu tonu”: [a part of me belongs to Tuhoe, I have strong affiliations there] it was without reservation that she identified Te Takinga – Ngati Pikiao as her tūrangawaewae. Merepaea stated:

Ki ahau, ko tēnei kē taku tūrangawaewae i te mea, i tupu mai ahau mai rā anō ; i te timatatanga. Kaore rawa i nuku atu i konei. Engari, mōhio ahau, nō Tuhoe ahau. Ritenga hoki ngā marae i reira engari kaore au i poipoihia mai i runga. Ki ahau, ko tēnei tōku tūrangawaewae. Ko tērā te whakamārama ki ahau mō tērā āhuatanga (M. Henry, pers. comm., 2005).

[To me, this [Mourea, Te Takinga] is my tūrangawaewae. It was here that I was born and here that I grew up; I have never left this place. Although I know that I am also from Tuhoe, and that I have marae there, I was not raised and nurtured there. Te Takinga is my tūrangawaewae].

The question of whether Ngati Te Takinga affiliates who grew up outside of the Ngati Te Takinga boundaries could claim tūrangawaewae status was responded to by Aunty Nancy, in the following vein:

Kei a rātou tēnā whakaaro. Kaore tāua e taea te ki. Kei a rātou katoa o rātou whakaaro. Ina ka haramai ki konei, kei a rātou” (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005) [That decision is not ours to make. It is up to those people; should they come to Te Takinga, then that is their personal choice. It is not for us to say].

Aunty Nancy’s words of providence “ka tū mai i roto i te pā, nō ku hoki te pā, nōu te pā; he tūrangawaewae tēnā nō tātou” [the marae is mine, the marae is yours and it is a place for us all to stand] are timely. Spoken at a time when the importance of Māori cultural values is increasing among younger Māori people (New Zealand Press Association, 2007) her words help to instill confidence in those people who may seek to reconnect with their marae and people. In saying this however, it is important to remember that laying claim to our marae as our ‘tūrangawaewae’ requires us to embrace the obligations that support the upkeep and maintenance of marae and the ahi kaa, wherever and whenever possible.

### **He pātai noa**

*Some questions go unanswered*

This project is about stories of home and meanings associated with home, belongingness and Māori identity. Whilst the stories gathered will form an historical repository as a reference point for our people, the hope is also, to create a point of connection for those

globally dispersed Ngati Te Takinga people who may be in search of pathways home; hence the focus on tikanga Māori that relate specifically to the themes home, belongingness and identity.

To this end, Merepaea and Aunty Nancy were asked to describe their understanding of the terms ūkaipō and ahi kaa. In response to this question, they both agreed mā te tāne tērā kōrero: that such things are discussed by men only although there was a suggestion that perhaps, the ahi kaa constituted the “kaumātua and koroua of the marae” (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005). Neither kuia spoke about the marae, saying that in their time, they were not privy to the discussions of the old people. As children they were sent outside to play “haere ki waho, kua e haere mai, kua e omaoma haere; tērā ngā mahi ki a mātou” (M. Henry, pers. comm., 2005) and as adults, they worked at the back “kei muri koe e mahi ana” (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005). These elements aside however, on women’s matters for example karanga and wharenuī etiquette, both women were well versed.

**He kōrero mā te karanga**  
*Some thoughts on karanga*

Having been taught to karanga by three kuia including a well known (now deceased) Te Takinga elder Rangiwahaea, Merepaea expressed concern about the practices of some present day kai-karanga. Her first concern was the way in which some women were prolonging their karanga beyond the point of entry into the wharenuī. Merepaea’s teachings stipulated that the karanga should always finish outside and not inside the wharenuī. By way of explanation Merepaea stated that to take the karanga inside the wharenuī is to diminish the mana of the kai-karanga of the marae. Within Ngati Te Takinga - Ngati Pikiāo, karanga is not practiced inside the wharenuī.

Further, as with the process of whaikōrero, the process of karanga is such that the mauri of the tangata whenua is passed over to the manuhiri (visitors) and then returned by way of the tangata whenua having the last call. If the kai-karanga manuhiri continues to call beyond the point of entry into the wharenuī, then the kai-karanga tangata whenua, who is

bound by kawa, cannot retract the mauri given over; therefore, the mana of the kai-karanga is diminished through the loss of the mauri.

Merepaea's second concern was the depth of words used by some kai-karanga, and the overall length of their karanga; to this end she said "ētahi wā ka tino roa te paipa o te wahine karanga. Kaore e whakapotopoto; kua karanga aaaaau, ka aroha". This same concern is reiterated by a number of our kuia. The basis of the argument is that essentially, a karanga is not a whaikōrero and should not therefore, be structured and or executed as such.

In accordance with the way in which Merepaea was taught to karanga she had the following to say about the construction and practice of karanga at tangihanga:

Titiro atu ana ahau, ko te mea kupu timatanga e kōrero ana koe te tiraha mai te tūpāpaku kei te haria mai; ko to mea tuatahi, kōrero ana ki a ia, ki tana wairua kia haramai. A, karanga atu ana ki ngā māta waka, tana whānau ka taea. Ko te mea tuarua, ka haramai ana tētahi anō ka haria mai tō mea (M. Henry, pers. comm., 2005).

[I will look first; my first words will be to the wairua of the deceased that is coming. I will greet the whānau pani [bereaved family] as well and then others from all the waka who might be present. Secondly, if there are others who may not have been encompassed within the first greeting, I will call to them]

As evidenced through this description, the fundamental purpose of karanga is three-fold; firstly, the karanga serves to invoke the dead; secondly it is used to initiate contact between the home people and the visitors - ngā māta waka. The karanga identifies and establishes links, connections and relationships with the manuhiri and their place of origin (i.e. who are they are where are they from). Thirdly, the karanga is used to announce, reiterate and confirm the kaupapa of the hui (M. Henry, pers. comm., 2005; Salmon, 1975). The karanga acts as a preliminary welcome to guests however, the whaikōrero is the appropriate forum in which the formal and more in depth welcoming of guests should occur; hence Merepaea's adversity to karanga being extended to replicate whaikōrero. In effect, such practice contravenes the role of the men (Walker, R. 1990; M. Henry; T. Morehu, pers. comm., 2005).

The purposes of karanga as described above are not necessarily written in a prescribed sequence. The sequence of a karanga will vary based on the nature or the purpose of the gathering in which it is used. As well, the tikanga that underpins karanga and the ways in which karanga may be executed, will vary according to the tikanga of individual Iwi.

### **He kaitiaki**

#### *Aunty Nancy's role*

In the words of Aunty Nancy, her role in the operations of the marae is to care for the deceased; “ko tāku, kei te taha o ngā tūpāpaku” (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005). It is a role that she was encouraged into by her husband Te Ipu when she finished work at the Rotorua Hospital. Ipu suggested that she watch the other women in order to learn so she would be able to undertake the role. A significant feature of her learning was being told:

Kaua e whenakangia ngā kākahu; ka mahi koe i ngā kākahu, haere ki runga i o waewae, i runga i ōu turi. Kaua e tū ki runga rānei, ka tūpou ki te mahi, me haere koe mā runga i ōu turi mahingia e koe o kākahu. Kaua koe mea te kākahu ki raro, meatia ko te mea kōrunga, koiraka hoki te wāhi hunangia e ngā wahine; ko o rātou ū, meatia ki reira (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005).

[When you are laying the cloaks you must go about your work on your knees. Do not stand or bend over, you must always proceed on your knees. As well, when laying the kākahu on a women's body begin at the top because that is the part of her body which is always concealed; her breasts. Do not begin by first covering her feet.]

At this point Merepaea suggested “koina ngā mea hei whakaako ki ngā tamariki” to which Aunty Nancy responded by saying that she has “begun to teach the younger ones” and then added, “he taima anō konei” – the time is coming. By taking the initiative to “teach the younger ones”, Aunty Nancy plays a crucial role in the intergenerational knowledge transfer that will ensure Māori cultural continuity. As well, she is opening the door that enables our people to be the hands and the feet of the marae that Temara (2005) makes reference to and, therefore, to contribute to the maintenance of the ahi kaa. What follows naturally from this process, is a sense of security in our rights of place or tūrangawaewae; our place to stand.

In closing, I return to the Aunty Nancy's words of providence “ka tū mai i roto i te pā, nō ku hoki te pā, nōu te pā; he tūrangawaewae tēnā nō tātou” (when we stand inside the marae; the marae is mine, the marae is yours and it is a place for us all to stand). By way

of these stories these words forever remain; a call of welcome, an affirmation of place and for some, an endorsement of our connection, our identity, our place of belonging; a place to call home.

### **Epilogue and conclusion**

*There were many more visits to the homes of Aunty Nancy and Merepaea during the time in which this story was written; many more cups of tea and copious discussion. During this time our relationship grew from researcher-participant; to kuia-kotiro/niece; to teacher-pupil until finally, we became friends. I owe a debt of gratitude to both Merepaea and Aunty Nancy, two new, but 'old', heart-held friends. I am indebted to Merepaea for sharing what was to be her 'space', her story, with her close friend, and cousin, Paremiria Nancy. They were a great team to write with, and for, and the fruit of their labour, this story, is priceless. Sadly, Merepaea Henry passed away not long after the story was finished. Her participation in the Te Takinga stories project was therefore timely. Although but a momentary glimpse into her life and the wealth of traditional knowledge she held, this small but precious gift which is Merepaea's story, remains. E kui Merepaea, te kuru pounamu o te Iwi, moe mai ra koe i tō moengaroa. E kore mātou e wareware.*

## Chapter Six

### Ngā reo o te kainga: Voices from home

*Te mana whenua ki Rotorua – Ngāhuia Walker*

*Well, I was born and grew up, way up the top at Taupiri. We had a wharekāponga with a dirt floor; they [my parents] had manuka, all raupo over the floor. We [the children] enjoyed running up and down the hill and then we walked down from there, down to Waiwaha roadway - Kahumatamoemoe is over there. We used to come down and we would get on the wagon and we go to school. We were the little ones; all the big ones like Pare and Wiremu Tei, they walked. Only us on the wagon and Tahu Paul, Tahu Paul drove the wagon. Ae, and Rota Taiatini and Tiakiawa. Ahhh, we had a great time (N. Walker, pers. comm., 2005).*

While advised by the elders of Ngati Te Takinga, Ngati Pikiāo that Ngāhuia Walker's participation in this research project was essential, securing an interview with her was not an easy feat. Born on 9 July 1919, Ngāhuia, the oldest kuia Mōrehu (surviving kuia) of Ngati Pikiāo to be interviewed for this stories project, leads an active busy life that sees her regularly engaged in community - social activities locally, nationally and internationally; consequently she is constantly on the move and often away from her home.

As fortune would have it, our paths conveniently crossed at a hui at Te Takinga Marae in August 2005; it was through this meeting that an interview with her was planned. Three phone calls later and finally, a time and date was set.

#### **Te hui tuatahi**

*The first meeting*

Situated on the gentle hill slopes stretching upward to the peak of Mount Ngongotahā, is Ngāhuia's Western Heights Rotorua home. It was a pleasant surprise to discover that in preparation for the interview, Ngāhuia had arranged a significant display of photographs and memorabilia that spanned the latter years of her life. Earlier photographs, she explained, had been burnt in a house fire "in Kara and Potaua's house down Mourea".

Kara and Potaua Walker were Ngāhuia's mother and father in law. Ngāhuia was born Ngāhuia Tahuriorangi.

As well as photos of her extensive whānau who are now located throughout New Zealand and in Australia, Ngāhuia's collection included photographs, postcards and various curios from her Māori Battalion tour of Egypt and Italy in 2003. Her brother Rāhoroi, a member of the Battalion B Company, lies in a war cemetery in Cairo Egypt, having died there during World War Two. In recounting this trip Ngāhuia showed pictures and spoke about the visit to the urupā and to her brother's grave, the people she met, the places they visited and the many exciting experiences she had while touring overseas. It was apparent that for Ngāhuia, the Egypt – Italy Māori Battalion tour was of great significance; attested to not only through the care she had taken in storing and maintaining her collection but also, by way of her animated conversation on the topic.

Following this introduction, Ngāhuia ensured we were both comfortably seated around the makeshift table in the garage and she then began her story in earnest.

### **Te ao tawhito**

#### *The world of old*

Ngāhuia was born at Taupiri, a fortified pā situated above Pārua marae on the ridge between and east of Te Uenga and Ngaukawakawa. Originally occupied by the Tuhourangi people, Taupiri pā became the home of Pārua, son of the illustrious Pikiao ancestor Te Takinga, after the defeat of its original occupants Tuhourangi, at the hands of Te Takinga (Stafford, 1995).

Ngāhuia relayed vivid and happy recollections of her early childhood years spent with her mother Hinehaka and her father Te Kaiatea Tahuriorangi, in the wharekaponga "way up the top at Taupiri". Talking from her suburban home to which she reluctantly moved after leaving Mourea in 1965, Ngāhuia spoke of her birth at Taupiri and then her subsequent upbringing at Kahukatamoemoe, opposite Pārua marae, Hamurana Road, Mourea.

It was during this period of Ngāhuia's life that her mother Hinehaka died. As a result, she was taken by her mother's parents Wharehera and Ipo and raised for a time in Manoeka, Te Puke. Ngāhuia's main memory of her kuia Ipo, recalls her as being a "lovely old lady" whose forte was preserving fruit from her many fruit trees that grew along the river at Manoeka. Ngāhuia maintained that she would "never forget this old kuia" because of the simple and uncomplicated way in which she lived. Returning to Mourea at age "nine or ten" following the death of her Te Puke tūpuna, Ngāhuia then went to live in Ruātoki with her father's brother, Ropere Tahuiriorangi. At the time Ropere, being the minister for the areas of Mourea and Tauranga, was also Wharehera and Ipo's minister; Ngāhuia therefore, had established relationships with Ropere by several means.

Ngāhuia recalled how in the early 1900's, there were numerous Ngati Te Takinga elders who had become Church Ministers. The Ministers were regionally based and relocated every five years. In Ngāhuia's words, "Ropere went to Ruatoki and he did all Ruatoki and Opotiki and Te Māruarua also a Minister from Mourea, went to Taupo". All the kuia and koroua interviewed for this project had distinct and vivid memories of Ropere, Te Maruarua and other Te Arawa ministers of the time, for example Pātoto Fraser, in their capacity as ministers. According to Ngāhuia the ministers maintained close associations with their communities and went regularly to "have karakia at the people's homes" (N. Walker, pers. comm., 2005). Mnemonic devices, the Ministers' modes of transport – a horse and buggy in the case of Te Māruarua; and a moped (a motorised push bike) for Pātoto were frequently referred to by the interviewees from Ngāhuia's era.

Although long deceased, the Christian influence that people such as Ropere and Te Māruarua communed through their work amongst the people of Mourea is still evidenced. Christian karakia form the basis of all services held on Te Takinga marae and work continues on the restoration of Mourea's currently idle, St Mary's Church; the former bastion of Mourea ministers such as Ropere and Te Māruarua.

Living in Ruātoki with Ropere, meant that Ngāhuia was immersed in te reo Māori. Consequently, on her return to Mourea and to Whangamarino School, she was unable to converse in Pākehā and so she “always got the strap for speaking Māori all the time”. “That was us,” she said, “always getting the strap. I kept talking Māori on the playground and they think I’m swearing and my uncle was gonna walk to the school to beat up the teacher!” Simon and Smith’s (2001) in-depth study of the New Zealand Native Schools system confirms Ngāhuia’s experience of being punished for speaking Māori at school, providing many such attestations from others who attended Native Schools in the same era as Ngāhuia.

The punishment metered out at the Native Schools to Ngāhuia and other children who spoke Māori, was one means by which the Native Schools policy of ‘Europeanising’ Māori was implemented. According to Smith and Simon (2001) this process included the replacing of te reo Māori with English as the primary language of communication. The process was in keeping with the 1880 Native Schools Code which indicated that a Native School would be transferred to the Public Schools system as soon as all the children in it had made ‘sufficient progress in English to enable them to work ‘for the standards of education with advantage’ (Simon, J. & Smith, L. 2001, p. 157).

Thoughts of being punished for talking in Māori at school aside Ngāhuia, speaking somewhat nostalgically about life in Mourea, recalled offhandedly the buggy that “Te Māruarua te minita used to go on” and then continued by saying “great those days, great days”. To elaborate this description of her early days Ngāhuia said:

They were a bit hard but they were great. I mean hard working people, you know. Each one got two or three bags of potatoes and whoever got horses and plough oh well, they plough all the potatoes for all the Mourea crowd. And for the other side [of the Ohau channel], they all go as one up to Pūkahukiwi, up to Waerenga [to work the communal gardens] and where the league club is now [below Rangiwhakakapua] there used to be a whole lot of potatoes there.

### **Te parau riwai**

#### *Ploughing potatoes*

As is reflected within the stories told by the other Ngati Te Takinga kuia and koroua for this project, Ngāhuia’s depiction of Mourea ‘in those days’ as being ‘great’, is embedded

in the sense of oneness among the whānau-community that existed at the time. The interdependent nature of the relationships fostered through the communal nature of daily living, is exemplified within Ngāhūia's statement "he tino kino mō te mahi kai [people were adept at growing food] whoever got horses and plough, oh well, they plough all the potatoes for the Mourea crowd; and for the other side, they all go as one. Up Pūkahuikiwi, up to Waerenga..." being the communal gardening areas of Ngāti Te Tākinga – Ngāti Pārua and other associated whānau.

The sense of oneness of whānau-community, which was fostered and reinforced through the communal gardening efforts of the Mourea people of the time, is reiterated also through the story telling of the Tuhoe - Waimana elder Hohepa Kereopa, in Paul Moon's (2005) study of Māori plants, gardening and food. Kereopa maintained:

In the old days you would get someone from across the road to come and help and they would bring some others too. And then, when it was time for their garden to be dug, you would go across the road, or wherever they were, and help them. (Kereopa, H. cited in Moon, P. 2005, p. 22)

According to Ngāhūia the demise of the 'old ways' including communal gardening, was a precursor to a decline in the Mourea community. In explanation Ngāhūia made reference to the negative impact of urbanisation and ensuing individualism on traditional life. Her words were:

The old man used to take the tractor and the plough up to Waerenga – Pūkahuikiwi. That finished long ago now. I think we were the last ones – my old man used to go and do the ploughing. Everybody was in it. You know, if you got a bag of spuds to plant. It stopped when we moved to town. Those days it was great; now, well you know, you stop growing things and you buy it from the shop or everybody just has their own garden, grows a few spuds for themselves you know. Not like before.

Kereopa (2005) concurs with Ngāhūia's view also connecting the demise of tribal communal gardening to the decline of community. Referring specifically to the community of Waimana, Kereopa (2005) links factors such as the loss of interest in gardening as food became more readily available at shops and the increase in the size of farms as direct causes of this decline. In explanation, Kereopa states:

Fewer and fewer of our people were interested [in gardening meetings]. That was around the same time that all the farms in the area got bigger and a lot of our men were working on farms and clearing bush all the time. Some of them went to other parts and would come back home just once

a week, so, there was no one to do the gardening except the women, and if they had lots of kids, well then, they didn't have the time to do all that work in the garden. And so, the culture of Māori changed.

Also, the gardening went into decline around that time because it was easier for the people to go to the shops – and all the food they needed was there (Kereopa, H. cited in Moon, P. 2005, p. 27).

Through these stories, land holdings such as Pūkahukiwi and Waerenga, due to their prior existence as communal cultivation grounds have emerged as a highly significant means by which the special sense of whānau – community that was felt by Ngāhuia and those of her time, was engendered and maintained. The following section will explore the subsequent changes to land use that occurred with the introduction of a money economy, the principles that underpinned these changes and their subsequent impact on Ngati Te Takinga.

### **A double edged sword**

#### *Pūkahukiwi: From communal gardens to dairy farm*

In prior times Pūkahukiwi and Waerenga were, as Ngāhuia affirms, used as communal cultivation lands. Situated near Whangamarino, Pūkahukiwi extends from the lake edge to the high lands in the west (Stafford, D. 1996). Pūkahukiwi's current existence as a lucrative hapū Trust Board managed dairy farm, has its origins in part, to the Apirana Ngata 1929 – 30's New Zealand Government Māori land development scheme (White, 1994; L. Tamati, pers. comm., 2005).

Through this scheme Apirana Ngata, who the Minister of Native Affairs at the time, was authorised to advance money 'for the better settlement and more effective utilisation of Māori land and the better encouragement of Natives in the promotion of agricultural pursuits and efforts of industry and self-help' (Ngata, op.cit., p.12, cited in Walker, R. 2001, p. 235). Prior to this act and its subsequent developments, Government advances on Māori Land were inaccessible by Māori on the basis that communal ownership of land deemed Māori ineligible for such advances (Walker, 1990). Communal ownership of land was (and continues to be) viewed as both 'a feature and a hindrance to the effective development of Māori land' (White, T. 1994, p. 4).

Ngata's scheme involved two measures. Firstly, the creation of an incorporation of owners that acted through a committee of management under the guardianship of the Department of Māori Affairs and secondly, the consolidation of the interests of individuals or families by virtue of their whakapapa, into new consolidated land holdings. Pūkahukiwi is derived from what was known then, as the Okere consolidation scheme (White, 1994).

Interestingly, the rationale for Ngata's scheme advocates financial support and encouragement to Māori people for human traits that, as evidenced through out these stories, were common place amongst the people of Ngati Te Takinga in the days prior to the establishment of the large scale land incorporations, introduced with Ngata's Māori land development scheme in November 1929 (Walker, 2001). Whilst in Ngāhuia's time Pūkahukiwi's dividend was paid in potatoes, today the dividends the land owners receive are primarily in dollars. What is lost perhaps in the transition and ensuing transaction, is the tradition associated with the communal gardening practices of old. Kereopa (2005) explains:

When the whole community used to garden, we would all be talking and things like whakapapa would come out. And I think that in a way, we have lost the art of Whakapapa because we don't do all those things that were associated with whakapapa – like gardening. So for example when we called out someone's name in the garden to get us something, then one of the old people might make a comment about the ancestor that person was named after, and so we would learn something about our whakapapa from that. When we were all helping our neighbour's in their gardens then that was the same as helping ourselves. And that is what whakapapa is all about (Kereopa, H. cited in Moon, P. 2005, p. 33).

Extending his explanation of the 'gardening tradition' Kereopa states that:

The key to making all this [gardening] work was the love the people had for their potatoes, for their food, for their environment, for everything. There was aroha in the community because we were all kin. And that's the feeling these people had for gardening because the earth was their kin, the potato was their kin, and that was where their survival was. The air was their kin, and the sunshine was their kin, and that is what is meant by aroha (Kereopa, H. cited in Moon, P. 2005, p. 27).

Kereopa's words reveal the cultural losses to a community, as sustained through contemporary methods of land 'development' within the money economy spoken of previously. These losses include, physical disconnection from the land and the surrounding environment, the breakdown in community communication networks and

diminished intergenerational teaching and learning methods and social systems, unique to the Ngati Te Takinga people ‘in those days’.

Concurring with Kereopa’s thinking, Te Runanga o Ngati Pikiāo General Manager Laurence Tamati (pers. comm., 2006). in referring to the time prior to Ngata’s land development scheme said:

Before, all sections of the land such as Pūkahukiwi and Waerenga were under one title. The land was a hapū-Iwi collectively owned taonga. The colonial system took away our traditional way of being and knowing. In prior times, the land belonged to all of us. Ngata’s scheme effectively fragmented the community because it preempted a system whereby legal title and ownership of the land was granted to certain families by virtue of whakapapa. As a result, an elite group of landowners has emerged. While from a business development perspective this conversion of land title is good, the consequence has been to fragment the community because some of our people are alienated from the land. They have lost the right to what was, in traditional times, their land. Yes today the dividend people receive is paid in dollars but what is the true price of \$100.00 and half a mutton? (L. Tamati, pers. comm., 2006).

### **Te Runanga nui o Te Arawa**

#### *The Te Arawa Māori Trust Board*

The colonial process of individualising Māori land title was assisted by the Te Arawa Māori Trust Board. Established with the assistance of Apirana Ngata (Walker, 2001), the Trust Board’s attempts to facilitate successful financial transactions with the Government on behalf of the Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikiāo people, is evidenced within the Board’s 1925 report from its inaugural meeting. Although not naming them, the report makes implicit reference to the Pūkahukiwi and Waerenga land blocks. The report reads:

Love of home – that is of the settlement or kainga – is a powerful sentiment with the Māori. The Board believes in fostering this sentiment, because it is based on a deep-seated tribal pride, which under proper guidance will become the propelling agency to attain success despite difficulties. [There are] about 1500 acres of what is now waste country near Mourea and Okere Falls [that] could support quite a number of families if financial assistance were forthcoming. This is beyond the power of the Arawa Trust Board, but if the necessary money could be advanced by the Native Trustee, the board is willing to undertake supervision of the expenditure and the task of making the titles so that the securities may be acceptable (cited in Walker, R. 2001, p. 211).

A double-edged sword, the outcomes of this report and the subsequent developments that followed in the years after, has had both positive and negative effects for Ngati Te Takinga descendants. At the time that it was written, the report added impetus to Ngata’s push for the 1929 Māori land Development Scheme. Subsequently the land between

Mourea and Okere was consolidated and the new ‘owners’ gained access to Government loans. In the case of Pūkahukiwi the seventy-three whānau – owners (White, 1994) were enabled to re-develop their land which, according to White’s report, had fallen into a state of disuse.

For Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pīkiao, the experience of the incorporation and consolidation of land holdings has, as Laurence Tamati (pers. comm., 2006) attests to, lead to the fragmentation of the community. Vesting land title in the exclusive ownership of certain families has alienated some Ngati Te Takinga descendants from the land to which they belonged prior to the introduction of the colonial system of land ownership. (L. Tamati, pers. comm., 2006). In an article in the 1957 18<sup>th</sup> edition of the Māori news magazine ‘Te Ao Hou’, Eric Schwimmer encapsulates the thinking behind this process of ‘consolidation’. Having interviewed Ngati Pīkiao Kaumātua Reiwhati Vercoe, Schwimmer (1957) reported:

One of the things Major Vercoe has learnt is the wisdom of splitting up incorporations into areas belonging as much as possible to one family group. Often a block of Māori land contains several thousand acres and has a very complex ownership. It is easier in practice to manage such a block simply and harmoniously and far better results are obtained if ownership is confined to immediate relatives and the ultimate ideal around Lake Rotoiti is to have areas of about 400-500 acres settled by the nominee of one family, as an individual settler. This is not so easy to achieve but is an ideal worth working for.

According to White (1994) ‘individual blocks [of land] were divided out’ and distinct ‘family’ ownership of land became recognised through ‘consultation and agreement between beneficiaries’ and ‘key ancestral relationships’ (White, T. 1994, p. 5).

Schwimmer (1957) recalls the division of the land blocks in the following way:

The incorporations formed in 1953 were very different from the one which started development thirty years ago. Whereas in those days there was one incorporation for all the people, now there are five: Taheke, Pūkahukiwi, Okere, Waerenga and Te Karaka. Instead of communal enterprises, these farms are now entirely run on business lines, earning profits for the owners (Schwimmer, 1957).

The ‘great those old days’ memories held and articulated by Ngāhuia Walker throughout her story telling, are derived from the time when the people belonged to the land and not vice versa. Ngāhuia was ten years old when Ngata’s scheme was introduced. A kuia morehū, Ngāhuia has first hand experience of the direct social and economic impacts

resulting from the change of land ownership and land use, from communal to corporate. With relation to her own whānau and their decision to ‘incorporate’ the lands they formally occupied, she said:

We went with the incorporation because of the rates. Some of the whānau have tried to come home and live there but it’s the rates. The money.

In 2006 Ngāhuia’s whānau and Ngati Te Takinga as a whole, experience the social impact of the 1930’s – 60’s New Zealand Government Māori land schemes in two ways; through alienation from land and also, by way of the fragmentation of the community. While as Laurence Tamati (pers. comm., 2006) states, “from a business perspective the changes to land ‘ownership’, was good” the true cost of the “\$100.00 and a half a mutton dividend” paid annually to the shareholders of Pūkahukiwi is exposed through the telling of the stories of our kuia Ngāhuia.

In retrospect, the historical decisions and actions of our tūpuna must be considered within the context of the events and circumstances of the time; the colonisation, urbanisation and assimilation of Māori. As unforeseeable as the future was, Reiwhati Vercoe’s statement “we keep our land for our children” as recorded by Schwimmer (1957) encapsulates the core Māori values and beliefs that underpinned the thinking and decision making of tūpuna such as Reiwhati, during the era of Māori land incorporation.

**‘Whatu ngarongaro te tangata, toitū te whenua’**

*People perish, the land remains*

This whakatauki talks about the enduring nature of the land in contrast to the short and terminal nature of human life. That Pūkahukiwi remains in Ngati Te Takinga ownership today, is undoubtedly due to the foresight of the now deceased tūpuna of yesteryear. The future for the succeeding generations of Ngati Te Takinga descendants rests in the hands of today’s generation of adults. When asked if he thought Pūkahukiwi current function as a dairy farm was premised on the same core values and principals that underpinned its previous function as a communal cultivation area, the present Chairperson of the Pūkahukiwi Trust Board Laurence Tamati, responded by saying:

Yes. In those days it was growing spuds by and for the community. Today Pūkahukiwi functions as an owner operated company and our activities include a joint farm entrepreneurship with Waerenga. We have a forestry woodlot and leases with vodaphone. Although these developments are the case because they are the only options being presented..... The important thing however, is that the land is being used in ways that are dictated by the owners. The principles of the land use remain the same. Ultimately Pūkahukiwi and Waerenga operate to benefit the people (L. Tamati, pers. comm., 2005).

Tamati's statement and his prior recorded philosophical views on the ownership and development of the Pūkahukiwi lands, depict the struggle to maintain a business management system underpinned by Māori - whānau oriented values and beliefs. Whilst in the case of Pūkahukiwi, the meeting table has now supplanted 'mahi maara', the core values and principles that underpin the work of those that sit the corporate Trust Board table, although not as overt as in times past, do remain static.

Ngāhuia Walker's "great those days" description of the Mourea communal gardening era of her time, reflects the collective, people centered core values of manaaki and aroha which arguably, are still embedded in the Mourea – Ngati Te Takinga whānui - community of 2006.

### **Ngā tūpuna: lifelong learning with the old people**

*"When Te Whai and all the kuias before, they go to any tangi, they always took us so when we grew up we knew what tangi was all about" (N. Walker, pers. comm., 2005).*

For Ngāhuia, the marae and the "old people" were central to the community life in which she was raised and lived. The old people were amongst her first teachers.

Accompanying her kuia to the marae was one means by which to ensure that knowledge of tikanga Māori was transferred (learnt). A traditional Māori pedagogical practice, education through exposure (Metge, 1983) encouraged mokopuna to learn through observation in a variety of settings for example cultivation activities, childcare and as well, functions associated with public occasions such as hui and as Ngāhuia states, tangihanga. Accordingly, mokopuna were expected 'to work out what was going on and to solve problems that arose' (Hemara, W. 2000, p. 22).

Hemara (2000) from a teaching and learning perspective appears to capture Ngāhuia's experience of going to tangi with her kuia in the following way:

A third strategy [Māori pedagogy] was when an expert or elder (pūkenga) took a candidate under their care and 'fed' them knowledge. The student would accompany the pūkenga to a variety of events and hui. The candidate was often related to the pūkenga, but it was not a prerequisite. Often grandparents would take a grandchild (moko taura) and start a process of life-long learning. The grandchild would function as a link between generations. (Hemara, W. 2000, p. 22)

On visits to the homes of the kuia and koroua interviewed for this project, the presence of mokopuna was pervasive. It would appear therefore, that this age old Māori pedagogical practice of 'moko taura' (Hemara, 2000) continues. Ngāhuia although not a practicing kai-karanga and/or kai-waiata by virtue of her age, maintains a position at the marae which can be likened to that of the matriarch; her role at the marae as noted through my own observation, is very much as the overseer of all facets of marae protocol and practice. This role includes providing guidance, advice and instruction to the younger members of the Iwi, on tikanga and kawa associated with marae protocol and practice. Noted particularly, was Ngāhuia's firm yet considerate way of instructing people on appropriate places and times to stand, to sit and to move when entering the whareniui during tangihanga and when proceeding to hariru – hongī. Ngāhuia described her role at the marae as "kaumātua"; she is the pōtiki or baby of her family and the rights to karanga were vested with her older sister Hera.

By virtue of her kaumātuatanga [age and status] Ngāhuia's physical presence at Te Takinga marae brings integrity, grace and wisdom tradition to the forefront. M. Durie (2000) explains the status and role of kaumātua such as Ngāhuia in the following way:

The standing of a tribe, its mana, as distinct from its size, relates more to the visible presence and authority of its elders than to the vigorous activities of its younger members. It is the older generation who carry the status, tradition and integrity of their people. Without leadership at that level a Māori community will be poorer and, at least in other Māori eyes, be unable to function effectively or to fulfill its obligations. There comes [however] a time perhaps in the eighth decade of life, when an active Kaumātua role is allowed to become a supportive one. At that stage, the very elderly are relieved of some of their more demanding roles and come to be regarded as 'taonga' (treasures), greatly enhancing the wealth of the people, worthy of tribal protection, but spared the full impact of marae obligations (Durie, M. 2000, p. 77).

Expressing concerns about the diminishing number of Ngati Te Takinga elders and therefore the mana, standing and wealth of the Iwi, Ngāhuia said "look at me, I am the only one left. The ones doing the karanga, there are not many, we need to do

something”. When asked what she thought ‘we’ could do, Ngāhuia said “the ones that can call are seldom there. If people will go [come] home they can call [karanga]”.

### **At the pā**

Ngāhuia spoke about the time prior to the building of the first Te Takinga marae dining room Hineora. She remembered when food was permitted in the wharenuī even during tangihanga with tūpāpaku (the deceased) present. Today such practice is strictly forbidden. However, given the absence of a dining room at Te Takinga during that period, from a practical perspective, eating in the wharenuī seemed a logical practice.

According to Ngāhuia, kai hākari also took place out doors. Remembering those occasions she recalled:

When we have a tangi or hui over there; they have a table in front of Te Takinga – there on the ground. It was the same all over. We never had the dining rooms. We just lay the table, everything on it and then they come round from the back – Martin Hāwira and Nita’s father Remana and Uncle Dave and then somebody else they used to haul up the hangi in the big basket. And then they come and they do the haka all the way round [the marae ātea] where we had the tables. Put the baskets down and take all the kai out.

Witness also to this custom, Ngāti Pīkiao elder Te Ariki Mōrehu stated:

Ngāti Pīkiao were well known for supplying koura for the hākari at hui. When they brought the kai (koura) on to the marae to eat for the hākari, they would do a haka, a ngeri. They would haka all around the marae (T. Morehu, 2006, pers. comm.).

The haka is no longer performed in the manner and for the purpose described. However, in a modified version of this custom, waiata are performed by the home people when welcoming visitors into the wharekai (dining room) for the kai hākari (feast).

### **Whaikōrero**

Recounting the exciting pre-hākari haka performances of the men, it was with regret tinged with sadness that Ngāhuia recalled the speakers (kai-kōrero) of old. Her words were:

Wirihana, Wirihana is the eldest of all the Tamatis. And when they [ngā kai-kōrero] whaikōrero, oh, they be jumping from this end [of the marae ātea] to that end. Wirihana with his walking stick and everything was beautiful but now, with these young ones, they just talk inside no action, no

nothing. Ah. Oh the time of Wirihana and them, oh yes. It's sort of a competition of how you hold your tokotoko and everything and Tū Morehu is the same.

