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ANŌ, KO TE RIU ē TĀNE MAHUTA
Possibilities and Challenges in a Ngāti Rangiwehi Curriculum

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of

Master of Education
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I whakaihia tēnei tuhinga hei whakamaharatanga mō ngā kaumātua e toru i mahue i a tātou o Ngāti Rangiwehi i runga i te tau rua mano mā waru: Ko Nanny Huka, ko Koro Mason, ko Koro Sam ērā. E ngau kino tonu ana te pōuri i runga i a mātou. Moe mai koutou i runga i te aroha o te Atua mō āke, āke tonu.
ABSTRACT

This thesis considers how a curriculum might form a useful tool in meeting the needs and aspirations of Ngāti Rangiwehi, a small, but dynamic tribe, who occupy specific territory from the north western shores of Lake Rotorua into the eastern Bay of Plenty of the North Island of New Zealand. In contemplating the potential benefits of a curriculum, this study begins by examining the epistemological frames of reference crucial to understanding how the tribe views the world around them, and their positioning within it. The thesis goes on to explore the pedagogical approaches specific to the iwi, and concludes by assessing the extent to which a curriculum is a viable means of maintaining and empowering Rangiwehi mātauranga, and their underlying ambitions, and goals. Whether ‘curriculum’ is an appropriate framework to describe the way Ngāti Rangiwehi view our educational processes, is an issue addressed in this study. To this extent, Rangiwehi perspectives are intentionally privileged allowing appropriate representation of our understandings and aspirations.

Eighteen people were interviewed as part of this study, yet many other voices included here were recorded during a tribal wānanga held in late 2010. Their accounts provide the core ideas and positions at work in this thesis, and are invaluable for the depth and texture they offer. An emphasis on the qualitative data collected here is important in allowing their words to take centre stage. In conveying their views and stories, three major themes emerged: these were people, place, and survival. Woven through the body of the thesis, these themes work to illustrate the key designs and patterns that were seen as fundamental to a Rangiwehi way of viewing the world. Place and people, for instance, were affirmed as crucial to both the pedagogical and epistemological beliefs and practices maintained across generations. Similarly, the theme of survival was deemed a significant thread in comprehending the struggle and self-determination inherent in the tribe’s sense of identity and knowing. These themes reflect convictions shared across the iwi, highlighting the importance of understanding Ngāti Rangiwehi by first listening to what they have to say about themselves and their curriculum.
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Special mention of my grandfather is also important here. My involvement in this research has greatly amplified that loss, every time I thought of another question I wished I had asked while he was still here. I have come to appreciate more fully the lessons he tried to teach, and the legacy he left in his belief in the power of education to radically transform and improve our situation.

I acknowledge the support and assistance provided by my supervisors, those involved formally and informally, as well as the essential role fulfilled by the iwi supervisory body. I would specifically like to recognise the support of: my whānau, both immediate and extended, who have read endless drafts and listened to me babble as I tried to make sense of my thinking and the seemingly endless examples from the excerpts; Aunty Kahu, who was always a constant source of reassurance and inspiration; Annie Siope, who provided valued assistance with formatting and proofreading; and Awatea Hāhunga for her assistance with te reo.

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## CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .......................................................................................................................... III

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................................................................................. IV

CONTENTS ........................................................................................................................ V

INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................. 1

My Thesis as a Story Book ................................................................................................. 1

Pekehāua is our taniwha and our kaitiaki ........................................................................ 3

Clarifying the use of ‘Curriculum’ .................................................................................. 5

So why a curriculum? ....................................................................................................... 12

Filling Te Riu o Tāne Mahuta ....................................................................................... 15

CHAPTER 2 ....................................................................................................................... 17

Defining boundaries and claiming spaces: Theoretical and methodological foundations .................................................................................................................. 17

Whakapapa as a theoretical foundation ........................................................................ 18

A Kaupapa Māori Approach for an iwi based project? .................................................. 22

Oral History influences on our theory and method ....................................................... 25

Realizing our Rangiwewehitanga ................................................................................. 28

Toward a Rangiwewehi Curriculum ............................................................................... 32

CHAPTER 3 ....................................................................................................................... 34

Conceptions of Rangiwewehitanga .............................................................................. 35

Rangiwewehi as Place ..................................................................................................... 40

Rangiwewehi as People ................................................................................................. 44

Rangiwewehi as Survivors ............................................................................................. 50

Conclusion/Summary ..................................................................................................... 53

CHAPTER 4 ....................................................................................................................... 55

“That story will live on forever, as long as people keep telling it” ............................... 55
The Pedagogical Relevance of ‘Place’ ................................................................. 57
People as enactors of Pedagogy ........................................................................ 63
Barriers to the survival of our Rangiwewehitanga ........................................... 67
Access to people and places .............................................................................. 68
Access to resources ............................................................................................ 72
Conclusion/Summary ........................................................................................... 77
CHAPTER 5 ........................................................................................................... 80
Ko te whiu o te kōrero i whiu i Tarimano ....................................................... 80
A Curriculum of Places ...................................................................................... 81
A Curriculum of People ...................................................................................... 87
A Curriculum of Survival ................................................................................... 95
Conclusion/Summary .......................................................................................... 99
CHAPTER 6 ........................................................................................................... 102
Ānō, ko te Riu o Tāne Mahuta ........................................................................... 102
A Curriculum Housed in our Mātauranga ....................................................... 103
A Curriculum Taught with our Pedagogy .......................................................... 104
A Curriculum of Value to Ngāti Rangiwewehi ................................................ 107
Rethinking the ‘Curriculum’ .............................................................................. 109
Ko Rangiwewehi, e ngunguru nei! .................................................................... 111
GLOSSARY ........................................................................................................... 112
RESOURCES ....................................................................................................... 116
Oral Sources ....................................................................................................... 116
Bibliographic Sources ......................................................................................... 117
APPENDICES ...................................................................................................... 122
INTRODUCTION

My Thesis as a Story Book

Storytelling has always been a feature of the Māori universe, from a purely performative means of entertainment to the more important educational function of transmitting and retaining our histories, traditions, and identities. As a practice it connects the past to the present and future, creating important links through time, place, and people (Smith, L. T., 1999, p. 145). Although our story-tellers have changed, the underlying narratives have generally remained constant. In Tawakeheimoa, the ancestral house of my people, Ngāti Rangiwewehi, the story of Ranginui and Papatūānuku is retold in specific carvings that adorn the poutokomanawa. It begins with the long night, Te Pō, and chronicles the separation of the sky father and earth mother as a definitive chapter in the movement toward the enlightened world we describe as Te Ao-māramana. Like Rangiwewehi, each tribe will record their own version of events, tracing the descent lines of their revered ancestors, whose experiences, more than merely fairy-tales, serve to convey and maintain multiple layers of cultural meaning, values, and beliefs (Walker, R., 1990).

Cultural preservation for Ngāti Rangiwewehi, as it has been with most other Māori, has largely been a reactive measure in response to our colonial experiences. The use of storytelling in many indigenous communities is, as some commentators have suggested, a means of survival and liberation: “By recounting histories of colonialism, indigenous peoples have not only created an understanding but also a critique of it, and in constructing stories of freedom they have been able to challenge their oppression” (Attwood & Magowan, 2001, p. xii). Storytelling then, particularly for Māori, amplifies alternative narratives that disturb the dominant histories of the colonisers. It informs a type of remembering that is both an act of resistance and empowerment. The history of Māui, for instance, more than the mythic fable presented in most Pākehā writing, can be

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1 Within the thesis Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Rangiwewehi are used interchangeably to refer to the iwi or descendants of our eponymous ancestor Rangiwewehi.
2 A glossary has been included for ease of reference for those who are not yet conversant with te reo Māori.
more accurately comprehended when expressed in Māori modes of storytelling. Indeed, beyond the appalling colonial discourses that have been perpetuated in regard to William Hobson’s declaration, ‘He iwi kotahi tātou’, are the interpretations of a people opposed to the subsumation of their identities (Walker, R., 1990, p. 96). Unfortunately for Māori, our conceptions and narratives have largely been construed as inferior, often simply ignored, or sometimes seen as the extreme views of ‘haters’ and ‘wreckers’.

Telling our stories as Māori, or as Ngāti Rangiwewehi, has nevertheless been crucial to the asserting of our mana motuhake. As Jerome Bruner (1996) has explained, storytelling enables people to create a version of the world in which they can envision a place for themselves. He goes on to state that “a child should ‘know’, or have a ‘feel’ for the myths, histories, folktales, [and] conventional stories of his or her culture … [because] they frame and nourish an identity” (Bruner, 1996, p. 41). Educating our children by ensuring that the knowledge they digest is based on our stories and mātauranga has been an issue that my iwi have contemplated for some time. In exploring the possibility of teaching on our terms, and with our own stories, Ngāti Rangiwewehi has necessarily pondered the creation of a curriculum that speaks to our needs and aspirations. Writing on the desire that indigenous peoples have to enact “a revolutionary pedagogy of resistance”, bell hooks (1994) has noted the “profoundly anti-colonial” nature of this endeavour (p. 2). For Ngāti Rangiwewehi, the consideration of a curriculum is not simply a matter of resistant or reactive politics, but is based on the desire to investigate a proactive revisioning of the world as it is interpreted through our words.

This thesis then explores the potential for a course of learning based on our worldviews. Its central question asks whether a curriculum might form a useful tool in assisting Ngāti Rangiwewehi in the assertion of our mātauranga and aspirations. In answering this key question, the study draws on a number of interviews with iwi members, and discussions held during a three day wānanga. In

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3 Former Labour Party Leader Helen Clark offered these comments following the 2004 Foreshore and Seabed hikoi: “What it is, is the same old faces. The Ken Mairs, the Harawira Family, the Annette Sykes, the haters and wreckers, the people who destroy Waitangi every year, now wanting to do a Waitangi in every town in New Zealand on the way to Wellington where they will do a Waitangi on the steps of Parliament. Is this not what New Zealand has got absolutely sick and tired of?” (Helen Clark, interview, One News, 4 May 2004).
this way the thesis is framed and embedded in our stories – a type of Rangiwewehi story book – that favours our kōrero, songs, proverbs, and histories, like the story of Pekehāua.

**Pekehāua is our taniwha and our kaitiaki**

As a child I grew up with the story of Pekehāua, and have since associated it with my koro, who recounted it on various occasions and was nicknamed after our taniwha. The story begins with our tupuna, Ruaeo, who during his travels from Hawaiki was said to have brought with him a pet taniwha as a guide and guardian. It is generally believed that there were in-fact two taniwha, but only Pekehāua was recorded as arriving and settling at Te Awahou. Ruaeo, we are told, was to have travelled aboard the Te Arawa waka, but due to the mischievousness of Tamatekapua was left behind. In anger, he embarked on his own waka, Pukateawainui, and chased Tama, catching up with him at Maketu where it is claimed that Ruaeo beat him for his indiscretion (Stafford, 1967, p. 18-19). Ruaeo did not settle there, and for a short time went to stay at Tikitapu before travelling to Awahou, where he lived initially at Rangiātea (Stafford, 1967, p. 20). He later relocated to the place we know today as Pekehāua puna, or Taniwha springs, while Pekehāua, it is said, lived in a cave within the head spring, Te Waro Uri. According to our kaikōrero, Pekehāua was our kaitiaki, and would often swim down the river to be fed by the iwi. Our stories recount that while he was a very good swimmer, he was equally capable on land and roamed freely throughout our tribal territories from Awahou to the Mamaku forest, across Mangorewa Kaharoa and into the Kaimai ranges. For Ngāti Rangiwewehi, his patrolling of these areas has been remembered as not simply an assertion of territory, but a deliberately protective act in the deterrent of unwelcome visitors or enemies.

The tale of Pekehāua has also been recounted by numerous Pākehā ethnographers and historians, albeit with a somewhat different emphasis (See Cooper, 1851; Cowan, 1851; Stafford, 1967; Taylor, 1870). In their accounts he is a legendary monster, a ‘fierce saurian’, responsible for the disappearances of multiple.

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4 Tamatekapua was interested in Ruaeo’s wife Whakaotirangi. When Ruaeo and his wife had boarded the waka Tamatekapua asked Ruaeo to return to his house to fetch an important axe that he had left behind. When Ruaeo left to collect the axe Tamatekapua cut the rope and Ruaeo was left behind in Rangiātea allowing Tamatekapua to more easily pursue Whakaotirangi. One version of this account can be found in (Stafford, 1967, p. 14).
travelling parties between Te Kaokaooroa o Pātetere and Rotorua (Cowan, 1925, p. 235). Within this version of events, a group of Ngāti Tama warriors led by Pitaka are said to have arrived in Te Awahou with the noble intention to rid us of the troublesome beast. The numerous published renditions detail the ‘brave warriors’ plan, beginning with the preparation and blessing of supplejack ropes used to lower Pitaka into the monster’s lair. Another rope, it is written, was then made into a snare, which Pitaka used to bind Pekehāua once the beast had been lulled into a deep trance as the result of numerous incantations. Having captured the creature, further prayers were uttered to strengthen the warriors and lighten the load, thus allowing the war party to drag Pekehāua to the surface, where he was eventually beaten to death. These narratives describe him as being the size of a large whale calf with spines like spears along the crest of his back.

While Ngāti Rangiwewehi accounts agree that this was the way in which Pekehāua was killed, we dispute the suggestion in many of the published versions that we conspired in his demise. It makes no sense that we would support the killing of our own kaitiaki. Indeed, in the stories that are told to Ngāti Rangiwewehi children today, Pekehāua is still very much viewed and revered as a guardian and guide.