Undoubtedly the demise of the theatrical style of whaikōrero witnessed and experienced by Ngāhuia, is a direct consequence of the colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation of Ngati Te Takinga beginning at Whangamarino Native school where children possibly the 'young ones' Ngāhuia referred to, were strapped for speaking in their native tongue.

As the oldest living descendant of our ancestor Te Takinga, Ngāhuia's reflections and comments on aspects of both whaikōrero and karanga at Te Takinga Marae are based on her critical observations over an extensive and ever changing period of time. Her comments draw our attention to the pressing need for the Iwi to take immediate action in order to ensure, the survival of tikanga and kawa at what was in Ngāhuia's time, the nucleus of the Iwi, Te Takinga marae.

### **Te hūnuku whare**

*From home at Mourea to a house in the suburbs*

A soldier in the Māori Battalion B Company, on Ngāhuia's husband Hare Walker's return from World War Two, his parents Karanata and Potaua gave them 'the farm' at Mourea. Ngāhuia's comment "I didn't really want it [the farm] because there were too many owners", alludes to the complexities of the collective ownership status of Māori land and the potential disputes that can and do arise, as a result of this form of land tenure. Despite these concerns, the couple lived and worked the farm for fourteen years finding however, that the relatively small acreage was insufficient to support their family of nine children. In Ngāhuia's words:

The farm was too small. Our kids are growing up and they had to come to High School and all that and, not enough money in it; the supervisor said to me "you're right. Not even paying it off". And, can't send our kids to high school, I had to board my son up – just below the hospital [at Mitchell House].

To this end, the whānau counseled by the Government Māori Affairs appointed farm supervisor who was a "Pākehā from Gisborne", (N. Walker, pers. comm., 2005) moved to the suburb of Western Heights, Rotorua. Although their first choice for relocation was back to the Kahumatamomoe (home) area, this land was considered "by the supervisor"

to be low lying and therefore, too damp. Their second choice was “on the side of the hill there with Merepaea” however the supervisor warned that the hillside location on Hamurana road, was unsuitable for housing. Further advice and recommendations from the supervisor saw the Walker whānau relocated to Western Heights, despite Ngahuia’s concern that it was “too far away” [from Mourea – home].

Ngahuia’s concerns about their new home as being ‘too far away’ were lived out through the loneliness she experienced after the move. When asked about the shift from Mourea to Western Heights she said, “it was lonely... in a way, you don’t know anybody”.

Reminiscing about the life she had left amongst her kin in the tight knit Mourea community Ngāhuia said:

I missed them. Sonny Williams and all the old ones; Kerehitina and Te Puia and Murikokau and your grandmother Wahanga who would play her piano and sing and all her windows open; we can hear her over the other side where we are swimming. Everybody was sort of friendly in those days. My aunty will always give some potatoes, the little ones the seed potatoes you know, they share whatever they got with the next person. Our days, we bake a bread and put a blackberry in it and take it to school and we lived ..... we’re happy. This day, they seem to pinch somebody else’s bread!

And there was Kara and Wahanga and Hera and Tepora – the four of them and we have the Health League at the marae in the old dining room; with Nurse Cameron – great memories that old dining room. Well we joined the health league over here, we borrow some new nappies and new clothes for our babies and then we come over here to the health league. Nurse Cameron was taking us and the ladies Wahanga, Hera Rodgers, Tepora Pokiha were running the Health league and they helped us with everything and how we look after the babies and that.

The nappies, the way they wash it they have to soak it – wash down the river and get a stick and beat the hell out of it – at the tennis court, we had a washing area down by the tennis court. Merita had her wharf on the other side of the bridge, and Ngaroata had hers; everybody walks. Wash the clothes and bang it, sometimes we just go there for a yak, have a kōrero or [other times] te hī inanga (net whitebait). We used to have a good time.

The first kainga – we had one child then, was down the bottom where the league club is – that’s where our house is and there was Inia and Moehuarahi and Merepaea’s in laws used to stay there, all of us around that place.

We would go all around, Rotoiti, Whaka, Tama, Hamurana to the dances. Tama [tekapua] was the worst dance floor if you don’t watch out you slip; slippery. The star boys, Napi and them were just starting to play there .... Tai Paul he used to play over there before and then Napi after him. We have a good time.

These memories paint a picture of a small rural Māori community founded upon the ideologies and social structures that formed the basis of Māori society prior to the

colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand. Organised according to whānau, hapū and Iwi groups, this society was a diffuse unit based on a common whakapapa or descent from a shared ancestor, within which certain responsibilities and obligations were maintained (Durie 1997). Ngati Te Takinga and the associated hapū that occupied the Mourea area during Ngāhuia's formative years, constituted an effective, independent political unit who worked together in peaceful enterprise (Ballara, 1998). Distribution rather than accumulation of wealth formed the basis of the economy, while kaitiakitanga or guardianship governed land ownership. Land was not owned privately, but held in trust for the succeeding generations (Walker, 1990). Concepts such as ahi kaa and kanohi kitea took precedence and were practiced; they required the physical presence, participation, assistance and support of all community members.

The life described above is the life in which Ngāhuia's heart is still firmly anchored. Although leaving Mourea to begin a new life in the suburbs, the philosophical values, beliefs and ethics learnt through living with the old people have been, and are still, Ngāhuia's bedrock. Ngāhuia remains ahi kaa.

### **Maintaining links - te ahi kaa**

*“My hau kainga is Mourea” (N. Walker, pers. comm., 2005).*

When asked about her understanding of 'te ahi kaa' Nancy Mason (2005) a participant also in this project, responded by saying, “ko te ahi kaa - ko nga Kaumātua me ngā kuia o te marae” (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005). Likewise, Kaumātua Ngāmaru Raerino, spoke of the ahi kaa as being “the people of that place exercising their occupational rights” (Raerino, N. pers. comm., 2005).

Although having lived in suburban Rotorua for some forty years now, Ngāhuia through her constant and ongoing presence at Te Takinga and surrounding marae, maintains ahi kaa status. She stressed the importance of maintaining a physical connection with home and has achieved such a connection through her regular visits home including participation in tribal hui. Ngāhuia's desire to sustain her whānau's ahi kainga – home fire

in the future, is encompassed within her hope to “build something [at Mourea] so the mokos will come back”. Such a provision provides a means by which to maintain her whānau’s ties with home and to keep te ahi kainga alive. For Ngāhuia, her visits to Mourea and to the marae while good, are also times of sadness. In explanation she made reference to the absence of her peers and said: “there’s hardly anybody. It’s only Nancy [Mason] there now. I miss them, all the old ones. I miss them because when you go down there [to the marae], what can you do? All you can do tangi [cry]”.

Continuing the discussion about the marae, Ngāhuia stressed the importance of giving koha even if one was unable to attend for example, a tangihanga. Speaking about a particular tangi, which she was unable to attend, she said:

[I was not going down] but Lena she took our koha. As long as you koha oh well, this is us. The younger people don’t worry about it but I always teach my children whenever you go to anything like this, you must koha. You feel good. I said it doesn’t have to be big money. \$5.00 is a big money. Give it.

The reference to koha within this context highlights its significance in three ways. Koha is firstly, an expression of generosity and aroha, secondly it is a reciprocal gesture and thirdly, through the creation of an obligation, koha is a means of maintaining one’s ongoing connection and relationships with our kin and with our marae.

## **He kupu whakamutunga**

### *In conclusion*

Ngāhuia holds a myriad of memories. Recounting these memories, recalling the names (the whakapapa) restores the mauri of those people who have now passed who, in their lifetimes, contributed to a vibrant, living, Māori values based Mourea community of old. In turn, remembering the old people and restoring their mauri or life principle, enhances Ngāhuia’s sense of Mourea as being te hau kainga; the residing place of the intangible essence or the spirit that uplifts te mauri o te tangata.

Nō reira e te whaea, e taku kuia Ngāhuia. Tēnei te mihi ki a koe. Pūpū ake ana te mauri o te aroha..... tō tāua tūtakitanga, tō tāua noho tahi, kōrero tahi te wā ki ā i tuhituhi ai au, i oū na kōrero. Ka nui taku aroha mōu.

## **Nga reo o te kainga: voices from home**

*Te mana whenua ki Rotorua: Hilda Inia*

*I am Ngati Whakaue me Ngati Te Takinga. I tipu ake i Ohinemutu; but, ko aku tamariki, they were actually brought up there at Mourea. Piri pono tonu rātou ki a Ngati Te Takinga - Ngati Pikia; he kaha kē tō rātou mōhio ki a Ngati Pikia; that is one thing I am very pleased of (H. Inia, pers. comm., 2005).*

Te Kuri, the Inia whānau marae – wharenuī, is located in the Ngati Whakaue district of Rotorua, on an area of land known as the Waikuta block. Bordered to the west by Mount Ngongotahā and to the east by Te Rotorua Nui a Kahumatamomoe; Lake Rotorua, Waikuta - Te Kuri is home to Hilda Inia; kuia – kaumātua of Ngati Whakaue and Ngati Te Takinga. For Aunty Hilda, Te Kuri is imbued with the memories of her grandmother Te Wharetoroa Graham who raised her and also, with the memories of her late husband Paki Inia. The couple had lived at Te Kuri for the ‘the best part’ of their fifty five year marriage and so, Te Kuri was Aunty Hilda’s home. Te Kuri was also the place chosen by Aunty Hilda to be interviewed for the Ngati Te Takinga stories project. The interview took place in the winter of 2005.

Aunty Hilda’s earlier life was spent between her birth place Ohinemutu, her kuia’s home at Waikuta and the whānau home at Mourea; where she lived for a time after her marriage to Paki. Her story weaves a path across and through all of these places; linking the places to the people, connecting the past to the present and the stories to the people (L. Smith, 1999). The story is written as it was told by Aunty Hilda. Within this storying process, she becomes a conduit for the wisdom traditions of the old people; conveying their old Māori world ways, of being and knowing. Rather than linear, the story weaves backward and forward through time, which is measured by significant events more so than in years. There are two parts to the story. When read closely, part one of Aunty Hilda’s narrative illustrates how land, people, experiences and relationships influence her personal construction of home, belongingness and Māori (hapū-Iwi) identity. Part one draws attention to the complexities of having dual and multi Iwi affiliations and portrays

the tensions that can arise when exercising rights, and meeting obligations, across multiple Iwi. Part two is a repository of cultural knowledge that represents Aunty Hilda's contribution towards the maintenance of Māori's cultural continuity and consciousness' (Hireme, H. pers. comm., 2005). By way of story, part two recounts some of Aunty Hilda's teachings around tikanga Māori. The journey of Aunty Hilda's life begins at Mourea – Ngati Te Takinga where she lived in earlier times, with her husband Paki.

### **Part One: A Beginning**

Aunty Hilda and Paki Inia were married in 1948. The couple lived at the Mourea papakainga (family reservation land) with Moehuarahi, Paki's mother. Seven of the couple's nine children were born at Mourea, spending the early and formative years of their lives there. In 1957, the family shifted to the Ngati Whakaue district of Rotorua where they remain today. Along with their strong whakapapa connections to Ngati Whakaue, the Inia whānau's long term of residence in the Whakaue district has not dampened their affiliation to Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikia. The second generation members of the whānau affiliate most strongly with Te Takinga marae and it is here that they feel most 'at home' (A. Inia, pers. comm., 2005).

The Inia whānau left Mourea twice in the early years, taking up residence at Aunty Hilda's papakainga 'Te Kuri' on Ngongotaha Road. Explaining the connection to Ngati Whakaue and to Te Kuri Aunty Hilda said: "ko tērā te taha ki taku mama, taku koroua" [that is the place to which I am affiliated through my mother and my grandfather]. The whānau made one return to Mourea, but moved to Te Kuri on a permanent basis when Paki's mother Moehuarahi came back from Hamilton to live in the whānau home.

Explaining the decision to leave Mourea Aunty Hilda said:

We went back to Mourea when the old homestead became available and Paki put a toilet in and everything; ka hoki māua. But Moehuarahi was staying in Hamilton a, ka hoki mai ia ki tana whare [and she came back to her house]. I said to Paki, "oh well, that's it, ka haere tāua". I said, "we come back for your sake, I went for our kids sake, kia whiwhi kainga anō tāua ana, kua karanga mai koe me hoki mai tāua ki konei, ka hoki mai ahau. Ana, kua pirangi tō mama. Kaare ahau e hoki mai anō . Kaore anō au ka hoki mai a muri atu". [So that we could have a home. You asked that I accompany you and return to Mourea and I came; your mama now wants the house. I will not come back to live again. This will be the last time that I leave]

We were down at Mourea for about nine years I suppose before we came here. We would have been there still, but kaore whakaae te whenua [we were unable to secure land there]. Kaore rātou i whakaae kia tapahingia; na Stan [Newton] rāua ko Te Moehuarahi, they didn't agree to it because he uri anō tō mātou. Stan was a nephew to Moehuarahi [Moehuarahi and Stan's father had the same father but different mothers]. Memea kei tū tō māua whare ki Mourea [if we had have been able to build our whare at Mourea], we would never have left, but this [Te Kuri] is home now and I won't give it up.

So, ka haere ake māua and my Uncle George Makai felt sorry for us and said “kei te pai” and gave us this piece of land at Fairy Springs and that is how we came to be living here.

Although living in Ngati Whakaae, Aunty Hilda and Paki maintained a regular presence among Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikia. One means of maintaining their links in the early years after their departure, was through tennis. In Aunty Hilda words, “i ngā rā horoi ngā wiki, pūrei tēnehi tana mahi, ka haere māua” [on Saturdays – on the weekends, Paki would play tennis and we would go together]. Like other kuia and koroua interviewed for this project, Aunty Hilda had fond memories of the tennis days and the strong sense of community engendered by way of the local club days and inter-tribal tennis competitions which brought people together. The demise of the tennis club and the loss of ‘the old people’ present during those times, contributed in Aunty Hilda's view about the changed nature of the Mourea community. Her views were congruent with the views of other stories project participants. For example, Merepaea Henry (2005) identified the passing of the old people and “te wairua tino kaha kei runga i a rātou” [the special sense of wairua that was present in all aspects of their lives] as contributing towards a weakened sense of community and community spirit. Mourea's now dilapidated tennis courts and the dearth of old people in attendance at the marae during present day gatherings, reflect the differences in ‘the Mourea of yesterday and the Mourea of today’ (H. Inia, pers. comm., 2005) as identified by Aunty Hilda and Merepaea, these kuia have born witness to the impacts of urbanisation.

### **Urbanisation and its impacts**

#### *From the rural hearth to the urban milieu*

The loss of people through urbanisation has contributed towards the changed nature of the Mourea community. Also present during the interview, Aunty Hilda's daughter Audrey suggested that the 1950's and 60's generation of children whose parents moved

away from Mourea were not only physically disconnected from their homelands and their kin but also, culturally disconnected through their disassociation with their marae. In the case of her own family Audrey maintained: “[we] didn’t really have contact with the marae in those days because dad very rarely took us down. On the rare occasions that we did go down, it was only to tangi of those who were very very close [whānau]”. The reasons her father’s decision not to take the children to marae were articulated by Audrey in the following way:

My father was a very practical man in everything he did. He did not feel that the marae was a place for us as we were too young. Also, the fact that there were nine of us and him and mum were both in the wharenuī they wouldn’t have time to look after us. When we were old enough they took us to the marae but we were put straight into the wharekai to work.

Non contact with a marae (cultural practices), urbanisation and the subsequent cultural disconnectedness experienced by Māori people such as the Inia whānau, had wider implications for Māori cultural continuity. The ability of ‘urban Māori’ to maintain cultural obligations within the competitive and individualistic environment of the western industrial city (Metge, 1964) was seriously compromised. In contrast to what was the collectivist nature of Māori communities such as Mourea pre 1960, the new and foreign town environment not only eroded the whānau as the central tenet of the community but as well, seriously threatened the continuity in transmission of Māori family histories (Ihimaera, 1998). The ensuing breakdown in Māori social structures effectively disbanded communities like Mourea where previously, generations of elders many of whom were still actively engaged raising mokopuna (Henry, 2005; Mason, 2005; Tamati, 2005; Waiomio, 2005) were the axis upon which the community turned.

Aunty Hilda was unable to clearly define the differences between the ‘old’ Mourea she remembered and the new and changed Mourea of today. When queried she responded by saying:

I can’t name it [the difference] but we had a good life; kua matemate katoa ngā mea pakeke [the old ones are all gone]. When I went down there, there were all those old koroua [and kuia] around. Pōtōua and them and Ted Walker and Kara and Ngakeehi and old Te Whai.

Likewise, in response to the same query my mother, a past Mourea resident who was present during Aunty Hilda’s interview said:

Mourea is not like Mourea used to be. It was rich in culture and rich in people; we had nothing, but we had everything. It's not the same; at that time, there were so many [kuia and koroua] of that generation. Everybody's gone. People have moved away. (W. Emery, pers. comm., 2005)

The Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo elders of yesteryear were the cornerstones of a once vibrant, living Mourea community. Coupled with the 'urban drift' (Metge, 1964; Walker, 1990) of the 1950's and 60's, their passing has contributed towards cultural discontinuance and the current bereft state of marae paepae. While change is inevitable and while also, those who lived at Mourea in years passed may not know the experiences of those who live there now (who may experience a Mourea life that is 'rich in culture and rich in people?') for Aunty Hilda the old people – the ahi kaa - were fundamental to her sense of home, community, place and belonging.

### **Te whakakaa i te ahi**

#### *Keeping the home fires burning*

Maintenance of the Inia whānau ties with Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo, were also kept strong through Paki's role as a principal speaker at Te Takinga marae. A skilled and competent orator, regrettably Paki's learning had not come from his father 'old Inia' who was a reluctant speaker that "always had to be pushed" (H. Inia, 2005). Qualifying her statement Aunty Hilda continued:

He [Inia] was with the Morehu's with Tu and them. And yet the old devil, kaore ia e whaikōrero. He would wait; kia hoki rawa mai rātou .... All those men worked at the state mill. Old Rongo Rogers and Pōtaua and Heru you know, cause it was the wartime. And they [the younger set] went away [to World War Two]. A, ka noho ngā koroua ki te mahi nā mihini [and the old men stayed and worked the machines] and Inia would wait for Heru and them to come home; the bus would bring them back and drop them off at the tangi and they would go in the whare nui and wait for old Inia to whaikōrero huh, he wouldn't whaikōrero. Engari whakangahau, oh! Peke peke katoa ana waewae, with Tū and them [but when it came to entertain! jumping around all over the place] Paki used to get real wild with him.

Aunty Hilda did not know the reason for 'old Inia's' reluctance to whaikōrero. Her view on the practice of the passing of speaking rights from father to son, or from an older brother to a younger brother however, is explicitly portrayed in the following discussion with the Project Kaumātua Tione Emery:

Tione Emery: I am from Maniapoto-Tainui but it is just as well I came to Te Arawa, it is here that I have learnt how to whaikōrero. I have always had this thing in my head that because I have an older brother [Charlie] my standing to whaikōrero would never be. Even today if Charlie is here [in Te Arawa] I can't stand; I don't want to get up.

Aunty Hilda: Well, he's got to openly give that to you; the right to stand.

Tione Emery: When I go home [Te Kopua marae, Te Awamutu] sometimes my brother is sitting on the paepae. He won't stand to talk; as soon as I get there, he will walk out.

Aunty Hilda: Giving you the opening aye. Well, that's good when it's like that. It is given to you openly.

When asked whether or not 'old Inia's' reluctance to whaikōrero on the marae was a means by which to pass his mantle to Paki, Aunty Hilda responded by saying: "it was just the way he was".

Paki's paepae role at Te Takinga and at other Ngati Pikiāo marae, was the primary means by which the (absent) Inia whānau connections to Ngati Te Takinga were affirmed and maintained. These connections remain intact today. They are kept strong by Audrey, Paki and Hilda's eldest daughter, who is the primary 'kanohi kitea' for Te whānau Inia at Te Takinga marae – Ngati Pikiāo. Classifying Mourea as her home, Audrey explained her strong feelings of connectedness to Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikiāo stating:

My strongest connection is to Ngati Pikiāo. Very rarely do I go down to Ngati Whakaue and it is mostly to tangihanga. With Ngati Te Takinga, I am proud to stand and sing waiata at their side. Walking onto Te Takinga Marae, even if you haven't been there for ages, you walk in and you know you are home. I will never forget when my tuakana died in Christchurch. When my brother Monty and I arrived at the Rotorua Airport with our sister, I walked through the doors and all I saw was this sea of black. There were about 30 Ngati Pikiāo Elders who had come to meet us. All I could do was stand and cry as I knew our sister was home and our people had come to tautoko us. When I think about it now, I feel nothing but pride. I feel more comfortable at Ngati Pikiāo – it will always be home.

The same sorts of home feelings were also expressed by other ‘away-dwelling’ research participants who were born and/or raised in Mourea. Now based in Australia, Claude Mihaka (pers. comm., 2005) referred to Mourea as his ‘heart home’ while others were hopeful that they might return there in the future (B, Waiomio, 2005; N. Walker, 2005; T. Williams, 2005; M. Tipiwai, 2006, pers. comms.).

Although a disruption to their physical connection to Ngati Te Takinga, the Inia’s move to Waikuta (Ngati Whakaue) was not culturally alienating. Living in close proximity to ‘Te Kuri’ the whānau’s new life was culturally enriched. A place of great significance, the story of Te Kuri including the renewal of the whare (house) follows.

### **Te Kuri**

Te Kuri is a meeting house located on Ngongotaha Road, Rotorua. In prior times Te Kuri was home to Aunty Hilda’s mother and grandmother. Recounting her vivid memories of the whare and its prior occupants Aunty Hilda said:

Koinei tō mātou kainga. My kuia, Te Wharetoroa Graham had the whare nui nei – karekau he papa, karekau he rama but, ko tana kainga, mō ngā Ringatū. Ēnei wāhi, he mahi riwai, he mahi kumara. [This is our home. The house – Te Kuri - belonged to my kuia, Te Wharetoroa Graham who brought me up. It had no floor or power; but her home was always open to the Ringatū people. All of these places [referring to the land around the wharenu] were places where potatoes and kumara were planted to feed the people].

Te Kuri was a gathering place for followers of the Ringatū church/religion. Founded by Te Kooti Rikirangi in response to the negative impact of British colonisation on Māori, the stronghold of the Ringatū Church was Wainui; a large area of land located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty and occupied by Te Kooti and his supporters. Following Te Kooti’s death in 1893, the land was vested in trustees and held in trust for the Ringatū Church (Greenwood, 1942). As a devout Ringatū, Te Wharetoroa had expressed a desire to be (and was) buried at Wainui upon her death; after which Te Kuri became home to Rangihuia Marsh, Aunty Hilda’s mother. The renewal of Te Kuri began soon after Rangihuia’s passing. Recalling the conversations that occurred between Te Wharetoroa, Paki and herself around all of these events, Aunty Hilda said:

She [my kuia] was a Ringatū. Karanga ia a Paki, me whakahoki ia ki Wainui and so ka meatia “ae”, ka mahue iho tana whare, ka karangtia ahau ki a Paki, “whakatikangia te whare”. [My kuia was Ringatū. Before her death she had asked Paki to take her back to Wainui when she died, and Paki agreed. When she died my mother Rangihua moved into her whare and it was after she [Rangihua] died that Paki rebuilt Te Kuri].

### *Te whakahoutanga*

#### *The renewal of Te Kuri*

Planning for the renewal of Te Kuri, Paki sought the counsel of several tōhunga (specialists) from the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Because of the special Ringatū of the house, Paki wanted to ensure that correct protocols were followed. Describing these events Aunty Hilda recounted:

Kua tikina ia ngā tōhunga of Whakatane, o Opotiki, o Ruatoki; haere mai, kua karanga mai. Well there’s three things you can do for a place that’s like this. You can either burn it, me tahu, me tanu, me neke rānei, you know, ana, kei a koutou. [You can bury it or move it; it is up to you people]. Ka haere ake a Paki ki ana hoa Pākehā, kātahi ka karingia he rua ana, ka nehungia te whare nei, ana, kei raro i tenei. [So Paki went to his Pākehā friends and they came with their machine and dug a hole and buried the whare beneath this one [referring to the house in which the interview was taking place]. Paki put up the new place, took him three months.

Recalling the busy nature of the whare in the time of her kuia, Aunty Hilda said:

Kii tonu a Te Kuri. Our place was always full, people coming to Rotorua the hospital, kua karanga atu taku kuia, haeremai ki tana whare [my kuia would always be inviting people to come and stay in her whare].

Te Kuri was always open to visitors and Te Wharetoroa’s teachings in relation to manaaki tangata (caring for guests) were well remembered by Aunty Hilda. On one occasion when a group of Ringatū people from Ruatoki arrived at Te Kuri, Aunty Hilda was asked by her kuia to bring hot water for them to drink. Remarking that there were no biscuits to go with the water, Aunty Hilda’s comments were sternly rebuked by Te Wharetoroa. The kuia’s response that the absence of food was nothing to be ashamed of, is something Aunty Hilda has always remembered:

Kaua rawa koe e noho. Ko te waiwera, koina te mea, mea koe te waiwera ka tae mai te ope ki te kainga, mehemea karekau o kai, meatia te waiwera, koina te kai. Na te mea karekau o keke, karekau o pihikete kua kore koe e homai kaputi mā rātou. Karanga mai! Kei te kōhu te tikera anei te ti, tō kaputi (H. Inia, pers. comm., 2005) [don’t just sit there. Hot water that is enough. Bring the hot water. If visitors arrive at your home and you have no food, bring hot water that is their

sustenance. Just because you have no cakes or biscuits, does not mean you don't give your guests a cup of tea. Call them, let them know the jug has boiled, and tell them "here is your tea"].

Te Wharetoroa's words are an insightful reminder of the fundamental values and beliefs that underpin tikanga Māori. Portrayed by this particular narrative is the essence of manaakitanga. In explanation and in accord with Aunty Hilda's kuia's teachings, it is the act of providing for visitors that is paramount and not necessarily the quantity, quality or variety of what is given that is important. Whakahuihui Vercoe (2000) agrees. Speaking about his own humble upbringing in Torere on the East Coast Vercoe states:

I grew up in a poor society with no money and no work. Everybody was unemployed. But people worked to sustain themselves, to grow their own food and to buy only the bare necessities of life. People were careful with each other and cared for one another. The old people never talked about costs. They talked about hospitality and put their effort into making sure their visitors were cared for (Vercoe, W. 2000, p. 164).

A significant event in the lives of the Inia whānau, the rebuilding of Te Kuri has enabled them to continue the tradition of manaaki tangata as practiced by their kuia Te Wharetoroa Graham. The marae is used regularly for various hui and, on the weekend prior to the interview, Te Kuri had played host to a whānau unveiling. Maintaining a family marae however, has not been easy. Aside from the ongoing maintenance of the physical environment, one area of contention for Paki during his lifetime was his non affiliation to Ngati Whakaue. Aunty Hilda explained this situation thus:

The whenua is all Ngati Whakaue. Because of Paki's affiliation to Ngati Pikiāo, at times it has caused a few problems through both hapū laying claim to the marae. It ended up with any hui or tangihanga held at Te Kuri, whichever hapū arrived first sat on the paepae with the other at the end. One thing with Ngati Pikiāo was if there was a tangi, ka mōhio ana hoki a Ngati Pikiāo, he tangi and they'll come up and they all come here and they sit. So Paki makes them sit on the paepae. But oh well. You know, it's just something that happens sometimes [through intertribal marriage].

When asked if the responsibility of maintaining Te Kuri impacted on the whānau's ability to fulfill their hapū obligations at Te Takinga marae, Aunty Hilda said "no". Te Takinga was Paki's principle marae and because the Inia children were very close to their father, Aunty Hilda was adamant that Ngati Te Takinga was "in their blood". She stipulated that should the whānau ever be needed to support the marae, "they would be there".

When Paki died on 21 August 2001, he lay briefly with his whānau at Te Kuri marae before being taken to Te Takinga. He is buried at Pukepoto on the slopes of maunga Ngongotahā, next to his daughter Te Rauawhea. He chose this site because it is close to the whānau homestead at Waikuta, and also where Aunty Hilda will eventually lie.

### **Tamaiti akona ki te kainga**

*The child who is taught at home*

For the Inia whānau, the Waikuta homestead was an environment that was well suited to the teaching and learning of tikanga Māori. The intergenerational knowledge transfer that occurred as a result of the interactions between the children, their kuia and the on site marae Te Kuri, are articulated by Audrey in the following statement:

The parents moved away [from Mourea] and then when our generation came along, we didn't really have that contact with the marae [Te Takinga]. Also, in those days, you were seen and not heard. Dad wouldn't allow us to go to the marae until we were old enough to work in the kitchen. Even then it was only when the tūpāpaku was very closely related to us. We were lucky as we still had it at home [tikanga Māori] because of our kuia and her little whare [Te Kuri] so we were still taught tikanga and kawa even though we didn't go onto the marae. This helped us when we went down to Te Takinga marae as we knew what was expected of us.

Going to local marae was also a rare occurrence for Aunty Hilda prior to her marriage to Paki. Recollecting the visits she did make she said:

I rarely went to the pā. I never had kai at the marae until I met Paki and we were down at Mourea. My kuia didn't believe in that. She was blind and I would take her to the tangi, to the pā at Ohinemutu; she would have five shillings for her kōhi and we'd go in .... She couldn't care less if the king was doing his whaikōrero, she would just go in. But we would not go for a kai. That was the only time I went, not often.

When asked as to the reasons why Te Wharetoroa wouldn't eat at the marae Aunty Hilda said:

She believed you didn't go to the marae to eat, you went to pay respect to whoever had died and that was it. It wasn't that she didn't want to have kai on the marae, but she felt the kai was for nga ope (groups of visitors) who had come from afar. In those days, people traveled a long way for tangihanga. She would say her kettle would be boiling when she got home and she could have a kai then.

In addition, it is likely that food was scarce during the times of Te Wharetoroa. Her actions, therefore, were in keeping with her beliefs around manaaki manuhiri (caring for

visitors). By not staying to eat at the marae, Te Wharetoroa left her share of food for the visitors. Likewise the giving of koha and koha was also an act of manaaki tangata.

Explaining her understanding of the difference between 'koha' and 'koha' (as taught to her by her kuia) Aunty Hilda said "koha is money you give to the whānau pani and once you give it, it is finished with. Kohi is when someone goes around collecting money off people to make up one lump sum [to put towards a particular cause]". The word koha is derived from 'kohikohi' which is to collect. Koha is to give or to gift and the act (of koha) is now widely associated with money. Huhana Mihinui (Guide Bubbles) of Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao explains:

There are many Māori terms that find common currency in everyday dialogue that were not widely spoken in earlier times, if at all when I was growing up. Today the word 'koha (gifts) is widely used, as at tangi. Customarily, we not only spoke of 'whakaaro' rather than koha, but also, usually we gave food rather than money (Mihinui, H. 2002, p. 22).

Research project Kaumātua Tione Emery concurs with Guide Bubbles. Raised by his tūpuna (kuia) in a rural Ngati Maniapoto setting, Tione stated:

We didn't talk about 'koha' like we talk about it today. When families were in need for example at a tangi, we took kai. We had the farm and so we would shoot a beast. We took vegetables; whatever we had available at the time. That was what the families did and it was just normal; we didn't talk about it as being a koha, it was just what we did (T. Emery, pers. comm., 2007).

The philosophies and the teachings of the old people are rejuvenated through this retelling process. Contrasting current Māori cultural practices with the past practices of people such as Te Wharetoroa and now Aunty Hilda, allows us to be informed by our stories, to remember who we are and to realign our thinking and tikanga Māori practices. For Aunty Hilda, her nostalgic recollections of the past help to consolidate her ties with history and replenish her Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Whakaue identity (Ritivoi, 2002); a dual identity which, at times, created awkward situations.

### **The problems of a 'dual-identity'**

The problems that Paki faced as a Ngati Pikiāo person living in Ngati Whakaue were replicated, on occasion, for Aunty Hilda when she lived amongst Paki's Ngati Te

Takinga people. Aunty Hilda used the term ‘living on foreign land’ to depict their situations. She recalled a particular time at Ngati Te Takinga marae where she was reproached for bringing her ‘Ngati Whakaue style’ into a Ngati Pikiāo environment:

We were at Te Takinga marae and this person said “what you fullas doing?” and I said “we’re cleaning up the marae” and she said “why?” I replied, “my brother in law wants to go home and when they want to go home, they let them go home, you don’t make them stay”. And “oh you’re bringing your Ngati Whakaue style down here. We don’t want you bringing Ngati Whakaue style down here”. Anyway, I never said anything but I told Rangiwāhea and them that I’m very hurt at the way I was spoken to. Marrying Paki was how I got down to Mourea – But you know, I’m more of Ngati Te Takinga than Paki is. Paki’s more from Waikohatu and Taheke, Rangitihī and Otaramare.

Like Aunty Hilda, most Māori people will have multiple whakapapa connections. The ways and the degree to which these connections are exercised will determine the level of a person’s membership to a particular hapū-Iwi. A person’s strength of connection, their place of residence, their personal choice and their levels of commitment to a particular hapū or Iwi (Temara, P. 2005, p. 5) all determine their hapū-Iwi membership status.

The Inia whānau maintain robust connections to and with Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikiāo; their commitment to this hapū –Iwi is certain. Maintenance of their connection and commitment to Ngati Whakaue is also important and Aunty Hilda has made sure that their ‘kanohi kitea’ obligation was/is met:

Kua karanga ahau, “kaua koutou e wareware ki a Ngati Whakaue [don’t you children forget about Ngati Whakaue] that’s me down there”. But, I am quite happy with Audrey. Ka tae ki ngā rā o ngā hoia [she goes to the day for the soldiers (ANZAC)]. She goes down to do the coffees in the mornings; down at Tunohopu, Ohinemutu and so, she mixes with them in that respect.

The role that the Inia whānau play as the kaitiaki for Te Kuri, a Ngati Whakaue marae, also marks their commitment to their Ngati Whakaue. In turn, Aunty Hilda’s story contributes to Ngati Whakaue and Ngati Pikiāo cultural continuance. The retelling of her experiences growing up and living with the old people, serves as a valuable repository of Māori cultural knowledge.

### **He kapiti hono, he tātai hono**

*That which is joined together becomes an unbroken line*

*This expression is common to many formal speeches; it affirms the joining of the living with their departed ancestors. In a spiritual sense it is understood that the*

*living are guided by ancestral precepts and examples (Mead, M., Grove, N, 2001).*

In speaking about a particular aspect of tangihanga, Aunty Hilda said: “that’s a good thing for you to make a point of”. Part two of this story honours Aunty Hilda’s desire to ‘make a point’. This section privileges the wisdom traditions of Aunty Hilda and her mātua tūpuna. By sharing the ‘organic’ tikanga Māori knowledge she learnt from her elders, Aunty Hilda provides a means by which to ‘pupuri ki ngā kupu ā ōu mātua’ - to hold fast to the words of our elders (Mead, 2001). These words, her teachings, are offered here; a gateway to some ‘old’ Māori ways of viewing, and being in, the world.

The sequence in which the following narratives are written is not chronological. Rather, the stories are recorded according to what Eddie Durie describes as ‘Māori chronology in oral traditions’ (Durie, E. 1994, p. 7). This means of dividing time, prioritises the value or outcome of the ancestral advice being relayed, above the order and spacing of the actual events. Within the Māori chronological (oral traditions) context, time becomes ‘telescoped or collapsed’ (Durie, E. 1994, p. 7) and the ancestors and the past speak to, and are part of, the present. The language used by Aunty Hilda as she traverses the vast landscape of her memories, flows easily from English to Māori; the Māori remains as spoken by Aunty Hilda and is not translated. The context in which te reo Māori is used, enables the reader to gain the understanding necessary to grasp the messages conveyed. The topics Aunty Hilda covers range from customs associated with the mourning of the dead to the quite recent traditional Māori practice of polygamy. Her expositions depict the values and beliefs that underpinned the ‘old ways’; and they act as a point of reflection on the practice of tikanga Māori today.