The story of Pekehāua’s death also gave rise to the whakatauākī “Anō, ko te riu ō Tāne Mahuta”, from which this thesis derives its title (Mead & Grove, 2004, p. 17; Taylor, 1870, p. 161). At its core, the saying reflects the privileging of Ngāti Rangiwewehi stories and accounts of our history, a central theme of the thesis. The whakatauākī, in its literal translation, means: “like the hollow trunk of Tāne Mahuta” (Mead & Grove, 2004, p. 17), and was a phrase used to describe the bare ribs of Pekehāua after he was killed, and the remains of those he had consumed were removed from his stomach. Although a somewhat graphic description, its imagery and metaphorical implications are highly relevant to the consideration of a curriculum that encapsulates Ngāti Rangiwewehi ways of interpreting the world. Within the remains of Pekehāua, our stories and mātauranga are both safely and appropriately housed. His role as a tribal kaitiaki lends weight to the use of this whakatauākī as a metaphor that emphasizes Rangiwewehi knowledge as paramount in both the theoretical and methodological foundations of this study, and the content of any potential iwi curriculum. Like ‘te riu ō Tāne Mahuta’, this
thesis is little more than an empty shell, which throughout the course of the research has become filled with the voices, the stories, and knowledge of our people. In order to understand the vision for this thesis, it is first necessary to provide some insight into the origins of the project and the beginning of this story.

The kaupapa of this Masters study emerged from the discussion and development of a long-term language and tikanga revitalization plan mooted in late 2007. Within this plan, the use of wānanga was discussed, and the possibility of a curriculum was raised as a strategy to facilitate the delivery of our mātauranga. This study was anticipated as an opportunity to critically examine some of the issues we might need to deal with, if we indeed choose to create such a curriculum. It ponders what we would need to learn if we wanted to strengthen our identity as Rangiwewehi; how we might learn these things; and what our curriculum might look like in practice? More than simply the creation of an iwi-based curriculum, the impetus for developing a possible course of learning was as much about recording our stories, as it was about examining new ways of transferring knowledge or revitalizing traditional practices.

It is important to note here that this thesis project was never intended to actually devise a curriculum, but simply to question its nature and form if it were to be imagined and applied within our iwi context. Should Rangiwewehi choose to go ahead with the development of a curriculum, it may not necessarily resemble the ‘curriculum’ most are familiar with in this country. This is also a critical point, because it draws attention to the need to consider more closely the definitions of ‘curriculum’, particularly as they relate to this thesis. Furthermore, within the field of curriculum studies - what is implied by the use of the term can vary significantly. Subsequently, this thesis first seeks to unpack what is meant by ‘curriculum’, and in the process considers alternative conceptions that might more appropriately suit Ngāti Rangiwewehi’s ambitions and goals.

**Clarifying the use of ‘Curriculum’**

Definitions and uses of the term curriculum are varied and often contradictory, leading some commentators to describe curriculum as “a slippery and problematic term with many layers of meaning” (Barr & Gordon, 1995, p. 9). Within the New Zealand context, the term is usually used in reference to the national curriculum
document, which is “a framework, an outline of content and a suggested sequence in which this content should be taught” (Barr & Gordon, 1995, p. 13). Such a definition focuses on the planning aspect of the curriculum, providing guidelines to ensure appropriate overarching goals, objectives, values and standards are observed across the various levels of curriculum implementation. Others maintain that more than simply planning, the curriculum includes “all the experiences a learner has under the guidance of the school” (Foshay, 1969, p. 275). Indeed, the assumption of an inherent connection between curriculum and schools runs through all the literature relating to curriculum and curriculum studies.

This connection should not be surprising, as John Kleinig has argued, “so deeply entrenched has the identification of education with schooling become, that for many people the school and its teaching function have bounded the inquiry” (Kleinig, cited in Oliver, 1998, p. 299). Curriculum has become similarly tied up within the domain of schools and schooling, and as such is viewed as an essential component in the planning and delivery of learning content. However, “education does not only occur in classrooms” (Bruner, 1996, p. xi), and learning, whether incidental or specifically planned and orchestrated, often occurs in places outside the traditional learning establishments where we have come to expect a curriculum to operate. While most educationalists would have little difficulty with such a statement, the heliocentric nature of educational discourse - that is, the view of schooling and teaching as the sun around which all things educational necessarily revolve - has further implications for this project, as Graham Oliver (1998) explains:

Non-schooling institutions or practices are made relevant, and are understood as ‘educational’, principally in terms of our understanding of schooling and teaching. The space around the sun is what is lit by it. The closer an institution is to the sun, the more likely its educational relevance will be noticed…The further from the sun, the more dimly lit it will be (p. 300).

This study, in using the idea of a curriculum, is naturally viewed as having educational relevance. Yet in light of Oliver’s observations, it may be more appropriate to view the thesis as lurking in the shadows, as the notion of curriculum being discussed here is not for use within a mainstream, or even an alternative school setting. The ‘curriculum’ envisioned in this thesis is for use within the iwi, as a tool for the revitalization of Ngāti Rangiwewehi culture and
identity. Indeed, limited ideological views of curriculum make it difficult to conceive of possibilities too far removed from the ‘norms’ of mainstream, yet any decisions relating to form and content in the conceptualisation of a Ngāti Rangiwewehi curriculum remain the prerogative of the iwi. Subsequently, it may be that this ‘curriculum’ - if it is eventually enacted - might only be realized within the bounds of Ngāti Rangiwewehi theorizing, rather than the walls of any tangible institution. The study then, in this regard, seeks to challenge the boundaries of common educational discourse, which Oliver argues provides:

A distorted ecological picture of the educational nature and relevance of learning sites. We fail at the perennial issue of addressing the whole person in educational terms (the whole person learns in places other than school, and through processes other than teaching). We concern ourselves only with a narrow range of processes, and a narrow conception of content (Oliver, 1998, pp. 300-301).

A narrow range of understandings within the field of curriculum studies has ironically given rise to a wide range of definitions, which many within the field see as necessarily competing and contradictory. In addressing this issue, Bruner (1996) asserts that “there is no such thing as the curriculum” but rather a raft of possibilities, “like an animated conversation on a topic that can never fully be defined, although one can set limits upon it” (p. 115). Within the context of this study, many of these supposedly conflicting definitions provide useful insights to explore as Ngāti Rangiwewehi determines what limits we chose to accept or reject.

This relationship to aims and ambitions is also highlighted by Bruner (1960), who contends that “[t]he first object of any act of learning… is that it should serve us in the future” (p. 17). In this respect, there are a range of definitions that focus on the outcomes of the curriculum, interpreting it as a production system, where planning is necessary to ensure students have the requisite skills to function effectively in society. A curriculum that prepares students to operate in the world often comprises of “that series of things which children and youth must do and experience by way of developing abilities to do the things well that make up the affairs of adult life, and to be in all respects what adults should be” (Bobbitt, 1918, p. 42). The problem here is that not all adults have the same perspectives, visions, and goals.
On the role of education in the politics of culture, some have argued that “the curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a selective tradition, someone’s selection, some groups vision of legitimate knowledge” (Apple, 1993, p. 222). Within mainstream New Zealand education, the dominant vision of legitimate knowledge has never been Māori, nor has it adequately reflected the understandings that we would identify as being of specific importance to Ngāti Rangiwewehi. In constructing our own curriculum then, this thesis posits the notion that our capacity to function effectively within our own cultural frameworks requires an immediate grounding in our own worldviews to more confidently navigate mainstream society.

One of the tasks of this thesis has been to break ground in this area for Ngāti Rangiwewehi, by exploring the possibility of constructing our own curriculum that addresses our needs. If as Bruner argues, “a curriculum ought to be built around the great issues, principles and values that a society deems worthy of the continual concerns of its members” (Bruner, 1960, p. 52), then a primary function of this thesis has been to consider the great issues and principles of concern to Ngāti Rangiwewehi people. This study works towards this end, utilizing the voices and stories of the iwi to ascertain the core elements essential within a curriculum based on our Rangiwewehitanga.

This perception of ‘curriculum’ is supported by John Dewey (1902) who argued that “the scheme of a curriculum must take account of the adaptation of studies to the needs of existing community life; it must select with the intention of improving the life we live in common so that the future shall be better than the past” (pp. 8-9). While the ways in which Dewey conceived of ‘improving the life we live in common’ are no doubt quite different to Rangiwewehi, the underlying idea is still of use to us. Indeed, the motivation for this project originates from the identified needs of the iwi today, in the hope that we might address the issues we currently face, thus providing greater possibilities for future descendants. Our needs in the current time are urgent. We need more kaikōrero, kaikaranga, kaiwaiata, we need more people at home actively participating in the marae. However, our hope is to address these issues and move forward, creating the physical, mental and emotional space we need to focus our energies on other areas
that we might like to develop out of interest rather than necessity. As Ngāti Rangiwewehi engage in our own curriculum theorizing, we assert that the construction of any potential curriculum will be “an act of imagination, that is, a patterned integration of our remembered past, perceived present, and our anticipated future” (McAdam, 1993, p. 12). The potential development of a curriculum within this context provides a means of being proactive, so in the future we no longer need to be so reactive.

Beyond the definitions considered thus far are other attempts to distinguish between the curriculum proper and the pedagogical aspects of the curriculum. This difference between actual teaching and instruction is described as “essentially two separate action contexts, one (curriculum) producing plans for further action; and, the other (instruction) putting plans into action” (Macdonald, quoted in Tanner & Tanner, 1975, p. 36). Standard requirements of this approach require a thorough consideration of what must be learnt, organizing and sequencing of the content into an appropriate order, before the teacher passes on these “necessary building blocks of knowledge and skills” (Applebee, 1996, p. 31).

These views of curriculum as simple content for instruction imply that knowledge is distinct from the processes used to develop it, and that such content is independent from the means through which people become knowledgeable (Tanner & Tanner, 1975). Gloria Ladson-Billings (2001) suggests that this artificial separation of teaching and learning is one reason why notions of pedagogy are inadequately developed and articulated within mainstream schools. She highlights the example of the Jewish culture, where one word is used to describe the teaching and learning process:

Thus, a teacher is always a learner, and a learner is always a teacher. However, English has created a dichotomy between teaching and learning that suggests a casual relationship without fully understanding the dynamic that exists between the two (Ladson-Billings, 2001, p. 26).

The concept of ako provides a similar parallel within Māori culture, meaning both to teach and to learn (See Pere, 1994). The context and the use of various prefixes and suffixes change the meaning of the word in a variety of ways including: whakaako, to teach; kaiako, to be a teacher; ākonga, to be a learner; or akomanga,
the “circumstance, time, place, etc., of learning” and the “[t]hing taught or learnt” (Williams, 1991, p.7).

The view of curriculum adopted within this study acknowledges the interconnected relationship of teaching and learning, arguing that all curriculum forms a framework which in effect, facilitates pedagogy. Pedagogy here is viewed as more than simple teaching practices, but more accurately incorporates the values, beliefs, and cultural aspirations, which underlie and inform those teaching practices. Thus, within an iwi based curriculum, the pedagogy, and the beliefs and values that inform it, are an essential part of the knowledge base the curriculum seeks to impart. In this way, the pedagogy, and the mātauranga it conveys, cannot and should not be separated. Consequently, the understanding of curriculum and pedagogy favoured in this thesis departs from a dualist view of curriculum and instruction, and aligns more closely with Jerome Bruner’s (1966) view that:

A theory of instruction seeks to take account of the fact that a curriculum reflects not only the nature of knowledge itself but also the nature of the knower and the knowledge-getting process. It is an enterprise par excellence where the line between subject matter and method grows necessarily indistinct (p. 72).

In this sense, the curriculum is constructed in actual learning situations, contextually shaped and influenced not only by the content being taught, but by the interaction of participants, and their prior knowledge and experience. “Curriculum as praxis” acknowledges the social interface of the process that “develops through the dynamic interaction of action and reflection… the curriculum is not simply a set of plans to be implemented but rather is constituted through an active process in which planning, acting and evaluating are all reciprocally related and integrated into the process” (Grundy, 1987, p. 115). Understanding that knowledge is socially constructed creates a space of empowerment for peoples like Ngāti Rangiwewehi because it legitimates and authorizes our own knowledge systems, and utilizes the notion of education as a means of fostering cultural transmission and societal continuity.

In constructing a curriculum that realizes the goals of cultural revitalization and reclamation, Ngāti Rangiwewehi are free to use templates and models framed within our worldviews, employing our mātauranga while drawing on mainstream educational literature. Models such as Jerome Bruner’s (1960) spiral curriculum,
for instance, provide obvious parallels to the process of wānanga as currently exercised within Ngāti Rangiwewehi. Wānanga as curriculum can be interpreted as accommodating pedagogical settings, employing multiple and layered methods of teaching and learning to meet the various intergenerational needs, as well as accommodating those both grounded in, and disconnected from, their Rangiwewehitanga. In the wānanga, this layering includes the simple exposure afforded to our tamariki, the forming of bonds and relationships amongst our rangatahi, and the engaged learning for all participants that comes from being involved in, and privy to, the discussions. Returning to the same stories and issues again and again – a common sequential practice in our wānanga - allows everyone’s perspectives to be drawn out, all the options considered, and a continual developing of added depth and richness to our mātauranga.

These models provide us with templates to consider what approaches might further our aspirations and fit comfortably within our mātauranga, thus complementing the systems and processes we already have in place. For example, the theory in relation to narrative curriculum considers the construction of curriculum through the use of stories. It views stories as a means “to perpetuate the culture and community memory of a people”, providing “efficient ways of remembering complex concepts and systems” (Lauritzen & Jaeger, 1997, pp. 35-36). Story telling is a method commonly employed to communicate layers of meaning through the use of metaphor and allegory, inherently weaving together the content and pedagogical approaches of the iwi. Although the ways in which the literature advocates the implementation of a narrative curriculum seems contrived, the natural role of story-telling within the teaching and learning philosophies of Ngāti Rangiwewehi shares a strikingly similar theoretical tone. How we might choose to integrate these theoretical suppositions however, remains a question beyond the parameters of this thesis.

There is no readily available definition of ‘curriculum’ that can be appropriately applied to Ngāti Rangiwewehi in this thesis, yet the literature has offered some clarification on the ways the term might be understood. In this light, perhaps the most important observation in regard to the defining of the ‘curriculum’ was made by Stephen Kemmis (1986) in his book *Curriculum theorizing: Beyond reproduction theory*, in which he states: “We cannot define curriculum without
some definition of the world view within which our definition is comprehensible” (p. 33). This thesis then is the first step in this process, considering what a Rangiwewehi worldview might be, and how our frames of reference might become embodied within a curriculum, as a means of empowering and revitalizing our culture and identity.

So why a curriculum?

Education has long been recognised as an effective means of both transmitting and transforming culture. This was certainly one of the key beliefs that informed educational policy and practice directed at Māori throughout nineteenth century New Zealand (Walker, R., 1990, p. 85). In civilizing the Māori it was considered a humanitarian measure to save Māori children from “the demoralizing influences of their villages” (Sir George Grey, quoted in Walker, 1984, p. 1). Schools and their curriculum, as Linda Smith (1986) reminds us, were used effectively as tools of cultural destruction, “placed in the heart of Māori communities like Trojan horses. Their task was to destroy the less visible aspects of Māori life: beliefs, value systems and the spiritual bonds that connected people to each other and to their environment” (p. 1). One of the major tragedies of this systematic ‘assimilation’ is that many Māori themselves began to internalize the beliefs of their own supposed inferiority and deficiency.

The devastating impact that the national ‘curriculum’ has had on Māori, might rightfully lead one to ask why Ngāti Rangiwewehi would ever consider curriculum as a tool for cultural regeneration. Despite the institutionalised racism, and the negative impact that New Zealand educational policies have had on Māori language and cultural practises, our people have always supported the notion of education in Aotearoa (Smith, L. T., 1985). While curriculum, as a concept, may be drawn from the dominant cultural framework, Paulo Freire (1970) argues that “knowledge of the alienating culture leads to transforming action, resulting in a culture which is being freed from alienation” (p. 148). This point is further supported by Micheal Reilly (1996) who states that “in the struggle against oppression, the oppressed strategically use the tools of the oppressor to effect changes within the existing social structure” (p. 91). Indeed, many tools which were imparted to Māori to further the colonial agenda have been adapted by
Māori, and in time have been used in support of our aspirations, as Nēpia Mahuika (2009a) has argued, “it is not the edifice or machinery itself that is dangerous, but the agents who select what parts of it to employ, and then how to deploy them” (p. 3).

The notion of curriculum is an idea that Māori were familiar with prior to contact with Pākehā. Although Māori may not have used the same terminology, the set and ordered content of the whare wānanga, with its precise and specific teaching schedules and processes, operated with a set syllabus and pedagogy known to its participants (Hemara, 2000; Royal, 2003). Furthermore, traditional whare wānanga offered a highly effective means of transmitting cultural teachings to those who were deemed worthy. These individuals held responsibilities to their families and communities: a reciprocal obligation commensurate with the specialized knowledge they had acquired. The whare wānanga, and other traditional schools of learning had their own curriculum. In recent times, there have been various attempts to recreate and simulate the conditions and learning that occurred in these wānanga. When considering the form and nature of a curriculum, these models, alongside other initiatives, such as Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, and Whare Kura, are all vitally important to the ways Ngāti Rangiwewehi might conceive of a curriculum.

There are also other frameworks and models originating from within our own mātauranga that provide important intellectual maps, essential in our considerations of a potential Rangiwewehi curriculum. Our understandings of whakapapa, for example, embody significant principles pertinent to curriculum construction. Similarly, waiata provide further frames of reference for understanding the ways in which we might construct and implement our curriculum, but also contain vital learning content central to our Rangiwewehitanga. Citing the names of the places and people of Rangiwewehi, as this study will illustrate, speaks to the survival of this mātauranga, and the development of any potential curriculum as a journey that must always start with home.

The need to develop more effective ways of transmitting and retaining our knowledge must become a priority if we are to move from a situation of survival to a realization of autonomy and liberation. For Ngāti Rangiwewehi, many of our
people have been disconnected from the iwi, not simply in terms of their physical distance, but because of the psychological scars that have severed their cultural ties with home. For many of these members of our iwi, the sometimes intimidating initiation into iwi, hapu and whānau politics has made maintaining tribal affiliations more and more difficult. It is important that we recognise too, that many of our whānau would like to participate at ‘home’ more, but find it difficult to juggle the realities of work commitments and modern lifestyles, which often see us living outside our tribal boundaries. Similarly, these distances are often maintained by fears relating to a lack of knowledge and confidence in te reo and tikanga. For some, they can be debilitating impediments. Thus, for our curriculum to be effective, we need to do more than simply provide the requisite knowledge. We must create opportunities and contexts in which these barriers can be over-come.

While it is anticipated that Ngāti Rangiwewehi will be guided in this process by those principles handed down throughout the generations, the changing nature of society, and indeed of the iwi, requires a combination of traditional and contemporary approaches to meet our current needs. Applebee (1996) explains that:

Traditions enable and transform the minds of the individuals raised within them, and are in turn themselves transformed by those same individuals. Traditions change as the circumstances that surround them change; in that way they preserve their power to guide the present and the future as well as to reflect the past (p. 1).

The changing nature of Māori society is also aptly asserted in Sir Apirana Ngata’s challenge: “E tipu e rea, mō ngā rā o tou ao. Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau o te Pākeha, hei ara mō tō tinana. Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a o tūpuna Māori, hei tikitiki mō tō māhuna. Ko tō wairua ki tō atua, nāna nei ngā mea kātoa” (Brougham & Reed, 1990, p. 62).5 Ngata’s proactive vision has inspired many Māori educational initiatives, and works here to provide a theoretical justification for the establishment of our own iwi based curriculum. Indeed, we too must grasp that knowledge and learning from te ao Pākehā that is necessary for our success and

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5 One translation of this proverb is “Grow tender shoot for the days of your world. Turn your hand to the tools of the Pākehā for the well being of your body. Turn your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as a crown for your head. Give your soul unto God, to whom belongs all things” (Walker, R., 1984, p. 2).
physical well-being, while retaining the essential knowledge and understandings from our Rangiwewehitanga, to ensure our spiritual strength and identity remains intact.

In this way, it is entirely within our reach to embrace, what bell hooks (1994) describes as, “that historical moment when one begins to think critically about the self and identity in relation to ones political circumstance” (p. 47). Our identities are after all, are as much a product of our colonial encounters as they are of those cultural treasures we have inherited from our forebears. Our experience as an iwi has been significantly influenced by our past alliances and conflicts with Crown forces and other tribal groupings, our experiences with Crown purchasing agents and the Native Land Court, and more recently our fight with local government agencies over rights to our puna. These moments of struggle for us are reminiscent of Huanani Kay Trasks (1993) assertion that “thinking and acting as a native under colonial conditions is a highly politicised reality, one filled with intimate oppositions and powerful psychological tensions” (p. 55). Suggesting the development of an iwi-based curriculum provides a unique and useful context within which to examine these issues. Moreover, any Rangiwewehi curriculum, while placing emphasis and value on our waiata, reo, whenua and various other kōrero tuku iho, must equally ensure that our history with the Crown is understood and retained. Such initiatives support development of a fuller and more nuanced appreciation of who we are, and the factors that have influenced the shaping of our identity.

**Filling Te Riu ō Tāne Mahuta**

This study draws on the life narrative interviews of 18 members of Ngāti Rangiwewehi, to evaluate the potential use of a curriculum as a tool for the revitalisation of our cultural heritage and identity. The interviews have also been supplemented by kōrero drawn from an iwi wānanga, which considered definitions of Rangiwewehitanga, and possible avenues to further develop our mātauranga within the iwi. Given the intention of the thesis to clearly privilege Rangiwewehi perspectives, the incorporation of these interviews and excerpts is significant. In this way *Te riu ō Tāne Mahuta* will quite literally become filled
with the voices, and stories of the people of Rangiwewehi, as they articulate their understandings of who they are, who we are, and who we might yet become.

This thesis focuses on the voices of Ngāti Rangiwewehi, as articulated in the interviews and wānanga recordings. However, Chapter Two first addresses the theoretical and methodological foundations upon which this study is grounded. It considers the rationale for employing an oral history life narrative approach in the interviews, and discusses the evolution of a kaupapa Māori approach within a specific Ngāti Rangiwewehi frame of reference. Chapter Two also considers those aspects of methodology from outside our traditional boundaries that resonate well with our aspirations, and strives to articulate the ways in which those ideas have been incorporated, along with our tikanga, to inform our approaches within this research. The body of the thesis is then divided into three major chapters that address (a) the epistemological frames of reference that are crucial to understanding how the tribe makes sense of themselves and the world around them, (b) the pedagogical approaches specific to the iwi, and (c) the extent to which a curriculum is both viable and useful in maintaining and empowering the tribe’s mātauranga, underlying ambitions and goals. Three central themes have been interwoven throughout these chapters: these are place, people, and survival. Chapter Three begins with an exploration of our identity as Ngāti Rangiwewehi, identifying the mātauranga that is specific to our ways of seeing and being, and those things that we would need to know if we were to strengthen our identity. Chapter Four reflects on the ways in which our mātauranga has been transmitted, and the pedagogical practices distinctive to our iwi. Utilising the key themes of place, people and survival this chapter also explores the barriers that have interfered in our ability to efficiently pass on and ensure the ultimate survival of our tribal mātauranga. Chapter Five returns to the overarching question of this study, which asks whether a curriculum is indeed a useful tool to assist Ngāti Rangiwewehi in our aspirations for cultural reclamation and revitalisation. It identifies the key elements that would necessarily form the core of any potential Rangiwewehi curriculum. Finally, this study concludes with a summary of the major findings in each chapter, drawing them together to more fully explain and resolve the overlapping issues and tensions that complicate the potential development of a Ngāti Rangiwewehi course of learning.
CHAPTER 2

Defining boundaries and claiming spaces: Theoretical and methodological foundations

This thesis is located within a specific geography, one that is interconnected physically, spiritually, and intellectually.\(^6\) The peak, to which we aspire is represented by our mountain, Tiheia, which more than just a corporeal pinnacle is symbolic of a desire to achieve at the highest level. Our river, Awahou, is similarly an iconic site, renowned for its healing and life-giving source, from which we are nurtured, rejuvenated and energized.\(^7\) Tarimano is our marae, our foundation, the home to which Ngāti Rangiwewehi gravitate as the offspring of Tawakehimoa and Te Aongāhoro. This is who we are, an affirmation of identity that connects Rangiwewehi physically and spiritually to the whenua, to our wai and puna, and to our ancestors who have occupied these places as the indigenous peoples for several hundred years. These people and places are vital because within them lie our histories, our tikanga and mātauranga, the essential components from which this study is enabled. Subsequently, this thesis although embracing of theories and methodologies beyond our boundaries, sets its compass within the intellectual and epistemological frameworks of home, within a knowledge system that amplifies our aspirations.

Despite a resolve to remain grounded within Ngāti Rangiwewehi frames of reference, this study seeks to weave together a rich tapestry of methodological and theoretical strands. An eclectic use of theory and method has its advantages, in that it allows new ideas and possibilities to assist rather than claim or colonize spaces that, in this instance, have long resisted foreign invasion. For these reasons, this study aligns itself with kaupapa Māori research practices, which have for some time now engaged theories and methods conducive to liberation, resistance and autonomy. Similarly, the utilization of oral history theory and methods particularly in relation to the qualitative interviews employed here, draws on an

\(^6\) Tarimano marae and the Awahou river, are located on the North Western shores of lake Rotorua, in the Eastern Bay of Plenty region (Bidois, Emery, Hancock, Mahuika, Paterson & Polamalu, 2009, pp. 10-11).

\(^7\) The Awahou river is also known as Te Wai-mimi-o-Pekehāua, as the rivers source is the springs where Pekehāua lived (Bidois, et al., 2009, p. 21). However, both the river and community are also referred to as Awahou (sometimes spelt Awa Hou) or Te Awahou interchangeably (See for example Bidois, et al. 2009, p. 21; Cooper, 1851, p. 128; Stafford, 1967, pp. 20, 35, 70).
Whakapapa as a theoretical foundation

Every individual has a whakapapa, whether they are aware of it or not. For some, the idea of whakapapa extends beyond just human manifestations, origins and genealogies, but can be applied to other physical and even intellectual evolvement or generation (Royal, 1992). One of the best ways to develop an understanding of the theoretical foundations of this study is to start with the underlying purposes intrinsic to whakapapa. Whakapapa locates a person, or a people within a specific historical, geographical, and socio-cultural context. Whakapapa quite literally means to lay one thing upon another as Potaua Biasiny-Tule (2006) explains:

> 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 (p. 7).

By providing our direct whakapapa line from Ngāti Ohomairangi and the Te Arawa waka to Ngāti Rangiwewehi, I am quite literally describing the foundation upon which this research has been carried out and the conduit by which we access our past.
Whakapapa Table 1 (Hāhunga, 2008).^8

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Each name within this lineage represents further bodies of knowledge, additional names, connections and histories that impact on who Rangiwewehi was as a person, and who Rangiwewehi are today, as a people. This whakapapa then in a very real way serves as the underlying frame upon which this study is structured. This is not a new phenomenon, or way of thinking about how Māori and iwi knowledge might be organized. Indeed, as Tipene O’Reagan (1987) affirms:

> The whakapapa that ties me to my tupuna is also the structure that orders my history and that of my people. It is the conduit that carries their spiritual force – their wairua – to me in the present and by which I pass it forward to future generations. It carries the ultimate expression of who I am. Without it I am simply an ethnic statistic (p. 142).