## **Part Two: Tikanga Māori ‘matters’**

In a reflection on the values and beliefs that underpin Māori, Pacific and Pākehā cultural ‘norms’ associated with death and dying, Te Ururoa Flavell (2006) stated “we must never lose sight of the value that can be gained through opening our eyes to different ways of being” (Flavell, T. 2006). I would argue that in order to open our eyes to difference, Māori people must first open their/our eyes to that which is ours. We must

distinguish and understand the values and beliefs that underpin the ways of being and knowing that are uniquely Māori. The process of coming to know what it is to be Māori is assisted by Aunty Hilda's reflections on the Māori customary practices she experienced at the feet of her grandmother and during her life time.

### **On grieving and tangihanga - Te kutikuti makawe**

In times prior Māori women, on the death of a close loved one, would lacerate their chests and sometimes their faces with flakes of obsidian. This practice was considered a means by which to relieve the intensity of ones grief through the flow of blood (Buck, 1974; Salmond, 1975; Walker, 1990). While obsolete, the related practice of 'kutikuti makawe' (cutting of ones hair) when a loved one dies, continues. Aunty Hilda likened 'kutikuti makawe' to an expression of 'aroha' (love) for the deceased:

In the times of the old kuia, there were a lot of things that they don't like you to do. In those days, it was very strict *mō te kutikuti o makawe* [for the cutting of your hair]. *Kia mate a mea*. You know, like your makawe – *tō aroha ki tō mama, to papa, tō tāne rānei*, well they always did that, *te katoa*; But, *nō te āhua roatanga nei*, well same thing, those old kuia now, well *kua karanga* "kei te pai, *kaua e kutikutingia o makawe katoa, kimihia tētahi taha wāhi poto noaiho – ana ka waiho ki roto* [ki te taha o te *tūpāpaku*] ana, because he aroha nou. That's the idea because you are aroha for them. And that's your biggest aroha, was to cut your pretties off. But now, the old kuia's "don't cut the lot". But that was only lately when that happened. But before they make you cut, if you are going to cut hair, you cut it all and there's a certain hour of cutting it. *Moata tonu o te ata*. Na, ka haere koe ki waho ki te kutikuti o makawe.

Concurring with the meaning given by Aunty Hilda "your biggest aroha", Salmon (1975) makes reference to 'kutikuti makawe' as being, a self-sacrificing attestation of grief for the deceased person. References to this grieving process are encapsulated by the whakatauki 'wahine tangi haehae, he ngaru moana, e kore e mātaki'; the mourning and laceration by women, like the waves of the sea, never cease (Mead & Grove, 2001). Still witnessed today, kutikuti makawe is also practiced by some men on the death of their wife.

Continuing the discussion on tangihanga, Aunty Hilda went on to relay kōrero passed down by 'Te Hamu' (Hamuera Mitchell) a venerated Ngati Whakaue elder, and her kuia Te Wharetoroa. She recalled being present at a Ngati Whakaue marae when Te Hamu gave a very stern address to the women in the wharenuī; he was upset because the

women did not ‘tangi’ (cry) when the deceased person arrived. He viewed this behaviour as disrespectful, nonchalant and indifferent. Recalling this incident Aunty Hilda said:

We went to this tangi, I think it was Irikau Kingi and Paki and I went down. We went to the tangi and they brought Irikau – the mate arrived. Kei reira mātou e tū ana – kuhu mai. Well, I liked Irikau I was more or less brought up with him - a young kid who admired him. And I was trying to cry there and nobody was crying. Kei reira katoa e noho ana you know, pēnei te noho. Anyway, we were by the pou and ka mutu te mea ana ka tū a Te Hamu ki te whaikōrero. He said “wahine mā, kei te hoha katoa ahau ki a koutou” and everybody looked. He aha hoki te raruraru. “Haeremai tēnā, he ripitiki katoa kei runga i ngā waha; haeremai tēnā a, arā kē ngā makawe; he poua katoa. Ana ka haere koutou kimi haere koutou i ngā tūru i te taha kia pai ai tō koutou noho. Arā ngā kuia e noho mai rā i te taha rā. Ka noho koutou whakapaipai i a koutou and ana ka kōrero koutou ....“did you see so and so with that new suit on?”

I haere ke mai koutou ki te tangihanga. Koina kaore noho koutou - kaore rawa koutou e mohio ki te kōrero Māori, kaore hoki koutou e mohio ki ngā ture o te Māori. Nā tō koutou pēnā”. “Ko taku pirangi ki a koutou, ahakoa kaore koutou e mohio ki te tangi me ngūnguru noaiho ka ngūnguru hoki koutou, ka puta mai te aroha i roto i ngā ope, i ngā tangata nē”.

My kuia always said to me “ka haere koe ki te tangihanga, ahakoa kaore koe e mohio ki a rātou, engari ko nga mea kitengia atu e koe, you see who died before, kei te titiro atu koe ki tōu whānau anō i mate i mua i a ratou ne. Ana ka puta katoa mai te aroha mehemea koe kaare kaha ki te tangi mehemea he waiata kei roto i a koe .... Ngā waiata. Ana, ngūnguru noaiho i tō waiata ana ka puta ake te tangi i roto i a koe. And I always maintain that, if you can’t tangi, you just start to sing. In your own thing you’re actually crying but you bring out words in a song – waiata and believe me, they help you a heck of a lot.

The values and beliefs that underpin these particular teachings can be found in speeches (whaikōrero) that are made at tangihanga. The use of the phrase “te roimata i heke, te hupe i whiua ki te marae, ka ea Aitua” [the tears that fall, the mucus that is cast on the marae, avenge death] (Buck, 1974) stresses the importance of ‘tangi’ to the grief process. Traditionally, noses were left to drip unchecked and emotion at tangihanga was unrestrained. Today however, such emotion is witnessed on rare occasion only, and it is more common for mourners to ‘show their respect simply by standing in silence with their heads bowed’ (Salmon, A. 1975, p. 146).

Continuing, Aunty Hilda was resolute that the whānau pani (the bereaved family) must remain awake when receiving visitors to a tangihanga. She emphasised the inappropriateness of falling asleep in front of visitors:

You don’t go to sleep; you don’t make yourself comfortable. Those people have come. Kua haere mai ki te tangihanga. He aroha mai hoki ki a koe ana, kei reira koe e moe ana kē! Even though you are tired, you must try and stay awake for the sake of all those people who come. Ngā manuhiri e haeremai ki a koe.

The voices of the old people speak to us in two ways through these particular narratives. Firstly they offer counsel; advising as to the need to uphold, maintain and to practice correct tikanga. Secondly, they emphasise the importance of understanding the philosophical values, beliefs and concepts that underpin the tikanga we practice, particularly within the context of tangihanga. What follows naturally from this process for Māori, is the ability to engage meaningfully, in all that it means ‘to live as Māori’ (M. Durie, 2003).

### *On modesty*

Raised by her grandmother, Aunty Hilda learnt tikanga Māori as way of life. She also learnt by observing and through the guidance of Ngati Pikiao kuia such as Kaa Mōrehu – Kingi. Kaa had a pleasant manner and was well versed in Māori protocols; her teaching about appropriate attire and behaviour for, and at, tangihanga are encapsulated in the next story:

I was told by the Morehu’s – they were very staunch in a lot of things. And that was Takaia’s old mother Kaa. She was a lovely woman and she will tell you nicely. It was hot and I took my cardigan off too and I was sitting there and Kaa, Takaia’s mother she come and sat by me and she said “e ko; haere koe ki te tangihanga, kua e whāwhaki haere tō tinana”. And I said “but I have got black on” and she said “ae, e tika tō kōrero. I don’t know how they put it, but it must be woman’s thing must be very sacred you know. And I thought to myself, by kare that is right. All those old kuias, they didn’t care what their skirt was, they could have three skirts on and tops with long sleeves but, you never saw their body, their legs or anything. They go and karanga and they got a scarf on their head and long clothes and they don’t like their skin to be showing.

Another thing, if you are wearing tarau [trousers] never stand up to waiata because that belongs to men [te tarau]. Memea kei te mau tarau koe, kua e tū ki te waiata. Tēnā ano, kua te tāne e mau tarau poto ki te tangihanga because, that’s no good. They must wear long pants. There are a lot of things that they don’t like you to do and in those days, it was very strict.

In recent times, the compulsion for men to wear long trousers to tangihanga while the women don long black skirts has been questioned. The rule (tikanga?) is regularly flaunted by some younger women and men on the basis of its questionable authenticity as a true tikanga Māori based cultural norm. Wearing black mourning attire has been associated with colonising Christian religious practices. Supporting evidence that the long black ‘tangihanga’ skirt is a relatively contemporary practice is provided by 77 year old Ngati Maniapoto elder Tione Emery. Like Aunty Hilda, Tione was also raised by his

grandmother. He had no recollection of his old people ever wearing ‘blacks’ to tangihanga. Casting his mind back to the times of his tūpuna he recalled:

[That] all the tangi were held at home at Mangahuka [Kakepuku, Te Awamutu]; that was before the marae [Te Kopua] was built. Nobody wore blacks to tangihanga in those days [1930’s – 40’s]. The old people just wore their clothes; just what they wore everyday. We would build our own coffins, Charlie and I, and the kuia took care of the tūpāpaku [body]; no undertakers.

The wearing of ‘blacks’ to tangihanga is strictly adhered to by kuia in Te Arawa. Respectfully, Aunty Hilda has always maintained this practice. In her view, the wearing of long black skirts to tangihanga is a modest and dignified means by which ‘the tapu of the wahine as the whare tangata’ (H. Inia, pers. comm., 2005) is enhanced and protected. Explaining this thinking, Biggs (1960) suggests that the Māori cultural concept of modesty required Māori women to be very careful about undue exposure of their puke or pubic area. Women who displayed modesty in their behaviour and in their dress were held in high regard. To this end, tangihanga ‘blacks’ represent modesty, respect and dignity.

### **Maintenance of Whakapapa**

*Kei te tuhera tonu te Awa-i-Takaupūwhaia: the river of Takapūwhaia is still open’*

*Rākeiti, wife of Pikiāo, had borne no sons. When his father, bewailing this misfortune, suggested another wife, Rakeiti quoted the above statement, meaning she was still able to bear children. Te Takapūwhāia is a stretch of water leading down the Kaituna River (Tiakiawa, 1995; Stafford, D. 1967, p, 82 cited in Mead, H., Grove, N. 2001, p, 72).*

This whakatauki emphasises the importance of childbearing. Taking precedent, the ure tarewa, the male line of descent, was/is considered to be of utmost importance to the continuity of whakapapa (genealogy). Describing the circumstances surrounding the birth of her father in-law Inia Te Ruri, Aunty Hilda shows how this principle was applied in practice:

Rosie [Paki’s sister] she was the eldest. And then Paki. But her and Paki; old Ngapine, that old kuia at Taheke, she brought them up – Inia’s aunty. She lived by the marae; they had the old wharekai next to the whareniui.

The old people and them, they wanted a uri [descendant]. And they went and made Tātai, that was Inia's mother, - fine looking woman. She was big and very fair, and they made her sleep with Hoirangi and she got pregnant with Inia. And of course when she got pregnant with Inia, they got their boy. Tatai never wanted anything to do with Inia and you see that's how Inia was bought up down there by Ngapine and Te Ruri, they adopted him. It's quite a history. Tātai never ever recognised her son. Memea kaare whiwhi tamariki, well that's how the old people go. They give it to the sister and you are not allowed to say anything. Or the brother, things like that.

Further evidence of this practice is provided by Buck (1974) who reports that the primary purpose of a traditional Māori marriage was the production of children. In the event of a first wife being barren or producing only girls, another wife, preferably a sister to the first wife, was sought in order to produce a male heir. The marriage of two sisters to the same husband was considered to be the best form of polygamous marriage; should quarrels between the wives occur, they would be within the same family and any repercussions were therefore, localised (Buck, 1974).

Discussing the ways of the old people further, Aunty Hilda and Tione Emery both agreed that “they [the old people] didn't ask you; engari, ka tohutohu [you were told] and you didn't question, you just did it” (Emery, T. pers. comm., 2005). When probed as to why they did not question the old people's instructions, Tione responded saying:

He ao anō, kaore tonu i orite ki ngā rā o aianei. I ahau e tamariki ana kotahi te reo, kotahi rānei te kōrero o ngā mātua tūpuna; nā rātou te kōrero, mā ngā tamariki e whakaoti. Ki au nei, if my grandparents said something or asked me to do something I did it, no questions asked. It was because of the respect I had for them. Even though to me my father was Uncle John because I was raised more so by my kuia and koroua me ngā mātua kēkē [and my aunties], I still respected his word and did as he said. The only time I ever said no to a request from the old people and my father was when I left home [Te Awamutu] and came here to Te Arawa. They wanted me to stay and run the farm, but I knew if I did that there would be disputes over land and that I was likely to end up a haurangi like him [my father] and my big brother. That was the only time I ever said no to them (Emery, T. pers. comm., 2005).

These stories encapsulate the respect that was accorded to elders during the times of both my father Tione and Aunty Hilda. Now in their seventies, the pair were both raised by their tūpuna and as such, their ways of being in the world today, have been shaped by tupuna teachings; they are ‘morehū’ – two of the few remaining Māori people to have lived in what is now, a twilight zone – te ao tawhito.

## **Hei whakakapi**

### *In closing*

These stories are but a ‘drop in the ocean’ of stories that still exist within the repositories of knowledge more commonly known to us, as our mātua tūpuna. Ever dwindling in number, the challenge while they are still amongst us is to take time out of busy lives to get alongside them. To privilege their voices by listening and to honour their words and their wisdom by acting in ways that uphold, maintain and ensure the continuity of Māori ways of being and knowing.

The words of Kathie Irwin (1992) are brought to fruition by way of the active participation of kuia such as Aunty Hilda in this stories project. Irwin’s words are a reminder to us all, about the need to [reciprocally] recognise, utilise and value the resources at our doorsteps; being ngā kuia me ngā koroua mōrehu. Kathie Irwin is resolute when she states:

We need to actively honour, to celebrate the contributions, and to affirm the mana of Māori women; those tūpuna wahine who have gone before us; those wahine toa who give strength to our culture and to people today; and those kōtiro and mokopuna who are being born now and who will be born in the future, to fulfill our dreams (Irwin, K. 1992, cited in Mikaere, A. 1995).

Otirā, he mihi nui, he mihi aroha hoki ki a koe te whaea Aunty Hilda, kōrua ko tō tamāhine a Audrey. Tō kōrua nei kaha ki te hāpai i tenei kaupapa, tenei rangahau mā tātou o Ngati Te Takinga, Ngati Pikiao, arā hoki o te Iwi Māori, huri noa o te motu. Tenei anō nei te mihi maioha ki a kōrua.

### ***Epilogue***

*After a long illness Aunty Hilda died in the winter months of 2006, approximately one year after her story was recorded and one week after she and her daughter Audrey had edited the first draft of the story. As was her wish, upon her death she was returned to her ūkaipō (her place of birth) Ohinemutu. She lay at Tunohopu marae and was buried at the urupā Pukepoto on the slopes of Maunga Ngongotahā beside her husband Paki and their daughter Rauāwhea. According to Audrey, Aunty Hilda’s desire to lie at*

*Tunohopu was fuelled by the previous decisions of her mother and grandmother before her; both had lain elsewhere at the time of their deaths. Aunty Hilda's choice to lie at Tunohopu marae rather than at Te Kuri or Te Takinga, was an expression of the Inia whānau Ngati Whakauetanga that asserted, reinforced and maintains their connection and commitment to Ngati Whakaue. Aunty Hilda's tangi was a means by which to create the sorts of obligations that maintain whānau-hapū and Iwi relationships.*

*And in true form, Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo came to Aunty Hilda's tangi and they sat with her until it was time for her burial.. Aunty Hilda's words of providence rung loud and true ....*

*“one thing with Ngati Pikiāo was if there was a tangi, ka mōhio ana hoki a Ngati Pikiāo he tangi, and they'll come up and they all come and they sit” (H. Inia, pers. comm., 2005).*

*Aunty Hilda's opening statement reads: “I am Ngati Whakaue me Ngati Te Takinga ....i tipu ake i Ohinemutu”. In returning to Ohinemutu Aunty Hilda's final act upholds the tikanga Māori ways in which she was raised; she made the return to ‘te wāhi i pupu mai ai tōna hau me tōna mauri’ - the place from which the vitality of the land and the essence of her being emanated and where the mauri and vitality of her being was from.*

*Nō reira moe mai e kui i tō moengaroa, i te one tapu o tō tātou nei maunga kārangaranga a Ngongotahā; i te rua koiwi o ngā mātua tūpuna. Ā, ko te hunga mate ki te hunga mate, tātou te hunga ora e pai nei tēnā ra tātou katoa.*

## Chapter Seven

### Ngā reo o te kainga: voices from home

*Te hunga hoki mai – Rakapurua Tipiway (Scobie Nana Tāmati)*

*I think it was Uncle Rātema [Tāmati] who registered me at primary school as ‘Scobie Nana Tāmati’ and I didn’t know my real name – Rakapurua Tipiwai, until I was twelve. The name ‘Scobie, Nana Tāmati’ stuck, but my legal name is still Rakapurua Tipiwai. I was born in Whangaparaoa, Cape Runaway but from birth to ten years, I was brought up by my kuia Wehipū and my koroua Te Heru Rātema Tamati, in Mourea; I think because I was semi paralysed in one leg and we were closer to the doctors and the hospital at Mourea here. My kuia was Wehipū. She was an Awhimate from Ngati Mākino, Otamarākau and she married my koro Te Heru Tāmati from Ngati Te Takinga, Ngati Pikao. They brought me up. We had a mill home down at Okawa Bay Mourea; that was our first home (S. Tamati, pers. comm., 2005).*

An open, amiable and personable character with a great sense of humour, it was without hesitation that Scobie Tamati (Uncle Scobie) enlisted to participate in the Te Takinga stories project. Our first meeting for the purpose of what was a comfortable, relaxed and valuable interview took place at his Rotorua city home in the early spring of 2005.

In keeping with the tradition of his own kuia and koroua at the time of his interview, Uncle Scobie was also caring for one of his mokopuna. Known as ‘taura moko’ (Hemara, 2000) this practice entails grandparents taking a grandchild (moko taura) in order to start a process of life-long learning. The grandchild (mokopuna) functions as a link between generations, becoming the seedbed for the knowledge of the grandparents (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2006). An enduring custom, the practice was evidenced during the visit to Uncle Scobie’s home and to the homes also, of other Ngati Te Takinga elders who participated in this stories project.

The story of Uncle Scobie’s early years at Mourea, his move away and then his return after some forty two years, provides valuable insight into four significant phenomenon which have direct relevance to this project. Firstly, Uncle Scobie’s story highlights the influences in his early life which impacted on the ways in which he has conceptualised,

constructed and maintained a sense of home regardless of his geographical disconnection after leaving that home. Secondly, his story expounds the practical ways and means by which he maintained his links with home, the marae and the people of Ngati Te Takinga throughout the time that he was 'away'. Thirdly, Uncle Scobie's story provides an insight into the Iwi reintegration (inclusion) process that has enabled him to re-establish, reconnect and assume his place at Te Takinga marae and within the Iwi; subsequent to his long years of absence. Uncle Scobie now sits on the paepae at the marae and his presence and his position are integral to the maintenance of Māori cultural continuity on behalf of and for, Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikiāo and Te Arawa whānui.

Finally, the stories recounted by this Kaumātua elucidate the notion of the deterritorialised nation or, the autonomous nation-state that 'remains intact even though the geographic boundaries of the state no longer can be understood to contain the citizens of the nation state' (Basch, et. al, 1994, p. 260). The deterritorialised nation comes to exist in the hearts and minds of the people of that nation, although they may live outside its geographical boundaries. In the case of Uncle Scobie, the nation state of Ngati Te Takinga, Ngati Pikiāo remained branded into his heart and mind; although living many miles away and lead a life which was far removed from that which he had lived at Mourea kainga. The means by which this nation state was created and remained in his heart and in his mind are expressed and illuminated through his story telling.

Uncle Scobie's stories of home are charted using these themes as their navigational points; conceptualising and constructing notions of home; the move from the rural hearth to the city; the return home and finally, deterritorialisation. The stories will begin with his recollections of the formative years he spent at Mourea with his grandparents Wehipū and Te Heru and also, with his mother Martha and stepfather Ted Walker. Due to the in-depth, detailed and ordered way in which Uncle Scobie recounted his stories during the interview process the first section, which sets the scene for the sections that follow, will be biographical in nature. This biographical account of Uncle Scobie's early years actively captures the intangible essence or 'hau' of his Mourea home or kainga, and in so

doing, explicates the fundamental purpose of this thesis; the exploration of notions of home, belongingness and identity.

The account of his early years will be followed by a description of the practical ways in which he maintained his links with home after leaving and finally, his closing story will constitute a personal exposé on his return home including the steps he took in preparation for this journey.

### **Scobie Nana Tamati - The early years: A biography**

My father Takurua Tipiwai, was from Te Whānau a Apanui; Omaio. My mother Martha met him at the Ministry of Works camp in the Waioeka Gorge; she was staying there with my kuia Wehipū and my koro Te Heru who were working for the Ministry of Works at the time. After meeting, my Mum went to live with my Dad at Whangaparoa Cape Runaway at a place called Te Piki. They had these Māori work schemes at the time; set up by Apirana Ngata. There were about 10 families and they lived in tin shack camps. The people worked farming and breaking land in. All my whānau were born there; Manuariki and Reweti known as Scratch and Te Piki who is also known as Pigo and then me, Rakapurua (Scobie); Atareta (Hine), Kereopa (Pope) and Maui. My dad died in 1945 and that was when my family came to live at Mourea. I was the first of the family to come; my mum and the rest of the family came a bit later. It was only recently that Aunty Mabel Paul told me these things about my mum and dad until then, I hadn't known.

So, after my dad died, my family came to Mourea. They lived with my kuia and koro Wehipū and Te Heru. I think [I came early] because I was semi paralysed in the leg and we were closer to the doctors and the hospital at Mourea here. We had a mill home down at Okawa Bay Mourea; that was our first home and we lived there until I was about five. The name of the mill was the Rotoiti Timber Company. The logs used to come from Waione and from the south side of Ngati Piki's tūpuna maunga, Matawhaura. I have vivid memories of the logs coming up because my koro took me down [to Matawhara] on the barge. Uncle Makiha was operating the launch which towed the barge to Matawhaura

where the logs were loaded and then towed them all the way back up to Okawa. It was an exciting time; the mill was our playground ... as long as you didn't get caught there!

We then moved to our present home, which is in the middle of Mourea. It was brand spanking new and we were in one of the two or three new homes at that time which was during the 1940s; that was my kuia and koro's first homestead. We don't have photos of Te Heru or Wehipū, which is tragic. Wehipū was a very humble woman. She was marvelous. She used to carry me around because of my paralysed leg. We used to go to the doctor who came to Sam Emery's shop in front of our place. The Doctor came there, which was very good for me. Wehipū would carry me down on her back to the surgery area. Ani Pātene, who was Sam Emery's sister in law, was running the shop at the time.

As young children we weren't allowed to go to the marae. My kuia was pretty strict on that area but when I was about nine or ten, I would go down there quite often to the tangis and hui that we had on. The marae was used for various events. There was Sunday school there with Mr. Patterson and they used to run a lot of fundraising things like housie and games and dances, it was really like the community centre then. I had a cousin Mānahi Walker - Nash – my mother married his father Ted when Ted lost his wife. Mānahi, we used to come back from school sometimes and he would rub his leg and I would say “what's the matter, is somebody dead at home” and sure enough. We would come back and there's a tangi at home. Well there's no way we could tell this at school with no telephone .... He wasn't freaky or spooky; he would just go down and rub his leg. We called him Nash. He had a certain gift of seeing, of knowing those sorts of things.

There were about thirty or forty of us in our era – our age bracket and I suppose we were all pretty close. There was Jackie Inia and Matiu Te Puia or Tamehana, Teddy Grant, Napi Waaka, the Rapana boys; Wihau, Bobby and Thompson and the ones from across Pārua and Kahumatamomoe. I suppose our upbringing was pretty tough you know .... clothes to wear and food and it was just difficult for my kui and koro. But all of our kuia

and koroua they brought up mokopuna; after their kids, the whole lot of them. It was just the natural thing to them. Mourea back then, there was a different feeling. It was closer, a closer feeling because everybody was just about on par. There were only a few families that were just a bit higher you know, had a bit better [living] standard than us; the Rogers family and the Newtons. [But] I think that the Māori were closer knit in that time; it was in your genes you know, because of the closeness of the family because we are under one tūpuna and we just go back to him [sic] to Te Takinga and its all part of your inner system I suppose (S. Tamati, pers. comm., 2005).

### **In summary**

In their retelling, the stories of the formative years of Uncle Scobie's life reveal the fundamental values and beliefs that have shaped his personal construction of home belongingness and his Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikiāo identity. The old people, particularly his kuia Wehipū and his koro Te Heru, for whom he expressed great love, feature predominantly in his kōrero. The hau kainga for Uncle Scobie is evoked through memories of his kui and koro and of the other people of Mourea – Ngati Te Takinga, to whom he was close and with whom he was raised. The intergenerational relationships that were shared and fostered by all of these people formed the foundation of the 'close knit' Mourea whānau - community to which they all belonged. Uncle Scobie's nostalgic recollections replenish and rebuttress his sense of identity by consolidating his ties with his history (Ritivoi, 2002).

The applied roles that grandparents had in raising their mokopuna in days past, continues. The tradition is maintained by research participants such as Uncle Scobie, Aunty Hilda, Ngāhuia, Merepaea and Aunty Nancy who all had mokopuna living with, or in close proximity to, them. Effectively, their homes were/are the classrooms where intergenerational transmission of Māori custom, knowledge and practice occurs. For Uncle Scobie the memory of the old people who raised him imbue the Mourea kainga with a sense of home. Overlooking the Mourea settlement stands Motutawa. Sentinel urupā and final resting place of the ancestors who are revived and remembered through these stories. Although no longer amongst us, the enduring nature of the teachings of

kuia and koroua such as Te Heru and Wehipū and those others of their generation offer guidance for the succeeding generations of Ngati Te Takinga.

### **Home and away: maintaining connections**

*Te Takinga is very much my tūrangawaewae; I went away from there in 1958 – came back in 2000 - but I always came home once a year when I had leave [from work]; no matter where I was living; I have always loved Mourea (S. Tamati, pers. comm., 2005).*

Prior to leaving Mourea in 1958 Uncle Scobie, like the majority of the Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikiāo men at the time, was employed at the Waipa State Sawmill. Leaving this job he began work for the New Zealand Electricity Department laying the power lines to, and between, Mourea, Te Puke and Edgecumbe. He then went on to another job, constructing the Atiamuri dam. In his words:

Well the line, that was closing down and we were finishing off and then one of my whānau, Dan Manahi, he said “come over to Atiamuri big money there” and so me, Uncle Ratema, Billy Boy Waaka and Jim Henry we all went and applied for and got a job. Well, our first fortnight pay was 25 pounds and our next one was 113 pounds; and I owed the Petley’s store [at Mourea] a lot of money about 60 pounds! Well, I just wiped off my big bills just like that; and that’s what got my family and I to a better standard of living. It was hard work but the money was too good and it got better as it got on.

Uncle Scobie’s determination to improve the living standards of his whānau was reinforced when his first born child, Te Arani, died of pneumonia.

We had our first child at Mourea. She was born in 1957 and we named her Te Arani Maryanne Tamati. We were living where Uncle Ratema is now. There was a two room bach there; no power and we only had a woodstove for heating. Te Arani caught pneumonia and she died. For three days she was unconscious in the hospital. Life was hard; no power, down to the lake in the winter to wash the clothes ... I used to lie my baby on my chest to try to keep her warm.

Te Arani’s passing was to be that catalyst for Uncle Scobie’s departure from Mourea. With thoughts of higher wages and better standards of living for his whānau in mind, he and his Tuhourangi – Ngāpuhi wife Ngāwai Toitōi Mihaka left Mourea. He was 23 years of age.

## **'He taura here'**

### *A binding connection*

Uncle Scobie's forty-two year absence from Mourea did not impact his sense of connection to the hau kainga. Yearly visits home meant that he "never lost touch".

Recounting his ongoing efforts to sustain his connections Uncle Scobie said:

Every time I went away, I always made a point of coming back. I would visit Uncle Ratema and then Rangiwahaea and Aunty Mabel and Te Arani. Funny enough, in all that, my mother and step dad weren't in the equation until 1990. But I always made it [coming back to Mourea] a point. I saw Mourea progress and I was there giving a bit of a hand in 1976 when they were doing the wharekai and all that with Paki and Rai Inia and them; they were making all the tables [for the wharekai]

Rekindling and maintaining ones family connections in the ways described by Uncle Scobie, is known in Māori terms as *matamatateaone* (also referred to as *matemateaone*). Explaining this term Ngāmaru Raerino (2006) stated "ko te matamatateaone he whakahonohono, he whakaohoho i te whānau tangata: it is a revitalisation of your links with your family" (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2006). For those Māori who live outside of their tribal areas, *matamatateaone* or returning home and visiting ones relatives however briefly, is one way of rekindling the home fires. By this means, one is enabled to keep their ties with home and family alive.

It was during his visits home that Uncle Scobie's desire to *whaikōrero* emerged. At the time, the mantle of *kai-kōrero* (*kaumātua*) for his *whānau* was quiescent. Recognising the need to remedy this situation for and on behalf of his *whānau*, he took active measures. Recounting his experience Uncle Scobie said:

I used to come back [to Mourea] and I would get envious of Whakarewa and Matiu and them on some occasions. I see them *whaikōrero* and I couldn't talk Māori then, never had a blimmin clue; until one time we were down in Turangi I think, in 1976 and I was getting on a bit and I thought blow this! So I started picking up dribs and drabs you know, but not through anybody teaching me, just through listening.

Uncle Scobie's inherent desire to *whaikōrero* and his pro-active measures to learn *te reo Māori* in preparedness for the role of *kai-kōrero* – *Kaumātua* for Ngāti Te Takinga, came to fruition in 2001. Assuming a speaking position on the *marae paepae* (orator's bench), his learning of *te reo me ngā tikanga Māori* was greatly enhanced through the sharing of knowledge with other Te Arawa elders both male and female.

## **He matemateaone**

### *Longing for home*

Like the term ‘matamatateaone’ the term ‘matemateaone’ also refers to a person’s sense of belonging to place. Matemateaone however, infers a sense of *longing* for home. This ‘longing’ – te matemateaone, is discernible within the next account of Uncle Scobie’s life. Although away from Mourea for 42 years, Uncle Scobie’s desire to return was constant. His efforts to “come back home” however, were thwarted by this wife Ngāwai’s lack of desire to leave their Cromwell home and return to Rotorua; “she was that obstinate” he said, “I tried for ten years and I won in the end but only because she died”. When asked as to the reasons behind Ngāwai’s decision not to return to home, Uncle Scobie pondered a while and said:

She went into her shell ..... I would come back home to tangi but she would be sick or a mokopuna would be sick and she just wouldn’t come. She just went into her shell and I just couldn’t get her out of it. She said “if you want to go just go. You can go back, but I’ve still got three children down here”.

On the one hand, Ngawai’s desire to remain in Cromwell beside her children rather than return to Rotorua was understandable. On the other hand, in Uncle Scobie’s view, her withdrawal from the local Cromwell kapahaka group Te Roopu o Kawarau, described in the following quote, was baffling. The couple had been instrumental in establishing this group. Their participation in its activities had also been an important means by which they had recreated and maintained a sense of whānaunga and Māoritanga while absent from the hau kainga. The following excerpt highlights these points:

When we went down to Te Waipounamu where we formed a Māori club and she was into it. We called the club Te Roopu o Kawarau, after the river flowing through [Cromwell]. I ended up being with the Ngāpuhi fullas, we were the cooks and then we ended up being the Kaumātua. Then all of a sudden she just wasn’t interested anymore, she wouldn’t come. She just went into her shell.

A pan-tribal ‘kapa’, or Māori performing arts group, Te Roopu o Kawarau was a forerunner to the establishment of other pan-tribal ‘kapa’ which had their genesis in the 1970’s. Pan-tribal kapahaka groups were a form of Māori voluntary association that provided a forum in which urbanised Māori from any Iwi, could once again feel ‘the

camaraderie that existed in their home communities [through] the whānaungatanga in a kapa' (Papesch, T. 2006, p. 38). The activities of the kapa brought those involved 'closer to home' quelling loneliness and also, allowing them to 'still be Māori among a strange new population majority that was not Māori' (Papesch, T. 2006, p. 38). Given these underlying principles Uncle Scobie's inability to comprehend Ngāwai's withdrawal from Te Roopu o Kawarau, is understandable.

We can never know the reasons for the choices Ngāwai made during her lifetime. Under the circumstances however, Uncle Scobie's choice to remain with Ngāwai and the children in Cromwell while harboring intense desires to return home (he matemateaone), speaks of two things. Firstly, a commitment to the promises made and kept by way of his marriage to Ngāwai and secondly, his allegiance to his immediate whānau. His actions are underpinned by the fundamental values of whānau and the manaaki (care) of the whānau. These values form the basis of a Māori way of being and knowing. Durie (2003) asserts that the maintenance of whānau is critical to the survival and well being of Māori as a distinct people. Concurring with this thinking, the New Zealand Ministry of Health (1997) maintains that the well being of whānau Māori is vital to the overall health status of Māori. Uncle Scobie's actions were at the time, a practical demonstration of his commitment to the well being of his whānau.

### **He hokinga mai**

#### *A homecoming*

Contrary to her wishes, when Ngāwai died in 1999 she was brought back to Mourea to lie at Te Takinga marae. She is buried at the urupā Motutawa. On this matter Uncle Scobie said:

In my mind I made the decision whenever or whoever dies, they will be brought home. So I just put her in my van and home we came. She had half a day at Te Takinga marae and we buried her at Motutawa.

Bringing Ngāwai home for burial is representative of the Māori concept of ūkaipō. Ūkaipō as described by Barlow (1991) and Metge (1995) relates in a physical sense, to

place and land. From an emotional perspective, ūkaipō conveys notions of belonging, sustenance and nurturing.

As explained by Ngāmaru Raerino (2005) orators in their poroporoaki or farewell speeches to the dead, often recite the term ‘e hoki ki tō ūkaipō’ meaning, return to ‘te wahi i pupu mai ai tō hau me tō mauri – the place from which the vitality of the land and the essence of your being emanates or where the mauri and vitality of your being is from’ (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2005). While not Ngāwai’s place of birth, Mourea, Te Takinga and the urupā Motutawa are places of great significance to Uncle Scobie and his whānau. This significance is now carried forward to the couple’s descendants - ngā uri whakaheke - through Ngāwai’s interment amongst the bones of the ancestors – te rua KoIwi - within the hallowed ground of Motutawa.

Six months after Ngawai’s death and her final return to the Te Arawa tribal area, Uncle Scobie, after “clearing everything up and selling the house” (S. Tamati, pers. comm. 2005), moved home to Rotorua.