Another term used to describe whakapapa is ‘te here tāngata’, or a rope which binds the people. Descriptions such as this touch on both the rights and responsibilities inherent within whakapapa connections. By asserting my own whakapapa here, not only am I able to demonstrate a living connection to Rangiwewehi, but in this identifying process I further stress my position, my rights and indeed my obligations, as both the researcher and researched of this project.

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^8 Female names have been italicised in the whakapapa tables for ease of identification.
Positioning and connecting is an important part of any project within an indigenous community, and particularly within Ngāti Rangiwehi, because as
O’Reagan (1987) reminds us, “to inquire into my history or that of my people, you must inquire into my whakapapa”, and although “my tūpuna may be dead … they are also in me and I am alive. To know them, you must know me! In order to deal with them you must deal with me!” (p. 142). Indeed my subjective positioning within this study was an important feature of my acceptance by the iwi. The traditionally objective and neutral researcher preferred by mainstream western approaches would have been deemed inappropriate within this iwi research context.

My grounding in my Rangiwhewhitanga, and my family and personal participation in the iwi, marks me as an insider. Acceptance providing more open access and a level of cooperation not always enjoyed by those viewed as outsiders. Significantly, an awareness of this paradox as it became more noticeable during the interviews especially, assisted in my development as a more critical and conscious researcher, learner, and iwi member. This has been an exciting and essential component of this research project in developing my own critical consciousness, an important process, as Antonio Gramsci points out:

The starting point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is ‘knowing thyself’ as a product of the historical process to date, which has deposited in you an infinity of traces without leaving an inventory (Gramsci, as quoted in Said, 1978, p. 25).

In a very real way this research has afforded me a valuable opportunity to discover myself anew as I’ve come to learn about the ‘historical processes’ combined in the fashioning of my identity. Setting this whakapapa at the feet of the reader then, is not simply about affirming my role and position, but posits related notions of discovery and consciousness raising within our mātauranga as the backbone in the search for our own curriculum; indeed, the very focus in this thesis. Knowing and sharing whakapapa, and importantly the stories that breathe life into it, has been part and parcel of what has supported my own growing discernment. Spending time at Awahou, visiting the people and the places, hearing the stories and becoming more fully involved with iwi affairs, have all augmented the development of my own Rangiwhewhitanga. This growing comprehension makes it difficult to “reduce the past and all it contains about who you are to the skeletal rigours of science” and virtually impossible “to set aside the warm flesh of tūpuna and their deeds” (O’Reagan, 1987, p. 143). Thus, this
study draws on the voices of Rangiwewehi participants and in the process includes our tūpuna as the force that drives this thesis. It interweaves two specific bodies of theoretical and methodological literature, from which an array of strands were utilized and employed. This includes kaupapa Māori research, as it has been adapted and used here, particularly in assisting the construction of our own iwi based approaches. Likewise, it addresses the relevance and usefulness of oral history methods and interpretive theories in the selection, conducting and interpretation of the interviews.

A Kaupapa Māori Approach for an iwi based project?

Kaupapa Māori theory based approaches have grown significantly over the last twenty years as a preferred approach to research amongst Māori scholars across a range of disciplines. Many have written at length on the negative impact of colonial research on Māori within Aotearoa and the resulting skepticism that remains in Māori writing and attitudes towards research (See Bishop, 1994; 1997; 2005; Mahuika, N., 2010; Mahuika, R., 2008; Pihama, 1997; Smith, L. T., 1999; Smith, G. H., 1997; 2000; 2005; Walker, S., 1996). Developed partly in response to Māori concerns regarding the continued negative impact of research on their lives, kaupapa Māori has sought to both acknowledge and accommodate Māori ways of being within an approach that remains academically rigorous (Irwin, 1994). As such these approaches are viewed increasingly as being not only a means of resistance, but a possible avenue for liberation and prospective transformation.

During the 1970s, an increasing number of Māori scholars criticized the presence of non-Māori researchers in Māori communities, citing fears about what they were producing, their conduct, or rather misconduct, in the field, and the inappropriateness of their role because of their position as outsiders and potential neo-colonialists (Bishop, 2005; Mahuika, N., 2010; Smith, L. T., 1999). By the early 1980s, these concerns regarding Māori autonomy and self-determination found purchase in the development of several educational initiatives designed to address the growing need for language revitalization (Smith, G. H., 1992). The advent of kōhanga reo, followed by kura kaupapa, whare kura and other cultural based educational institutions created a useful context in which language and
cultural practices could be revitalized while understandings of kaupapa Māori as a theory of liberation could be further examined (Smith, G. H., 1992). Despite these initiatives, kaupapa Māori as a philosophical approach, as Tuakana Nepe (1991) notes, is not a new phenomenon. Rather kaupapa Māori is referred to as a body of knowledge that has distinct epistemological and metaphysical foundations, which date back to the beginning of time and the creation of the universe (Nepe, 1991). In this way kaupapa Māori is inherently intertwined in Māori language and culture, and provides a research framework that validates the principles and values that underpin the culture, legitimizing Māori ways of knowing and being.

These principles however, have not always been obvious or discernable, yet they continue to influence our interactions and understandings and as such remain an intrinsic factor in considering how to negotiate our interactions as Māori researchers (Emery, 2008). Indeed some proponents of kaupapa Māori approaches have deliberately avoided outlining specific steps and models, recognizing the danger inherent in establishing set procedures and fixed criteria for application to the dynamic, and heterogeneous range of contexts in which kaupapa Māori research might be used (Smith, L. T., 2000, p. 242). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2000) has argued that such models attempt to reduce the complexity of our attitudes, values and experience to a set of simple steps, more useful to cultural outsiders than our own. For those grounded within the culture such proscribed codes of conduct are clearly incapable of providing the specific guidance necessary to navigate the complicated terrain of Māori and iwi research. Thus the emphasis in kaupapa Māori approaches on researcher positioning and ensuring that the researcher “understand themselves to be involved somatically in the research process; that is physically, ethically, morally and spiritually” (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 169), takes on new importance, as the obligations and responsibilities a researcher holds within these contexts are more immediate and long lasting.

Because of its focus on the need to privilege Māori knowledge, kaupapa Māori theories and approaches sit well within this study, and are particularly useful for the depth to which they have articulated the need for self-autonomy and liberation amongst Māori and iwi communities. Without a strong grounding in our Rangiwewehitanga this study would be unable to achieve its goal as part of a larger project regarding Ngāti Rangiwewehi cultural revitalization and
regeneration. Kaupapa Māori, based as it is within generally accepted Māori cultural norms provides, to a certain extent, an approach to research that is recognised as academically legitimate and valid while being in a sense uniquely Māori, as Linda Smith (2000) explains:

There is more to kaupapa Māori than our history under colonialism or our desires to restore rangatiratanga. We have a different epistemological tradition that frames the way we see the world, the way we organize ourselves in it, the questions we ask, and the solutions we seek (p. 230).

Nepe (1991) has made similar comments describing kaupapa Māori as “the systematic organization of beliefs, experiences, understandings, and interpretations of the interactions of Māori people upon Māori people, and Māori people upon their world” (p. 4). If kaupapa Māori is then “the philosophy and practice of being Māori” (Smith, G. H., 1992, p. 1), the theoretical base that this thesis draws on is more specifically, the philosophy and practice of being Ngāti Rangiwewehi. The epistemological traditions that frame how we see and understand the world are themselves, somewhat different from the way in which other Māori and iwi see the world. Such views are not unique to Ngāti Rangiwewehi as John Rangihau (1992) illustrated some time ago:

My being Māori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tūhoe person…It seems to me there is no such thing as Māoritanga because Māoritanga is an all-inclusive term which embraces all Māori. There are so many aspects about every tribal person. Each tribe has its own history. And it is not a history that can be shared amongst others. How can I share the history of Ngāti Porou, of Te Arawa, and Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am a Tūhoe person and all I can share in is Tūhoe history. To me Tūhoetanga means that I do the things that are meaningful to Tūhoe (p. 190).

Similarly, Rangiwewehitanga requires an emphasis on those things of importance to Ngāti Rangiwewehi. As such a Rangiwewehi framework will draw on our histories and oral traditions, utilise Rangiwewehi whakapapa and waiata, and make reference to our personalities and places of significance within our rohe. That is not to say that kaupapa Māori has no relevance. Indeed, the use and examination of existing frameworks is most helpful in enabling us to consider what aspects we might seek to include or exclude in our own approaches. In this way, kaupapa Māori provides a useful structure for assisting Ngāti Rangiwewehi in the development of our own ways of abstracting Rangiwewehi knowledge and
mātauranga, “reflecting on it, engaging with it, taking it for granted sometimes, making assumptions based upon it, and at times critically engaging in the way it has been and is being constructed” (Smith, L. T., 2000, p. 231).

However, Ngāti Rangiwewehi are not limited to drawing only on kaupapa Māori theories and approaches for inspiration. Indeed, as Graham Smith reminds us, “we ought to be open to using any theory and practice with emancipatory relevance to our Indigenous struggle” (Smith, G. H., 2000, p. 214). In this way we can, and should, draw on a range of theories to augment our own frameworks. Thus, in this study, an oral history methodology has been employed to enable our perspectives and narratives to be told on our terms. After all, one of the key purposes of oral history is to amplify the voices of those who have been silenced, or overwhelmed, by the stories of the dominant group.

**Oral History influences on our theory and method**

Within New Zealand, oral history has often been viewed as simply a methodology rather than a theoretical approach to research. However, within the context of this thesis, the oral history recordings, as they have been undertaken and interpreted, have provided an opportunity to interpret the past and present on our terms. Micheal Frisch explains that oral history has long been recognised as:

> A powerful tool for discovering, exploring, and evaluating...how people make sense of their past, how they connect individual experience and its social context, how the past becomes a part of the present, and how people use it to interpret their lives and the world around them (Cited in Green, 2004a, p. 3).

In attempts to utilize this ‘powerful tool’, an emphasis has often been placed on the recorded interviews, with many ‘oral history’ projects being carried out without any reference to the significant body of literature within the area. More than just interviews, oral history theories focus on the way in which the interviews are conducted, the way narratives are constructed and used to produce meaning.

Given the oral nature of Ngāti Rangiwewehi culture and mātauranga, and the preference for oral forms of cultural transmission, an oral history approach is an appropriate method to incorporate within our theoretical framework. Considering the emphasis within this study on privileging our own epistemologies, oral history also provides a useful methodology for unearthing and understanding those
memories that contribute to who we are as Ngāti Rangiwewehi. As Anna Green (2004a) explains:

Memories are partial and fragmented, and in the process of reassembling them for others we decide what to include and exclude. We also seek to make meaningful connections between the present and the past...To make sense of our past, we draw upon the vocabulary and metaphors of our time and culture, generating complex codes of meaning that can be opaque to later generations or cultural outsiders (p. 11).

Oral history provides an exciting avenue to explore Rangiwewehi ways of knowing by allowing the “raw material” within our “expressions and representations of culture” to be told in our stories (Passerini, 1998, p. 19). One of the great strengths of an oral history approach in this thesis is that it relies on our explicit Rangiwewehi understandings to interpret the narratives collected in the interviews and other recordings. It lets our people speak, and rather than critiquing the validity of their perceptions, accepts the fact that their opinions are the products of carefully ‘composed’ stories (Thomson, 1998, p. 300).

Recounting what has happened in the past has often been accepted as the domain of ‘historians’; those trained professionals who recorded the objective ‘truths’ about our past, while simultaneously relegating less powerful groups to the status of historical objects (Mead, L., 1996). These depowered subjects of history usually appear only in the documentary record when the experts deem their stories significant enough to be included in the more important narratives of nation-making (Mahuika, N., 2009a). As a result, references of direct relevance to the knowledge and experiences of groups such as Ngāti Rangiwewehi are often noticeably absent or limited within the literature. Hence the significance of a research theory and method that seeks to empower groups like Ngāti Rangiwewehi, whose written history may be missing or distorted. In each of the life narratives recorded for this study, oral history approaches bring to light both the impact of broader historical and societal pressures on the individuals, as well as the roles these individuals have played in shaping and influencing the history of Ngāti Rangiwewehi (Mahuika, R., 2009). The interviews collected here abound with many examples of significant individuals, whose lives and achievements may have missed the spotlight of mainstream media attention, yet played a pivotal role in the direction of Ngāti Rangiwewehi iwi development.
This attention to the oral sources is a key reason why an oral history methodology has been so appealing in the undertaking of this study. While it may seem self-explanatory to suggest that oral history relies on oral sources, the point is still worthwhile making, as the theory highlights that such reliance goes beyond the recording of the interview, to an aversion of written transcripts. Alessandro Portelli (1998) argues that “the transcription turns aural objects into visual ones, which inevitably implies changes and interpretation” (p. 64). The tone, volume and rhythm of our speech all convey meaning that cannot be easily recorded in the transcript. Similarly, the use of punctuation requires judgments made on grammatical rules that we seldom follow in everyday speech, such additions significantly altering the flow and meaning in the narrative. This point is further emphasized by Raphael Samuel who explains:

> The spoken word can very easily be mutilated when it is taken down in writing and transferred to the printed page…The imposition of grammatical forms, when it is attempted, create its own rhythms and cadences, and they have little in common with those of the human tongue. People do not usually speak in paragraphs, and what they have to say does not usually follow an ordered sequence of comma, semi-colon, and full-stop; yet very often this is the way in which their speech is reproduced (Samuel, 1998, p. 389).

As both Samuel and Portelli note, grammatical impositions can severely restrict the message the speaker has sought to impart. Ensuring that the richness and meaning within the oral source is not lost to the transcript has compelled most oral historians to work primarily from the recording (see also Hutching, 2004; Samuel, 1998).

The importance of this emphasis within the theory and method of oral history is noteworthy within this study, as the privileging of the participants’ voices creates a more active sense of their participation and influence. In light of iwi intentions to create a digital archive, the weight placed on preserving the oral nature of the sources holds added worth. Indexing the recordings, rather than transcribing them, ensures that later researchers and iwi members must rely on the oral recordings rather than the transcripts.9 In this way, the participants are truly given voice, not

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9 Indexing requires that rather than write out the interview ad verbatim the researcher records the general topics of discussion, including mention of names, places, stories etc at regular time intervals throughout the recording. The purpose is to provide an overview of the interview content,
simply throughout this project, but each time their recordings are revisited. Furthermore, encouraging reliance on the oral recordings humanizes the research participants. Listening to their voices as they recall their stories brings the experiences to life in a way that cannot happen in written transcripts.

The amplifying of each participant’s voice has some specific advantages. It immediately illuminates the nuanced realities that exist within collective communities and memories, which in the parameters of this study enables a much richer and fuller explication of our mātauranga, desires and aspirations. Furthermore, it distinguishes Ngāti Rangiwewehi voices from those of the mainstream, and works to support us in developing a greater awareness of our own unique identities as an alternative narrative to that of the homogenous Māori identity. On this issue, Graham Smith (2000) has stressed a tendency to overgeneralize our stories. In accentuating the narratives of other groups, an oral history approach can support us to “sort out what is romanticized and what is real” by providing nuanced accounts that “engage in a genuine critique of where we really are” (p. 212). In a very real way then, oral history projects at whānau, hapū, and iwi level, can serve to provide ways to make clearer those aspects of culture we share, and those aspects that make us distinct. Indeed, the interviews and wānanga recordings that form the core resources of this study illustrate clearly the diversity that exists even within our own relatively small iwi. In this context, oral history is exceptionally useful in supporting Ngāti Rangiwewehi to explore and define our unique iwi and hapū identities.

**Realizing our Rangiwewehitanga**

Despite the influence of theories from beyond Ngāti Rangiwewehi boundaries, at its core this study seeks to maintain an approach that is securely grounded within our ways of seeing and understanding the world. Subsequently, the ways in which this thesis was conceived, researched, and presented has all been shaped and influenced by the needs, aspirations, and beliefs of the iwi. This was secured through the establishment of an iwi supervisory body, which allowed two majors allowing researchers to return to specific times within the recording to find the information or excerpt they are seeking, while ensuring a reliance on the oral source rather than a written one.
The first, from my position as a young female iwi researcher, was the provision of a safety net and sounding board, from which advice could be sought and offered. The second, and more important, was the ensuring of iwi input and direction in grounding the study firmly within a Ngāti Rangiwewehi approach. Thus, the iwi supervisory group oversaw the selection of participants, provided advice on appropriate methodology and tikanga, and vital feedback on the structure and content of draft presentations, and the thesis document itself. This meant that the theory and method used in the thesis could be altered and adapted as needed, by drawing on understandings from within our own tikanga.

The ‘raw material’ of this project then, comes from the life narrative interviews of 18 members of Ngāti Rangiwewehi, including both male and female participants across several generations and across a range of whānau and hapū groups. A list of possible interviewees was provided by the iwi supervisory group and far exceeded the final number of participants. This was due in part to the limitations and practicalities of the study as well as individual’s availability.

Many of the interviewees were aware of the research because of their attendance at iwi meetings. All potential participants were personally approached, provided with an information sheet, and given the opportunity to decline or accept an invitation to participate in the research. Upon acceptance of that invitation, each participant was then contacted again to further discuss when, where, and how their interview would be conducted. Interviewees chose the location to make their recording, which were generally selected for convenience. Often, these meetings occurred in people’s homes, but were also conducted in public parks, places of work, or the marae. Each person was asked to consider the use of their name in the thesis, particularly the option to remain anonymous if they desired. However, the obvious difficulties in ensuring confidentiality within a community as close knit as Rangiwewehi was an issue explained and discussed at some length. Fortunately, all of the participants were content to have their names attached to

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10 For further discussion on the use of iwi supervisory groups, or research or supervisory whanau (See Bishop, 2005; Irwin, 1994).
11 In this sense ‘spiral discourse’ as a means of allowing collaborative input and construction across the study (See Bishop, 2005; 1998) was able to take place regularly through discussions with members of the iwi supervisory group, but was also incorporated at a wider iwi level through the wānanga held in October 2010.
their excerpts, affirming the ownership and personal level of involvement the iwi has exercised in this study.

My original intention in this thesis, as a way of further acknowledging my subjective positioning within the study, was to record the names of participants as they related to me: thus identifying their relationship to me as either an aunty, uncle, nanny or koro. It felt right, and at the time seemed an appropriate way to respectfully address my pākeke, and our whakapapa connections. Indeed, the significance of the word nanny, when referring to nanny Ella for example, is an acknowledgement of her experience, wisdom and the important leadership role she holds within the iwi. However, as we came closer to completion, consultation with the iwi supervisory group, and other whānau members, began to raise concerns for me about this approach. The use of such names positioned everyone in relation to the author, contrary to the desire to encourage ownership amongst the wider iwi. Concerns were also raised around the way that such informal titles might undermine the authority and perceived legitimacy of both the participants and the mātauranga they shared. Consequently, the use of aunty and uncle has been completely removed, and the use of nanny or koro reduced to one or two examples where it was felt the recognition of that person as being a kaumatua was relevant to the discussion.

The decision to conduct their interviews in English or Māori was an issue left to the discretion of the interview participants. While most used Māori words and phrases intermittently throughout their kōrero, the interviews were predominantly in English. Several reasons were noted for this, such as the participants desire that their material be accessible to a wider audience, concerns around the participants own confidence and ability in the reo, and their views about my own ability to communicate competently.

Jeffrey Weeks has observed that “identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others. At its most basic, it gives you a sense of personal location, the stable core to your individuality” (Weeks, 1990, p. 88). This point is important, because while this study recognizes the political necessity in the construction of strategic essentialisations, it is simultaneously concerned with the need to disrupt narrowly homogenous characterizations of who we are. Although, there are key identifiers
or bodies of knowledge that the iwi might wish to regenerate and consolidate, the ways in which these mātauranga might be understood and interpreted by individual iwi members will always vary. The cultural politics that exist within marginal groups are themselves sites of contestation as well as resistance. Indeed, “they have not been created simply as a resistance to the dominant group… [thus] indigenous communities do not always speak with one voice” (Mead, L, 1996, p. 63). For Ngāti Rangiwewehi, our realities are far more complicated than the narrow depictions often associated with Māori identities. Moreover, as Tracey McIntosh has pointed out, “to be Māori is to be part of a collective but heterogeneous identity, one that is enduring but ever in a state of flux” (McIntosh, 2005, p. 39); Being Ngāti Rangiwewehi is no different.

Age and gender, within the literature on Māori identity, are also significant factors that influence the way research is carried out in our communities (Emery, 2008; Powick, 2003; Smith, L. T., 2000). Once more, the role of the iwi supervisory body was significant in this regard. The role of our kaumātua in recommending specific individuals for inclusion within the study helped to alleviate some of these concerns about the selection of participants. In addition to this, the initiation of the study from a need identified by the iwi rather than the researcher, also meant that the participation of iwi members was most often a product of their own willingness to be involved.\(^{12}\) That is not to say that the influence of my age and gender as the researcher was effectively minimalised by these measures alone. In some instances, my youth may have worked as an advantage, particularly for those who were keen to share their knowledge. If I had been older, there may have been issues of seniority or assumptions that I would know certain stories or events. If I was male, I may have received more from male participants, but most likely not as much from female interviewees.

My Grandfathers role within the iwi, and his maintenance of our ahi kā, also had a considerable impact on the way I was received as part of this study. These factors should all be acknowledged, as they shaped and influenced the research, what was said, not said, how it was conveyed, and what was discussed about other people within the iwi. Different circumstances would have generated different

\(^{12}\) For a more in depth discussion concerning issues of initiation within the context of Russell Bishop’s IBRLA model (See Bishop, 2005, p. 112).
information, not better or worse, but simply different, emphasizing the dynamic
and variable nature of Māori and iwi research.

The heavy workloads within the iwi combined with the passing of several key
participants made this study an often difficult personal journey. It was eventually
decided by members of the iwi supervisory body that I would assist in the
facilitation of a wānanga session to advance the thesis. It was viewed as an
opportunity to update the iwi on the findings to date, as well as securing a wider
range of views and perspectives. The wānanga was held in October 2010, after
being postponed several times due to tangihanga and other more pressing iwi hui.
Held over a weekend people attended who had not been interviewed in the first
part of the project. This allowed for wider participation. The additional material
was an important contribution because while canvassing the views of a wider
group within the iwi, it also came nearly two years after the first interviews had
been collected. This was significant as the overall themes and understandings still
resonated with those present at the wānanga. In this way the wānanga discussion
allowed a level of collaboration and clarification, the iwi participating in the
project beyond the boundaries and limitations within individual interviews.13 The
kōrero that flowed allowed the issues to be framed again, against the background
of the political developments within the iwi.

**Toward a Rangiwewehi Curriculum**

The central question of this study examines how a curriculum may prove a useful
tool for revitalising Ngāti Rangiwewehi identity and culture. In order to answer
this question it is first necessary to articulate our understanding of what it means
to be Rangiwewehi. Investigating what makes Ngāti Rangiwewehi unique, and
how this mātauranga has been passed on would further enable an exploration into
how a curriculum might be utilised in transmitting, expanding and developing our
unique mātauranga. Consequently, the research design anticipated that within the
interviews, as participants spoke about their lives and experiences they would also
inevitably discuss the things that contributed to their sense of tribal identity. In
discussing their lives, it was assumed that they would talk about the ways in

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13 For a more indepth discussion on spiral discourse and collaborative storying as occurring within
the context of hui or wānanga (See Bishop, 1996; 2005).
which being Rangiwewehi had influenced and impacted on their experiences. From this foundation it was believed that we would be able to draw out not only the things that contribute to who we are as Ngāti Rangiwewehi, but what we would need to know and learn in order to meet our needs and aspirations.

The interviews and wānanga discussions revealed that not only do we have our own special mātauranga, the pedagogy we employ to convey that learning similarly reflects unique Rangiwewehi understandings. Consequently, the themes of place, people, and survival, woven throughout the remaining chapters of the thesis, are of equal significance to the development of our mātauranga through research. In conjunction with the oral history recordings, the theories and methodologies used in this thesis are interpreted through a Ngāti Rangiwewehi lens. The literal foundations of our whakapapa grounds this work firmly in the people, places and traditions that are vital to our physical, spiritual and intellectual geographies. The adapting and interweaving of both kaupapa Māori and oral history approaches are important to the understanding of this thesis because they lend themselves well to our goals of empowerment and emancipation: ultimately the end goals for any iwi-centric curriculum.
CHAPTER 3

‘Ko Tiheia te maunga
Ko Awahou te awa
Ko Ngāti Rangiwewehi te iwi’

To speak of Rangiwewehitanga is to invoke essential elements that embody our way of life. In this regard there is perhaps no more appropriate phrase than the proverb above, which makes reference to the centrality of our mountain and river in the way we define our identity. While physically grounding our mātauranga within the mana whenua of Ngāti Rangiwewehi, it acknowledges the intellectual space where our knowledge is best understood and interpreted. These sites are particularly relevant when considering the merits of a curriculum as a tool to support cultural regeneration. Indeed, if “the purpose of education is to transmit culture to new generations” (Battiste, 2000, p. 196) then what aspects of our culture do we seek to pass on? This chapter responds to this question, and explores the ways in which we frame, express, and contest our own sense of self. Reflecting one of the central questions of the thesis, this chapter asks what are the things that make Ngāti Rangiwewehi unique? It considers those things that we deem important in the construction of our worldview and identity, the very core elements of our culture that we are determined to transmit to future generations. Most importantly, this chapter then asks: what is this thing that we refer to as Rangiwewehitanga? Indeed, to know this is to know ourselves, and to understand more fully the epistemological foundations, upon which a curriculum might be conceived.

This chapter is divided into four sections that seek to identify some of the key features common across the interviews, as well as those perceptions that stood out as being significantly different. The first section considers the complexities of conceptions of Rangiwewehitanga, and serves as a useful starting point to examine those factors that influence our conceptions of ourselves as Ngāti Rangiwewehi, and the inherent limitations of strategic essentialisations. The remaining sections then follow the three key themes identified in the interviews, place, people and notions of survival. The second section will consider the significance of place within the construction of Ngāti Rangiwewehi identities and
mātauranga. The third section discusses the theme of people, introducing prominent personalities within Ngāti Rangiwewehi and the ways in which they shaped and influenced our understandings of who and what we are today, and who we might want to be in the future. The final section draws on the theme of Rangiwewehi as survivors, a theme that was evident throughout the interviews. The section examines the identity of the collective and the dynamic interplay between the identities of Ngāti Rangiwewehi as individuals and as a community. While this is a consideration of our identity as Ngāti Rangiwewehi, these features necessarily include our mātauranga, our kōrero tuku iho, and our epistemological frameworks. In conclusion the chapter will summarise some of the key features inherent in who and what we are as Ngāti Rangiwewehi, identifying “the great issues, principles and values” that we deem worthy of our concern and around which we may choose to build our curriculum (Bruner, 1960, p. 52).