### **He hokinga kainga, he hokinga oneone**

*A return home a return to the soil*

The Māori urban migration of the 1950s and 60’s (Metge, 1964; Walker, 1990) is linked to changes to land use in small rural villages such as Mourea. Urbanisation heralded a decline in Māori ways of being and knowing catapulting the concepts of the nuclear family and individualism to the forefront. Compelled by the changes to the rural economy including town and country-planning regulations; restrictions prohibiting whānau from building on their land; declines in rural employment; housing policies which gave loans for urban dwellings; trade training schemes in metropolitan cities and the capitalisation of the commercial farming sector which accelerated the demand for manual labour, whānau Māori sought employment in the cities beyond the hearths of their rural homes. They began new lives that were vastly different in nature, to the lives they had left behind.

The Tamati whānau's shift from Mourea plays out the political, social and urban trends of Māori in the 1950's and 60's (Metge, 1964; Walker, 1990; Durie, 1997, Ihimaera, 1998). Uncle Scobie left in search of employment, he aspired to a higher standard of living and he sought greater opportunities for his children. He and Ngawai's subsequent involvement in the formation of, and affiliation to, the kapahaka group Te Roopu o Kawarau, is also in keeping with Māori urban trends of the 50's and 60's. The birth and the life of such groups provided a means by which urban relocated Māori were able to recreate and sustain their ideas and their ways of being and knowing as whānau – hapū and Iwi, within their new 'foreign' environments (Metge, 1964; Walker, 1990; Kiro, 1998).

This section of Uncle Scobie's story, is a window into the experiences of one person who, having been part of the 1950's and 60's urban Māori migration has, forty two years on, made his way back home to successfully integrate and actively participate in whānau, hapū and Iwi life. Now a Kaumātua, his transition period has been relatively straightforward as is evidenced within the next story, which begins with the following quote:

I came back [to Mourea] but I wasn't too happy when I came home. You know, I was a bit lost. It was all right if I stayed in Mourea, but I stayed up here [in the Rotorua Township] with my son Patrick (S. Tamati, pers. comm., 2005).

Explaining the feeling of 'lost-ness' he experienced immediately upon his return home, Uncle Scobie recited a long list of names; his friends from the early and formative years of his life at Mourea kainga. "All gone" were his words, "there was only Ranginui and Whakarewa and that's all in Mourea. All my age bracket had gone [were deceased]".

For Uncle Scobie, the mnemonic device (Binney, 2001) that sparks his sense of home and place, are the memories and the remembering of the people that he grew up with and amongst. Now in the seventh decade of his life, Uncle Scobie is one of a small and diminishing group of surviving Ngati Te Takinga koroua. While bringing him much happiness, Uncle Scobie's return home was also marked by a sense of sadness due to the absence of his old friends; their passing representing a weakening of the 'hau' of the

kainga - the intangible essence of home. Subsequently, he felt like he “was on the outside coming back in [to the Iwi]” (S. Tamati, pers. comm., 2005).

The feeling of being on the outer is shared. Common to other Ngati Te Takinga people who have left the Mourea kainga, re-entering the fold or returning to the hau kainga, engenders feelings of apprehension (Emery, 2000). The journey home is not easy and issues of inclusion (Emery, 2000) are often experienced. Other Ngati Te Takinga urban dwelling kuia interviewed for this project while not speaking of feeling ‘on the outer’, did mention that their actions at the Te Takinga marae were often characterised as being ‘townie ways’ by the home people (H. Inia; B. Waiomio, pers. comms. 2005).

Lost and ‘outsider ness’ feelings are also experienced by some Ngati Te Takinga affiliates who are connected genealogically to the Iwi, but who have been physically, and in some cases emotionally and spiritually, disconnected through colonisation, urbanisation and assimilation. Returning as ‘unknowns’, for these people reconnecting with the hapū and participating in the life of the marae is more complex. (Emery, 2000; Temara 2004). Levels of connectiveness to Iwi and the processes of hapū-marae reintegration and inclusion are discussed more fully at a later stage in this thesis. Sufficient to say at this point, the existing tension between the ahi kaa and the ahi tere (away-dwellers) who seek passage home is very real. Although he has come home, Uncle Scobie is sometimes (publicly) reminded that he went ‘away’. The meaning behind such reminders is clear. Leaving the hau kainga diminishes a person’s rights to a ‘voice’ in hapū-marae matters; winning them back takes time and effort.

### **Kua tau te noho**

#### *Getting in the groove*

Uncle Scobie’s feelings of ‘lost-ness’ were short-lived. Six months after his return, he “got into the groove of it” beginning his Iwi reintegration process with regular trips home from the Rotorua Township to Mourea. Strengthening his relationships with other Ngati

Pikiao whānau members particularly the elders “Tū Kingi, Merepaea, Ranginui, Whakarewa and Te Ariki”, Uncle Scobie experienced a rapid reinstatement of his rights to hapū-Iwi membership. The speed with which this process occurred can be attributed to four things. Firstly his close whakapapa connections to the mana whenua, secondly his regular practice of ‘matamatateaone’ during his 42 year absence from Mourea and thirdly, the respectful and humble way in which Uncle Scobie assumed his place beside the home fire. Finally, given the current dearth of elders (Kaumātua) who act as the heart of Te Takinga marae, Uncle Scobie’s return was timely; his services were needed and welcomed.

Te whānau Tamati (Uncle Scobie’s extended whānau) were the custodians of Uncle Scobie’s Iwi membership rights at Ngati Te Takinga. The extended family has retained permanent occupation of their Mourea lands; they remain as mana whenua and as such, they have been at the heart of maintaining the hapū obligations (Temara, 2005) acting as the hands, the feet and the voices of Ngati Te Takinga marae since its inception. Te whānau Tamati’s rights within the hapū of Ngati Te Takinga have endured. Having recently lost their mātua-tūpuna Ratema, the oldest surviving member of their whānau, Uncle Scobie’s homecoming was providential and he assumed the mantle of kaumātua for the whānau Tamati.

By way of matamatateaone, Uncle Scobie was known and his contributions to the hapū-Iwi over the years, however big or small, were remembered. Although living away, his regular visits home to Mourea effectively maintained his connection to, and with, Ngati Te Takinga. Tuhoe kaumātua Pou Temara recapitulates Uncle Scobie’s Iwi re-affiliation experience in the following way:

Even if you’ve been there, and you left [for] 20 years, and even if you kept coming back, you need to realign and reacquaint yourself. I’m talking about you coming in and respectfully requesting a place by way of patience and contribution. Not imposing yourself and requiring a right to share in the decision making of the Hapū. (Temara, P. 2004)

Uncle Scobie’s contributions to the collective were witnessed through his regular attendance at various hui-a hapū and Iwi. His demonstrations of support helped to restore

his kin relationships and his sense of belonging (to the kin group). He spoke however, of feeling a bit “different” to his “Kaumātua mates down there [at Mourea]”. Explaining he said:

When I came home I found the women had so much to offer in their kōrero and in their waiata. But, they are never given a voice and I hate that very much. A lot of those fullas won't talk to women as freely as I do. Like I, I'll talk to you fullas [the women]. Nā te kawa o Te Arawa tērā āhuatanga [that is the way here in Te Arawa].

In Uncle Scobie's view, his willingness to talk to the women in the Iwi is due to his open mindedness; a trait attributed to the many varied and different experiences he has had throughout the seven decades of his life; including, the forty two years he was away.

The open mindedness and new perspective that Uncle Scobie brings to the relationships between the men and women of Ngati Te Takinga is timely. In explanation, M. Durie (2003) suggests that while demographic patterns will lead to a much larger proportion of older Māori in the next century, many of these elders will be divorced from a tribal context. They will also lack cultural skills and as a result, will never seriously consider or take up, traditional Kaumātua roles. Given these circumstances, Māori cultural survival will depend on innovative solutions requiring pūmanawa (talents), skills and fresh ideas (H. Mead, 1997).

Being both complimentary and reciprocal in nature, the traditional Kaumātua roles ascribed to the older men and women in the Iwi are critical to the survival of tribal mana (M. Durie, 2003). H. Mead's (1997) suggestion of a shortage of culturally skilled kaumātua in the next century as leading to the demise of Māori as distinct peoples, accentuates the points made by Uncle Scobie who said: “the women had so much to offer in their kōrero and in their waiata. But, they are never given a voice”. Uncle Scobie's willingness to initiate and engage in dialogue with the women of the Iwi creates opportunities for strong, open relationships. Relationships as such invite better prospects for the innovative solutions necessary to maintain and enhance the mana of the hapū-Iwi as a whole.

Speaking about his successful repatriation into both the wider Te Arawa Iwi and into Ngati Te Takinga particularly, Uncle Scobie said:

I never lost touch with home and when I came back everybody welcomed me. I think, because I put a bit of life into the place. You know, say something stupid and have a bit of a laugh. They welcomed me home I think, especially Whakarewa; you know someone to awahi [help the paepae].

For Ngati Te Takinga, our cultural strength and mana is dependant upon a relatively small older generation. As stated previously, the cultural roles of this older generation are critical for the survival of tribal mana. Uncle Scobie's return to Rotorua – Mourea having culminated in his successful transition to Kaumātua – kai-kōrero is fitting. He speaks of his role as kai-kōrero with pride and humility and it is to the hau kainga, the ahi kaa that we must pay homage with respect to the position he has been afforded. For these are the people who have kept the home fires burning. It is they who have protected the 'ahi' while we have enjoyed careers, full employment and opportunities in the world outside of Mourea. These old people, te hau kainga, have welcomed Uncle Scobie back. They remain at the centre of tribal life and draw us towards the inner tribal circle (Mead, 1997), making available the space in which we are able to warm ourselves beside, and help to stoke, the home fires.

### **Assuming the mantle**

When standing to speak at Te Takinga marae for the first time, Uncle Scobie maintained that it was the support and aroha of the kuia at the marae that gave him the initial confidence to make his debut as Kaumātua - kai-kōrero. His close relationship to the kuia and his open attitude towards women in general were central to this occurrence. His words were:

When I came back Hinepae was alive. She encouraged me. I did just a basic [mihi] you know, to the manuhiri but Hinepae really supported me. And Ngāhuia and Merepaea. They are pretty close to me, we're second cousins. Engari, kotahi anō tō mātou Whakapapa. [but we all share the same Whakapapa we are all one]

Theoretically, entitlement to speak on the marae is not Uncle Scobie's by right at this point in time. In accord with Te Arawa kawa and tikanga ā marae, because his mother's

brother Ratema Tamati is still alive, it is Ratema who holds the whānau speaking rights on the marae. However, in accord also with Te Arawa kawa and tikanga a marae, it is possible and permissible for the holder of speaking rights to pass them to another person.

In the case of Uncle Scobie, the right to stand and speak has been given to him by his uncle Ratema. His thoughts on this matter follow:

I think that Te Takinga is one of the strongest of the marae in our village but I [also] think that if Uncle Ratema was there it would have been good. Whakapapa wise, you know. Uncle Ratema should stay in for the people. He [Ratema] gave his rights to me, but he never told anybody else. Those sorts of things are supposed to be public that would have been good. Like when Harry Paul gave his to his son Hakopa. He said it on the marae.

Emphasising the point, Uncle Scobie also cited an example of an older brother who bequeathed his speaking rights to his younger brother on the death of their father. This event took place openly at the marae in the presence of the Iwi. Marsden (1992) concurs with this method of conferring one's 'mana' to another:

The method was to assemble the family and elders as witnesses and then the father or chief laid his hands upon the son's [chosen person's] head and pronounced over him both the office and functions he was to assume, and then pronounced his blessing. This laying on of hands was normally accompanied by the tohi mauri (Marsden, M. 1992, p. 127).

Giving one's speaking rights to another in a public [marae] forum sanctions the recipients alter customary position, safeguarding them against the possibility of any future challenges to their authority, due to their teina or younger sibling status. Successors' are thereby afforded a sense of security in their heretical role.

Speaking about his current ability to effectively fulfill the role of kai-kōrero, a smiling Uncle Scobie stated:

I'm only a Kaumātua through age, not through knowledge and mohiotanga. I'm only on the paepae because there is nobody else. You know, like most of the others; my nephews well, Irirangi [Tiakiawa] taught them; he taught them more than what I know but, I just do what I can do and that's it!

The situation described by Uncle Scobie is not unique. Mead (2003) suggests that continuing urbanisation and the ensuing depletion of the population base at home has and

continues, to contribute to the decline in the levels of dynamic, scholarly and knowledgeable oratory as witnessed in times prior.

According to Ngāmaru Raerino (2005), in traditional times learned orators were classified as tohunga. These tohunga were differentiated according to the levels, range and depth of the knowledge they held. On the first level was Te Tohunga Ruanuku. Te Tohunga Ruanuku was a person skilled in incantations, spells and environmental knowledges. In Pākehā terms this person would be called the wizard. The second level of tohunga was Te Tohunga Puri. This person held law and esoteric knowledges. Both Te Tohunga Ruanuku and Te Tohunga Puri dispensed their knowledge in certain ways, to certain people and at certain times. In association with these tohunga roles, was that of the kai-kōrero - kaumātua to which Uncle Scobie now ascribes. The kai-kōrero-kaumātua is charged with the sharing and dissemination of common sense knowledge drawn from experience (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2005).

Recognising and embracing the need to increase his knowledge and skills, Uncle Scobie has undertaken training and education in tikanga a marae including whaikōrero and waiata. He is currently engaged in a programme of study that brings kuia and koroua from various Te Arawa Iwi together for the purpose of wānanga. The wānanga focus specifically on matters of significance to the kaumātua and involve times for sharing of their ideas and experiences. Forums such as these wānanga enable the participants to support each other in meeting the responsibilities and obligations of their sometimes new, and often taxing, kaumātua roles. Age and knowledge matters aside, Uncle Scobie spoke of feeling proud to hold the mantle of kaumātua – kai-kōrero on behalf of and for, his immediate whānau and Ngati Te Takinga whānui.

#### *Deterritorialisation and Ngati Te Takinga*

Existing in the hearts and minds of people of a nation who live outside of a nation's physical boundaries, the deterritorialised nation state (Basch, et. el., 1994) knows no geographical bounds. Allegiance to the virtual nation (imagined community) is

maintained through a sense of attachment to origins. Identifiable upon introduction, Māori deterritorialised nationalists are many in number. Living beyond the boundaries of their tribal homelands these people know, acknowledge and use their Māori ancestry to maintain a ‘virtual’ connection home. Their pēpeha (tribal linkages) can include people and significant geographical features of their hau kainga, and their levels of connectiveness to their Iwi will vary according to their upbringing and the status of their Māori identity. For example, a person such as Uncle Scobie whose Māori identity is based in traditional norms will have a different level of connection home compared to someone with a ‘modern’ constructed Māori identity. Both identity types however, can affiliate to a deterritorialised (Māori) nation state.

Uncle Scobie’s story is an illustration of deterritorialisation in action. Although residing outside of Ngati Te Takinga’s geographical boundaries, Uncle Scobie remained connected and committed to his homeland and to his kin. The genesis of his return home transpired as a result of his wife Ngāwai’s death and her ensuing interment at Motutawa, the Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo cemetery. Further, he maintains ownership in land at Mourea, the place he has always referred to as home. Whakapapa and whānau, urupā and whenua were the virtual constructs of the deterritorialised Ngati Te Takinga nation state housed and kept alive within the heart and mind of Uncle Scobie. Although absent from his tribal home and kin for a forty-two year period, Mourea remained home.

Building the Ngati Te Takinga deterritorialised nation state in order to enrich, grow and strengthen the Iwi, is a primary focus of this thesis. These stories provide a vital link for Ngati Te Takinga deterritorialised nationalists who may seek to increase their knowledge of, and strengthen their connections to, Ngati Te Takinga. The stories help us to know and to understand the lives, the times and the circumstances that lead to certain decisions our people made at various stages in their lives. In turn, these new understandings help us to make sense of our past from both an individual and collective – Ngati Te Takinga perspective. Making sense of the past invariably leads to a greater understanding of the present. The hope is that these stories will help to strengthen the nation state of Ngati Te Takinga; including the nation that exists within the hearts and minds of those of our

people who live away. With increased understanding of each other's plights, we can then build the bridges that facilitate positive reunions between te ahi kaa and te ahi tere.

Moko Mead (1997) speaks of tribal development and survival as being paramount. He uses the analogy of the octopus stretching its tentacles outwards to draw the people towards the centre, to illustrate a notion of inclusion of all our people from all places.

Uncle Scobie's stories provide depth and insight into the Māori experience of colonisation, urbanisation, assimilation and repatriation. The latter of these four phenomenon, repatriation and the return home, whether physically, spiritually, emotionally or mentally, is paramount to the survival of the marae as a central institution of Iwi Māori. Marae are becoming bereft. Perhaps in the telling, these stories of a Ngati Te Takinga elder, will represent M. Mead's (1997) analogous octopus; its tentacles stretched outwards to draw the people towards the centre; te marae, te ahi kaa, te mana whenua, te hau kainga.

Nō reira, ngā mihi nui ki a koe e te matua. Tō manaaki, tō awahi, tō maia ki te tautoko i te kaupapa nei. Kia kaha, kia manawanui koe i roto i ou mahi mō te Iwi.

## **Nga reo o te kainga: voices from home**

*Te hunga hoki mai – He tuakana teina: Pare Aratema, Wai Morrison and Mere Stanton*

*‘The river for me is the connection to home’ (Aratema, P. 2005)*

The Ohau River flows through the heart of the Mourea settlement connecting Lake Rotorua to Lake Rotoiti. The name Ohau is derived from two potential sources. Tradition claims that Hau, the dog belonging to Ihenga the youngest son of Tuhoromatakataka (the oldest son of Tamatekapua), drowned ‘in the upper reaches of the channel at a place called Parewharewhatanga’ (Tiakiawa, I. 1984, p.43). In memory of his dog, Ihenga named the channel ‘Ohau’ (Tiakiawa, 1984; Stafford, 2005). The other belief is that the name Ohau originates from the strong winds, which blow incessantly across the flatlands through which the river runs (Stafford, 1996; RDC, 2005).

In days prior, the then pristine waters of the river were central to the survival of the local Ngati Te Takinga people. The Ohau was a main water transport route and a primary food and water source. As well, the river was utilised daily for the purposes of washing, laundry and recreation. The river also acted as a social gathering place for the locals who would go to the wharves dotting the river’s banks “just for a yak” even on days when they had no clothes to wash (N. Walker, pers. comm., 2005).

Although now no longer used by Ngati Te Takinga to the same degree as previously, the Ohau retains a place of major significance in the hearts, the minds and the lives of the people. The following stories about home begin with some 1950’s summertime memories of the Ohau; family and communal wharves lodged on the river’s banks, mothers chatting to each other while washing clothes, washed clothes hanging on lines that seemingly ran the full length of the channel and children swimming around busy working mothers, under the watchful eye of older siblings. These memories belong to Parehuia Aratema, Wai Morrison and Mere Stanton daughters of the now deceased Stan and Kiritai Newton of Mourea.

Leading somewhat contrasting lives to other young women in the Mourea community during the 1950 – 60's, these three sisters all engaged in higher education and pursued professional careers. In 2006, Pare is the Chief Executive Officer of Te Whare Wananga o Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa; Wai is the Deputy Principal at Rotorua Intermediate School and Mere, having left her position in the Royal New Zealand Air Force, is undertaking studies at Te Whare Wānanga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, Te Tāpapa i te Manawa o te Wheke. Placing a high value on education, the sisters' parents Stan and Kiritai were central to the success of their daughters' educational and professional efforts and achievements.

### **He korero; te kai a te Rangatira**

After a series of phone calls to co-ordinate a meeting of the three sisters, we met on a Saturday in November 2005 at Pare's suburban (house) home in Owhata, Rotorua. Our subsequent interview consisted of a series of quite long, informal, explorative discussions. Progressive in nature, the discussions began with generic whānau oriented descriptions of the sisters' early and formative years in the Mourea kainga and surrounding areas. These descriptions were followed by each individual's account of the paths and pursuits they undertook as young adults. The sisters spoke also, about past and present events, circumstances and tikanga Māori, which have impacted on and shaped their individual views, notions and conceptual constructions of home. The interview concluded with a reflective discussion that elicited some concerns the sisters have with specific regard to three factors impacting on Māori cultural continuance. Firstly the depletion of the population base in the hau kainga; secondly, the loss of te reo and tikanga Māori and finally, the loss of the Māori spiritual aspects of life present when the sisters' parents were living.

This narrative is organised according to the three themes mentioned above. Section one of Pare, Wai and Mere's stories will begin with a descriptive account of life in Mourea kainga through their then young eyes. Section two will constitute individual accounts of

their growing up years in Mourea. These accounts will be embellished with the stories of their parentally influenced and guided journeys into higher education, careers and marriage. Notions of home, belongingness and identity are interwoven with these stories. The final section of the narrative will present the reflective discussion that occurred, as described in the previous paragraph.

### **Childhood years in Mourea**

*The natural environment of Mourea was like a beautiful paradise. The beauty of the crystal clear, clean water; you could see the pebbles on the riverbed. Waking up to croaking frogs – there was no need for a clock, playing and catching tadpoles in the swamps... (M. Stanton, 2005)*

Stan and Kiritai Newton and their whānau lived on the banks of the Ohau Channel. Both the river and Lake Rotoiti were central to the lives and survival of the Newton whānau. The Ohau provided a staple diet of koura, inanga and trout. It housed the whānau's bags of fermenting corn - later to become kanga pirau or 'rotten' corn a local delicacy, supplied drinking water to their home and acted also, as the local laundry and swimming pool. Reminiscing about their childhood the sisters spoke about boat trips with their father to Whangamarino to cut fern with which to build 'tau' – a koura catching device. Whitebait season saw bucket loads of inanga netted and given away and as well, the family were specialists in the production of river-fermented maize. The homegrown maize was placed in sacks, immersed in the running water, tied to the willows and left until sufficiently matured.

Collecting the corn from the river was Wai's job. Speaking about this task Wai said:

We used to tie the rotten corn to the willow trees. The water rats used to nibble holes in the bags and Dad would put the corn in three sacks, triple it up. It was my job to go and get the corn. I don't know why it was, but that was my job. So if anyone came to our house, "oh can we have a few cobs of kāngapirau?" [and I would be told] "go on get down there Wai". So I have to go down and untie the bag, pull it up, unfold it and get all the corn out; it was all slimy and stink. It was a terrible job because you couldn't get the smell out. The smell of it would stay on your hands for a week. I used to put it in those enamel basins. Half a dozen cobs or so for the ones that came to our house.

The family's abundant supply of maize was grown at their farm at Hunua. The family was a main supplier of rotten corn to the Mourea community and also, to the local St Mary's church, which sold the corn to raise funds at 'bring and buys' in the Rotorua Township. Stan was an avid supporter of the local St Mary's Church. Wai maintained that the corn 'sold like hot cakes' to those Mourea families who had surrendered to the 'Māori urban drift' of the 1950's (Hunn, 1960; Metge, 1964). In effect, the Church 'bring and buys' and the rotten corn which was sold, acted as a conduit for urban Ngati Te Takinga dwellers; igniting and sustaining their connection to their rural home, Mourea.

A common prevailing thread in this tapestry of life, the unassailable sense of community that existed in Mourea in earlier years is woven by the tellers, through all of the stories recounted for this project. Communal food growing and gathering was central to the universal land based semi-subsistent lifestyle of the people. Reminiscing about these ways of life in the Mourea community of old, Mere stated:

It [the communal gardening] was brilliant really. Everyone pitched in. I remember going and planting spuds. We planted spuds all over Mourea. Each family had so many rows and I used to wonder how they didn't all get mixed up you know, when it came to harvesting the crops and the riwai were divided amongst the whānau. The whole of Mourea participated. Our spuds were planted where the Pikiāo clubrooms are now. The following year we would switch to Pūkahukiwi on the heights then across to Okawa Bay in the sheltered valley where Harry Walker dairy farmed. The men would harness the old draught horses. Pulling the plough behind forming straight long harrows. The kids would run out and put their sorted seeds into kits and then follow behind dropping their seeds into the fertile harrows. It really was quite brilliant. The women had special jobs they would do the sorting of the seed [potatoes].

Accordingly, the semi-subsistent lifestyle meant that the overheads for hui at Te Takinga marae were virtually nil. Pūkahukiwi, the local farm supplied meat and the community gardens, some of which were also located at Pūkahukiwi, supplied the potatoes for hui. Everybody contributed. Wai maintained that life "was very communal. It was like the old Māori way of life; for tangi and that, everyone gave something and there weren't a lot of overheads and expenses". Although not owners in the Pūkahukiwi block, the farm and its socially oriented management committees of old are remembered by the Newton whānau for the generosity extended to the community through their contributions to Te Takinga marae.

## **Ngā mātua – tūpuna**

### *The ways of the old people*

*When Peter was born mum and dad came down to Waipiro Bay and dad threw him to the four winds and did all the karakia and mum told me about burying the pito under a tree. She said to make sure it was a strong tree like a kauri or kahikatea, not just any ordinary tree. She said, the bigger and stronger the tree, the stronger your [child].*

*(W. Morrison, 2005)*

The strong sense of whānau fostered by the sisters' parents Stan and Kiritai is prevalent throughout these stories. Although not born in Mourea, both Stan and Kiritai over the course of the many years that they lived there, made Mourea their home. Stan Newton was born in the Tainui – King Country area and Kiritai was of Ngati Awa descent. Stan's birth in the Tainui district was a result of his father Joe's marriage to a Waikato woman whose name was Mere Kahukoti.

Joe (Tio) Newton was a 'Jack of all trades' who left Mourea and 'went off all over' (M. Stanton, pers. comm., 2005), eventually returning to live at Mourea. In Meres's opinion, his Mourea kin viewed his wanderings and his marriage 'away' unfavourably. According to Mere, two consequences of this disfavor resulted. One limited the Hapū-Iwi land interests and shareholdings apportioned to her grandfather Joe and the other created hapū-Iwi inclusion issues for Joe's son Stan. These inclusion issues were in Mere's view the result of her father's birth 'away' and his subsequent absence from Mourea in his early years.

Wai's view on this situation acknowledged the feelings that the ahi kaa, the home people, may have had towards their grandfather and father. Wai stated "you imagine our grandfather returning to Mourea after all those years of being away; flying away with a Waikato woman and having his children and you know, all of a sudden he comes back to Mourea with dad and Uncle Phil".

Hard workers, on returning home both Joe and Stan, in their adult years, were actively engaged in and committed to community development initiatives and activities. Joe was a builder. He put his hand to building coffins and also, built many of the then new, local homes throughout the Mourea, Okere and Rotoiti districts. Stan was instrumental in the establishment of the new Hineora dining room at Te Takinga marae. Growing food and apportioning some of his harvest to support St Mary's Church were also included in Stan's portfolio of community work. The sisters' were of the view that their father and grandfather's committed approach to community development was in part, an effort to 'make up [for the absent years]' (M. Stanton, 2005) and to 'pay back' (W. Morrison, 2005) or reimburse the ahi kaa; who had tended the fires on their behalf during their years of absence.

### **Te ahi kaa**

*With the ahi kaa, they are the ones keeping the home fires burning. When you go out well, you come back in and it can be very hard. The people who have lived there all their lives can look at you and think hmmm"*

*(W. Morrison, 2005)*

The maintenance of ahi kaa is a philosophy that expresses itself in different ways. Pou Temara (2005) asserts that if a person does not maintain the ahi kaa as a member of the hapū, then the flame will flicker out. Whakapapa connections will remain and give that person the foundation upon which to rekindle their fires in accordance with tikanga Māori however, their rights as a member of the hapū are diminished. In essence the philosophy of ahi kaa encapsulates the physical reality of a hapū as being dependent on a group of people as the 'hands, feet and heart' (Temara, 2005) of the marae and the community.

For those hapū members who go away, whakapapa connections remain as a distant fire. This distant fire offers a pathway back into the marae and hapū however; navigating that pathway can be according to Temara (2005), a lengthy process. In the case of Joe and Stan Newton, both father and son chose to reacquaint themselves with Ngati Te Takinga in order to rekindle their ahi kaa and resume full hapū membership status. Gaining such

status was sought by means of the unremitting work efforts of the duo, as outlined previously. Joe and Stan were strong supporters of Te Takinga marae. They both looked after the marae at certain points in their lives and, in an unusual turn of events, they both died there as a result of heart attacks. Father and son are both buried at the urupā Motutawa.

In times prior to the building of the road along the Motutawa peninsula, tūpāpaku were taken from Te Takinga marae to the peninsula by waka and later, by boat. Wai has vivid memories of her grandfather's tangi and his body being ferried across to the urupā on Lionel Grant's launch. In her words:

I must have been about four. I can remember his tangi clearly. They brought the launch to the channel where the Rapanas were, just where the carpark is now. They put his coffin on there and they took him right around.

Others in Mourea without water transport also recall swimming behind the boats to attend nehu, or burial services at the urupā (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005). Motutawa is also the final resting place of Kiritai Newton nee Ratahi, Pare, Wai and Mere's mother.

Although of Taiwhakaea - Ngati Awa descent, Kiritai lived in Mourea in excess of fifty years and according to Pare, her burial at Motutawa rather than in her own Ngati Awa district, was a given. In Pare's words:

Mum had become part of the hapū even though she didn't belong [to Ngati Te Takinga]. She had learnt all the waiata and she would stand up and sing the waiata and she was just part of the hapū. She had made friendships with Te Arani [Reha] and Merepaea [Henry] and old Kara [Walker] and Ngakehi [Wharerau] and Wahanga [Fraser-Grant] and Rangiwahaea. So she had many friends; she was very involved in all the tennis tournaments, helping out to prepare all the vegetables for the hangi and all that sort of thing. She had become part of the Mourea community.

Kiritai and Stan met in Kawerau during the 1929 great depression. At the time, Stan was tree planting and Kiritai was working at the Whakatane hospital as a nursemaid.

According to the three sisters, their whānau connection to their mother's people of Ngati Awa is "very strong" (P. Aratema, pers. comms., 2005). Wai who looks after a whānau property in Whakatane spoke of having a "strong affinity" with her Ngati Awa side saying, "I can express my mana whenua there more than I can here in Mourea. But, I don't know why that is, I've just you know, done a swipe – sort of a diversion". The

differing views that Pare, Wai and Mere have in relation to tribal affiliations, tūrangawaewae and mana whenua will be discussed in depth in the next section of this narrative.

The previous recollections were recounted from the experiences of Pare, Wai and Mere during their early and formative years. Their memories of Mourea, of place, of people and the ecological environment, set the scene for the second section of this narrative. Section two will focus on the different paths that each of the sisters took after leaving their birthplace Mourea. Influenced strongly by their mother and father and the values instilled within each of them, the following stories draw attention to the things that have predisposed each of the sisters to the places they now choose to call home. The chosen places differ.

The stories begin with a poignant quote from the pōtiki Mere. The quote encapsulates the nature of the family's upbringing by their devoted parents and forms an ideal backdrop for the accounts that follow. The tuakana (eldest) of three sisters, Pare's life journey takes the lead. Wai and finally Mere's stories follow.

### **Pare, Wai and Mere's stories**

#### *Beginnings*

*Dad used to take us to Hinehopu to the wishing tree. When we were very young he asked us to make a wish. I wanted a walkie-talkie doll, William my brother wanted a Hornby train, Wai was a bike and Rea wanted a lovely wedding. But Parehuia was different she wanted to be educated. And Eventually Pare ended up at university. The tree at Hinehopu is precious. We still stop there today with our mokopuna. It has a huge significance for our whānau. We stop there on our way to Whakatane where our mother was born on the sand hills at Paroa in line with Taiwhakaea Marae. A karakia, a native leaf placed in the sacred hole and a safe journey ahead.*

The 'wishing tree' referred to by Mere is also called the 'the magic tree'. Known formally as Te Rākau-tipua-a-Hinehopu after the Pikiao ancestress Hinehopu, the tree is located on State Highway 35, midway between Lakes Rotoiti and Rotoehu. The original

track, now state highway 35, was known as Te Ara a Hinehopu. Traditions regarding the special significance of this tree vary. Some say that Hinehopu planted the tree while others allege that the tree marks the spot where Hinehopu met her future husband Pikiāo II (Stafford, 1967). For the Newton whānau, the traditional significance of the wishing tree as told to them by their father Stan, holds that Hinehopu encumbered by her baby as she fled from a Ngāpuhi war party, hid the baby in a crook of the tree; returning to retrieve it when the path was clear. (M. Stanton, pers. comm., 2006) Te rakau tipua a Hinehope is symbolic of protection, life and hope.

Despite the variances in its traditional significance, Te Rākau-tipua-a-Hinehopu has always held importance for past and present travellers. It is custom to pause at the tree to observe the long-standing ritual of uruuru whenua. This ritual can include karakia, and or, the placing of a leaf beneath the tree. The practice affords protection and assurance of a safe passage, for travellers passing into the territory of another Iwi; in this instance the traveler passes between the Ngati Pikiāo-Te Arawa district into that of Ngati Awa and vice versa. (Stafford, 1967; T. Malcolm, pers. comm., 2002). As with many Ngati Pikiāo-Te Arawa people, the successive generations of Te Whānau Newton still uphold this ritual.

### **Parehuia Aratema**

*Home for me is Mourea. You know how people say their mountain is this and how our river is that .... Well, my river is the Ohau channel and my memories of home are of summertime and Mourea and the river. (P. Aratema, 2005)*

Pare's expansive professional career began after her graduation in 1960, from Teachers' Training College and Auckland University. Post graduation, Pare taught at the school on Matakana Island, Tauranga. Returning to Rotorua for two years she then embarked on an overseas trip, which took her to Hong Kong where she taught in a British Army School. Three years later, Pare set off to see the world eventually taking up another teaching post in Canada.

On her return to Aotearoa, Pare went home to stay with her mum and dad the latter of whom put her skills to immediate use. Pare was engaged for a number of years, as the secretary for the Ngati Pikiao West Tribal Committee. This job coupled with her teaching role at Rotorua Lakes High School, helped Pare to reconnect with both the Hapū and the wider Iwi. A high number of Lakes High School students were from the Ngati Pikiao district and Pare knew all the families. As well, her father Stan was the school's kaumātua. At that time, the school used Te Takinga marae as its principle marae. Speaking about this period of her life Pare said:

I had that job and that's where the connection was. So even though I was away quite a number of years, when I got home, the job is what took me back there and made that connection. Even after I married and left, I always connected back. The connection for me has never been lost.

Pare's secretarial work for the Tribal Committee and her teaching role at Lakes High, represented what Mead (2003) refers to as 'Iwi service'. In explanation Mead quotes the thinking of John Waititi who 'had a very strong feeling that one should make a contribution [and] not go through life just enjoying it and milking it for whatever you can' (Mead, H. 2003, p. 157). Concurring with this philosophy, Tipene O'Reagan quoting his father stated 'you will never amount to anything unless you devote yourself to something larger than yourself' (O'Reagan, T, 2003. p. 11). In Mead's view making a contribution through 'Iwi service' assists to embed a person in their Iwi. Pare attests to this theory maintaining that her early work for the Tribal Committee 'connects her back' to Ngati Te Takinga regardless of her physical displacement from the marae and Iwi.

### **'Moea tou tuahine'**

Instrumental in some of the major decisions that influenced Pare's life choices, her father Stan also exhibited partiality regarding the tribal affiliations of all his daughters' prospective husbands. Marriage to Ngāpuhi men was forbidden. The reason that Stan gave for this prohibition was due to the Ngāpuhi chief Hongi Hika's 1923 musket attack on, and decimation of, the Te Arawa people of the Rotorua district (Stafford, 1967). The attack by Ngāpuhi which took place on Mokoia Island, is the same as that referred to in the previous story about Te Rākau-tipua-a-Hinehopu, 'the wishing tree'.

Astonished by his resolute convictions, Wai vividly recalled their father's reaction when hearing about her tuakana (older sister) Pare's Ngāpuhi boyfriend:

He just went quiet. Absolutely quiet and he took her into the bedroom, sat her down and said "you don't go with those Ngāpuhi. You know what Ngāpuhi did to us. They came here, they slaughtered our people". He went right through it. He spent half an hour talking about how Nga Puhi treated Te Arawa and then he said "well, I don't think this is a good union". I remember hearing through the walls "why don't you be like your younger sister and pick someone from your own tribe".

Stan's animosity towards the people of Ngāpuhi was common amongst other Te Arawa folk of his generation. The massacre of Te Arawa on Mokoia Island by the ope taua from the North, decimated the Iwi. Although, many years had passed, for Stan, the scars born of this massacre were still very raw. Preferring that Pare marry into her own people, his unwillingness to relinquish her to a Northern man reveals two things. Firstly, the harbored resentment he felt toward an old tribal enemy and secondly, his staunch loyalty to his Te Arawa kin.

Implicit within Stan's plea for Pare to marry into her own tribe, are the traditional Māori values and beliefs encompassed within the whakatauki 'moea tōu tuahine. Kei riri, ka riri ki a kōrua anō'; 'marry your cousin; if you quarrel you quarrel only with your relative'. A cautionary note, this whakatauki asserts that marriage within your own hapū, and or, Iwi will avoid conflict with other groups if a dispute should arise between the married couples (Mead & Grove, 2001). Mahuika (1992) offers an additional version and another explanation of this whakatauki. Mahuika's version reads 'e moe i tō tuahine (tūngane) kia heke te toto ko korua tonu' meaning 'marry your sister (brother) so that if blood is to be shared, it is only your own'. The inference states Mahuika, is, 'that if the 'blood' was 'shared' among close kin, the unity of the hapū would not be jeopardised' (Mahuika, A. 1992, p. 45). Although at the time devastated by her father's ruling, Pare heeded his words eventually marrying into her Te Arawa and Ngati Awa people.

Currently living in the suburb of Owhata, Pare claims Mourea as her tūrangawaewae. She is resolute that when the time finally arrives, Mourea will also be her place of burial. The strong connection Pare feels to the Mourea kainga has been very much influenced by

her childhood years and the deliberate, calculated and positive direction in which she was steered by her Dad. This process of ‘grooming’ has resulted in Pare’s ongoing Iwi service through her current work efforts; including membership on tribal land committees. She affiliates closely to Te Takinga marae and in her way, she is a keeper of the fire rekindled and tended before her, by her grandfather Joe, father Stan and mother Kiritai.

### **Wai Morrison**

*I’ll go down to Paroa there in our little bach and I’m very much at home. I look out to Whale Island and across to Putauaki and I think, I’m part of this. I can express my mana whenua there and I feel comfortable (W. Morrison, pers. comm., 2005).*

In contrast to Pare, Wai felt that for her, Mourea and Te Takinga had ‘lost something’ with the passing of her parents Stan and Kiritai. She said:

Since my father and mother passed on I mean, even though they are up there at Motutawa, I feel I lost something with their passing. Because when they were alive, I could go out to Mourea visiting and I still felt part of that home and the land and the channel. But everything has changed since they died. I’ll still go there but it hasn’t got much ..... I even wonder when I pass away whether I want to go there. I don’t know and these are all questions that I have. Where do I go? What do I say to my kids? I have to start thinking about that now because the older you get the shorter your life span becomes. So, all these questions. I think oh, I could go to Ngati Awa, I could go to Kawerau, I could go to Ngati Whakaue and I could go to Te Takinga. I don’t know.

Wai stated that prior to her parentally sanctioned marriage into the Iwi of Ngati Whakaue, she was ‘quite connected to Te Takinga’. Having grown up on the land at Mourea, having attended and taught at Whangamarino School and having participated in all manner of marae events in the district, her affinity with Te Takinga was strong. In the early years of their marriage, Wai and her husband moved to the East Coast – Ngati Porou area and then, upon their eventual return to Te Arawa, they took up residence in the Rotorua Township. Speaking about her engagement, marriage and the wedding she said:

When I married my husband – he’s Ngati Whakaue, well of course dad was quite favourable. In those days, you had to announce that you were engaged properly you know, that was the protocol of that era. Our sister Rea, she was the first one to go through it with Whetu. They did it the real Māori way. She had a tomo marriage. Originally my wedding was going to be at Hineora but

they were in the process of building a new Hineora. I didn't really want a big wedding but [I was told] "it's not about you, this is [about] all our people". Well, before I knew where I was, it [the guest list] was over three hundred! We decided to have it at St Faiths Ohinemutu and Rangiwhaea and her husband they told Dad "you come down here, bring your wedding here; we've got a brand new dining room. Everything is here, don't worry about it". I was teaching at Whangamarino then and because we're all one tribe well, they transferred it to the new Manawakotokoto dining room at Taheke marae.

As attested to by Wai in the above quote, her marriage was a combination of Western - Christian and Māori ritual and tradition. In awe of the ceremony, which took place in the wharehenui after the church service, Wai said:

We got to the marae, we had a pohiri and Tu Mōrehu did all the whakapapa all the way through. And we [Terry and I] were actually connected. He connected us through our whakapapa, he did it so beautifully.

In accord with the whakatauki 'moea to tuahine', Wai's father's support of her marriage, was given on the basis of the whakapapa connection between herself and husband. Ngati Whakaue and Ngati Pikiāo although autonomous Iwi, both affiliate to the confederation of Te Arawa tribes.

There were many large-scale 'Māori' weddings and celebrations such as 21<sup>st</sup> birthdays, during the era of Wai's wedding. Not only an occasion for celebration, such hui expressed and maintained the ahi kaa. Through hosting the hapū-Iwi at their daughters' weddings, Stan and Kiritai discharged the reciprocal social obligations incumbent upon hapū-Iwi members who exercise rights as such. Manaakitanga, aroha and other values, which reflect inclusiveness and generosity, inform judgment of a person's hapū-Iwi membership, their mana and or, their decision-making entitlement (Marsden, 2003; Temara, 2005).

As well, the celebratory events were an occasion for the hapū to restore and rekindle kinship ties. Walker (1990) maintains that the marae provided Māori with modicum of stability and cultural continuity in a rapidly changing world. These important factors underpinned Wai's father's reasoning when, in response to her comment about not wanting a big wedding, he said, "it's not about you this is [about] all our people".

## Growing away

Combined, her marriage into Ngati Whakaue, her move to Waipiro Valley and then her return to the Rotorua Township, led to Wai's estrangement from Te Takinga marae. Entrenched in Ngati Whakaue through her marriage she became familiar with and accustomed to the people and the environment. She described this situation in the following way:

Not living in Mourea after I got married, I gradually grew away from the marae. So I never went to any meetings and I only went to tangis you know, of people who were family. I wasn't involved anymore in the life of the marae. Polly and them were still actively involved there but I wasn't. I'm comfortable at Ngati Whakaue; I've been living there – like my mother in Mourea, for the last twenty years. I'm comfortable there; home is there. Every time I can just walk into Whakaturia or wherever. My kids are involved in Ngati Whakaue and even though they have always wanted to come to Mourea especially since Dad died, they don't come as often. Willie [my brother] has the place where we were born and bred at the channel.

Speaking without remorse, Wai explained that for her personally, the family home at Mourea had represented her tūrangawaewae. After the death of her parents her brother lived there. She said:

Even though it's still our home, in a way it's not. You know, times change... That was where our homestead was. Once our parents weren't there, our connection was lost. There was no reason to go out there. We are grandparents ourselves now and our own homes have become the tūrangawaewae for our family.

Although her brother and sisters remained actively involved at Te Takinga the consequence of Wai's intermittent involvement resulted for her, in a feeling of exclusion. In her view, others considered her to be conceited. When she did attend marae functions, she felt uneasy 'at the back in the kitchen'. Overcoming her discomfort was not easy. Remembering this time she said:

I remember coming back to something and feeling ostracised from my own whānau. Not my immediate whānau, but the wider whānau. And my whānau almost insinuating that I had become a snob. I used to go back to tangi and they all look at you, you know, and at the back of the kitchen, they used to make it really awkward for me. It took me a long time to get over that.

Wai's experience of alienation from the inner circle of the hau kainga is shared (Emery, 2001). Temara (2005) asserts that the participation of a person as a member of the hapū exercises their ahi kaa. The colonisation, urbanisation and assimilation of Māori (Walker, 1990; Jackson, 1993; Durie, 1996; Emery, 2001) has indelibly reduced the ability of many Māori to exercise their ahi kaa. The resultant decline of their rights as a

hapū member lies at the heart of Wai's tribulations on her return visits to Te Takinga marae.

Fortunately Wai overcame her feelings of estrangement. Enabled by her secure sense of Ngati Te Takinga – Ngati Pikiāo identity that was fostered throughout her upbringing, Wai was resolute. She said, “in the end I thought, I won't be treated like this! I am as much a part of this marae as anyone else that is there; even though I'm not as actively involved in Mourea”. Citing examples of her efforts to exercise ahi kaa while living away, Wai maintained:

When I taught at Kaitao Intermediate I took my kids to Te Takinga marae and those visits were like my connection back. Dad used to prepare the marae and I would go out and give him a hand and I'll find that I got you know, back into it again, taking my kids out there. I used to go and clean up the meeting house and uncle Ipu [Mason] used to be on the paepae with Dad so, you know, I kind of got in again. But it's very hard.

Deliberating the dilemmas and complexities of the situation, Wai paid homage to the ahi kaa. She said, “The ahi kaa, they are the ones keeping the home fires burning. When you go out well, you come back in, it can be very hard for everyone”. Mead (1997) reiterates Wai's thoughts. In his view it is the ahi kaa who have kept the home fires burning. It is they who have protected the ahi while others of us have enjoyed careers, full employment and opportunities in the world outside of places such as Mourea. The ahi kaa, te hau kainga, te mana whenua remain at the centre of tribal life.

### **Processes of inclusion**

Evidenced within this dialogue, is a divide between the mana whenua/ahi kaa and disconnected Ngati Te Takinga affiliates. Full of tensions, Wai's Mourea upbringing and her secure sense of Māori identity (Durie, 1997) enabled her to negotiate the divide and remain connected. Colonisation, urbanisation, assimilation and the diasporic nature of Māori in contemporary times, places many Māori in the same disconnected position that Wai found herself in. Devoid of a culturally rich upbringing and lacking therefore in a secure Māori identity, negotiating the divide for many of these individuals and whānau is often a complex, problematic and fear provoking process. (Emery, 2001)

Wai's story gives voice to the discomfort and apprehension that an estranged person can experience when attempting to repatriate or to remain connected with their Hapū-Iwi. Such voice provides the opportunity to understand the circumstances that impact on a person's ability to maintain their ahi kaa. Likewise, appreciation of the ahi kaa and their role since time immemorial, can be recognised, acknowledged and honoured. Given the number of Māori people who, through colonisation and ensuing urbanisation and assimilation, have been estranged from their tribal origins and now seek passage home, such understanding is crucial in order to facilitate a more positive process of inclusion that brings them home.

### **Repatriation**

The current low levels of participation at our marae and the declining number of skilled and culturally proficient Māori people who are able to fulfill marae roles, is a major issue for hapū-Iwi Māori. The need for repatriation of Māori therefore, is critical to Māori cultural survival into the future (M. Mead, 1997; M. Durie, 2003; Winiata, 2003).

Mead's (1997) notion of 'inclusion' is central to any repatriation process; he advises that:

Inclusion is a necessary part of development. All of the Hapū need to be involved and all of the people of the Iwi, no matter where they are. Even those who have suddenly discovered a tiny fraction of Whakapapa need to be considered. Also a place needs to be found for members who have married in to the Iwi and who may come from different ethnic groups. Their talents and contributions could add strength to the Iwi. Issues of this nature are presently being debated by the Hapū of Ngāti Awa and no doubt by other Iwi. The World Commission advises that we should be inclusive (Mead, M. 1997. p.7).

Likewise Ramsden (1995) expresses her concurring views on the issues of inclusion and Māori cultural continuance in following excerpt:

Iwi, hapū and whānau remain fundamental to traditional Māori social structure. Still only three generations into rapid urbanisation, these processes can be halted and adjusted. It is not too late for Iwi to set up ways to locate their urbanised people and identify those that can be resourced through traditional structures. Those people can become in turn, further resources for the Iwi. This process can offer Iwi and hapū strength and help to resolve the stress between rural and urban populations. The fundamental Māori denominator is still whakapapa (Ramsden, I. 1995, p. 120).

Inclusion, repatriation, cultural survival and the maintenance of the marae as the central tenet of hapū-Iwi are issues of precedence (Mead, 1997; Durie, 1997; Winiata, 2003; Flavell, 2006). The feelings of exclusion Wai experienced in the kitchen at the marae, highlight behaviours that can cause our people to walk away from their whānau, hapū-Iwi

and/or Māori organisations and institutions (A. Mead, 1997). Māori are worse off for this situation. For Ngati Te Takinga, the genesis for addressing these issues of inclusion and exclusion is dialogue. Wai's story of 'growing away' acts as a catalyst for initiation of this dialogue; and for future action that accelerates the positive resolve of hapū-Iwi inclusion and exclusion issues.

**Mere Stanton**

*Although I have travelled and was away for 30 years,  
my heart was always back at Mourea.*

The pōtiki (youngest) of the whānau, Mere like her older sister Pare, considered the Ohau River to be her primary connection to home. If she had erred on the side of wrongdoing, the channel was her refuge and, with her mother in hot pursuit, she would 'dive into the channel and disappear'. Mere's joyful childhood memories include planting potatoes as a collective, family holidays and being part of an extensive group of kin, in the Mourea kainga.

In earlier years, Mere was a shorthand typist in the Royal New Zealand Air force; a career choice, which was very much influenced by her mother and father. Mere claimed "Dad had a lot of influence on us, I was going to Rotorua Girls' High school, it was quite subtle, he bought me a pink typewriter. This was a huge surprise; it cost a lot of money". Mere's mother, who had worked as a nurse-aid, did not want Mere following in her footsteps. She informed Mere that having someone in the family with secretarial knowledge and skills would not only benefit the whānau, but would also be of help to her father Stan in his line of work. Mere's air force career began at age nineteen 'after two years working for the Chief Postmaster W.H. Hickson as a shorthand typist, in the District Engineers' Office, Rotorua from 1964 – 65' (M. Stanton, pers. comm., 2006).

Spanning thirty years, Mere's homecoming visits during her air force stint, consisted mainly of an annual return at Christmas time. A family ritual, Mere said: "at Christmas, I tried to make an effort just to be with everybody it was expected and that was it, you didn't argue. It was a good thing because we weren't together much and right up until mum and dad died, most of us had Christmas together as a whānau." Speaking of the

family Christmases Pare stated, “I really treasure those times”. Stan and Kiritai were a strong connecting and rallying force for the Newton whānau. The intangible sense of loss to the whānau through the passing of their parents permeates these stories.

### **Going to see granny**

Mere’s choice of marriage partner required the sanction of her Ngati Awa grandmother Moerangi Ratahi. Accompanied by her parents, she went to Whakatane to seek her kuia’s approval. Her account of this visit reads:

Well, I was the first one to look at a Pākehā. I went to Whakatane with mum and dad. Dad said “I will take you over to your grandmother; you have to ask her for approval”. By then, she was just about bedridden. She was lying back on her bed and she was smoking. The room was filled with smoke, you couldn’t see past it. Dad said, “oh Mere’s thinking of marrying Jim”. Well, I held my breath while the question came out in Māori. “Where is he from?” and “who was he?” And then it all came out because Jim is half English and half American – a war baby. Granny turned around and said “Mere” and her head went yes, I can marry him. And dad turned around and he said to me “I give you my blessing”.

Valuing the skills that Mere’s husband brought to their partnership, Mere, maintained that her father viewed her pending marriage as an ‘improvement’ on their lives.

Instrumental in all the wedding arrangements, Stan required the couple to undergo a nine-month engagement period. He also stipulated the wedding date and “changed the bridesmaids” (M. Stanton: 2005). Additionally, in a somewhat radical move that “divided the whole of Ngati Pikiāo” (M. Stanton: 2005) Stan decided to have the wedding at the DeBretts Hotel, Rotorua rather than the marae. The rationale for this departure from tradition was due in Mere’s words, to her mother and father’s desire to “sit back and relax”. Elaborating Mere said:

He was sick and tired of always doing the work behind you know, preparing, cleaning up afterwards, he could never enjoy half the time because of the worry of the catering. This way he could sit back and relax. What I thought was really marvelous about Dad he said, “think of your wedding as my farewell present to you. I have given all my daughters a huge wedding”. We must have had about 300 guests. I said, “Dad, I don’t want a big wedding, I just want a really quiet wedding because, I haven’t been living in Mourea and most of my friends are down the South Island”. “No, no, no” he said “you are my last and its my final farewell present to you I did that for Rea, I did that for Polly and I did that for Wai”.

At that time, it had been eight years since Mere had left Mourea to join the air force. During this period Mere had fostered new friendships among her air force colleagues

and subsequently, had lost touch with old school friends from Mourea – Rotorua. Given this situation, Mere felt that the large-scale wedding planned by her father, was unsuitable. Over ruling Mere's desire for a 'really quiet wedding', her father 'invited all our neighbours in Mourea, loads of them from around all the pas and marae' (M. Stanton, pers. comm., 2005). As with her sisters' weddings, Mere's wedding although not held at the marae, represented an expression of the whānau's ahi kaa.

### *The road to heaven*

Currently living in Okawa Bay, Mourea, Mere's life revolves around the urupā at Motutawa on the Okawa Peninsula. A part of the Mourea Papakainga block, Motutawa was originally known as Te Taiki and was one of three pā located on the peninsula. Te Taiki was a stronghold of the Tuhourangi chief Rangipuawhe, but was ceded to Te Takinga following Te Takinga's successful invasion of almost the entire Tuhourangi occupied Rotoiti district. When finally abandoned as a physical abode, Te Taiki was utilised as an urupā. The land was set aside as a cemetery reserve in 1898 (Stafford, 1994).

Referring to Motutawa as the 'garden of the family', Mere's father Stan, was very influential in directing her into her current role as caretaker of the urupā. According to Mere, during his lifetime, her father had always wanted the urupā be 'a Garden of Eden'. At that time however, lack of resources had prevented this development. Learning gardening as a child, Mere was steered by her then ageing Dad into two areas of Iwi service. The first involved creating the 'Garden of Eden' he had longed for at Motutawa and the second involved the upkeep of the marae. His words were:

You can do it because you were always around me with a spade when you were a kid. It's going to be hard work but I know you can do it; the natural environmental world needs you. You are the gardener of the family. The waters between the urupā and the marae will be quite treacherous at times because you are a woman and normally it would be a man's job; but I want somebody from my direct family to do this. Your brother is involved with the logging industry and he just won't find the time. I'll be with you in spirit.

Mere contemplated her father's proposition for a long time. Her final decision to take on the role of the caretaker for Motutawa was due in part, to the level of support her tāne Jim

was able to provide. Jim's proficiency in the English language enabled Mere to access lottery and environmental grants by which to sustain the urupā. With reference to Jim's knowledge and skills Mere laughingly said, "That's what dad meant when he said that this [marrying a Pākehā] is going to be good for our whānau!" Motutawa today is indeed a Garden of Eden. The rambling park like scenic surrounds of the urupā, are a tribute to Mere and Jim and to those Ngati Te Takinga whānau who maintain it. An act of service undertaken in the spirit of manaaki and aroha, Mere's work, is in keeping with the works of her father in his times. Maintaining the urupā expresses once again, the Newton whānau ahi kaa.

Stan and Kiritai Newton's philosophies of life permeate Pare, Wai and Mere's stories. Evidenced within the sisters' memoirs are the fundamental values instilled within each of them during their formative years, through the teachings of their parents. Like the ever flowing current of the Ohau River as it journeys through the heart of the Mourea settlement, these philosophies remain as a universal foundation for their lives. On reaching the sea, the river encounters the gateway to the world and a myriad of different paths upon which it may embark. Confident in the product of their labours and knowing that the outgoing tide always turns, it was to this same gateway that Stan and Kiritai guided their daughters. Having ventured out, forged different pathways and then returned home, the life that each of the sisters leads today, reflects the life of service to the people, to which their father was committed.

The final section of this narrative presents Pare, Wai and Mere's views and their concerns relating to Māori cultural continuance in the aftermath of colonisation, urbanisation and assimilation.

## **Māori cultural Continuance**

### *The marae*

*'Dad always said, "it's your marae, how you look after and maintain your marae will determine its survival. The marae is your keeper'. (W. Morrison, pers. comm., 2005).*

Comparatively, Pare, Wai and Mere considered Te Takinga to be a well-maintained and strong marae. Te Takinga's source of strength has been drawn from the relatively high number of whānau who over the years, have continued to support the marae. Maintaining high and consistent levels of support however, has been difficult for some marae in the Mourea area (P. Aratema, pers. comm., 2005). Concerned about the possible negative consequences for such marae Pare said, "it is sad. When you don't have the money and you don't have the people, like our old people, they [marae] struggle, marae will go". In Pare's view, the struggle to maintain the marae stems from ongoing urbanisation and the subsequent depletion of population bases in Māori settlements.

The loss of people jeopardises the existence of hapū as distinct social groups. Subsumation by other stronger hapū may result. Permanent or temporary mergers as such, may be a future necessity for those hapū adversely affected by population depletion. Examples of temporary hapū mergers exist currently within Ngati Pikiao. A recent decision to hold the tangi of two people from different hapū at one marae was made on the basis of the insufficient number of people available to maintain and run two marae simultaneously. Three factors were considered in this decision. Namely, the low numbers of culturally proficient elders capable of upholding marae protocol and ritual, the availability of people to work the kitchen and finally, the high costs of tangihanga to whānau (L. Tamati, pers. comm., 2005).

Initially, our rural marae were built, developed and functioned inside of thriving communities. The strength of community that existed at that time is no longer. In the case mentioned prior, combining and sharing resources was a necessary, sensible but temporary solution to the problems facing marae. The ongoing concerns regarding

cultural continuity as articulated by Pare and discussed extensively by authors including Diamond (2003), M. Mead (2003) and Hireme (2005) remain. Marae, including Te Takinga, exist as the last outwardly discernible bastions of Māori cultural distinction; halting their possible demise is critical to the ongoing assertion of Māori identity as tangata whenua.

### **Kei hea taku reo?**

*I believe that some people are gifted to do certain things; it comes easier to them. Like te reo, I've been struggling, I'm frustrated and my heart beats a lot you know, because I am old and I feel embarrassed and when you get the Bishop, he comes in just at the time when it's my turn to kōrero Māori .... (M. Stanton, pers. comm., 2005)*

The whakamā of not knowing one's own language is an experience that is repeated for a majority of Māori. Mere as the youngest born of the Newton whānau, grew up in an era when many Māori parents perceived the English language as a means by which to gain access to Pākehā culture and its professions. Consequently, Mere was not taught to speak Māori. This situation coupled with State policies that suppressed te reo Māori in order to accelerate [Pākehā] cultural reproduction and assimilation, (Walker, 1990; Simon & Smith, 2001) guaranteed a monolingual majority, New Zealand Māori populace. In 2006, English is the predominant language of Māori peoples. For Mere, the Māori language renaissance movements of the seventies, Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, came too late.

Mere's repeated attempts to learn Māori in her adult years have to date, not met with success. Frustrated and anxious about the future Mere stated:

We've come through an era – a generation that have missed out on te reo. We've gone through a stage here where, like you, we lost our apprenticeships. We cannot kōrero te reo. You know, and it's hurting us. You get ones who get up, they karanga and they don't even know how to kōrero Māori. It's just a record player. It's true and I'm saying to them "hey, do you know what you are saying?" and they say "no". It's sad, because the young ones from Kohanga are gonna come up and they will take over. There is a gap.

The 'gap' as identified by Mere refers to the place at the marae that those in her age group would have filled had they been culturally proficient. In Mere's view, Māori

cultural transformation may be necessary if marae are to be inclusive. The use of the English language to conduct church services on the marae is an example of occurring changes to marae protocol as a means to ‘include’ non speakers of te reo Māori.

M. Durie (2003) agrees with Mere’s outlook for Māori society acknowledging the existing gap between the cultural expectations of Māori elders and, in some cases, the elders’ inept cultural competence. Durie (2003) maintains:

Just as some elders have little option but to accept a role prescribed by their culture, others may have little option but to discard it. Unable to speak or understand Māori, alienated from family and tribe, lacking in marae skills and incapable of relating to Māori realities, they will be unable to respond in a positive manner to the pressure to assume significant senior roles within Māori society. Even if the pressure is subtle, it may be perceived as excessive – presenting daunting obligations (Durie, M. 2003, p. 79).

In the same vein however, Durie (2003) concedes that for some older Māori, surrendering the responsibilities and privileges of being a kaumātua ‘will not necessarily be a matter for regret’ (Durie, M. 2003, p. 79).

For Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiao, the pressing issues of cultural continuity raised within these stories, serve as beacons. They invite the opportunity to plan and actively engage in positive measures, which reduce cultural alienation of our people and strengthen the hapū. Processes for strengthening whānau, hapū and Iwi could also benefit from a measure of the wairuatanga or spirituality present during the times of the old people. Speaking somewhat wistfully about the absence of this wairua Wai stated:

One of the things that I really miss is the karakia [dad did] all the time. Whatever happened at home, dad, he had a special vase and he would fill it with water and then you have a karakia. The water came from the channel and whenever anybody was sick, dad would get the basin out; and that is something I really miss.

In agreement with Wai, Mere said, “I miss that [the karakia] because I always felt him [dad]”. Talking about the beneficial effects of her father’s karakia Wai continued:

Whether we had a cold or the flu, he would go down to the channel and next minute, you would feel his hand and straight away I would feel relieved. Every time Dad did a karakia he used to put his hand in the basin of water and then go over our heads [with the water]. But if Polly was sick, we all got done. If Rea was sick he did the whole lot, not just the person who was sick. And Dad always did the water. And he even used the jug on top of our shed to catch the rainwater. He had a special glass jug. I had to climb up and get it from the top of the shed. I can remember going up

there and I used to ask why does dad put the jug up there? Dad said “don’t you kids ever break that jug” but he never told us why. It was kind of mysterious. I can still see that beautiful glass; it wasn’t crystal, but glass.

The sisters maintained that their father would use karakia for all occasions including travel ‘we used to go gallivanting all around the county and he always did a karakia’. (M. Stanton, pers. comm., 2005)

After their father’s passing, the absence of this facet of their lives became conspicuously evident when their brother Willie was injured and taken by ambulance to the Auckland hospital. Recalling this incident Pare said, “That’s when I really felt dad missing, there was nobody there to do a karakia for him. I did a bit of a Christian thing, but it wasn’t quite what dad used to do for us because when dad did the karakia, when you went away, you felt better about it”.

The use of water in the ways as described by Wai is deemed by Marsden (2003) to be a ‘pure’ or purification rite. Pure rites were designed to cleanse from tapu, neutralise tapu or propitiate the gods. Where the intention was to cleanse from tapu, the sacramental element used was normally water. Marsden describes tapu as a ‘sacred state or condition’ (Marsden, M. 2003, p. 7). As a whole, this definition fits agreeably with the practice of karakia as administered by Stan Newton in his time. When tending to his sick children and or, conferring protection upon them at times of their departure from the hau kainga, his chosen ‘sacramental element’ (Marsden, 2003), was water.

The loss of Māori language, culture, spirituality and people were four key issues that emerged from within the reflective and final discussion which took place during the interview with Pare, Wai and Mere. While not proffering solutions, hearing the concerns through the voices of the ahi kaa and ahi tere of Ngati Te Takinga hopefully, will propel the hapū-Iwi towards the successful resolution of the pressing issue of cultural continuance.

The narratives of Pare, Wai and Mere are a tribute to their parents Stan and Kiritai Newton. Instilled with the transcending values promulgated by the old people in their

time, the sisters, in their own ways, have and continue to contribute and add value to their whānau-hapū and Iwi. Their motivation to do so is undoubtedly the result of the strong foundations of love, guidance and direction laid by their parents throughout their formative years. No reira e aku tuakana Pare, Wai koutou ko Mere; he mihi nui tenei ki a koutou, nā koutou na tenei tuhingaroa i tino tautoko. Tena koutou katoa.

## Chapter Eight

### Ngā reo o te hunga haere: Voices from away

*Te hunga haere: Maui Tipiwai*

*I want to go home but I'm scared. I love Mourea. When I go home, I'm belittling myself, that's my view. Going home to Mourea, I'm going down in status that's what I think. It's like you say, I should go home but I have to bring something from my side. I'm not good at it that's what I'm talking about. I could offer something, but I don't know what to offer. I don't know how to do that. As far as going home to Te Takinga, I wouldn't have a clue what to do. I'm pretty ignorant about what goes on at the marae (M. Tipiwai, pers. comm., 2006).*

### Introduction

An engineer by profession Maui Tipiwai has been a resident of Nelson for the past 29 years. We met for the first time on a balmy Nelson afternoon in the autumn of 2006, over a meal at the Smugglers bar and restaurant in Tahunanui, Nelson. With a penchant for fine wine and a diverse range of music including classical, Uncle Maui's previous evening had been spent at a Bic Runga twilight concert in a Nelson valley vineyard; he 'broke the ice' with talk about the entertainer's exceptional performance and his overall enjoyment of the evening. We took the time to connect and acquaint ourselves as whānau before proceeding to address the purpose for which we had met.

After a couple of hours spent talking and eating at 'Smugglers', we made our way to Uncle Maui's 'local' The Honest Lawyer. A grand manor house set in quiet and pleasant rural surrounds; the Honest Lawyer was up market and stylish. An unquestionably middle class establishment, the absence of a TAB, a pool table and poker machines underpinned Uncle Maui's choice of venue at which to unwind and relax. In the grand manor car park, Uncle Maui's car with its conspicuous red and black 'Ngati Pikiao' koru emblazoned number plate sat boldly, an almost paradoxical twist to the picture perfect, 'colonial' seaside setting.

The all-pervasive hegemonic processes of colonisation echoed throughout the stories told by Uncle Maui. He spoke about his early rejection of his Māori culture and identity and his zealous ambition to attain equal status with Pākehā New Zealanders. He described the dark forces of depression that engulfed him at the height of his 'success' and he recounted the painful but cathartic journey of his recovery. Faced with mortality, it was to be the realisation and acceptance of who he was as a Māori that drew him from his despair.

The metamorphosis that emerges as Uncle Maui's story of cultural recovery unfolds is powerful. His open, honest and frank offerings towards this kete kōrero open the door to new insight and learning about our urban Ngati Te Takinga 'away' dwellers and the work that needs to be done at home. Cultural recovery forms the aho matua, the main thread, of Uncle Maui's story. Written in three sections, the story begins with an overview of the early and formative years of his life in Mourea where he lived with his mother Martha and father Ted. The spotlight on the stage of Uncle Maui's life then shifts to highlight his exodus from Mourea and his career years lived out in both Wellington and Nelson.

Section two differs in style and format from sections one and three. Substantial parts of section two are lifted directly from the transcribed interview with Uncle Maui. The interview excerpts present the discussion as it occurred between the interviewer and Uncle Maui. Transgression from the standard narrated style of writing used throughout the other stories is made possible by the differing nature of Uncle Maui's interview. In contrast to other interviews, Uncle Maui's interview took the form of an interactive discussion using a direct line of questioning. Comparatively, other interviews were essentially narrative in form. That is, the participant telling their story to the interviewer with questions used as prompts and for the purpose of clarification.

The third and final section of Uncle's story captures the transformative forces currently at play in his life. These forces see him contemplating his approaching retirement and giving deep thought to his future. Having begun the process of cultural recovery, the potential for his preferred path to run counter to those paths he has traveled in the past, is

plausible. For Uncle Maui, neither time nor distance nor change has quelled the certainty of his convictions with regard to the place he calls home, being Mourea.

### **‘E tipu e rea’**

#### *Early Years*

Maui Tipiwai (Uncle Maui) never knew his biological father Takurua Tipiwai from Omaio, Te Whānau o Apanui. Takurua died when Maui was just two years old from causes that remain unknown to him. Somewhat of a mystery, his past efforts to discover how his father died have met with empty responses from his siblings. A younger brother to Rakapurua Tamati whose story precedes this one, Uncle Maui’s migration to Mourea from Te Whānau a Apanui where he was born, occurred shortly after his father’s death. He was brought up at Mourea with his mother Maata his sisters Manu and Hine and his brother Piki. The family lived with his stepfather Ted Walker, who he referred to as Dad, and Ted’s children. Another brother Kereopa, remained in Te Whānau a Apanui while Rakapurua who had migrated earlier, lived with Wehipu and Te Heru, Maata’s parents. Ted Walker and Maata’s union produced Maui’s sister, Meriana.

Uncle Maui attended Whangamarino Primary School and then Rotorua High School; his first language was Māori. The early years of his life were strongly influenced by two things being music and his father’s encouragement to pursue education. When very young he recalled his father saying, “go forward my son, go away; go and get an education” (M. Tipiwai, pers. comm., 2006). Uncle Maui’s unfolding story and his current ways of being and knowing are inextricably bound to the music that surrounded him as a child and to the hopes his father held for him. His passion for music developed as a result of the musical environment into which he was introduced when, in 1940, his (Tipiwai) whānau took up residence with the Walker whānau at Mourea. Full of musical instruments, the Walker household was also the base of the ‘The Walker Brothers’ band. Inevitably, Uncle Maui began playing guitar in this band at a very young age. Recollecting this period of his life Uncle Maui stated:

I was also playing in a band; playing guitar with the Walker Brothers. Johnny and Robert and Nash, Mokotaa and those guys. The house was full of instruments, saxophones, we were playing in dances in Hineora [the old dining room at Te Takinga marae]. Every Saturday night it was me and Johnny and Robert and Teddy Huriwai.

So as I got to 15, I used to go to Auckland, I was in the Mourea youth club traveling all the time and we used to go to Auckland sometimes, doing haka boogie. And I turned 14 and that's when Tama [Te Kapua] came in and that's when my Dad and Tai Paul, Johnny Walker, Napi [Walker] was there, Neke Smith on drums and Angus Douglas was playing he was actually their singer. And I think Beatrice [Yates] sometimes. And as they got old, we actually took over. We called ourselves the High Five Hurricanes. Me, Johnny, Robert, Teddy Huriwai, Chris Hunt on the drums and I think Nick Smith was still in the band. And we used to play on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. And I was making six dollars a week. It was a lot of money then.

At the same time as playing in the band, Uncle Maui was also attending High School. He regretfully recalled sitting but 'missing out' on School Certificate English. It was at this point in his life, that his father intervened. Although playing in the band was a financially lucrative and enjoyable form of employment, his father maintained that vocationally, a future career as a musician was transitory and limited. Pressed by his father to get a job, when a Public Relations Officer arrived at the Rotorua High School to offer career counseling to the 5<sup>th</sup> form students, Uncle Maui seized the opportunity. Articulating his aspiration to become an engineer, with the assistance of the career counselor, he applied for and gained entry, into the Wellington School of Technology. This achievement marked the beginning of a successful apprenticeship and career.

The move from Mourea to Wellington presented a myriad of new opportunities for Uncle Maui. His graduation from the Wellington School of Technology gave him access to the workforce and he has enjoyed full employment status throughout his life. While residing in Wellington, Uncle Maui played competitive rugby league; substituting league with squash during the off-season. He met his wife Barbara and also, began playing in a band again. For Uncle Maui, the urbanisation experience meant progress and advancement; his life at the time was full, rewarding and satisfying. A two-week holiday in Nelson however, brought the Wellington chapter of his life to a close.