**Conceptions of Rangiwewehitanga**

The process of constructing, affirming and asserting an identity is an inherently political act. “Identity is about belonging” (Weeks, 1990, p. 88) and is the ground upon which we lay certain claims, expect certain rights and engage various responsibilities. Tracey McIntosh (2001) has argued “identifying as Māori”, or even as Ngāti Rangiwewehi, “does not mean that one is absorbed into an undifferentiated ethnic mass” (p. 142). Being Ngāti Rangiwewehi does not mean we all conceive of who we are in exactly the same way. How we imagine our individual identities as Rangiwewehi may also vary from the way in which we imagine our collective identity. The contextual and multi-layered nature of meaning making that takes place in identity construction involves much shifting and changing in relation to circumstances and environment, making the articulation of an identity an exceedingly difficult task, as Kahuarikirangi Hancock (Kahuariki) concedes “one of the key themes that jumps out when you ask what is it to be Rangiwewehi and its about I guess where do you start, because I guess it’s about something you know in your heart and so just to crystallise it into words is quite difficult you know, or to separate it to one thing” (Kahuariki Hancock, Wānanga recording, WS117006).
While we may believe our identity is firm, real and definable at one level, within another context, and with another set of considerations that once palpable entity becomes ethereal (Liu, McCreanor, McIntosh & Teaiwa, 2005). In the interviews, most of the iwi tended to focus on their personal identities as Rangiwewehi. However, within the iwi wānanga as discussion arose around tribal membership, individuals began to acknowledge more explicitly the other lines of descent outside of Rangiwewehi that have influenced and shaped them:

Everybody has their different kōrero and ways of defining themselves as Rangiwewehi. Myself, you know Rangiwewehi and Awahou was my birth place. It’s where I grew up, but the other side of that was my father. So I can’t, I wouldn’t, for anybody, separate my father from this just to be Rangiwewehi. I will always put my father beside me because that’s the other part of me. It comes back to upholding tikanga. Rangiwewehi the place where I was born and bred, and as long as I’m here it will stay, it’s the only place. If I was to go out of here then I would take my mother and my father with me (Rongo Flavell, Wānanga recording, WS117006).

Here, Rongo Flavell affirms the importance of place, and Awahou in particular, as a central part of his identity as Ngāti Rangiwewehi. However, he also acknowledges his whakapapa lines through his father, with whom he shares affiliations to Ngāpuhi. Similarly, the majority of those present at the wānanga also identified themselves primarily as Ngāti Rangiwewehi, yet this was in no way a denial of their other descent lines. Most often, these decisions reflected more an acknowledgement of where they had spent the majority of their time, and as a result, for most, engendered a much stronger sense of allegiance to Awahou, as Henare Mohi explains:

I was born in Te Puke and we came back here... [to Awahou] we thought that our father was selfish in such a way that he was more Rangiwewehi than anything else, even though he had other tribes outside of this area. He never took us back to our mum’s side, or any of his other sides. It was always back here to Rangiwewehi and that’s where I feel, that’s where you get that bond coming into it... e tika ana to kōrero, you can’t separate, everything’s got to be in together you know as one, as one people (Henare Mohi, Wānanga recording, WS117006).

Each whānau have their own histories that explain the reasons why they have either maintained connections to Ngāti Rangiwewehi or chosen to associate more closely with other descent lines. This is an important point because being Ngāti Rangiwewehi is not a simplistic assertion of identity. Indeed, because the nature
of whakapapa is inherently inclusive of those genealogical threads that ties us to other hapu and iwi; it is far too limiting to think about ourselves in an overly narrow or exclusionary way. Hohua Mohi makes a useful observation in this regard: “Ko wōku whakaaro i ngā rā o mua, ko tō te iwi mahi he whakarahi i a ia... we work in an almost symbiotic way. Ours is a very inclusive iwi... We’re like a wheke, kia torotoroa atu ōna ringa, ko tōna mahi he kohikohi mai i ngā tāngata” (Hohua Mohi, Wānanga recording, WS117004).14 This comment alludes to traditional practices, where iwi sought to embrace their many connections, developing and acknowledging the various whakapapa ties, and the political, social and economic allegiances that came with them. The suggestion is that Ngāti Rangiwehehi continues to behave in this way today, like an octopus with tentacles outstretched to gather in those who we claim to belong to us. While the ways in which individuals choose to identify as Rangiwehehi are clearly diverse and varied, our tikanga, our mātauranga and our Rangiwehehitanga provide a way to make space for all.

In defining our own identity as an iwi, it is important that we remain conscious of the limitations inherent in any essentialist constructions pertaining to our Rangiwehehitanga. However, the strategic necessity of identifying some base values and cultural markers is vital if we are to protect ourselves from the often subtle, yet ‘popularist’, identities that threaten to subsume us. Indeed, we are in a time now where our culture is changing, where it is regularly defined for us but not by us, where being a New Zealander, and even a Māori, has very real consequences for our tribal autonomy. Subsequently, adaption and inclusivity is important, but for Ngāti Rangiwehehi, a more considered approach to what we are doing, why we are doing it, and how, is imperative to ensuring the core elements of who we are remain intact. These aspirations are encapsulated in Tauri Morgan’s observation:

I just hope that in a hundred years whakapapa, tikanga, and kawa, still stand tall and are the benchmarks that they will use, because modern society waters down everything... but these are the things we’ve got to look out for. The better we understand it now, and define it, and

14 One possible interpretation of this is: “In my view in the olden days the iwi would try and boost or increase its numbers ...we work in an almost symbiotic way. Ours is a very inclusive iwi... we’re like an Octopus, extending its tentacles to gather the people in”.

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clarify it, it’ll live forever (Tauri Morgan, Wānanga recording, WS117004).

As Tauri explains, our hope is that by encouraging discussion and clarification around our Rangiwewehitanga now, we will be able to provide a strong foundation for our tamariki and mokopuna in the future.

At the October wānanga, Te Ururoa Flavell explained that the ideas around tōku Rangiwewehitanga had started some time ago in the early 80’s, when as an iwi we began to ask some questions around our tikanga. Wānanga were held, and the information we had as an iwi at the time were collected and written up in Te Ururoa’s Masters thesis ‘Nā Tarimano i whakaari... Ko Rangiwewehi te iwi’ (1986).

The philosophy behind tōku Rangiwewehitanga was about us identifying what makes us unique, so that we know what we need to do when we’re here, for us. What’s right for us may not be right for anyone else, but its right for us because those are the things, the values, the practices, that those around our tupuna whare left or what we should be doing. That for me is what tōku Rangiwewehitanga is all about (Te Ururoa Flavell, Wānanga recording, WS117002).

In this sense then tōku Rangiwewehitanga is about our tikanga and the way in which our tikanga and kawa are enacted in the lives and activities of Ngāti Rangiwewehi and more specifically on our marae. However, from the interviews and wānanga discussion it became clear that the term Rangiwewehitanga was being used to refer to much more than simply tikanga. It is a way of encapsulating all those experiences and understandings that make Rangiwewehi unique as kuia Ella Bidois, explains:

Tōku Rangiwewehitanga means such a lot, it’s a big thing. I could start from when we were kids, always told never go near the cemetery and eat the cherries from the cherry tree because you might fall off the cliff. Never mind about the cherries, you might hurt yourself. Did we listen? No. We went and did all those things that we weren’t supposed to do, and when I look at it now, and those times and I think gee you know how did we survive? Kids today are involved in drugs and you know we never had that. We used to light campfires or singing, you know swimming in the river and that (Ella Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003).

In reciting what Rangiwewehitanga means to them, our people spoke about swimming and washing clothes in the river, collecting the watercress, kākahi and kōura, and spearing the trout. Many spoke about their lives and routines, the
activities and affairs of the people, playing marbles or ‘two up’ down at the pā, the fundraising for the new wharekai, and the preparations and formation of a haka group for the opening of Te Aongāhoro, of singing for their supper, and fishing in places they weren’t supposed to go, but never telling the old people. The stories they share deal with much more than the tikanga and kawa of the marae, they speak to a way of life, and the values and mātauranga that support that way of being: “Tōku Rangiwewehitanga means just that, that’s who I am and all the things that I’ve grown up with” (Ella Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003).

Although the things that kuia like Ella grew up with, may be different from what other Rangiwewehi have grown up with, there seems to be a general acceptance of a wide range of experiences and understandings as being equally valid and legitimate. One example of this is the identification with the various hapū of Ngāti Rangiwewehi. Like many other iwi, our people are also the product of a large number of hapū groupings, from which seven remain in common use today: these are Ngāti Ngata; Ngāti Kereru; Ngāti Whakaokorau; Ngāti Whakakeu; Ngāti Te Pūrei; Ngāti Rehu; and Ngāti Tawhaki (Bidois et al., 2009, p. 16). While there are many Rangiwewehi who associate strongly with these hapū, we also have more modern derivatives like ‘Ngāti Hākopa’, an unofficial hapū but perhaps one of the largest families within the iwi. There are those who classify Rangiwewehi as their hapū and Te Arawa as their iwi and those again who identify primarily with Rangiwewehi despite the various alternatives they could choose from.

We’ve always grown up knowing that we are Ngāti Rangiwewehi. We’ve always know that we are part and parcel of the different hapū that make up Ngāti Rangiwewehi as a collective but we’ve always been told we’re Ngāti Rangiwewehi and we’ve been happy. Why have we been happy? Because we can always walk into this tupuna whare and never get kicked out, and feel at home (Anthony Bidois (Toro), Wānanga recording, WS117003).

Notwithstanding the many possible ways of seeing ourselves as Ngāti Rangiwewehi, the point of this chapter is not to champion any one of those identities as being more valid than the others. As Toro Bidois makes clear in the excerpt above, we are all Rangiwewehi and are all welcome within our tupuna whare, Tawakeheiroa. That is part of what we do as Rangiwewehi. It is an acceptance, and in this particular context, a recognition of these identities as being
complementary or at least not mutually exclusive. There is no need to pick one or the other. Indeed, how can you be Te Pūrei or Ngāti Hākopa without being Ngāti Rangiwewehi at the same time? In any case as Te Ururoa pointed out in his interview, the concept of Rangiwewehitanga itself is as flexible and adaptable as we choose to make it: “Is Rangiwewehitanga, and how we go about Rangiwewhitanga something that is stuck in rock? Probably not. It’s influenced by all sorts of things, the context, the time, the place, the people” (Te Ururoa Flavell, 8 August 2008, 17.55). Ultimately the power to define and change who and what we are as Ngāti Rangiwewehi remains with us, thus, as Anaru Bidois reminds us, “we have the ability to determine our own destiny” (Anaru Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117006).

### Rangiwewehi as Place

Whether in simply cleansing ourselves in the river, replenishing our wairua at the puna, or singing about our mountain and marae in waiata, these particular places of significance all influenced the shaping and moulding of our conceptions of what it means to be Ngāti Rangiwewehi. Russell Bishop (2005) has noted the ways in which language records and communicates fundamental relationships between people and the land:

> Our mountain, our river, our island are us. We are part of them, and they are part of us. We know this in a bodily way, more than in a recitation of names. More than in the actual linking of names, we know it because we are related by blood and body. We are of the same bones (iwi) and of the same people (iwi). We are from the same pregnancies (hapu) and of the same sub-tribe (hapu). We are of the same family (whānau), the family into which we were born (whānau). We were nurtured by the same land (whenua), by the same placenta (whenua). In this way the language reminds us that we are part of each other (Bishop, 2005, p. 119).

The mātauranga that connects us to these physical locations provides the means by which every Ngāti Rangiwewehi person can nurture their own tribal awareness. Such knowledge and understandings literally grounds our sense of identity and being within the mana whenua o Ngāti Rangiwewehi. Despite the significant land loss Ngāti Rangiwewehi has endured as the result of various colonial injustices, the retention of our tūrangawaewae is an important point to consider in terms of our Rangiwewehitanga. This admonition of home as a site of
nourishment is highlighted by Kahuariki in the wānanga discussion. She asserts that “Rangiwewehi has a papa kāinga, so we have a place of belonging or a home” (Kahuariki Hancock, Wānanga recording, WS117003).

The centrality of Tarimano and Awahou as our home, and as the basis for understanding who we are as Rangiwewehi, was emphasised in every interview. Often they appeared in various waiata, proverbs, and stories, which Te Ururoa noted is crucial to the energising of our personal sense of self: “your waiata, carrying your stories, your kōrero, your history. Those waiata keep us alive” (Te Ururoa Flavell, Wānanga recording, WS117002). Many interview participants specifically mentioned our waiata as vehicles for both expressing and retaining our Rangiwewehitanga. On the topic of te reo Māori and iwi revitalisation, Huia Hāhunga recounts how “E kimi noa ana was composed partly because many of us did not know how to speak the reo. The only thing we knew was ‘Kāore te aroha’ and because we were so hungry for our Rangiwewehitanga that was our first into our tūturu Rangiwewehi wāhi” (Huia Hāhunga, 5 May 2008, 1.32.12). Expanding on Huia’s comments, Dulcie Hukere Mohi (Hukere) noted that “E kimi noa ana talks about the important places in Rangiwewehi from the time of Orangikahui, the first urupā...everything she names has a significance to Rangiwewehi and makes us who we are” (Hukere Mohi (2), 14 August 2008, 0.30).

More than just nice places to visit, our tribal sites of significance have a rich history that has, and continues to, nurture and accentuate our identities. In many ways they are cultural and spiritual anchors, important for those raised at home, but especially critical for those who have drifted to other surroundings. This was illustrated well by Katarina Pihera (Kata), who recalls how “not having much Māori culture around growing up, knowing that was my marae was the one thing I had. Going to uni, not knowing much about whakapapa and the reo I always knew that was my marae and that was the foundation for my development as a Māori person” (Kata Pihera, 7 May 2008, 28.53). As the primary physical location of Ngāti Rangiwewehi, and the most obvious place to experience and be exposed to our tikanga and kawa in practice, the marae was mentioned by every interview participant as the home of our Rangiwewehitanga. For example, when asked about what he felt someone would need to learn or know to strengthen their
Rangiwewehitanga, Eruera Nikora responded “You have to live it, and when I say live it on the marae aye” (Eruera Nikora, 6 May 2008, 1.06.46).

Participating on the marae was a sentiment echoed throughout the interviews, particularly for its function in helping individuals to understand their identity as Rangiwewehi. Anaru shared one illustration of how attending wānanga helped him to access that mātauranga:

It was at those hui that the penny started to drop, Tarimano, how it got that name, the pou were no longer just pou but people, and they had whakapapa links to me, or to my wife. These weren’t just things that were there, but became alive, and are interwoven with what it means to be Rangiwewehi (Anaru Bidois, 20 April 2008, 49.11).

Such experiences highlight the significance of our personal associations with these places and the ways in which accessing certain mātauranga can change your feeling of connection to a place. Ailsa Smith (2004) has made similar observations in her work relating to Māori conceptions of place within her iwi of Taranaki: “The rush of thoughts prompted by turning your attention to intergenerational links with a place, and to ancestral deeds is overwhelming” (p. 14). As we visit the sites where historical battles took place, where our tūpuna once lived and walked, we gain a different perspective of our belonging here. Ideas such as ‘ownership’ or ‘individual title’ are inadequate to sever the spiritual and historical ties we feel to our lands, to our awa and our puna. This view resonates well with the beliefs expressed in this excerpt from Anaru:

Tōku Rangiwewehitanga because it’s still alive and I mentioned it the other day you can take my lands, you can bust my language but you can’t take away the intrinsic being of what I am and I offer it to us, what is the thing that unites us all and seems to be the common denominator that gives us pride in being Rangiwewehi. To me it’s out there flowing, it’s the awa; it’s our home base of the Awahou settlement. No matter where we go that’s what’s keeping us strong (Anaru Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117006).

The significance of Awahou, both the river and the settlement, in the life of Ngāti Rangiwewehi cannot be overstated. It is simply impossible to conceive of a Rangiwewehi without an Awahou. This concept is articulated well in the whakatauākī ‘Ko Te Awahou mātou, ko mātou ko Te Awahou’. In a very literal sense the river, the village and the iwi are one and the same. Such sentiments were echoed in every interview: Sometimes through stories about the river and peoples
experiences with it, like the positioning of the washing boards and the workings of the kūmara vine\textsuperscript{15} as the ladies did their washing; sometimes through explanations of the layout of the village, where all the homes were, who had lived there, and comparisons to how things have changed over the years; and other times in statements which though seemingly simple state profoundly the importance of these places to who we are and how we define our Rangiwewehitanga.

Zorah Ngāhuia Bidois’s (Ngāhuia Bidois, 24 April 2008, 38.00), and Meihana Tuhakaraina’s statement that “the river was our survival kit” (Meihana Tuhakaraina, 22 April 2008, 14.09) are succinct summations of the fundamental relationship Ngāti Rangiwewehi have with our papa kāinga. In reference to the river, Rikihana Hancock noted how it is a vital part of any educational initiative that might be applied to our people:

Water used to be water, and Awahou was the coldest water I’d ever come across in my life. Unless you go to Awahou you don’t realise what an important part of Rangiwewehi is about the river. You can’t learn about Rangiwewehi without learning about the river. For me now, I see the river as the mauri of Ngāti Rangiwewehi. I also see it as the lifeblood of our veins. If we’ve got no river we’ve got no life. In terms of education the river has to be for Ngāti Rangiwewehi an important part of it. Actually both, Kaikaitahuna as well, but we still have that connection to te wai mimi o Pekehāua (Rikihana Hancock, 24 April 2008, 3.56).

The mention of Kaikaitahuna here, another of our significant waterways, draws attention to the wider sites of significance within our territories that have been alienated by unscrupulous land dealings with both governing officials and other Pākehā peoples. The pain that is still felt because of this history has left both physical and spiritual wounds. Indeed, as well as suffering from a loss of food resources, rongoā, weaving and other mahi toi related to these sites, by far the greatest injury is felt in terms of the spiritual sustenance that has been suppressed by the machinations of Pākehā occupation and control. Many people spoke of the practice of visiting Te Awahou before extended trips away to ensure spiritual protection and cleansing in its healing waters, and that even on the other side of the world, as Huia notes here, reminders of our water renewed that connection to home: “Been to the Mediterranean, have piupiu, will travel. The blue of the water reminded me of home. I took awa water in little bottles with me and I left one

\textsuperscript{15} The kūmara vine is a Māori cultural equivalent to the colloquial phrase the grapevine.
there and filled another one up with water from the Mediterranean” (Huia Hāhunga, 5 May 2008, 1.9.32).

Our identification with key places has been so intricately woven into our sense of who we are that they cannot be separated. One example is provided here by Huia, who affirms, “Ko te ngao, that’s the river for me... It’s my heart, my home, my awa, and with the awa comes all the other lovely things” (Huia Hāhunga, 5 May 2008, 1.04.31). As she and many others have stressed, any curriculum based around our Rangiwewehitanga would need to put considerable prominence on this sense of place and those places that contribute to our sense of identity.

**Rangiwewehi as People**

Understanding the ways in which our places intertwine perceptions of community and self is an important first step in reading the designs that make up the rich tapestry of Ngāti Rangiwewehi identity. However, one of the key threads woven throughout this pattern is the people, whose stories, lives, and contributions to the iwi, are part of the rich fabric of our iwi. This might seem an obvious observation, but for a people whose entire world is stitched together through whakapapa, the familial and tribal relationships that we share are crucial to the process of identity making. Indeed, in Awahou, there have always been individuals who are instantly associated with home. These personalities have, over many generations, shaped our tribal identities, and in the process have provided multiple archetypes that reflect a highly nuanced sense of who we are as men, women, children, whānau and hapū groupings.

These people were spoken about, remembered, and celebrated in every interview undertaken for this study, and in the process fulfilled one of the original intentions of the project: to record as many of our stories and kōrero as possible. The collecting of these stories is not a new initiative, but started many years ago with Te Ururoa’s thesis, as he explains:

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Ka hinga te tangata, ka kapohia e te ringa o Aitua, ā, ka ngaro. Ehara i te mea ko te mauri o te tangata anake te mea e ngaro nei, engari, ko ōna mātauranga katoa hoki. Nā, matemate noa atu ngā koroua me ngā kuia e mōhio tūturu ana ki ngā kōrero hohonu tuku iho ā Ngāti Rangiwewehi. Nō reira, ko tuku mahi, he kohi i ēnei kōrero, i mua i te
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Given the small number of kaumātua and kuia remaining, any opportunity to gather their kōrero and mātauranga was viewed as an important undertaking for the benefit of those still to come. However, this ambitious goal was not without its own set of difficulties. Indeed, the sheer volume of stories gathered in the interviews here are simply too vast to present within the confines of this thesis. In order to appropriately represent those people and stories, discussions have already begun within the iwi regarding the publication of a book or a mixed media resource that will compile and collate the kōrero found here. This extensive data emphatically highlights the importance of people in the way we talk about our tribal identity, and stands as a reminder that there is no Rangiwewehitanga without our tūpuna, kaumātua, mokopuna, and immediate and extended whānau with whom we share everything that is us.

The significance of these genealogical connections was addressed in the wānanga by Harata Hāhunga, who explained that for her the theme of Rangiwewehi as people “relates to whanaungatanga and whakapapa. There are lines of descent that tie us to this place. They also link us into the Te Arawa confederation and other iwi that we may have relationships with” (Harata Hāhunga, Wānanga recording, WS117003). Harata’s reference to whanaungatanga and whakapapa are important, because they enable the connection where mātauranga might be more appropriately passed from one person, family, and generation to others. The importance of this thread in terms of our Rangiwewehitanga is well articulated by Meihana, who explained that the most important thing for his mokopuna was to “know their whakapapa, [it] tells them who they are, where they’re from, and everything else fits into that” (Meihana Tuhakaraina, 22 April 2008, 41.38). In this sense whakapapa is like a jigsaw, fitting our individual lines into the picture of our collective identity as Rangiwewehi, which itself fits into and connects within larger and more intricate puzzles detailing other levels of our identity, such as our place within the broader Te Arawa confederacy.

A possible translation of this could be: “When someone passes, we are affected it is a great tragedy because they are now lost to us. The essence of that person is not the only thing that is lost, but the total understandings, all their knowledge and experience is also lost. Many of those koroua and kuia that are conversant in traditional Rangiwewehi ancestral narratives have passed away. Therefore, what I was doing was gathering these discourses before all of these koroua pass on, and it’s lost forever.”
The genealogical connections between Rangiwewehi and Te Arawa are well
versed in our oral tradition, and our position within that whakapapa is cemented
and affirmed in various ways. One way it is entrenched is in the honoured position
that Tarimano holds as the first papa kōhatu o Te Arawa. “Everything started from
here. Tarimano was the first ever papa, or as they say in Te Arawa, it was called
Te papa tapu o Te Arawa, it was the first one” (Henare Mohi, Wānanga recording,
WS117006). Many of the interview participants spoke about this important
relationship between Tarimano and the rest of Te Arawa, but acknowledged our
position as being distinct.

Kahuariki and Rikihana recalled how my Koro, Sam Hāhunga used a Te Arawa
fisheries meeting as a context to make an important point about our
Rangiwewehitanga. Kahuariki explains that within the meeting he made the point
that “Te Arawa was a waka not an iwi. Ngāti Ohomairangi was the iwi, and he
talked about that a bit and said that Ngāti Rangiwewehi determine themselves to
be an iwi, asserting our Rangiwewehitanga within the wider Te Arawa context”
(Kahuariki Hancock, 24 April 2008, 43.37). The implication of such an assertion
was explained by Rikihana, “Koro was very clear that Rangiwewehi have the
right to make decisions for themselves and the river in 2008 going into
environment court is an extension of that, us saying we have mana whenua. We
are the iwi, we have a say in this. It’s about our Rangiwewehitanga, being clear
about what that means for you and putting something in place to protect it for
your tamariki” (Rikihana Hancock, 24 April 2008, 43.37). In the way that we see
and understand the world, the positioning and connection of Ngāti Rangiwewehi
within the wider Te Arawa confederation of tribes does not displace the
responsibilities we have as kaitiaki of our whenua and awa, nor does it override
the obligations we have to our own people. Moreover, the right of Ngāti
Rangiwewehi to make decisions on our own, and in relation to our tikanga, has
extended to the selection of those who we chose to accept and consider
as Rangiwewehi. The position of those with whakapapa is stated plainly by Ella
Bidois: “If you’re Rangiwewehi… it doesn’t matter where you live. You live in
England or wherever, you can still claim you are Rangiwewehi. They’ve got just
as much right as us living here…so long as you got that blood in you” (Ella
Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003). The most prominent and effective way
to claim an identity as Rangiwewehi was then through whakapapa. The second way was acknowledged as being through the whenua, as was often the case with whāngai, where the gifting of land gave you the same rights as those with whakapapa claims. However, the ambiguous positioning of those who have married into Ngāti Rangiwewehi is a much more complicated issue, as Anaru reminds us:

For my generation, perhaps a half a generation above me and the half below, if a person was to ask them to describe a Ngāti Rangiwewehi person I think ninety nine percent of us would have described this woman and if you look at her whakapapa you would have found that she was from Ngāi Tahu (Anaru Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117004).

The specific kuia that Anaru spoke of was Sadie Morgan, a stalwart of Ngāti Rangiwewehi who spent many years working in our wharekai, and whose commitment and service is widely acknowledged throughout the iwi. Her story, among many others, was recited each time this issue arose. The lived reality and experiences of people like Sadie help to illustrate the sophisticated nature of the way our identity is often contested and re-considered, and challenges straightforward arguments that might exclude those who do not have explicit whakapapa connections. Indeed, having lived with our aunties, uncles, nannies and koroua it is difficult to view them as being any less Rangiwewehi than the rest of us. This sentiment is powerfully echoed by Ella, who reminds us that “They’ve done so much for our people. They’re amongst us. They’ve made us what we are… they have a whakapapa elsewhere but we regard them as ours, matapiko nō mātou, we regard them as ours” (Ella Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117004). Despite these assertions, others were far more circumspect when considering the possible implications to our mana whakapapa:

It’s not to negate the real impact that non-Rangiwewehi who come into Rangiwewehi can make because we’ve all got really good examples of that but to me it also never negates the fact that their whakapapa is different. It doesn’t mean the whakapapa is worth less, it’s just different. It’s not Rangiwewehi (Harata Hāhunga, Wānanga recording, WS117004).

Harata’s position here takes stock of the need to protect our identity from those who might take advantage of an overly flexible interpretation of belonging. Her concerns are common issues that many other Māori have necessarily considered
in the past two decades. Indeed, one of the difficulties that many iwi face, is the fact that our worldviews are being forced to deal with, and fit into, foreign systems which are alien to our own. For example, Crown and tribal claims and negotiations have produced a situation where iwi must not only prove they have legitimate grievances, but must provide definitions and criteria that define who they are, and who is excluded from their settlement process. This then requires iwi to think carefully about not only who has the mandate to represent them, but to devise specific formulas that define who is an iwi member and who is not. In response to these issues, our people tended to rebuke the divisive and exclusionary aspects of identity making:

I think division only starts coming into the picture when we talk about registration and voting. When you’re amongst your own whānau, and hapu and iwi and even down at the marae, that for me, that sort of kōrero don’t even come into the picture as far as being Rangiwewehi, as far as I’m concerned (Phillipa Moore, Wānanga recording, WS117004).