### **Te Wai Pounamu**

*I had a friend in Nelson and I had heard all about the works there, the scallops and snapper and pig hunting and all that and I thought I'd come down for a two-week stint. We came down here and stayed at my mate's place. We walked the Heaphy Track and the Wakatika track, pigged out on oysters and scallops and crayfish and I thought, this is a neat place. So after my two-week holiday, I went home and said to Barbara "we're going to Nelson". She didn't hesitate – 1977 -*

*she didn't even blink. So it took us a week to get our gear worked out, rang my mate and told him we were coming down. (M. Tipiwai, pers. comm., 2005)*

The couple's hasty move to Nelson proved to be both lucrative and beneficial. With both members of the family fully employed, the rewarding and satisfying life Uncle Maui had enjoyed in Wellington was to escalate. He introduced rugby league to the Nelson Bays area and added golf to his repertoire of sporting activities. As well, intercontinental locations became commonplace on his list of holiday destinations.

Although not claiming to be 'well off' Uncle Maui stated that he and Barbara were secure. His words were, "I'm not well off. We're all right, we're comfortable we can do anything we want". Proud of his achievements and the life he had created, things seemed perfect. This situation however, was to change. At a time when the physical and material aspects of Uncle Maui's life were at a premium, his mental health crashed. Uncle Maui fell prey to depression. The dramatic downturn in events that occurred was an unexpected shock that rocked the couple's world turning it upside down. Rather than dwell however on the symptoms of this unwelcome development, the focus at this point will shift to examine its possible causes.

To achieve this end, the next section sets out to sign-post the circumstances that, with the onset of colonisation, lead to a rejection by Māori of their own ways of being and knowing. Lifted directly from the transcribed interview, the recorded discussion that follows illuminates the development of Uncle Maui's values and belief system and the extent to which these values and beliefs eventually dominated his thinking and decision-making as a young adult. The compromises and sacrifices he made as his world took shape emerge as coping mechanisms. Struggling to succeed in a socio-cultural and political environment where all the odds were stacked against him, yielding to the hegemonic forces of oppression and striving to be 'a white guy' (M. Tipiwai, pers. comm., 2005) was an inevitable but contrived occurrence.

The term hegemony and its relativity to Uncle Maui's story will be discussed in depth

after the following interview excerpt. For the purpose of clarity, the questions put to Uncle Maui are highlighted in italics.

**He whakawhitiwhiti kōrero**  
*A discussion with Uncle Māui*

*[You said that Mourea is your home but when you retire you will probably go back to Wellington]*

There is a reason for that. I am a pretty active guy. I play golf, I think Mourea is, I don't know. I don't think I could stay there. There's nothing there for anybody. [Although] those ones there probably have a different feeling. I need to improve myself and for my wife. There's unemployment and people are on the benefit down there. I don't want to go back, that's who I am. From when I was young my Dad said, "go forward my son, go away, go and get an education".

*[You came from Mourea and you spoke fluent Māori up until a certain point in your life. What do you think happened, how did it get lost?]*

My fault and I have to take it. I wanted to be a white guy. I wanted an education. Stuff the Māori part of me. I mean this happened when I was probably in the third form.

*[You say it was your fault and that you wanted to be a white guy, to get an education. Do you think that your way of thinking at that time was influenced by anything in particular? Was there anything external that influenced your thinking?]*

No, the problem was me. Inferiority complex. I'm a Māori. I think that's what made me do that. I got sick of them calling me nigger wherever I went and I thought the only way I can do this, is to get an education and to just prove to some of those people that "I can hack it with the rest of you guys". I mean, you didn't have to be white to get anywhere was my thinking at the time. And I became so engrossed in it that I tended to ignore the Māori side of things.

*[Do you think times have changed in that respect that being Māori no longer means having to feel inferior?]*

No. I don't think it will ever change.

*[Do you think that it's easier to be Māori now than it was back then?]*

Well, I'll tell you for a fact now. Nelson is quite a racist place. I remember when I joined the golf club. I was beating everybody but nobody would come and sit

with you afterwards. I was probably the only Māori in the golf club. It was run by quite a few millionaires.

*[Have things changed?]*

Oh, they can't get enough of me now.

*[What do you think changed their view?]*

Cause I'm a smart arse. Oh I think what changed was they got sick of me beating them up at golf and winning things and another thing, I don't know how you are going to take this, I'm not well off but, we're alright. We're comfortable. We can do anything we want. And I think that's where the difference came. You know, drive in there with a flash car. And everybody you know. You walk in there and everybody wants to talk to you.

*[So the status that's accorded to people by virtue of their material wealth and possessions?]*

Yeah. I didn't do that deliberately, it just happened. I mean, we need a new car, so we go and buy a new car and you drive into the car park in a nice new car and everybody wants to know you. That didn't just happen at the golf club, it happened to me all over the place.

*[How do you feel when you go back to Mourea?]*

I feel like one of them. Like I say again. I got away from the Māori side of things years ago. I'm back embracing them now, I've tried to learn you know, the protocol side of things, but as far as my relations went, I tended to ignore them. When I went away from Rotorua, from Mourea to something new, I thought, this is better than home.

The powerful forces of hegemony at play in the early years of Uncle Maui's life are overtly expressed within this discussion. Uncle Maui's desire 'to be a white guy' is indicative of this phenomenon. Intertwined with colonisation and the Crown's programme of cultural assimilation signaled in the 1844 Native Trust Ordinance (Simon et. al., 2001), hegemony had the debilitating effect of indoctrinating Māori to believe that our beliefs, systems, institutions, culture and language were inferior to those systems and beliefs of the English colonisers. The next section describes hegemony and explaining its use as a mechanism by which political dictatorship and the power of successive New

Zealand Governments was and is, maintained. The purpose is to expose, to name and to know the mechanisms that caused Māori people such as Uncle Maui, to reject Māori cultural ways of being and knowing in favour of the imposed dominant Pākehā culture. The negative impact of hegemony on Uncle Maui and the post hegemony recovery phase of his life are explored following this description.

## **Hegemony**

*Unless you were Māori, it was possible and forgivable in the forties to view New Zealand as a single-culture society. The country's major institutions were based on European models, the systems of government and law derived from Britain, the dominant values were post-industrial revolution, Western and Christian (King, M. 1985. p. 11).*

Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship (Thiong'o, 1986). In order however for the European colonisers of Aotearoa New Zealand to attain effective economic and political control over Māori, it was necessary also to dominate their mental universe that is, to colonise the Māori mind. This process of domination, also termed hegemony, involved creating a mind shift for Māori that 'radically altered their perception of themselves and their relationship to the world' (Thiong'o, 1986, p. 208).

The notion of colonisation of the mind involves 'creating a shift in the psyche of the colonised in the way their systems, institutions, culture, language and all that contributes to their being, is viewed' (McCarthy, 1997, p.32). By both overt and covert methods, the colonised are indoctrinated with the belief that their culture in its entirety is inferior to that of the colonising culture. It is a process that is continuous and self-perpetuating and usually results in the colonised internalising negative myths and perceptions of being. (McCarthy, 1997) In Uncle Maui's case, the internalisation of negative myths pertaining to Māori resulted in his feeling of inferiority and a desire to be white.

Describing this particular feature of the colonisation process, Lyons (1975) maintains that in order for the coloniser to rationalise the subjugation of others he [sic] must have psychological justification. The idea is that he must put distance between himself and his subjects and then convince himself that this distance is ‘natural and inevitable’ (Lyons, 1975, p. 200). To achieve ‘distance’ the colonised are described by the coloniser as savage, heathen, backward, animal like etc. Further, they are attributed with mental inferiority and lack of ‘developed faculties of reason and self-control’ (Lyons, 1978, p. 201). Finally, the coloniser creates elaborate theories by which to prove his [sic] convictions and in order to reinforce and maintain these beliefs. Such theories become the ethos upon which all that is deemed to be good and proper in the new society is premised. The theories are reinforced and upheld by the dominant culture through the control of knowledge.

In Aotearoa New Zealand two of the most significant sites alongside religion, politics and the media, where Pākehā control over knowledge has reinforced the notions of Pākehā cultural and racial superiority while subordinating Māori people’s knowledge, language and culture, have been those of schooling and the wider fields of education. The assimilatory policies of the Settler Government implemented within the practices of the early mission schools had by 1905, prohibited the use of the Māori language within school precincts. Preceding this prohibition, Henry Taylor, a Wesleyan Superintendent, and school inspector, wrote of the need to develop ideas of individual ownership in the classroom suggesting Māori could be gradually trained to a proper perception of the ‘meum et tuum’ or, the ability to distinguish between ones own property and that of others! The common (Māori) practice of sharing ownership and use of chattels was viewed as stealing. Hence the need for the ‘proper perception of meum et tuum’!

Considering the Māori language to be a serious impediment to any such development Taylor (1862) insisted:

That the native language itself is another obstacle in the way of civilization. So long as it exists there is a barrier to the free and unrestrained intercourse, which ought to exist between the two races. It shuts out the less civilised portion of the population from the benefits which intercourse with the more enlightened would confer. The School-room alone has the power to break down

this wall of partition between the two races. Too much attention cannot be devoted to this branch of Māori education (H Taylor, 1862, E-4, p.35, cited in Williams, D. 2001 p. 25).

Prohibition of te reo Māori in schools was enforced for five decades in some instances, by corporal punishment. Walker (1990) maintains that the most damaging effect of the policy was not so much the corporal punishment, but the psychological effect on an individual's sense of identity and personal worth. For Māori, schooling demanded relinquishment of culture and suppression of language and identity.

Simultaneous social and economic policies of the era also enforced hegemony. Endeavouring to 'put an end to the kainga and to the pā, to make Māoris live the same as the Europeans and have the same aspirations and views as the Europeans' (Herries, W. 1903, vol 127, p. 515 cited in Williams, D. 2001, p. 44) successive governments sought to end Māori communal life including the non-subdivision of land. In Richard Seddon's (1900) view, communal land titles forced Māori into idleness, carelessness and neglect resulting in disastrous consequences to 'their' well-being (Seddon, 1900, cited in Williams, 2001). Other negative myths and stereotypical descriptions were promulgated. Born from the racist perceptions and attitudes of the early New Zealand Settler Government and its parliamentary members, Māori people were considered to be inferior, uncivilised and lacking in intellectual and academic ability. Written into policy and enacted through the practices of government institutions such as schools, what followed was the subordination and denigration of Māori knowledge systems.

For many Māori people, the debilitating effect of hegemony has resulted in the denial, and or rejection, of any form of being Māori. Described by Fanon (1967) as an occupation of the 'zone of non being' (Fanon, 1967, p. 208) this phenomenon has led to a strong yearning by some Māori such as Uncle Maui, to be a part of the dominant culture (Pākehā) despite the fact that they look like Māori and, more importantly, are treated as such by society. This is the cruel side of assimilation. That is, racism that will not allow the person of colour to become a true member of the dominant group. For some Māori this situation has led to a powerful conviction that Māori culture is inferior. As a result they become key supporters, advocates and promoters of the dominant culture effectively

advancing their own oppression, domination and assimilation. Gramsci (1971) agrees suggesting that it is through the received hegemony ('common sense' of the dominance of Pākehā knowledge and culture) that Māori readily co-operate in forming their own oppression and subordination. According to Williams (2000) twenty five per cent or 170,000 Māori people, are of this state of being. That is, they are assimilated New Zealanders of Māori descent who know they have Māori ancestry but mainly identify with European culture (Williams, 2000).

### **Hegemony at play**

Uncle Maui's assimilation began at an early age. His pursuit of 'education' saw him relinquish his Māori identity including his relationships and associations with whānau and other Māori. He began to identify strongly with European culture. When asked how he had exercised his Māoritanga since leaving Mourea he replied:

I haven't. I used to see Māori people on the street and if they looked at me, I would look away. I would cross the road if I saw Māori people walking towards me. I have great Pākehā friends [who] I get on well with.

Prompted as to why he had acted in this manner Uncle Maui stated, "if my Pākehā mates saw me collaborating with the Māoris, they probably won't talk to me again. That was how I felt". Shouldering responsibility for this behaviour Uncle Maui continued:

I made all those feelings it wasn't anybody else. Not the Māori guy walking down the street, it was me. It had nothing to do with him; it's got nothing to do with that Māori guy over there. It was in my head.

A decade has past since Uncle Maui behaved in the manner described above. His liberation from the received hegemony ('common sense') of the dominant Pākehā culture although tragic, was both transformative and beneficial. Abandoning his aspiration to 'be a white guy' Uncle Maui is back embracing his Māori culture. When viewed within the context of the hegemonic processes of colonisation, the blame Uncle bears for his denial of Māori ways of being and knowing is absolved. The following discussion highlights the genesis of Uncle Maui's journey of cultural recovery.

**‘E kore ahau e ngaro’**

*I will never be lost*

*[You don't feel that way anymore [negative] about being Māori ?]*

No, no way!

*[How long ago did that change occur?]*

Probably ten years ago

*[How did the change come about?]*

I just said to myself “oh, the white people are ignoring me, the Māori people are ignoring me, I’m stuck in a hole. So, how do I get back?” But that is what I thought to myself. I’m a Māori, I’ll always be a Māori. Ok, I’m not that flash, but everything is good I mean, I’m embracing my Māoritanga and I’ve enrolled in Māori classes .... I knew more than the teachers.

I’m Māori. That’s what they were teaching me in the weekend but I ended up teaching them. So, I just changed and when I see my Māori mates, we all give one another a hug. A big hug you know. It doesn’t matter if we see one another five times a day. We give each other a hug. Because I work with a lot of Māori guys and Samoan and Tongan and, we all give one another a hug.

*[I’m glad about that]*

I love being a Māori, I didn’t appreciate it and I chose to become an arrogant Pākehā. And I ignored it, I ignored it. But, there is a limit to what you can become. You get good at what you are doing and that’s it. I think you learn to think that there are other people out there. Because then, it was only me.

The individualistic nature of Uncle Maui’s behaviour can be attributed to his adoption of the values and beliefs of the dominant culture. As highlighted previously, advancing individualism among Māori was a primary objective of early government policy. His ensuing experience of invisibility to both Pākehā and Māori people is explained by Fanon’s (1967) notion of the ‘zone of non being’ - the cruel side of assimilation that, through racism, prevents the person of colour from becoming a true member of the dominant group while cultivating the belief that their own culture is inferior. Pākehā

people viewed Uncle Maui as Māori and therefore inferior, while Māori people viewed him as assimilated. In effect, Uncle Maui belonged to neither of these groups.

For Uncle Maui, escaping the ‘zone of none being’ (Fanon, 1967) involved a dance with depression and suicide. Speaking openly and frankly about this period of his life Uncle Maui offered some valuable insights into the process of his personal salvation:

I didn’t want to look weak. I would give help but I wouldn’t ask for help. I thought I could handle the world. I nearly committed suicide ten to fifteen years ago. Just before I started saying, “hey somebody out there can give me a hand”.

*[What took you to that point?]*

Depression. It hit me just like that. I woke up one morning and I didn’t want to live. It was because of issue that I am King Kong. I don’t need anybody. That’s where it came from. It built up over the years and I just ignored it. I thought it would go away but it finally caught up. It wasn’t very pretty in fact, it was ugly. I had a bad run. I brought it all on myself.

*[How did you get yourself through that?]*

I said “hello, there’s a guy there and I should ask him for a hand – go and ask him, don’t be scared”. Don’t be scared to ask somebody for help. I was really scared.

*[What stopped you from taking your own life?]*

I just didn’t have the guts to take all these pills. I thought, that is a weakness in itself. Stop killing yourself, you’re weak! I had to change my ways. I had to otherwise. Yeah, I knew I had put so much pressure on myself. I never learnt to say no.

*[And so was that a turning point for you too in terms of accepting your Māoriness?]*

Yeah, I mean it all happened at once. I was claustrophobic, I was scared of flying and scared of dying and I got rid of all that, and it really was the beginning. It’s amazing. Barbara’s happy. We can talk about things. We have a good chat even if we’ve got nothing to talk about. Talk about it! Learn to say “hang on ....”

## **E hoki ki to maunga**

### *Return to your mountain*

Uncle Maui's 'new beginning' was to become a process of cultural recovery.

Reacquainting himself with his whānau was the first phase of this process. Describing a stage of depression that had previously incapacitated him he said:

I hated Mourea and I hated Rotorua. I wouldn't even ring home or ring anybody. I hated them. I didn't want to be there. I couldn't go home, I was scared of death. When my brother died, I made all sorts of excuses not to go home. No matter what excuse Scobie said "get back home". I had a fear of death. I went home but I did not enjoy one moment of it. I couldn't see a dead body. I got there and I didn't even want to go onto the marae. My body was so hot – it turned into that sort of thing. That was 10 – 12 – 15 years ago.

Successfully working through this period Uncle Maui finally initiated contact with his brother Scobie and began to rebuild and strengthen his relationship with all his siblings. In his formative years his connection with his brother Scobie was limited due to the differing times at which they migrated from Te Whānau a Apanui to Mourea. As well, the pair lived in different households in Mourea community.

Reciting the conversation he had with his brother Uncle said:

I said to him one day, "hey we haven't got a lot of life left in us, let's not chuck it away, let's be whānau again". Now over the years we've ignored one another, taken each other for granted – oh, he's alright, he's alright but in the last probably seven years, after seeing him again and after his wife Ore died, I started thinking about our family. I said to Scobie "we're running out of years. I think we should try to get a whānau thing going at Pikiāo or wherever". And Manu was too sick to go and Hine wasn't well and I said "I don't care, I'm coming up to see you guys anyway, I can't live on my own, I need your fullas help. We need each other". And that's when things changed in our family. Watching my other brother die, Piki – and then Manu died and then Hine died. Some of the Walker brothers are still alive – Mokota, but he's not too flash either – his health.

We never learnt to say "I love you – give us a hug" instead we would just shake hands and say "it's good to see you". So now we have learnt to hug one another and say "I Love you and that's what brought it back. It's made a great difference. I know now even when I go up there [Mourea] and I come back, I'm going to miss them. Now we ring you know, just to say how is it going buddy? The vibes are there, the vibrations are there!

Inevitably the reconnection with his whānau has also led to Uncle Maui's enhanced perception of Mourea and Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo as being home. Contradicting

his original (first) statement re his lack of desire to return to Mourea on his retirement, Uncle Maui stated:

I want to go home but I'm scared. I love Mourea. When I go home, I'm belittling myself, that's my view. Going home to Mourea, I'm going down in status that's what I think. It's like you say, I should go home but I have to bring something from my side. I'm not good at it that's what I'm talking about. I could offer something, but I don't know what to offer. I don't know how to do that. As far as going home to Te Takinga, I wouldn't have a clue what to do. I'm pretty ignorant about what goes on at the marae.

I went home to a tangi and I didn't know what the hell to do. I mean, I want to, I like to help but I don't know how to go about it. I won't go in there and say "what do you want me to do boys, do the dishes or what?" That's another problem. In the kitchen you know, it's like "don't get in my road mate". It's like a power game. So you know, I think, why bother. Why bother going in that door. Not that I know what to do! So that's what I'm talking about.

*[what about if you were to look outside of the marae – outside of the whaikōrero, tikanga context do you think you have something to offer?]*

I probably would yes. I probably could do something I don't know what but I'm sure my brother would guide me. He's got good communication skills and is so much better than me especially with people. I mean I can communicate with people but not as well as Scobie. He seems to embrace it. I can never figure out what's going on but he makes it look so simple.

Uncle Maui's fear of returning home is a feeling that is shared by other Ngati Te Takinga urban dwellers who seek a return home and repatriation with their Iwi (Emery, 2001).

Facilitating safe, welcoming processes for the return of our people is problematic.

Empathy towards disconnected home comers is not openly demonstrated amongst the hau kainga. Having never experienced urbanisation and disconnection from their hapū-Iwi-marae, the fear associated with reconnecting as a disconnected hapū-Iwi affiliate, is unknown. On this basis the absence of empathy for away-dwellers coming home, is natural and inevitable. Successful repatriation with one's Iwi requires humble engagement in acts of service for, and on behalf of, one's people. Effectively, one enters an Iwi apprenticeship (Emery, 2001; Temara, 2005).

As identified by Uncle Maui, the fear of being rejected by our people and excluded from our marae, creates a hesitancy to return. As the numbers of our old people continue to decline, overcoming this situation becomes critical. Facilitating positive processes of

inclusion at our marae is essential to the maintenance and survival of our culture. People are our greatest asset.

### **He kupu whakamutunga**

*Some closing words*

*Where I am buried when I die is up to Barbara. I would love to go back to Mourea. That place [Motutawa] is the best urupā I have ever seen anywhere in the world. Anywhere in the world (M. Tipiwai, pers. comm., 2005).*

Uncle Maui's story is brought to a close by way of the simple but wise and welcoming words of Aunty Nancy Mason. Kuia and lifetime resident of Mourea, Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo, Aunty Nancy's karanga to those of our people who seek passage home will hopefully, act as the catalyst that propels them over the 'home and away' divide that exists and into the heart of the hapū-Iwi.

A participant in this project, when asked whether she thought Ngati Te Takinga affiliates who grew up outside of the Ngati Te Takinga boundaries could claim tūrangawaewae status, Aunty Nancy responded in the following vein:

*Kei a rātou tēnā whakaaro. Kaore tāua e taea te ki. Kei a rātou katoa o rātou whakaaro. Ina ka haramai ki konei, kei a rātou. (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005) [That decision is not ours to make. It is up to those people; should they come to Te Takinga, then that is their personal choice. It is not for us to say].*

Aunty Nancy's final words of providence were 'ka tū mai i roto i te pā, nō ku hoki te pā, nōu te pā; he tūrangawaewae tēnā nō tātou' - the marae is mine, the marae is yours and it is a place for us all to stand (N. Mason, pers. comm., 2005).

The magnitude of Uncle Maui's contribution to this project is a result of his great courage. The open, honest and direct accounts of both the high and low points of his life provide vital insight into the impacts of colonisation, urbanisation, assimilation and hegemony on Māori people. His journey 'there and back' demonstrates the depth of importance of a secure Māori identity (A. Durie, 1997) as being not only imperative to

cultural affirmation (M. Durie, 1998) but as well, to the overall health, well-being and survival of Māori people.

As the city of Rotorua continues its slow creep beyond the boundaries of the urban milieu; as the ongoing rural drift of the 'rich' encroaches further upon the Mourea settlement; the contemporary lifestyle block occupying traditional lands abandoned in the name of 'advancement', it is people such as Uncle Maui who are empowered to assist in the struggle for Māori cultural continuance. Reclaiming (purchasing) traditional lands for the purpose of retirement would bring a journey of a lifetime full circle. Opportunities abound. The irony of such a proposition is unmistakable. Believing opportunity lay outside of Mourea and the surrounding areas, our people left to pursue 'Pākehā' lifestyles. In contrast, Pākehā people have and continue, to pursue the rural, lakes lifestyle of the Ngati Pikiāo region; buying and residing on abandoned Ngati Te Takinga - Ngati Pikiāo traditional lands. The astounding beauty of the natural surrounds and all that it offers the inducement. Ngati Pikiāo hapū-Iwi and marae occupy long sought after territory. Tribal strength and unity is essential to ensure our occupation of this territory is interminable. Again, people are our greatest strength.

Shirres (1997) maintains that to identify oneself with one's people and one's history is a major reason for the family marae and meeting house. To enter the meeting house is to be re-born into the kin group, into the whānau. Nō reira e te mātua, e kore rawa nei e mutu ngā mihi aroha ki a koe. Tēna koe nāu nei tenei mahi, tenei kaupapa i hāpai hei oranga tonutanga mō ngai tātou Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo. E ki anei te whakatauki 'e hoki koe ki to maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau a Tawhirimatea'. Ko koe anō tēnā.

'The vibrations are there' (M. Tipiwai, pers. comm., 2005)

## **Ngā reo o te hunga haere: Voices from away**

*Te hunga haere: Peter Grant*

*I consider myself to be a person first and fore most, comprised of spirit soul and body and born into a family quarter Māori, quarter Indian, half Pākehā. I don't fly a flag for any particular faction; just love my family very much. They always seem to travel with me wherever I go, in spirit. When I return home it's just a re-uniting of the physical being. We enjoy happy times together, and I seem to connect with the area (Ōkere) and all the places I grew up in. Until its time to return to Australia where I have lived and worked for the past 37 years. (P. Grant, pers. comm., 2000)*

This story, which was first written in 2001, has been redrafted from the transcripts of an interview conducted with Peter Grant in July 2000. The epilogue to the story is constructed from a 2007 meeting with Peter. Peter is my first cousin. He was a participant in my masters dissertation research. The dissertation sought, in part, to discover the whereabouts, of our (Grant) whānau tūrangawaewae within the Te Arawa confederation of tribes and also, to discover the determinants of that tūrangawaewae status. I investigated the degrees to which my family members, throughout their upbringing and in their adult lives had, or hadn't, participated in local Ngāti Pikiao Iwi and marae affairs. I also ascertained the significance that the participants (my whānau) placed on maintaining allegiance to the kin group and to kinship obligations (Ritchie, 1963; Metge, 1964; Reeves, 1979; Walker, 1990) at marae, hapū and Iwi levels.

Although originally written as part of the dissertation investigation, in 2007 Peter's story remains valid; his story brings a perspective that differs markedly to the perspectives reflected within the 'e hoki ki to maunga' stories generally. Now 57 years of age, Peter grew up in Mourea and the neighboring area of Okere Falls. Like his father's [our] whānau before him, Peter did not participate in the 'Iwi-marae community life and the formative years of his life were predominantly absent of Māori cultural teachings, learning and practice. Compulsory participation by Peter in for example kapahaka during his early school years was performed under duress and he had no interest in things Māori. Peter left New Zealand at age 19 and has lived in Australia for the past 38 years.

Subsequently, Peter refers to himself as being an ‘ANZAC’ (short for the Australia, New Zealand Army Corp).

Although growing up in Mourea and in the Ngati Pikiāo district, Peter’s emotional ties to Ngati Te Takinga and/or to Te Takinga marae have been subsumed by his Christian beliefs. Further, Peter has no desire to ‘meaningfully’ connect or reconnect with Ngati Te Takinga and/or to participate in hapū-Iwi and marae affairs. Having made one short-lived attempt at a return home (to the family residence at Okere Falls), Australia drew him back. Currently Peter resides in Sydney where he continues to work in the music industry and where he assists also, in the raising of his (Australian) grandchildren.

The following story traces Peter’s life. The story successfully expounds Peter’s thoughts on home, belongingness and Māori identity in relation to the trichotomy of his own connection, disconnection and reconnection to Ngati Te Takinga of Ngati Pikiāo.

### **Peter Grant**

Peter Grant was born the eldest son, and child, of Robert (Bob) Grant and Doreen Clark. Of Ngati Te Takinga descent, as a child Peter lived for a time at Mourea before his parents took up residence amongst the wider Iwi of Ngati Pikiāo in the Tāheke community at Okere Falls. Peter’s main childhood memories are drawn from the early years he spent living at Tāheke. Responding to questions about his Māori identity, Peter maintained the question of ‘identity’ was a non issue throughout his childhood. In explanation he stated:

Who I am differs a lot from the average New Zealander, Māori or whatever. I don’t think I questioned that when I left home. I considered myself to be more Māori I guess, because of the people I hung out with. If one had a ‘poof teenth’ of Māori in them then one acted like, spoke like, and called ones self a Māori.

Although considering himself to be Māori Peter recalled being discriminated against by other Māori children because he wasn’t “all Māori”. At the time this seemed strange given that his Pākehā mother in his view “was always accepted in the community by most of the local adults” (P. Grant, pers. comm., 2000).

Peter's recollections of participation at the local Tāheke and Te Tākinga marae extended only to attendance at Sunday school at Tāheke. He recalled:

[That] for some reason I had no interest in cultural things. My mind was always on things musical. Pop music. So consequently I had no desire to learn Māori culture. When I did, I was more or less forced into it, school concerts etc. I felt really self-conscious and didn't want to be there. You couldn't sit on the sideline, you had to be in there you know. And so I was quite self-conscious about it for some reason, I don't know why. So more and more I was influenced by pop music.

It was to be pop music that in 1969 drew Peter to Australia and into show business. In Peter's words:

I became a part of the great migration of Kiwi entertainers that left the shores of Aotearoa to seek fame and fortune in a new land. The waka now had wings and jet engines. The 707's and later 747's brought groups like the Quin Tiki's, Te Kiwis, The Hi Fives, The Māori Volcanics, The Te Pois and Numerous others, to the shores of another land of opportunity, and adventure. Unfortunately not all the stories had happy endings. No fame and no fortune, neither did the bank accounts swell. But that's another story.

In tandem with music, another powerful influence on the life and times of Peter Grant has been that of Christianity. Choosing the Christian religion over Māori was, in part, due to the absence of Māori teachings throughout his formative years. Peter's account of his spiritual journey follows:

The Spiritual journey would also have to be a major part. Not meaning to be derogatory, I chose not to follow myth and legend which I found in Māori mythology. Greek or Egyptian for that matter. There are elements of truth entwined around fictional stories, and imagination. I choose to follow the man that said "I am the way the truth and the life". I did have a kind of knowledge of Māori mythology and I must say, I wasn't encouraged by Dad. Sometimes Mum would buy the occasional book-Hatupatu etc. Not that she was forcing it on to us, just making us aware of our Māori heritage.

That Peter's father (Uncle Bob) did not assist Peter to learn about things Māori was also reiterated by his mother who stated "he never helped you with your Māori side. It was Nana Rodgers remember?" (D. Grant, pers. comm., 2000).

### **'Like father like son'**

To understand this situation, it is necessary to review Peter's father's own experience of growing up Māori which undoubtedly underpins the reason for his disinclination to teach Māori to Peter. Born the second son of Wahangaarangi Fraser and Fiji-Indian born immigrant Oswald Grant (also my grandparents), Uncle Bob's own upbringing had been absent of Māori cultural teachings and learning. Although our mother/grandmother was an active member of Ngati Te Takinga marae, participation in tribal life was restricted by

her to all but one, the youngest, of her six children. As a result, Uncle Bob and his brothers and sisters (including my mother) did not learn Māori protocols, customs and traditions. Neither did they place importance on language, tribalism and tūrangawaewae.

Wahaarangi and Oswald's children were forbidden from going to Te Takinga marae because Wahanga maintained that the marae was "no place for children" (W. Emery, pers. comm., 2001). As a result the family (bar one member) was not instilled with Māori cultural values that observed all the rites of passage in a Māori way. My grandmother did not give reason/s for the marae prohibition she imposed on Uncle Bob and his siblings (Emery, 2001). Discussing the situation with Uncle Bob's son-in-law (Peter's brother in law) James Rickard however, I was offered the following (possible) explanation for our grandmother's ruling.

A tohunga whakaairo (master carver) James holds in-depth and expert knowledge of both whakapapa and Mātauranga Māori. James explained that the marae (especially during tangihanga) could/can be a perilous place for children if proper procedures are not followed:

In taniko and weaving there is a shape known as 'whakatara'; it is like a vortex; two triangles coming to a point – and that is your connection between the kaue runga and the kaue raro – the two branches of knowledge being the celestial and terrestrial; that is where they meet. The whakatara is normally closed however, it is by way of the karanga that it is opened. The karanga opens the vortex between the spiritual and the physical world and creates the connection. That is what I have been taught. When the whakatara is open it allows both the 'good' and the 'bad' to come through and that is why the old people did not like children to be present on the marae; because of the bad things that may have been present and the harm that may have befallen the 'unprotected' children as a result; they were vulnerable. The whakatara must always be closed once it has been opened – the connection between the worlds must be disestablished. Sometimes this process is not completed properly and that's when bad things can happen. People aren't aware of this and many people only associate the marae with 'good' however .... (J. Rickard, 2007, pers. comm.).

While we cannot know if this explanation underpinned our grandmother's decision not to take her children to the marae, what is known is that their absence from the marae as children did not stop them from identifying as Māori and as Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo. As Carter (1998) suggests, the notion of identifying as Māori is open to interpretation. Consequently, the two direct living descendants of Wahanga and Oswald, Winsome (my mother) and Beatrice (her younger sister), both identify strongly as Ngati

Te Takinga, albeit differently. This is despite the fact that Winsome had had no experience of Māori protocol and practice prior to age twenty-two when she attended her first tangihanga at a marae.

‘Being’ Māori then, was not something that was fostered by Peter’s father during Peter’s formative years. Uncle Bob was however, a distinguished musician and Peter retains a poignant memory of his father’s last words spoken to him in a phone conversation. The words were: “sing from the heart son” and “believe in God”. These are the two things that Peter always endeavors to do with conviction. Peter maintains:

If one sings with conviction it transcends any thing that I know. Because when one is singing from the heart, singing from your soul, there is something that reaches out and touches your audience. And it is one of the most invigorating feelings one can experience.

Peter’s singing career has been forged in Australia and he referred to himself as an ANZAC because he has lived “more years in Australia than in New Zealand”. His family ties here in New Zealand while strong and his desire to “get back” (P. Grant, pers. comm., 2000) while constant, is thwarted however, by the pull of Australia and his ‘Australian’ children and grandchildren who were born and live there.

### **Staying away: A ‘nowhere’ man**

It is unlikely that Peter will make a permanent return to live in New Zealand. As well, when asked formally whether or not (his body) would be returned to New Zealand if he should die while in Australia, Peter said he had no qualms about a burial in Australia. He referred to his body as being but a “shell” and therefore unimportant. Peter has no desire to be returned to the marae for a tangihanga upon his death. He conceded however, that his brothers may have different ideas and if it were to transpire that he be brought home, then he could accept that.

In interviewing Peter for this project I was deeply moved and saddened when, in a poignant summation of his life, he sang the following lines from a Beatles song: “he’s a real nowhere man living in a nowhere land making all his nowhere plans for nobody”. I wondered if, for Peter, the notion of being a “nowhere man” was related to a loss of

Māori identity through upbringing and whether the reclamation of his Māori identity would assist him to become a ‘somewhere man living in a somewhere land making somewhere plans for somebody’. These wonderings of course, were based on an assumption that being a ‘somewhere man’ as opposed to a ‘nowhere man’ was indeed where Peter wanted to be. Durie’s (1997) idea that the key to the development of a secure identity and cultural confidence is access to institutions of culture and to Māori resources was foremost in my mind as I pondered the words that Peter had sung. Putting the question to Peter, he responded by saying that the ‘nowhere man feelings’ he had, were more the result of the consequences of certain choices he has made during the course of his life, as opposed to a loss of Māori identity.

Although not totally satisfied with this answer, I accepted his explanation on the basis that one can only know what it is to have a secure sense of Māori identity when one is secure in their Māori identity. Peter’s choice to pursue Christian religion as opposed to Māori ‘mythology’ however precluded any such development from occurring for him. Although lost on Peter, the proverbial saying ‘e hoki ki to maunga’ – know thy [Māori] self for this is the basis of all wisdom, resonated during the period Peter and I worked closely together to co-construct this story. Over the months in which the project was undertaken, I came to know my cousin as an intelligent and profoundly thoughtful person. His philosophies of life are grounded in his reflections on life, and his ways of being and knowing are deeply insightful. Peter’s story is drawn to a conclusion using his own words. Written as part of the personal narrative he constructed from his transcribed 20,000 word interview, Peter states: “I want to conclude by saying that I am a product of parental up bringing, childhood experiences and memories inter-twined with adolescence and adult trials and tribulations. Making me the same as any other human being on this earth”.

**Epilogue:**

*A return*

*In February 2007 I had the pleasure of attending a performance by the Māori Volcanics at the Civic theatre in Rotorua. Formed in 1967 the Māori Volcanics are a legendary*

*New Zealand show band who are based in Australia. The Volcanics were, as Peter so aptly put it in 2001, “a part of the great migration of Kiwi entertainers that left the shores of Aotearoa to seek fame and fortune in a new land [aboard] the waka [that] now had wings and jet engines. The 707’s and later 747’s [took] groups like the Quin Tiki’s, Te KIwis, The Hi Fives, The Māori Volcanics, The Te Pois and numerous others, to the shores of another land of opportunity, and adventure”. On invitation, the group had returned to Rotorua as guest artists to perform in the Rotorua Arts Festival 2007. Peter Grant accompanied and performed with the group.*

*In opening, the Volcanic’s sung an old waiata Māori in te reo Māori, the first words of which were: “korerotia mai te reo, hāpaitia nei te reo” – speak, embrace and uphold the Māori language. The group sung ‘from the heart’ and with ‘conviction’; and what became immediately apparent as they ‘belted’ out the first melodic words of their song, was the group’s strength of Māori connectiveness and their instantaneous ability to capture and relate to their predominantly Māori audience. Forty years of residence in Australia had not, it appeared, altered their identity as a ‘Māori’ Show band. Peter was introduced to the Te Arawa audience as “one of [our] own” and although a virtual unknown to the majority, he was exuberantly ‘embraced’ and applauded [as one of ‘our own’] both prior to, and after, his solo performance. I was intrigued by the rapport the band members established with the audience through their overtly strong (projected) Māori quintessence. Something they have staunchly maintained throughout their long years of absence from home.*

*Knowing that Peter had returned to New Zealand with the Volcanic’s on a previous occasion, I caught up with him a few days after the show in Rotorua. I was interested to ascertain whether or not Peter’s return as a [guest] performer with the Volcanics had influenced his views on, and construction of, his notions of home, belongingness and Māori identity as identified by way of the previous (2001) research project. Six years on and two Māori showband performances in New Zealand later, Peter’s position remains*

*static. If anything, due to the hands on grand-parenting role he has assumed with his grandchildren in Sydney, Peter is more firmly entrenched in Australia than ever.*

*Peter remains strong in his Christian beliefs and he has no current desire to delve into, or to pursue, the Māori side of his heritage. With regard to home Peter asserted that he feels a strong connection to his family at Okere and to the land “the earth” generally, but with regards to ‘ownership’ (of land) and his Okere home he maintains “its not yours anyway because everything comes out of the mouth of God. We are only the custodians”. He conceded however, that the attachment to the land that he does feel is most likely derived from his “Māori blood”. In closing our discussions about home, belongingness and his Māori identity, Peter’s philosophic final words were:*

*“I count myself as a human being, a spirit in a body, which is the earthly tent. I am making my way in this vast universe. I am a spec on the spec on the spec on the spec – in the plan of things. It has taken me a long time to grow up and it’s probably going to take longer time still before I’ll even be able to fathom what I have learnt”.*

## **PART THREE**

### **PREAMBLE**

#### **Kua rite ki te whāriki - a weaving of themes**

*The indigenous Māori community narrative reflects an historic, emotional and pragmatic relationship between community, land and [moana]. This relationship speaks to the connection between the physical environment and individual and family identity. The land and [moana] provide the connecting point that fuses their ethnicity, self concept and sense of belonging together (A. Ormond, 2004, p. 121).*

The co-constructed stories written for this thesis draw together and illuminate a myriad of responses to life experiences. Through the stories, the thesis explored notions of home ‘belongingness’ and Māori identity, in relation to the trichotomy of the connection, disconnection and the reconnection of members of Ngati Te Takinga - Ngati Pikiāo. The thesis suggests that the addition of a distance component to the traditional ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ hapū-marae apprenticeship would be beneficial to hapū development. Provision for the participation of away-dwelling and/or disconnected hapū members was promoted as a means by which to sustain and support Māori cultural continuity at the marae level. Maintaining and/or renewing connections with disconnected and/or away-dwelling people may help to strengthen the proximal links and kinship relationships that ease and facilitate their participation in hapū-Iwi life from afar. The contributions of Ngati Te Takinga away-dwellers can, and should, play a part in the future survival of the hapū as an autonomous political entity. While these people may never make a permanent return, their whakapapa is an interminable bond and an incontestable link home while their knowledge and skills are an under utilised resource.

Fusing all of these themes, chapters nine and ten present and discuss the research conclusions. The conclusions link back to the theoretical framework while at the same time responding to the original research questions. The impact of ‘home-dweller’ discourse on the ‘coming home’ experiences and the ‘reconnection’ of Ngati Te Takinga away-dwellers is shown to exacerbate the effects to the hapū, of the ongoing demise of

tribal elders, the absence of successors ‘coming through’ and the detribalised and diasporic nature of the hapū. Ngati Te Takinga’s distinct cultural identity is jeopardised as a result of the tensions that exist, and that can be present, in the home-marae environment.

The research conclusions that follow are loosely arranged to show the meanings and connective aspects of home; including what it can mean to be without a home and/or to yearn for home (matemateaone). Showing the centrality of the marae to individual and collective identity, to the maintenance of kinship (connectivity) and to the reconnection of away-dwellers, the discussion then turns to the complexities surrounding cultural retrieval, revitalisation, maintenance and continuity within the current new right neo-liberal context. Examining the interface between Māori collectivist and new right capitalist cultures, this section shows how working across and within two worlds (Māori and Pākehā) can detrimentally impact hapū-Iwi socio-cultural systems. I also show how the colonised reality of contemporary hapū-Iwi life (our internalised oppression) inhibits hapū development. Hegemony and horizontal violence (our internal struggle against ourselves) are analysed and named as main deterrents to Ngati Te Takinga’s ‘external’ struggle for cultural continuity. Recognising, understanding and moving beyond the patterns of internalised racism and oppression that currently shackle hapū movement, is the principle intent.

In closing I present a final learning story. The story talks about the things I have learnt which weren’t necessarily things that I was meant to be finding out. Written as an epilogue, the learning story reflects the transformative praxis that has taken place in my life since embarking on this research journey. It is a simple story of hope that talks about the revitalisation of Māori knowledge and knowledge systems, and the recognition and exercise of personal power in the reclamation process. Neither the conclusions nor the epilogue are points of end. Rather, they are post doctorate places of beginning for the committed kaupapa Māori research ‘insider’.

Drawn from research with one hapū, the following research conclusions are not necessarily generalisable across all hapū and/or all Iwi.

## Chapter Nine

### A Summary of Research Themes

#### *Notions of Home Belongingness and Identity*

*He kura kainga e hokia  
A treasured home will endure ....*

An overarching theme, the love of home formed the foundation stone upon which the Ngati Te Takinga stories were both born and created. The research found that the collective home of Ngati Te Takinga is formed from a set of common cultural indicators. The indicators derive from a combination of physical, spiritual and emotional sources; they are fundamental to the identity of Ngati Te Takinga as a hapū. Home was identified as being the land (whenua), the water (wai), people both living and deceased (whānau) and genealogical connection (whakapapa). To this end the urupā ‘Motutawa’ (Mourea cemetery) emerged as an essential and connective symbol of home; a phenomenon that confirms the importance of the past to the present and enduring nature of whakapapa (genealogy). In combination with whenua, whakapapa forms the fundamental basis of home, belongingness and Māori identity. Inextricably linked elements of cultural connectivity, whenua and whakapapa are the source of a person’s tūrangawaewae (place of standing - in this case at Te Takinga marae) to which everybody who shares in the *whakapapa*, has rights. These rights are affirmed through the status of the marae land which is gazetted as a marae reservation (Mourea Papakainga 3D) and held in trust for all the hapū as the beneficiaries.

Maintenance of an ongoing connection home and continuity of tūrangawaewae (a right to place and a right to belong) were central, concomitant and prevailing themes within all the stories. Endorsed by whakapapa, the exercise of a person’s right to tūrangawaewae hinges upon the practice of mana whenua and ahi kaa, or the degree to which one’s place at the marae is kept ‘warm’. Although requiring a physical presence, the tūrangawaewae of an absent individual can be upheld by other whānau members on their behalf. While providing a pathway for away-dwellers coming home, the practice does not, however,

discharge them of the reciprocal obligations, expectations and requirements of hapū and Iwi service as the prerequisites for gaining or regaining full hapū membership rights.

Sense of connection, belonging and rights to tūrangawaewae were strongest amongst those participants who were born and who had lived in Mourea for their entire lives. Maintaining mana whenua on behalf of the away-dwellers and their whānau, these participants, although having whakapapa links to other Iwi, were adamant that Mourea was their home and that Te Takinga marae was their tūrangawaewae:

Mourea, Te Takinga is my tūrangawaewae. It was here that I was born and here that I grew up; I have never left this place. Although I know that I am also from Tuhoe, and that I have marae there, I was not raised and nurtured there. Te Takinga is my tūrangawaewae (Merepaea Henry, pers. comm., 2005).

Although the same sense of connection and belonging were expressed by Mourea-born, Rotorua-based urban-dwelling participants, these feelings were tempered (especially for the kuia) by *matemateone* – longing for home. One such participant held an unremitting desire to maintain her ties with home; a feeling roused by the loneliness she experienced living amongst strangers in the Rotorua suburbs. Her story was one replete with wistful longings for the home she knew, for the vanished spirit of the “old people” and for the strong sense of friendship, whānau and community that existed in their times. Although a permanent return home (to Mourea) is unlikely, the situation had not dampened this kuia’s longing for a return. Her desire was evidenced within her aspiration to build a home at Mourea for the successive generations of her family. Maintaining the whānau’s mana whenua/ahi kainga or their home connection was/is a matter of urgency for her lest, in time to come, it becomes severed and lost.

The whakatauki ‘kia horoia tāku porokakī ki ngā wai o tōku ake whenua’ (let my neck be washed by the waters of my own land) encapsulate the ‘*matemateone*’ felt by this participant and by others who live away. The whakatauki expresses the devotion of a person to their place of origin and to their tūrangawaewae; it also conveys their homesickness for that place. Daes (2000) suggests that a people’s heritage lives or dies in their hearts; that centuries of foreign occupation and oppression cannot destroy a people’s heritage, if they continue to cherish and believe in it. Regardless of their current

geographical location, all participants cherished, believed in and loved the physical environs of Mourea – Ngati Pikiāo as being home. To this end, the conception of the deterritorialised, spatially unbounded Ngati Te Takinga nation state is an evolving and naturally occurring phenomenon originating from the Māori concept of ūkaipō which denotes a continuation of connection to places through generations of memory and responsibility (C. Smith, 2007).

### *Deterritorialisation*

The deterritorialised nation state of Ngati Te Takinga exists. Living beyond the hapū's geographical boundaries but maintaining an ongoing 'heart and mind' connection and commitment to the hapū, deterritorialisation has been fostered and achieved in different ways by the away-dwelling research participants. All participants were endeavoring, in some way, to maintain their Ngati Te Takinga 'heart home' and their sense of belonging. Some participants kept their tikanga and wairua Māori (Māori spirit and culture) strong by joining local kapahaka (Māori performing arts groups). Others staged (away-based) family wānanga where they learnt te reo and tikanga Māori, their whakapapa (genealogy) and their ancestral connections to land. As well, kinship ties and hapū allegiance were maintained and demonstrated through return trips home to visit and/or to attend tangihanga (funerals), birthdays and other such events. These efforts however, have been realised independently of Te Takinga marae and the hapū.

A structured, collaborative and internally-driven hapū approach to deterritorialising Ngati Te Takinga's nation state is yet to transpire. Although the marae draws people homeward in mind, body and spirit, utilisation of the marae's force as a powerful tool for hapū development is not a primary focus for the current marae and/or the hapū management committee. Cultural continuity and meeting the belongingness needs and desires of the away-dwelling and/or the home based research participants although a concern, is not prioritised. Indeed the types of wānanga that sparked this research project in 2003 have long since gone into abeyance. This situation aside, the marae was viewed by all except one of the away-dwelling participants, as a central feature of their 'imagined' home; the (unbeknowingly) deterritorialised Ngati Te Takinga nation state.

### *Imagining home*

*The essence of tūrangawaewae is that the land is an outward and visible sign of something that is deeply spiritual; it is a source of nourishment to the inner self rather than to the physical needs of Māori people. Identity emanates from the land, sense of self awareness begins there and sense of mana and importance belong there (Bennett, M. 1979, p. 23).*

Longing for a return home either in person, or conceptually through the successive generations of the whānau, was an innate and unremitting homesick desire (matemateaone) expressed by those participants (and other Ngati Te Takinga people) living away. Oblivious to the complex realities of hapū (home) politics, home from away was constructed through (beautiful) memories of people and place, loved, held and cherished in hearts and minds. Romantic and nostalgic visions of home and ‘imagined’ community were ‘fabricated’ in order to hold onto and to keep their connections home alive. Of those participants still living away, one is certain of a return, two ‘may’ return while another, due to the seemingly non-negotiable and impossible elements of a return, holds hopes for a burial at Motutawa upon his death.

For a raft of reasons the away-dwellers interviewed and spoken to during the course of this research were (on the whole) reluctant to, and may never, make a permanent return home to Ngati Te Takinga lands. Aside from geographical and financial constraints (including rising travel costs), the main deterrents to ‘coming home’ (both to visit or on a permanent basis) were identified as: relative ‘unknownness’ (an absence of a ‘living’ relationship) to the hapū-Iwi; cultural inadequacies; marriage to partners from other Iwi, other countries and of differing ethnicities; having children who were born in other places nationally and internationally who don’t identify (ethnically) as Māori; and fear: of unemployment, of being rejected and of the unknown. Subsequently, one participant stated that a return home was not an option because “there is nothing there” while another, after two attempts at a permanent home-coming in the last 30 years, has returned to live overseas. When asked as to his views on home this participant spoke of feeling a “strong connection” to the “earth” generally and to his “family and the family home [in Ngati Pikiao]” but was resolute in his belief that claiming ownership of land and home

are illogical on the basis that nothing belongs to anybody “because everything comes out of the mouth of God and we are only the custodians”. He conceded however, that the attachment to the land that he does feel is most likely attributed to his “Māori blood” (whakapapa).

### *Yearning at home*

Yearning for home was not unique to away-dwellers alone. The voices of the kuia and koroua, the mana whenua, also echoed loss and longing. Suffering a same but different sense of *matemateaone*, these home-dwelling participants yearned for what had gone before, and the home that was, ‘in the time of the old people’ (M. Henry, P. Mason, H. Inia, L. Tamati, R. Tamati, B. Waiomio, N. Walker, pers. comm. 2005). Expressing these feelings, kuia Merepaea Henry (2005) stated: “te wairua tino kaha kei runga i a rātou, hei awihina i a rātou hei mahi katoa i nga mahi. Tēnei wā, kua ngaro” - the strong, omnipresent spiritual ‘essence’ of the old people which governed everything they did; in these times that spirituality is lost. While through whakapapa the uninterrupted connection people felt to the ancestors and to the Ngati Te Takinga ancestral lands have endured, the absence and the ever dwindling numbers of Ngati te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo kaumātua, gave rise to feelings of great sadness among the older participants. The sadness derived from the loss of their peers as the people who carried the kawa and tikanga (custom and traditions) of Ngati Te Takinga.

The low numbers of culturally-proficient tribal elders available for marae ‘duties’ was/is a major dilemma for all of the hapū. Exacerbated by the absence of successors coming through and the detribalised and diasporic nature of Ngati Te Takinga people, the older participants voiced serious concerns about the dilution of our culture both on the marae and in our homes. In particular, the older research participants highlighted the scattered nature of whānau through land alienation, the lack-lustre skills of most present day orators, the unavailability (to hapū-Iwi) of those kaumātua who remain in paid employment, the breach to protocols by some kai-karanga, the decline in understanding of tikanga amongst younger people and the subsequent breaches to tikanga, the absence of karakia (spirituality) in our daily lives and the decline in the quality of te reo Māori

spoken by the younger generation. The comment “ka aroha hoki tō tātou reo” (our poor language!) was constantly reiterated by the kuia and koroua.

Declining levels of tikanga and te reo Māori including oratory was, according to one participant, partly due to the breakdown in tribal social structures and the loss of traditional tohunga or cultural specialists. Supplanted by the contemporary ‘all purpose’ kaumātua (elder), traditional tohunga held very specific knowledge. In contrast to their contemporary counterparts who mostly dispense “common sense knowledge drawn from experience” (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2005) the traditional tohunga’s knowledge was varied according to range, level and depth. Tohunga were vital to traditional social/hierarchical structures. Working in association with the Ariki (paramount leaders with supreme power) and Pou Matua (erudite leaders in command), the tohunga, who had the divinatory capabilities to transcend between the physical and spiritual worlds, provided expert knowledge, guidance and leadership. Using karakia (prayer), the tohunga “established divinatory rights; mediating the actions of the people by keeping the channel between the gods and their physical wellbeing intact” (N. Raerino, pers. comm., 2005).

Quite possibly a colonial construct used to diminish the political power of Iwi Māori, according to Ngamaru Raerino (pers. comm., 2005) the evolution of the ‘all purpose’ ‘kaumātua’ has diminished and supplanted traditional Māori social and leadership structures including the tohunga. Often working in isolation, contemporary ‘kaumātua’ have ascended to all-encompassing leadership roles. Relied upon (rightly or wrongly) as a main source of Mātauranga Māori across the board, the modern kaumātua can be charged not only with maintaining tribal mana (prestige) but also, with providing cultural services and advice to a host of Pākehā institutions by way of formalised kaumātua ‘positions’. Introduced in the late 1980’s ‘kaumātua’ were seen and/or used as a device to improve an organisation’s ‘responsiveness’ to Māori ; they have become popular amongst some mono-cultural government institutions who desire to reflect biculturalism in their practices.

Employed as cultural advisors, the kaumātua's role was/is to ensure that government funded programmes and services incorporate/d appropriate and correct Māori language and cultural practices. Equitable access by Māori to Māori specific education (curriculum) and to government funded (Māori responsive) services, was the ultimate goal. At the outset, kaumātua were responsible to an organisation's Māori 'stakeholders' (hapū and Iwi). Drawn from their cultural, tribal and marae settings to serve their people in new and different (institutional/corporate) environments, many have since become the 'Man Fridays' of the institutions. Consulted on a wide range of matters, but with limited power to exact any real institutional/organisational change, kaumātua more often act as personal guides and conduits through which Pākehā CEOs (and some non-Māori speaking Māori CEOs) attempt to access Māori 'markets' so as to meet policy/contract driven obligations and Māori 'outcomes'. Remaining static however, are the power imbalances that see Pākehā continuing to determine the extent to which Māori may, or may not, exercise self determination within Aotearoa New Zealand's systems of governance.

At a time when our cultural resources are diminished as a result of colonisation and detribalisation, the loss of these elders to the systems of the cultural group who began the process, is a double blow. The likelihood that our corporate kaumātua, if given the option, would choose their salaried positions over an unpaid position on their marae paepae (orator's bench), adds to the pain of this blow. Recognising the tragedy but at a loss as to how to reverse the situation, some participants remained hopeful that a solution would be found. Perhaps the answer lies in job descriptions and employment conditions that acknowledge incorporate and accommodate the cultural (hapū-Iwi and marae) obligations of the full time (government employed) kaumātua? Being responsive to the needs of Māori people requires organisations to look beyond their own bi-cultural (and/or Māori) development and organisational needs and into the ailing hearts of hapū and Iwi. Giving recognition, value and support to those Māori employees who uphold and fulfill significant cultural (marae) roles, would be an apt 'Māori responsive' response to Māori needs. To do otherwise and/or to monopolise the knowledge and skills of a kaumātua to the betterment of the institution only, is to perpetuate colonisation.

Corporate contracts with hapū rather than individual kaumātua is another alternative. Hapū would then have the ability, and the power, to decide how the cultural requirements of corporate organisations are to be accommodated. This type of arrangement would enable hapū to ensure that their own cultural needs are not compromised to the benefit of the body corporate. In effect, the hapū would rent their available cultural experts out to the institutions according to demand and their availability. Important aspects of this work, these matters are discussed again at a later point. Suffice to say however, the low numbers of cultural workers at the marae can be attributed, in part, to the engagement of ‘neo’ Kaumātua as agents of the Crown. Operating inside of government institutions as the ‘fonts’ of Māori knowledge, their contributions at the marae were/are sorely missed by the two remaining koroua (male elders) who consistently sit the Ngati Te Takinga paepae (orator’s bench).

*Whatungarongaro te tangata, toitū te whenua  
People perish the land remains the land*

*....the link between the person and the land by virtue of their history can never be erased..... ‘ngā tapuwae o ngā tūpuna [footsteps of our ancestors] .... Remain on the land forever. The fires never go out (New Zealand Law Commission, 2001, p. 48).*

The Te Takinga stories spoke of a bygone era lived out in the small, close knit and interdependent community of Mourea at a time when cultural, rather than legal, ‘ownership’ of the land (Ormond, 2004) prevailed. Affirmed by the ancient practice of iho whenua, people’s ties with the land were kept warm and alive through unbroken occupation. Five key principles underpin this connection. They are:

- i. whanaungatanga, the relationship with the land
- ii. mana, or the power and authority which the hapū derive from the land
- iii. utu, or the reciprocal relationship the hapū has with the land
- iv. kaitiakitanga, the obligation we have to protect the land and
- v. tapu in the sacred character of the land (New Zealand Law Commission, 2001).

Understanding the Māori language is crucial to understanding these relationships. It is in the language that cultural understandings lie. For example, land is whenua and whenua is also the placenta from which the child draws sustenance when in the womb. Hence, to Māori, metaphorically the land supports us as people in the same manner as the placenta supports the unborn child. Thus to this understanding, Māori people are inseparable from the land and metaphorically, to leave the land is to die.

Colonisation and detribalisation separated Māori people from the land. Effectively, the reciprocal relationships that Māori people had shared with the land changed. Loss of language, loss of culture and loss of identity ensued. Pinpointing the significance of this phenomenon, the older research participants attributed the death of ‘the old ways’ (Māori traditional ways of being and knowing) to the demise of the hapū’s communal gardening practices. The survival of the hapū had lain at the hands of the community and the success of crops hinged on the maintenance of strong, collaborative and reciprocal relationships (whānaungatanga). People worked with the land and with each other in order to survive. Changes to land use under the New Zealand Government Land Consolidation Scheme (White, 1994; Walker, 2001) saw the growing of food as a collective community activity, and as an integral part of Ngati Takinga culture, die. So too did strength of kinship. Research participants who participated in the community gardening activities held vivid and happy memories of this annual event:

It [the communal gardening] was brilliant really. Everyone pitched in. I remember going and planting spuds. We planted spuds all over Mourea. Each family had so many rows and I used to wonder how they didn’t all get mixed up you know, when it came to harvesting the crops and the riwai were divided amongst the whānau. The whole of Mourea participated. Our spuds were planted where the Pīkiao clubrooms are now. The following year we would switch to Pūkahukiwi on the heights then across to Okawa Bay in the sheltered valley where Harry Walker dairy farmed. The men would harness the old draught horses. Pulling the plough behind forming straight long harrows. The kids would run out and put their sorted seeds into kits and then follow behind dropping their seeds into the fertile harrows. It really was quite brilliant (participant, pers. comm., 2005).

The death of community gardening was especially mourned by the older participants who valued the oneness of spirit engendered through the gardening activities:

The old man used to take the tractor and the plough up to Waerenga – Pūkahukiwi. That finished long ago now. I think we were the last ones – my old man used to go and do the ploughing. Everybody was in it. You know, if you got a bag of spuds to plant. It stopped when we moved to town. Those days it was great; now, well you know, you stop growing things and you buy it from the shop or everybody just has their own garden, grows a few spuds for themselves you know. Not like before (participant, pers. comm., 2005).

Communal gardening produced a familiarity that could only grow among people who were soundly established on the land (Pretty, 2002). As well as a loss of livelihoods, the demise of communal gardening resulted in a reduction in this familiarity (whānaungatanga). This finding is significant because it shows the importance of land to relationships (whānaungatanga). Physical and spiritual relationships with ancestral land were derived also, from the collective agricultural activities of the hapū. The movement of people off the land and the subsequent individualisation and commodification of food growing activities on the land, has led to reduced social cohesion and connectivity (Pretty, 2002).

For Ngati Te Takinga, communal land based activities such as gardening are a relic of the past. Connecting and reconnecting with the land however, remains important. For home and away-dwelling participants, this process now involves for example, visits to significant landmarks and waterways of the hapū (Ohau, Rotoiti, Motutawa and Matawhaura). Likened to a renewal of the physical and spiritual ‘self’ (S. Tamati, pers comm., 2005; M. Tipiwai, pers comm., 2005; B. Waiomio, pers comm., 2005), walking the land where the ancestors once walked was said to “replenish the soul” (H. Paul, pers. comm., 2005). Similarly the Kaituna River, a significant Ngati Pīkiao water way, was considered to be a place of physical and spiritual healing. Returning to the marae and reconnecting with the hapū, was also a feature of the self renewal process. For some landless participants, the marae was acknowledged as a central identifier of home, belonging and identity. The research showed however, that in contemporary times the latter of these two practices (reconnection with the marae and hapū), is sometimes difficult due to the low levels of activity that occur at the marae.

*Mauri tū mauri ora, mauri noho mauri mate*  
*Life and living ....*

Reflecting aspects of both social change and leadership, for most participants the marae Te Takinga, while acknowledged as being integral to the identity and function of the hapū, was no longer considered to be the living hub of the Mourea community that it used to be. Although standing tall, in picture perfect condition and considered to be the strongest of the three marae in the Mourea village, over time the whare's magnificence has been eclipsed by the empty, dormant state in which it exists for the majority of the time. Used intermittently for tangihanga and/or the occasional meeting, birthday or unveiling, the mauri of the whareniui (meeting house) was considered to be ebbing; to a point where it was described by members of the hapū as being 'museum' like and 'cold'. It is in this regard that the stability of the hapū is vulnerable. Participants reiterated this thinking; they shared concerns about cultural continuity in the face of ongoing urbanisation, the continuing loss of our elders, the lack of people 'coming through' and the empty, 'cold' and 'museum' like nature of our marae.

Anxiety about cultural discontinuance was evidenced within the words of Ngāhuia Walker the oldest living kuia mōrehu of the hapū-Iwi. Ngāhuia's reminiscent words were:

There's hardly anybody there now. I miss them, all the old ones; look at me, I am the only one left. The ones doing the karanga, there are not many; we need to do something. The ones that can call are seldom there. If people will go home they can call [karanga].

Likewise, participant and Ngati Te Takinga kaumātua Scobie Tamati (pers comm., 2005) reiterating his concerns about possible cultural discontinuance stated: "there's just a few of us down there [on the paepae] most to the time. Sometimes it's just me and [one other] with nobody really coming through".

Similar concerns were expressed by other research participants. Issues such as lack of money and a lack of people meant that the marae can be understaffed during functions. Missed apprenticeships and the subsequent 'gaps' created through the inability of the 'now generation' of Ngati Te Takinga to speak Māori coupled with the detachment of

many of our people who live away, inevitably means that the marae is understaffed, under supported and struggling to survive. Reducing cultural alienation and increasing the cultural competencies of our people, was identified by some participants as being critical to our survival. To this end, Merepaea Henry and Nancy Mason's (pers comm., 2005) suggestion that we bring forward the teachings of the old people to halt the rapid decline in the understanding and use of tikanga Māori, is prudent. The situation however, is not helped by the current neo liberalist context of daily life.

The research showed how western individualism (and capitalism) has, and continues, to supplant collectivist hapū values. Whereas in traditional times a person working towards the collective good of the hapū-Iwi could expect to be supported by the community, this situation is no longer the case. Meeting hapū obligations today, more often means working voluntarily to support the collective (the hapū-Iwi) while at the same time working (for money), to support our nuclear/individual families. As a consequence, the latter of these two 'jobs' more often takes precedence over the former which inevitably becomes neglected and/or disregarded. Ongoing detribalisation is the result.

People are 'busy'. Systems of succession and intergenerational knowledge transmission are being lost. As explained earlier, kaumātua who in prior times would have staffed the paepae, for example at tangihanga, now have paid full time positions as cultural ambassadors for local institutions. Doing the honour, for example, of 'taking' the employees of an institution to a tangi and 'taking them on to the marae' by performing cultural rituals on their behalf, after the formalities many of them return to work. As well, Ngati Pikiāo and other Te Arawa kuia and koroua now vie for positions on newly established 'councils of elders' or 'Pukenga Koeke'. Acting as cultural advisors to corporate entities such as the Te Arawa Fisheries, the Te Arawa Lakes Trust, the koeke, among other things, verify whakapapa of the Te Arawa people 'registering' as 'beneficiaries' of the different tribal entities. Separate corporate bodies, the various entities manage collectively 'owned' tribal 'assets' on the Iwi's behalf.

The energies of remaining elders are becoming thinly spread across cultural and corporate 'duties'. Cultural knowledge that once underpinned and shaped the social systems of hapū and Iwi as autonomous political entities, is now 'dispensed' in corporate board rooms as part of a western profit driven capitalist ethos with its individualistic trappings. Fuelled both by our urban lifestyles and by the pre and post 'Treaty settlements' Iwi development 'scramble' (see Kawharu, 2002; Mulholland, 2006; Bargh, 2007), collective people based values are being compromised and tribal unity is put at risk. Our culture, our marae and our people are paying the price of neo liberalism with its individualistic, competitive and winner takes all requirements.

Under these circumstances asserts Jackson (2007), we have confused the idea of growing the Iwi asset base with that of 'kaitiakitanga' (guardian or stewardship). Consequently, recognition of the difference between the skill to improve economic indicators and the power to protect the base and determine what that means is slow to occur. Assuming that the free market will free our people from welfare dependency, fails to acknowledge that it was the playing of the market by others that took (and continues to take) our independence from us. Although genuinely trying to improve the lot of our people, Iwi corporatism can lose sight of the fact that New Right neo liberalism is 'the old righteousness of a colonising order' (Jackson, M. 2007, p. 172).

Annette Sykes (2007) agrees. Suggesting that neo liberalism within a Māori context is best depicted in the debate between the rūnanga corporatism of tribal organisations (of recent times), versus the upholding of traditional tribal beliefs, values and way of life practices as undertaken on tribal marae, Sykes maintains:

[That] many of our marae are under enormous threat, with the erasure of those values in the modern context occurring at an alarming rate by the substitution of our values system with one that sees no worth in tikanga, no worth in our laws and no worth in our status as tangata whenua. This is something which is a common consequence of the adoption of neoliberal practices within communities and the pressures of migration to urban lifestyles that our people have been coerced into (Sykes, A. 2007, p. 115).

As Bargh (2007) notes however, examples of Māori economic development activities that reject neo liberalism are increasing:

It is important to note that while tino rangatiratanga may be limited by government and neoliberal trade agreements, Māori are independently strengthening tino rangatiratanga in all sorts of ways.

These include the returning of land to communal ownership, pursuing development activities that do not subscribe entirely to dominant ways of conducting business, and strengthening practices that reaffirm values and world-views contrary to neoliberal ones. Strengthening local community initiatives, local economies, mātauranga and decision-making processes that neoliberal policies find difficult reasserts tino rangatiratanga by reaffirming the world over which neoliberal policies do not have complete control. The fact that neoliberal practices and agendas do not have complete control means that there is space to create new ways of surviving and thriving (Bargh, 2007, p. 144).

Integral to the sorts of developments that give resistance to neoliberalism and its detrimental impacts, is the maintenance of our cultural base through tribal unity.

*He muka nō te taura whiri*  
*The flax fibres of the plaited rope*

Not unique to Ngati Te Takinga-Ngati Pikiāo (Te Arawa) these same sorts of concerns are shared by other hapū and Iwi. From the Ngai Tahu Iwi in the South Island of Aotearoa, Lyn Carter (2004) stresses the importance of hapū-Iwi relationships to cultural continuity. Using the whakatauki ‘he muka nō te taura whiri’ (the flax fibres/strands of the plaited rope) Carter (2004) signifies the importance of tribal unity and the maintenance of tribal connections; as being fundamental to tribal strength. In explanation she states:

[That] when the rope is tightly bound, it symbolises unity and strength. When the rope starts to unravel, however, it threatens stability and weakens the effectiveness of the rope to function as it was intended. The whakataukī is a metaphor for Iwi unity and the importance of maintaining strong relationships between all its members. If the unity is not there, relationships that have existed between members of the Iwi community become strained and unworkable. The whakapapa, or kinship connections, will become weakened (Carter, L. 2004, p.1).

Carter’s notion of the ‘unravelling rope’ as symbolising a weakening of tribal strength and unity mirrors the current position of Ngati Te Takinga as uncovered by this research. The mauri of the hapū and the marae is diminishing the result in part, of the low numbers of culturally proficient elders capable of upholding marae protocol and ritual, the availability of people to work the kitchen, the high costs of tangihanga to whānau and the non embracement and practice of tikanga Māori by some whānau. A ‘growing away’ from the marae has occurred. The phenomenon is evidenced by the number of whānau-hapū events which would once (as a given) have been held on marae, now being staged in non hapū-Iwi based venues such as hotels and in funeral and private homes.

### *Growing away*

*Growing up Māori has come to mean growing up and across the fractures in time and space within our culture as well as finding oneself and one's location in the pastiche that is the post-modern world (Ihimaera, W. 1998, p. 15).*

The notion of 'growing away' is understood through this research. The research found that decreasing support for the marae has a direct relationship with the decreasing numbers of people who are strong in their Te Takinga-Pikiao identity. In turn, strength of identity and levels of 'connectiveness' to the hapū-marae were predisposed according to divergent circumstances, differing lifestyles and the varying degrees to which the research participants access/ed Māori cultural resources. As Ihimaera (1998) explains, the universal reality of what it means to be Māori today has changed markedly due to time and circumstances:

We all now live in a universal reality. The original template came from Rangiātea, that's where the seeds were sown. I like to think that since then the process of maintaining our identity has been like the constantly changing patterns of a cat's cradle. The primary pattern of culture was created when Māori began to live with each other in Aotearoa, and traditions and histories were devised based on our tribal and family relationship. Then the Pākehā came and, increasingly, the tensions of maintaining that original pattern meant our ancestors had to weave more complicated designs over more empty spaces to ensure that the landscapes of the heart, if not the land, could be maintained (Ihimaera, 1998, p. 15).

This research found that nine of the ten 'story contributing participants' in this research, identified as Māori; sourcing their identity from within traditional Ngati Te Takinga norms and practices. In varying degrees and ways, all nine people were embracing and upholding their Māori identity at the time this thesis was written. The tenth 'story contributing' participant however, grew up in an environment devoid of Māori cultural practices; he did not participate in a shared system of Māori cultural understanding (Pickering, 1997) that was important and meaningful to him as a Ngati Te Takinga descendant. Claiming 'quarter cast Māori' status on the basis of his genealogical blood links (race), the twelfth participant's lifestyle was absent of Māori cultural norms and practices. Consequently, the marae was of minimal significance in his life.

### *Cultural identity profiling*

Cultural identity profiles were assigned to the participants in this study. The profiles were made up of a fusion of their personal attitudes, cultural knowledge and their participation in Māori (Ngati Te Takinga) society. This method of culturally locating and positioning participants, drew on Mason Durie's (1998) 'cultural identity profiling' model. Developed as part of longitudinal study known as Te Hoe Nuku Roa, the research, which was undertaken by the Ministry of Māori Development and the Department of Māori Studies at Massey University, tracked five hundred representative Māori households over a ten-year period. The study measured the householders' aspirations, achievements, concerns and levels of participation in Māori society and in the wider New Zealand society. From the findings, M. Durie (1997) concluded that despite personal values and beliefs cultural identity development is dependant on a degree of access to Māori cultural institutions and resources including, tribal lands, Māori language, a marae and whānau.

This analysis challenges essentialist views of Māori that suggest that all Māori are the same and act in similar ways. The analysis accepts the current realities of (our) marginalisation and heritage of colonialism and neo-colonialism taking into account and embracing, the diversity within Māori peoples (Durie, 1997; Bishop, 2004). The Māori cultural identity profiling work of Witi Ihimaera (1998), Joe Williams (2000) and The Nielsen Company (2007) also identify that Māori live diverse lifestyles and have diverse attitudes to their cultural beliefs and, that 'the Māori today is not the same Māori as yesterday - neither will be the same as the Māori of tomorrow' (Ihimaera, 1998, p. 16).

From this view on Māori diversity, Durie's (1998) identity profiling model names four Māori cultural identity profiles. They are: those with a secure identity, a positive, a notional and a compromised identity (M. Durie, 1997). A secure identity is characterised by a person's definite self identification as Māori based on their regular access to and involvement in, Māori society and cultural life. A person with a positive identity profile

will know their whakapapa connections but will have lower levels of access and involvement in hapū, Iwi and marae life than those with the secure identity. The positive identity type could be someone who was born in the hau kainga (home village) and then moved away. This person will maintain their connections by, for example, attending tangihanga (funerals) at the marae. The concept of a notional identity is ascribed to those who identify as Māori but do not have access to Māori cultural resources. Lack of access could be due to urbanisation and/or being born away from home which has led to their disconnection from their marae-hapū and Iwi. Finally, the compromised identity profile reflects a person's non-identification as Māori despite their knowledge of whakapapa and their ability to access te ao Māori. This person will be he or she who has chosen to reject and/or to ignore their Māori culture. Two of the participants in this project fit this category.

Although in the main useful, this study found that Durie's (1997) cultural identity profile (model) was absent of an essential identity profile. To this end, I have established and introduced a fifth cultural identity profile to both complement and complete Durie's (1998) cultural identity model. Coined as an 'underprovided for' Māori identity, this profile is involuntarily absent of cultural identity markers such as access to tribal land, marae and to hapū-Iwi (extended whānau). The profile recognises those Māori people who have a desire to develop a secure Māori cultural identity but have no knowledge of and/or access to their whakapapa. That is, for reasons outside of their control, they do not know their tribal origins, marae, whenua and/or (blood) whānau. The 'underprovided for' identity profile differs from the compromised identity profile; the latter may identify as Māori on the basis of whakapapa including tribal origins, but may *choose* not to access their Māori-tribal society and cultural life. The underprovided identity however, is without whakapapa (knowledge and connection) and is therefore, *without choice* (to access their Māori-tribal society and cultural life). This situation could, for example, be the result of an adoption at birth and a subsequent inability to access information about whakapapa. Lack of knowledge of whakapapa could also be the result of hidden identity. That is, being born to a (white skinned) Māori parent who, having a compromised identity, has chosen not to identify as Māori.

With the inclusion of the ‘underprovided for’ Māori identity, Table 1 which follows, details each of the five cultural identification profiles. Levels of connectiveness to hapū and Iwi as gauged through the findings of this research are shown alongside each of the profiles.

Table 1. An Emerging Typology - Māori Cultural Identity

Māori cultural Identity and Connectiveness Indicators							
Identity profile	Relationship to land	Place of residence	Participation in hapū / marae interactions	Fulfillment of hapū rights and obligation & maintenance of relationships	Level of connection to hapū and marae including knowledge of whakapapa	Hapū membership status	Level of cultural competence
<b>Secure</b> Mana Whenua/ Ahi Kaa	Mana whenua /ahi kaa has always been maintained by self or whānau	Hapū lands or close by	Fulfils role/s at the marae on a regular basis	Regularly participates in hapū & marae interactions; maintains relationships	Knows whakapapa and has a definite and unshifting sense of connectiveness	Full membership	Culturally competent likely to be (but not necessarily) fluent in te reo Māori
<b>Positive</b> Ahi tere	Mana whenua/ahi kaa may have been maintained by whānau; has access to papatipu	Living Away from hapū lands	Intermittent engagement, but does so when necessary and/or able	Intermittent engagement, but does so when necessary and/or able	Knows whakapapa and has a definite sense of connectiveness	Limited but rights to membership can be (are) sourced through whakapapa connections, intermittent engagement and ancestral land interests	May or may not be culturally competent including in te reo Māori
<b>Notional</b> Ahi Tere	Mana whenua/ahi kaa may have been maintained by whānau has access to papatipu	Living away from hapū lands	Nil	Nil	Knows whakapapa has a sense of connection but compromised due to non participation in hapū marae interactions	Unsubscribed but has rights through whakapapa and ancestral land interests	Possible but unlikely to be culturally incompetent
<b>Compromised</b> Ahi Tere	Mana whenua/ahi kaa may have been maintained by self or whānau	Living away	Nil	Nil	Nil But knows own (immediate) whakapapa	Unsubscribed by choice	Low levels of cultural competence
<b>Underprovided</b> Ahi matao?	May have whānau on hapū lands but has no access to papatipu and/or whānau	Living away	Nil	Nil	Nil Due to lack of knowledge of whakapapa (but) may have a desire to connect	Nil Unsubscribed but not by choice	Possibly culturally competent (knows te reo and tikanga Māori)

These cultural identity profiles are part of an emerging typology. The typology is presented in this research as a heuristic device to both complement and give effect to the work of stories as a point for reflection and self learning (reflexive praxis) particularly, for the story contributors to this research and their whānau and the hapū-Iwi. The profiles and connectiveness indicators shown are not static and variations are inevitable given the ‘modern’ and changeable ways in which Māori identities are now ‘constructed’ (Carter, 1998). However, with the inclusion of these ‘modern constructions’, the typology is premised on the belief that whakapapa is the basis of a person’s identity. The continuity of whakapapa *gives* us identity. It gives us *rights to access* our marae, our culture and the ancestral lands held in common for Ngati Te Takinga people. Whakapapa *rights* provide a pathway ‘back’ to a secure identity. Conversely however, the rights inherent within our whakapapa incur a set of obligations that require us to participate and to provide the sorts of support that uphold and maintain the rights inherent within the whakapapa. Rights become limited when obligations are not fulfilled; their restoration through participation (engagement in apprenticeships and acts of service to the hapū and the marae) are integral to the sense of home and belongingness (to our ancestral/cultural origins) that, in turn, give us a secure sense of identity.

The typology shows that going and being home (or at a minimum having a sense of home and ‘belongingness’ through knowledge of whakapapa) is fundamental to a secure identity. For those of our people who seek to ‘secure’ their notional, compromised and underprovided for identities, their success will hinge upon access to the marae as Ngati Te Takinga’s last bastion of cultural continuity and for many, their only remaining link to ancestral land. Provisioning for their participation is necessary. Although having no data by which to determine the overall numbers of Ngati Te Takinga people present in each of the identity categories, statistics suggest that those of our people without secure identities exceed those with. The suggestion is supported by the relatively low numbers of Ngati Te Takinga people in attendance at marae meetings when they do occur and also, by the declining numbers of cultural and kitchen workers present for example, during marae tangihanga (although in 2006-07 numbers of people at meetings have begun to increase indicating a renewed interest in the marae).

With its stories to connect us home and with its emerging typology, this research is seen as a heuristic device that can initiate positive shifts in the cultural identity profiles of our people. That such shifts are possible, is evidenced within the example of one (ahi tere) research participant whose successful Iwi reintegration process following his return to Rotorua, has seen his identity profile breach the line between ‘positive’ and ‘secure’. The restoration of the participant’s membership rights have gradually been restored as a result of his participation in the life of the hapū and the marae and his valued commitment and contributions towards Ngati Te Takinga cultural continuity. This example demonstrates how one whānau, and the hapū and marae collectively, have benefited through the enhanced and ‘secure’ sense of identity now enjoyed by this individual. Having whānau who have always maintained the ahi kaa on his behalf, the relative ease with which the participant accessed the cultural resources necessary to secure his Ngati Te Takinga identity, is providential. The situation however, is not always repeated for other whānau and individuals who may be returning home. Assisting these people to secure (or at a minimum ‘positivise’) their identity profiles, requires some changes to current marae systems.

This research identified that a shift in the power relations between the marae kaitiaki (trustees) and the hapū generally; and between home’ and away-dwellers overall, is needed. Countering movement away from the marae and maintaining cultural continuity requires concerted efforts to re-connect both home and away-dwellers and to rebuild community. This analysis illustrates the complexities and contradictions of hapū relationships. The politics of marae inclusion and exclusion can have the effect of both pulling people toward, and pushing people away, from the centre of hapū activities. All of the hapū is affected.

‘E hoki ki tō maunga’ was an ethnographical study. The next section, therefore, highlights things that were discovered through my participation in the research, from my observations as researcher and from conversations (and discussions) over the past four years with people from both the hapū and the wider Ngati Pikiao-Te Arawa Iwi. The section is a record of the interaction between the stories, the storying, the research context and my insider researcher position. As part of a healing and transformative process, I discuss interactions that occurred

on our marae over this four year research period which, if recognised, acknowledged and addressed, could increase our chances for cultural continuity.

### **The ‘pull’ and the ‘push’ of the marae**

Adopted from the 1956 New Zealand Trustee Act, the present Te Takinga marae systems can act to marginalise and exclude people of the hapū. Exclusion and marginalisation occur as a result of operational processes (the systems of governance and management) that limit people’s participation in hapū life. A basic requirement of the Trustee Act, the seemingly insignificant act of using the local newspaper to notify people of upcoming hui-a-hapū can act to exclude (C. Smith, 2007). The underlying assumption is that people will see or hear about the notice however, for those who live away and/or do not receive the paper, as a process for communication advertisements in the local newspaper are ineffective. That ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ or face to face communication remains as the most effective means of notifying hui-a-hapū-Iwi, was suggested by a participant:

A lot of people don’t get the paper. Word of mouth, telling them is better. When they are told face to face they feel an obligation to be there. Reading it in the paper or even by email, people don’t feel the same sort of obligation to attend. When they are told in person, they then know that people know that they know [that the meeting is on] and so they are more likely to be there (Participant, 2007).

Being a voluntary association, marae committee administration takes time.

Remembering that effective systems of communication require adequate resourcing (time and money), newspaper advertising is a quick and easy method. Once advertised, the onus to attend a meeting lies with those for whom the notice is intended; if you don’t see it and miss the meeting, it’s your ‘fault’! The situation highlights ‘the pull and the push’ of the marae. Feeling the ‘pull’ of the hau kainga and desiring to participate, without notification and/or knowledge of events that may be occurring at the marae, hapū affiliates are ‘pushed’ away; and remain outside of the circle of hapū influence, power and activity.

Other underlying reasons and motives for retaining ineffective (marginalising) methods of communication may exist. Listed below in no particular order, some of the perceived motives that were raised during the course of the study are:

- ❖ The advantage that decision making is easier with a small, compliant and contained group attending the meeting.
- ❖ Resistance to change in a world that is always changing.
- ❖ The possibility that the topic to be discussed at the hui will be controversial and therefore, certain people are excluded. For example, if the committee is made up of old people and they want to avoid the presence of ‘radical’ young people who challenge their elders or vice versa; the committee is young and they want to exclude a cantankerous kaumātua who always tells them off.
- ❖ A culture of autonomous decision making where one person on the committee always makes decisions (with or without the support of the hapū and/or other trustees).
- ❖ External pressures and commitments create and/or a loss of knowledge of tikanga compromises ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ (or personal contact) as a preferred communication method especially among our kaumātua.
- ❖ A tendency to be responsive to lower priorities and avoidance and/or procrastination over bigger issues leading to ignorance of the same.

Exclusion is further perpetuated by the established norms such as the terms of office held by the marae trustees and the marae committee officers. Changes to these positions sometimes occur by way of voluntary resignation or the death of an incumbent trustee. Positions of power and influence are zealously guarded and participation at this level of the organisation is closed to hapū members and affiliates generally. As a response to these circumstances, some research participants made comments that reflected a sense of powerlessness and defeat: “I give up”; “there’s nothing I can do” and “what’s the point?” were amongst some of the comments recorded not only in interviews, but as part of the ethnographical research and note taking process.

While leadership act with the intention of sustaining the long term identity of Ngati Te Takinga, exclusionary ‘incidents’ were also found to be present in hapū and marae interactions generally. Relaying one such incident a participant stated:

I went home to a tangi and I didn’t know what the hell to do. I mean, I want to, I like to help but I don’t know how to go about it. I won’t go in there and say “what do you want me to do boys, do the dishes or what?” That’s another problem. In the kitchen you know, it’s like “don’t get in my road mate”. It’s like a power game. So you know, I think, why bother. Why bother going in that door.

In a similar vein, another participant recalled feeling ostracised when returning to the marae having moved away:

Coming back to something and feeling ostracised from my own whānau. Not my immediate whānau, but the wider whānau. And my whānau almost insinuating that I had become a snob. I used to go back to tangi and they all look at you, you know, and at the back of the kitchen, they used to make it really awkward for me. It took me a long time to get over that.

The general thrust of home-dweller discourse including the marae management systems, infers that the issues of the disconnection and reconnection of away-dwellers is the problem of away-dwellers. If people living away don’t come home then that is their own problem (C. Smith, 2007). Likewise, if away-dwellers feel uncomfortable when they do come home, their discomfort is also their problem. As shown, the impact of home-dweller discourse can, and does, cause people to walk away. The consequential losses to the marae and to cultural continuance although not measured, contribute toward the empty, ‘museum’ like state in which our marae exists for the majority of the time. This being one of the central problems that the local people must attend to in order to address the problems of limited human resources at the marae.

Rather than apportioning blame, home-dweller discourse and its impacts must be viewed and understood within the fundamental impediments related to unequal power distribution and economic distribution. Knowing how colonisation, assimilation, hegemony and oppression (Fanon, 1965, 1968; Freire, 1968; Walker, 1990; G. Smith, 1992; Nandy, 2005) have worked to erase our identity, language and culture is central to understanding our own ‘oppressor’ behaviours. The power dynamics at play on our marae and in our interactions as a hapū, are a universal symptom of oppression. Paulo Freire (1968) explains:

Rather than striving for liberation the oppressed tend themselves to become oppressors, or 'sub oppressors'. The very structure of their thought has been conditioned by the contradictions of the concrete, existential situation by which they were shaped. Their ideal is to be men [sic], but for them, to be men is to be oppressors. That is their model of humanity (Freire,P. 1968, p.2).

Freire (1968) uses the term 'horizontal violence' to describe the anomalous behaviours of members of oppressed groups who, in a response to their own oppression, will strike out at their peers instead of attacking their oppressors. Internalised oppression underpins home-dweller discourse which, in turn, impedes the social and cultural development of the hapū. Mapping and diagnosing our own colonisation (Battiste, 2000), this study helps us to recognise those things that divide, rather than unite us as a people.

Pulling the threads of this work together, the final chapter of this thesis analyses and looks beyond the negative aspects of internalised racism. In so doing, Chapter ten postulates a post-colonial Ngati Te Takinga future.

## Chapter Ten

### Kei tua

#### *Knowing and moving beyond internalised racism*

*.....for colonisation is about creating a suspension of disbelief which requires that those from whom power is to be taken have to suspend their own faith, their own worth, their own goodness, their own sense of value and their own sense of knowledge (Jackson, M. 1998, p. 70).*

A double edged sword, internalised racism leads to a disbelief in self and a disbelief in other colonised peoples. The phenomenon was evidenced within this research. Desiring to be white (Pākehā), one participant admittedly rejected his Māori culture in order to gain white privilege:

I wanted to be a white guy. I wanted an education. Stuff the Māori part of me. I mean this happened when I was probably in the third form. The problem was me. Inferior complex. I'm a Māori. I think that's what made me do that. I got sick of them calling me nigger wherever I went and I thought the only way I can do this, is to get an education and to just prove to some of those people that "I can hack it with the rest of you guys". I mean, you didn't have to be white to get anywhere was my thinking at the time. And I became so engrossed in it that I tended to ignore the Māori side of things (Participant, pers. comm.).

Not wanting to commune with other Māori people lest he be seen by Pākehā and then rejected by them, the participant also admitted that if he saw a Māori person walking towards him, he would cross the road to avoid them and/or look away if they looked at him. Other accounts (experiences) of internalised racism were also evidenced within the findings of the research. The accounts were given by away-dwellers, many of whom reported feeling "on the outer" and/or ostracised when returning to the marae, because of the sometimes exclusionary behaviours exhibited towards them by their own people.

Internalised racism has four key features. They are: a reluctance to resist the oppressor; low self-esteem; self deprecation and a fear of autonomy and responsibility due to fear of retaliation and/or sanctions from the oppressor. When combined, these elements have the effect of turning the oppressed in on themselves (the double edged sword). The resultant 'attacks' (horizontal violence) on their kin, help to reduce the pain associated with their own feelings of powerlessness (Freire, 1968). At a marae level the experience of internalised racism (in the form of horizontal violence) in a space where Māori cultural

values of whānau, aroha and manaaki should prevail, can be painful, demoralising and off-putting. For example, those who live (or have lived away) can find that their views on particular issues are unwelcome. Comments such as “where were you in the last forty years” and “we have been here all the time” or, “you weren’t brought up here” and “you’re not really from here” or, “you are a whāngai (adopted)” while perhaps valid from a home perspective, can have a devastating emotional impact that causes people to walk away. That people do walk away is evidenced within the statement of an (away-dwelling) participant who, describing his feelings of ostracism (powerlessness) on a return to the marae said, “I just thought stuff it, why bother; why bother going in there?” (anonymous participant, pers. comm., 2005).

Divisive discourse is a characteristic of the systematic nature of oppression and sub oppression (internalised racism). Although potentially hurtful and sometimes painful, changing the discourse is a process of identifying the viral sources of oppression and understanding how oppression imprisons the mind (Battiste, 2000). With its stories, ‘e hoki ki to maunga’ is a tool for liberating our thoughts and practices from colonial mentality and structures. This process of confrontation, of the self with the self, is not intended to judge, berate or condemn. Rather, it should be recognised as a process that can assist us to expel the colonised patterns of behaviour that inhibit our innovation, our creativity and our ability to move forward together.

If it seems that the explanation of these issues is to blame, to denigrate or to offend, that is not the intention. The explanation is intended to provide evidence of problems created for away-dwellers and for the whole hapū as a result. By providing the stories of away-dwellers’ experiences and their aspirations to be part of and to contribute to the hapū, hapū members will be able to critically consider their own discursive positioning and work towards solutions that will benefit the hapū. Remembering those people whose voices are missing from the stories as a result of time and resource constraints and also, as a result of their underprovided identity status, the goals of critical conscientisation, cultural continuity and connecting and reconnecting our people are foremost.

*Manuka takoto ...  
The challenge before us*

Processes that promote political conscientisation, transformation and decolonisation (G. Smith, 1992; A. Durie, 1998; Bishop, 1998; Battiste, 2000; L. Smith, 2006; Tule, 2006; Hutchings, 2007) are assisting Māori people to shrug off the colonial ‘baggage’ that ties us to the ‘turning in on ourselves’ behaviours (internalised racism) unmasked by this research. Moves to look beyond surface level explanations of our social, cultural and political predicaments are positive. New levels of awareness see Māori going beyond narrow discourses, related only to race and culture to explain our social, cultural and political situation (G. Smith, 1992). Explanations of how colonisation, urbanisation, assimilation and hegemony affects, and has affected, our life chances, are increasingly constructed from within a growing (Māori) critical consciousness. Corresponding with this growth has been a rapid increase in independent Māori initiatives usually articulated within an autonomous organising philosophy known as tino rangatiratanga or Māori self determination (Walker, 1990; Jackson, 1993; Bishop, 1998; M. Durie, 1998; M. Durie, 2003; Flavell, 2006).

This research has shown itself to be one such tino rangatiratanga initiative. Commissioned by the hapū as an oral histories gathering project, in its analysis, the research, in somewhat of an inevitable paradox, produces the same ‘push and the pull’ effect (of the hapū-marae systems) that it seeks to understand and transform. Drawing attention to hapū and Iwi developmental needs, ‘e hoki ki to māunga’ recognises and highlights ‘those things which give resistance to our unity’ (Tule, P. 2006, p. 170). The struggle to retain our Ngati Te Takinga ways of being and knowing is foremost, a struggle with the (colonised) self.

*New growth from old ....  
Flourishing as a hapū*

Recognising the need for ‘movement’ and change, all home dwelling research participants in this research acknowledged that hapū cultural continuance was/is

dependent on some form of hapū succession plan. The kuia were especially insistent that “teaching the young ones” about marae protocols and practice, was imperative. Along with the scattered and sometimes disinterested nature of our people, the push and pull of marae politics, contests the ability of the hapū to realise our collective potential and to flourish. Rangihau’s (1992) observation that third and fourth generation Māori no longer have the same sense of ‘going back home’ because ‘they haven’t lived through experiences in the country as their parents have’ (Rangihau, J.1992, p. 63) was reiterated by one participant who said “the younger generations have lost out. There is another way coming in with them, which is not a deep sense of knowing about the strengths, the power of the Holy Spirit and the wairua that we got, and that was what the old people had” (Merepaea Henry, pers. comm., 2005). The same sentiments were shared by other participants and there was a general consensus regarding the loss of intergenerational knowledge transfer as a result of the breakdown in traditional social structures.

Although people have come home, the cultural knowledge gap suffered through colonisation, urbanisation, assimilation and hegemony, have lead to missed hapū-marae apprenticeships. The debilitating effect of this loss and the subsequent inability of the majority of ahi tere participants to speak te reo Māori negatively impacted these participants who spoke about ‘losing out’ because of missed apprenticeships. As well, elders amongst the ahi tere who, having missed their apprenticeships, learned te reo Māori in later life, spoke about the ‘shallow’ nature of their language. Having the language without depth of tikanga Māori knowledge and tribal history (Mātauranga Māori), one kaumātua suggested he was “only a kaumātua by age, not because of [his] knowledge”. This situation was reproduced in the case of another older ahi tere participant who, although able to speak Māori, had no knowledge of marae protocol. “I haven’t got a clue what to do” were his words. Coupled with loss of tikanga and te reo Māori, the loss of apprenticeships, impacts the ability of our people to fully participate in the life of the marae and to take up cultural positions as their time falls due. Negatively impacting cultural continuity, the situation is critical.

This research asked of the possibilities for creating a ‘distance’ apprenticeship process that could allow away-dwellers to contribute towards and participate in hapū life from afar. It appears from this study that such a development is not (presently) feasible and/or possible. Our current marae operating systems are not yet geared to accommodate the forms of hapū cultural and social development that can deliberately include away-dwellers. For the time, apprenticeships will continue to be served at home in the traditional ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ fashion and the support needed for aspiring cultural (marae) successors will reside, in the main, within formal Ministry funded educational institutions and programmes. That is, teaching te reo and tikanga Māori, rather than an organic whānau-hapū-Iwi and marae based process, will be the task of Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura and those tertiary education organisations who deliver such programmes.

Restoration of the marae to its former position as the key social institution and networking system for the hapū, is precluded by a need for future planning. In turn, future planning is precluded by a need for forethought, goodwill, inclusive practices (for example) an email list and a telephone tree as well as a newspaper advertisement) and a realignment of our values to reflect the collectivism inherent within our ways of being and knowing. If ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ is to be the continued method by which apprenticeships are fulfilled and hapū membership is maintained, then the ‘face’ meeting the ‘face’ will need to soften a little. Likewise, for away-dwellers coming home, knowing that unease and tension may be a part of the reconnection and relationship building process, and understanding why, enables us to toughen up! Whakapapa is an incontestable link home and, as kuia Nancy Mason confirms the marae is a place where we all have a right to a place:

The marae is yours. You can’t ‘get it’ but you know yourself, you feel it! Sometimes you do feel a bit uneasy over there you know, when the people are saying, “who is that one coming?” you know, things like that. But you see, they only want to know where you are from – strangers, you know. “Whose tamaiti is that one – who’s whāmere is that one?” And when they give their Whakapapa ... gee, one of the family!

Through the old people, this research sends a clear message to home and away-dwellers alike. Understanding how the processes of colonisation, urbanisation and hegemony

(internalised racism) have impacted our hapū-Iwi as a whole is the key to understanding each other and the different ‘spaces’ we each occupy; the result of ‘growing up across the fractures in time and space with our culture’ (Ihimaera, 1998. p. 15). For the ahi kaa an acceptance and understanding of the situations that lead to whānau leaving and becoming disconnected from the hau kainga is necessary and the stories in this study are part of that process. For away-dwellers an acknowledgment and appreciation of the role that the ahi kaa have played in keeping the home fires burning in our absence, is due. By way of this thesis and through the stories, an opportunity to know each others’ experience of colonisation is created; we are enabled to begin the process of relieving the tensions that divide us, to rebuild our fragmented histories and to plan for cultural continuance using a deliberate and united approach that places Te Takinga marae at the centre.

Whether or not the oral histories recorded for this thesis can contribute toward a collective Ngati Te Takinga future and whether or not they become a cultural realignment device for our people, is in our own hands. The ability of the stories to keep us connected and/or to reconnect us with our marae and with each other as Te Takinga descendants is also dependant on how individuals understand, translate, evaluate, relate to and interact with the stories. ‘E hoki ki to maunga’ shows beyond doubt that our whakapapa whether known or unknown, is as interminable link to our place of belonging, our place of origin and to our marae. As our kuia Nancy Mason (2005) has told us: “ka tū mai i roto i te pā, nō ku hoki te pā, nōu te pā; he tūrangawaewae tēnā nō tātou” The marae is mine, the marae is yours and it is a place for us all to stand.

Likewise for those Ngati Te Takinga away-dwellers who may be seeking a return, our kuia has also confirmed that the decision is ours/yours to make:

Kei a rātou tēnā whakaaro. Kaore tāua e taea te ki. Kei a rātou katoa o rātou whakaaro. Ina ka haramai ki konei, kei a rātou: That decision is not ours [the ahi kaa’s] to make. It is up to those people; should they come to Te Takinga, then that is their personal choice. It is not for us to say.

Our kuia’s words forever remain; a call of welcome, an affirmation of place and an endorsement of our connection, our identity, our place of belonging; a place to call home. Kei te tika rā te kōrero a ngā tūpuna ‘he kopu puta tahi, he taura whiri tātou. Whiringa a

nuku, whiringa a rangi, te whatia e' - we *are* an issue of one womb, we are a rope woven of many strands woven on earth, woven in heaven. The rope will not break.

Ngati te Takinga, Matawhaura; the mountain calls. Let us return to our mountain there to be refreshed by the winds of Tawhirimātea and rejuvenated by the hallowed waters of our ancestral lands cradled in the hollows of Papatuanuku.

*'E hoki ki tō maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau a Tawhirimātea'*  
*Return to your mountain there to be cleansed by the winds of Tawhirimātea*

*Ko te whakāriki, ko te whakāriki*

*Tukua mai ki a piri*

*Tukua mai ki a tata*

*Kia eke mai*

*Ki runga ki te paepae poto*

*O Houmaitāwhiti!*

## **Epilogue: Ki te whei ao ki te ao Mārama**

### *Towards enlightenment and understanding*

*He pō, he pō, he ao, he ao  
Tākiri mai te ata, korihi te manu,  
Tino awatea, ka ao, ka ao, ka awatea.*

*It is night it is night, it is day, it is day.  
The dawn draws near, the birds sing.  
It is day, it is day, it is broad daylight.*

## **Introduction**

*Generations exist in this world as three different parts. At every moment of history there exists not one generation but three: the young, the mature and the old. All of us are contemporaries, we all live in the same time and the same atmosphere, but we play our part in forming them in a different time (Ortega, J. 2007, p. 33).*

## **Reflections**

*What did I learn?*

*From 'storying' with the old people*

Two years into this research, at the beginning of 2006, I made a decision to withdraw my then four year old daughter Waiwhakaata, from Te Kohanga Reo (the Māori immersion Early Childhood Centre). My father, who was in his mid seventies at the time, became her principal early childhood 'educator' and Waiwhakaata went to his home each day. Accordingly, we paid Dad in the same way we had paid the Kohanga Reo. My father is a 'mōrehu'. Raised by his kuia, he is one of the few remaining Māori elders who are fluent in te reo Māori. After discussion with him, we took Waiwhakaata out of Kohanga Reo and she went to her koro until she turned five and started school. The decision to change early childhood education 'providers', was not made lightly. Throughout 2005 I had been working closely with Ngati Te Takinga kuia and koroua interviewing them and writing their stories for this research project. The stories were filled with the 'simple' wisdom traditions they had gained as children engaged in their 'apprenticeships' and learning at the 'feet' of their own kuia and koroua. Living simply, growing and gathering

food, working hard, sharing with others, being without money and ‘making do’, and maintaining reciprocal community relationships, were the basic precepts of their early lives. Their grandparents were their first teachers. The learning from the stories that we wove together while simple, was profound.

Waiwhakaata spent quiet but full days at koro’s place. Totally immersed in her koro’s first language te reo Māori, the pair grew Māori potatoes, picked and foraged for seasonal fruit, went for walks, had cups of tea with sweet biscuits, visited Dad’s elderly Aunty (now deceased) for long talks and, hand in hand, they would walk to the local dairy to buy large bags of lollies, of which Waiwhakaata is very fond! In the garden with her kuia, Waiwhakaata learnt to differentiate between weeds and flowers by scent and name. She helped to prune the roses and she learnt about composting discarded weeds and cuttings. Waiwhakaata enjoyed working alongside both her koro and her kuia managing easily to stay on task for long periods of time. Although now at school, when the time is right Waiwhakaata joyfully returns to help koro plant and harvest potatoes. She derives great satisfaction when we eat ‘her’ potatoes for dinner, and also, from giving them to her teachers at school.

Wisdom traditions are the legacy left to Waiwhakaata. Importantly, her legacy – ngā taonga tuku iho (the gifts of her tūpuna) are a by-product of my learning from this research project. To send Waiwhakaata to her koro was to honour the teachings of the kuia and koroua mōrehu; Merepaea Henry, Nancy Mason, Erana Waiomio, Hilda Inia, Ngāhuia Walker, Rakapurua Tipiwai and Te Ariki Mōrehu. Having grown up with their tūpuna, these elders were all firm in their belief that cultural continuity was dependant on the children of today ‘knowing it’ like they ‘knew it’ having learnt through ‘the old way of doing things’. Valuing and honouring their shared wisdom and applying the teaching and learning inherent within their stories, has meant taking steps to ‘live’ the tikanga that I have been building upon through this research work. Significantly, restoring the tradition of ‘taura moko’ has benefited the whānau as a whole.

With Waiwhakaata in the care of her kuia and koro, whānau contact and communication increased. Mum and Dad benefited financially from the role and because they are Kaumātua, the daily contact we had during ‘drop offs’ and ‘pick ups’ meant that we were able to keep an eye on their general health and well being. As well, caring for his mokopuna gave our father an added sense of purpose and responsibility in life. The pōtiki (last born mokopuna), Waiwhakaata and koro’s relationship was/is special. Although leaving the care of koro to begin school, cups of tea with Koro are still a regular occurrence for Waiwhakaata. They play cards and board games and they enjoy each other’s company. In 2007 koro had a fall and was hospitalised. Although recovering well, koro’s care-giving role changed somewhat and, in a twist of circumstances, koro’s mokopuna became *his* hunga tiaki, *his* care-givers. The circle was/is complete.

Intergenerational knowledge transmission, reviving and valuing the whānau as our principal and most important social and educational network (system), is the story within this story. Cultural continuity, recovery and restoration of Māori ways of being and knowing, is about looking deep inside of ourselves to rediscover what we *know* and have always known; and then making a decision to act.

*He kupu whakaotinga*  
*Some final words*

E hoki ki tō maunga’s final words are given over to the rangatahi (youth). Carrying the name of a significant Ngati Te Takinga tūpuna who was frequently recalled by the old people during their story telling, Potaua Tule (2006) poses questions that are fundamental to issues of cultural continuity for hapū and Iwi and for Māori throughout the world. As ‘taura here’ his metaphorical type questions are fitting. Focused on the potential for a promising ‘Māori’ future for Māori youth, Potaua asks:

If we could reach for the horizon, would we stretch to hold and embrace a warm future, or would we ease back and watch its magnificence shimmer in the distance? Would we be willing to share in the responsibility of repairing and restoring our depleted inheritances, or would we trade our heritage for the security of consumerism, the familiarity of corporatism? In this our Māori millennium we are facing inquiries of convergence or divergence, are being asked questions of continuity and connectivity and are being confronted with motivations of inclusivity and

inflexibility. What is the nature of the Māori nation today and what does this mean for rangatahi today and in the future? (Tule, P. 2006, 169).

No reira Ngati Te Takinga, oti ra ngai tātou te Iwi Māori, kia tū, kia oho, kia mataara!  
Kua takoto te manuka, the challenge before us is laid. Kawe ake, kawea ake, kawea ake.  
Pick it up, pick it up, pick it up.

*Apiti hono tātai hono rātou te hunga mate ki a rātou,  
tātou te hunga ora e pai nei, tihei mauri ora, ki te whei āo ki te āo mārama  
Ka huri.*

## **GLOSSARY OF TERMS: NGA KUPU MĀORI – MĀORI WORDS AND PHRASES**

Ahi kaa: maintaining a human presence on ones land

Hapū: a cluster of families descended from a common ancestor

Hui: a gathering of people (meeting)

Hui-a-Iwi: a gathering (meeting) of a tribe

Inanga: whitebait

Iwi: tribes

Kai: food

Kaipaipa: cigarette

Kaitiaki: guardian

Kaitiakitanga: guardianship/stewardship

Kanohi kitea: a face seen (to be physically present)

Karakia: prayer

Kaumātua: an elder

Kawe mate: acknowledgement of bereavement

Kuia: a female elder

Kaupapa Māori: premised on Māori philosophical beliefs and values

Kāwanatanga: government

Kete: flax kit or basket

Kura: school

Mana: prestige, status

Mana whenua: The people of a place who have always held the occupation rights to that place.

Manaakitanga; to offer hospitality, to be courteous and respectful

Mātauranga Māori: Māori knowledge

Māori: a branch of the Polynesian people; pre European settlers of New Zealand

Māoritanga: those values and symbols which have meaning for people who identify as Māori

Marae: a gathering place; the physical dimension of a group's identity, beliefs, mana, mauri, etc

Maataamua: first born child

Mauri: life force

Mokopuna: grandchild, grandchildren

Ngā uri whakaheke: succeeding generations of a family

Pākehā: a New Zealander of European descent

Papakāinga: the original area of settlement

Poroporoakī: farewell message

Pōhiri: ceremonial welcome

Rūnanga: Tribal council

Tamariki: children

Tangihanga: tangi: bereavement, mourning

Taonga: property, anything highly prized

Te Āo Mārama: the world of light

Te reo Māori: Māori language

Tikanga: rule, plan, method

Tino Rangatiratanga: absolute authority or power

Tūpāpaku: Deceased person

Tūpuna: ancestors

Tūrangawaewae: the rights of a tribal group in land and the consequential rights of individual members of the group; the land so defined (lit. standing place for the feet)

Tōhunga: skilled person

Urupā: cemetery

Ūkaipō: place where one is nurtured and finds sustenance

Wairua: spirit

Whakahīhī: arrogant

Whakapapa: genealogy

Whakatauaaki: proverbial saying

Whānaunga: relatives

Whānaungatanga: relationship; kinship ties

Whāngai: a child that is brought up by its kin (lit. to feed)

Wharenui: meeting house at a marae

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