In truth, as Phillipa Moore argues here, the politics of registration and eligibility for voting rights has had little obvious impact on the day to day running of the marae or the iwi. Those who play the various roles and fulfil the jobs on the marae continue to do so, irrelevant of their ties either through whakapapa or marriage. However, the criteria determining who might count as Rangiwewehi, is still constrained, in some contexts, by Pākehā legal frameworks. As such the current official position can be summarised as follows:

Whakapapa is direct. It’s certain. Everybody has a whakapapa and if you marry into another hapū, or if you marry into this hapū, you’ve got the right of your whakapapa. You don’t discard your whakapapa. You hold onto it. But you’re also invited to participate in the activities of Ngāti Rangiwewehi as a Ngāti Rangiwewehi person but do you get voting rights, no. That’s the bottom line (Toro Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117004).

The issue of our identity, although tightly defined here, is still a matter of some debate. In reflecting on the comments above, Gina Mohi pointed out a “need to be clear that the boundaries of the discussion that occurred was around the registration and database, nothing to do with tikanga” (Gina Mohi, Wānanga recording, WS117004). While we continue to grapple with the tensions that exist when navigating our way between two epistemological frameworks, it remains clear that amongst ourselves, we hold the power to set our own definitions, to
reframe our systems, and to more comfortably accommodate our new and changing understandings. Subsequently, “if there was a kōrero that Rangiwewehi said how do we define us, whether it’s by whakapapa or by being married in, that is a decision that Rangiwewehi has made” (Anaru Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117004).

These unashamedly flexible attitudes reflect the reputation Ngāti Rangiwewehi has as a somewhat peculiar people. On this aspect of our identity Harata notes, “I like the reputation we have as a group of people who do things differently and even historically we had that hard case sort of personality, that rebel in us. We’re not afraid to stand up and do things differently if it suits Rangiwewehi” (Harata Hāhunga, Wānanga recording, WS117003). What some might regard as indecisive, we celebrate as a display of our autonomy and industriousness. As a result, we have sometime been described as almost schizophrenic, with half of the iwi, for example, expressing fervent opposition to Te Kooti and his forces, while the remainder of our people then building Te Kooti a whare at Awahou. These divisions within the iwi seem at odds with comments made in the interviews about our unity, as demonstrated by this comment from Hukarere Mohi when asked what it is that makes us Rangiwewehi:

There’s a lot of things. It’s a type of whanaungatanga that you’ll only find here. It’s knowing that wherever you go you’re never alone, you’ll always have your iwi with you. It’s a warmness that makes you feel like you’re proud to be Rangiwewehi (Hukarere Mohi, 14 August 2008, 20.19).

Although the majority of the interviewees referred to our unity as a contributing factor in who and what we are as Rangiwewehi, others cited the deep divisions that existed in former times and the ramifications those events have had on our iwi today. Gina, for instance, opined that “when you’re talking about the social fabric of Rangiwewehi [it] is quite tightly woven due to some decisions that were made a long time before many of us showed up, to bring the hapū together and all come under the mantle of Ngāti Rangiwewehi” (Gina Mohi, Wānanga recording, WS117003). Despite the acknowledgement of past tensions, the unification of our people has been a story now cemented in modern Rangiwewehi collective memory. This narrative is centred on the building of a new tupuna whare in the early 1940’s, which emerged from a desire to resolve earlier rifts and divisions. Its
name, Tawakeheimoa was significant, because as the father of our eponymous ancestor Rangiwewehi, all of the whakapapa lines, hapū and whānau, could be traced back to him. Toro Bidois recounts that “when this house was built all those hapū came together and they said we will come together under one mantle. We will build a tupuna whare called Tawakeheimoa and that will be our tūrangawaewae. All those hapū agreed to come back under the umbrella of Rangiwewehi” (Toro Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003). Thus, the building of Tawakeheimoa was a conscious political act, which over time has become the centre of our tribal home land, a place connected to us through people, and an explicit whakapapa that weaves Ngāti Rangiwewehi together as one.

**Rangiwewehi as Survivors**

That is not to say that Rangiwewehi have from that time forth remained consistently united on all fronts. The theme of Rangiwewehi as survivors in this regard is important because ultimately as individuals, and as an iwi, we have demonstrated that we are capable of great things if given the appropriate motivation. Our determination to survive, as Harata Ĥāhunga reminds us, often sets us apart as an unusual and sometimes ‘hard case people’:

> When I look at the way we do things we’re a hard case people. We argue and fight, we go away, we come back and argue and fight some more but eventually we work through and get to the place we want to go. Sometimes it takes a lot longer than we expect but in that sense I think we’re quite an innovative people. We have foresight and vision to see what’s coming and I think that we do learn from what’s happened in our past (Harata Ĥāhunga, Wānanga recording, WS117003).

Stories that recount the innovative exploits of our forebears to this day remain classic family and tribal narratives. One of the more humorous accounts recalls how our koroua would undertake mischievous fishing trips despite warnings from their elders to keep away from specific prohibited sites. These seemingly defiant expeditions were in many cases also acts of survival that accentuated distinctive characteristics we still associate with being Rangiwewehi:

> Uncle Simon and Hik, going to get some tuna. Papa Hunuhunu and Nanny Ripeka would tell them don’t you go to Hauraki you go anywhere else but there. But they realised that the best kai would be there so they would collect some from somewhere else and chuck the big ones from Hauraki in amongst the smaller ones so that the old
people wouldn’t realise they’d been fishing at Hauraki (Kahuariki Hancock, 24 April 2008, 25.29)

These stories illustrate the reality of the times, emphasising at once a mischievous side to our pākeke, but more so their courage, industriousness, and will to survive in an era where poverty and hunger were very real parts of the worlds they experienced. Survival, as a theme in the conceptualisation of our identity celebrated their decisions to bend the rules to meet the needs of their families. Recurrent in these narratives regarding Rangiwewehi ways of being is the self determination to embrace difference when necessary, to adapt tikanga when required, and to take ownership of our kawa and practices when our survival is at stake.

The tales our old people tell of their life at Awahou have so many layers of meaning and relevance within a study such as this. Within this chapter they illustrate our connections to our whenua and to one another, but they also demonstrate many of the characteristics, values and skills that were cultivated within the iwi as a result of the circumstances and environments they lived in. Micheal John Bidois (Tommy) summarised this well:

What does Awahou do for me? It gave me something to really strive for. We had so much going for us down there. We went shooting birds, even with shangai. It was a competition, and we never wasted them. We lit a fire and cooked them. Running, wanted to be the best, marbles, whatever, you had to be competitive to survive, and that was what Awahou was all about, making you competitive (Tommy Bidois, 5 May 2008, 4.20).

Many of the interview participants talked about the games and competitions that were held unofficially amongst the children. Who could hold their breath the longest, dive the deepest, and who was the best at fishing and hunting: all past-times that not only occupied time, but provided each with various skills that were necessary to survive. Often teams were chosen and titles such as ‘townies’, ‘pā kids’, ‘pine tree kids’ or ‘the central road lot’ indicated more than simply where you lived, alluding back perhaps to those old divisions and the peculiar feature of Rangiwewehi as an iwi divided, yet united, a point discussed at the October wānanga:

You know that fifty fifty split, its true what everybody says. We’ll never agree, and the first time I used to watch Uncle Sam and how he used to, and I will say manipulated but in a positive sense, but it’s sort
of like massaging aye, and that’s why I’m quite comfortable saying
that when Rangiwewehi gives its word, Rangiwewehi sticks with its
word, because it’s not very often, it’s very rare that Rangiwewehi will
overturn a decision made that’s come out of this house because you
can have the debate and you can have the discussion (Te Rangikāheke
Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003).

The transparency, and certainty, of the decision-making process remains a key
feature in the way our iwi conducts business, even when it has to overcome
multiple divisions to achieve our goals. In more recent times, survival has then
taken on new meanings, with the advent of our settlement process requiring more
and more hui to ‘massage’ out the differences. Indeed the frequency of our iwi
meetings was commented upon by several interview participants, such as Rauroha
Clarke, who asked:

What are the things that make Rangiwewehi different from everyone
else? We hui a lot. We meet a lot to generate discussion, to keep in
touch. We have an awa we find we need to fight for to keep alive. We
have wāhi tapu that we need to fight to keep alive (Rauroha Clarke, 5

Our determination to fight for those things of importance has given us a reputation
as being a far more formidable political foe than our small demographic might
suggest. Indeed, as Ngāhuia observes, I “didn’t ever believe that a little marae
could be so involved in so, much politics” (Ngāhuia Bidois, 24 April 2008,
13.41). Struggling to ensure that our aspirations are realised is, as Rauroha notes,
an important aspect of our fight to survive:

Being Rangiwewehi is not about being separatist – there goes that
bloody iwi again – what they don’t realise is that we’ve found it
important to keep ourselves together because at the end of the day
when all else is happening who is going to look after Ngāti
Rangiwewehi, Ngāti Rangiwewehi. We can’t help it if other marae
don’t see it as important to look after their whenua the way we do
(Rauroha Clarke, 5 May 2008, 53.36).

Rauroha’s statement here is a very powerful affirmation of our
Rangiwewehitanga, and as Toro adds, are “how Ngāti Rangiwewehi do things on
their marae and the reason why they do these things” (Toro Bidois, Wānanga
recording, WS117006). In determining our own pathways, “it’s not”, as Toro
argues, “for us to go out and tell everyone else this is how you do things, what
you do in your house is your business, when you come to our house you will do
things the way we set it out” (Toro Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117006).
Ngāti Rangiwehitolanga then, as our people have described it, is constantly concerned with our survival, yet aware of the fact that what we deem to be crucial may not be vital to other peoples. Rangiwehi as survivors accentuates our fight to retain those cultural markers of who we are, our language, customs, practices, and most importantly our mauri. The rationale for this significant aspect of who we are is perhaps best summed up here by Tauri Morgan:

> We were bought up as a great kai producing and kai providing hapū. Our recent problems with the puna highlighted our reliance on the awa for the watercress, fish and kōura etc and we were well known for our abilities to provide kai. When we lost the puna and the awa this impacted on our reputation but on our own livelihood. The awa was central to all our thinking and we’ve just realised this more recently and as our Rangatahi have stood beside us on this one the future looks brighter... Many of us knew that the awa meant so much to us, but we didn’t understand how the mauri of the puna and stream connected to the religious and cultural things, that people came back to the awa to refresh themselves, to cure themselves, they bought their young ones. This fight to retain taniwha springs has helped us to stand tall once more and we are fighting for our traditions and for our mauri in some respects (Tauri Morgan, 7 May 2008, 7.03).

**Conclusion/Summary**

This chapter has attempted to unravel and lay bare the threads and strands that are intricately woven into the social fabric of Ngāti Rangiwehi in order to provide a better understanding of those aspects that would need to feature within any curriculum designed to strengthen our identity. It sought to gain a fuller and more nuanced appreciation of what it means to be Rangiwehi, and how that is manifested in the lives of our iwi members. Rangiwehitolanga, as this chapter has illustrated, is a relational concept. How I understand it and explain it will be dependent on both my relationship with the iwi and yours. In this way Rangiwehitolanga is as dynamic, responsive and varied as the people, allowing for a process of evolution, as Harata Hāhunga asserts here:

> The way in which an iwi develops is an evolutionary thing, depending on who the main actors are and the makeup of the iwi, that will determine the shape of the iwi and how it behaves and we’re going through that sort of transition again (Harata Hāhunga, Wānanga recording, WS117006).

Despite the uncertainty such a transition might imply, the iwi members who contributed and participated in this project had no difficulty in distinguishing
several key identity markers. For them, any conception of Rangiwhewhitanga would be incomplete without proper attention paid to the importance of place and the key sites of significance. Similarly, the people, and the whakapapa that connects them is vitally important to an understanding of who we are, where we have come from, and where we are going. Finally, the stories, practices, and character traits that mark our determination to survive draw attention to the overarching desire for iwi autonomy: a crucial aspect of how we define ourselves. To understand us, to contemplate a curriculum, requires an immediate examination of the way we define our universe. This is supported by Tauri, who stresses: “there’s a Ngāti Rangiwhewhi way of kōrero, of mōhio, of karanga, whaikōrero” (Tauri Morgan, 7 May 2008, 51.36). Whether or not a curriculum might assist us in affirming our identity remains to be seen. However, what has emerged is that our mātauranga is always an uncompromising affirmation of our Ngāti Rangiwhewhitanga. Therefore, as a caution to the imagining of any curriculum related to our people, one might keep these words at the forefront of their minds:

I don’t wear Rangiwhewhi on my t-shirt. I am Rangiwhewhi, it’s me. Rangiwhewhi is the best. That’s not to say that others can’t be the best for them, but not in Rangiwhewhi territory (Anaru Bidois, 20 April 2008, 34.40).
CHAPTER 4

“That story will live on forever, as long as people keep telling it”

The title of this chapter comes from an observation made by Ella Bidois regarding a ‘unique’ Rangiwewehi story relating to one of our taonga, Rangiātea, named after the place it was found: “Iranui found [it] when she was looking for kākahi down the lake” (Ella Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003). During her interview Hukarere Mohi also spoke of this story as she explained the meaning of a significant Rangiwewehi waiata, Te kiri o Tāwhaki:

The first line of the waiata says ‘Te kiri o Tāwhaki ka whara koe i te oneone ra he moenga kē hoki’ and that line tells you they lie somewhere that is... not the normal resting place, not the final resting place because they drowned and the bodies were taken every which way... Years later there was a tiki found there, straight outside the Bidois’s and it is believed that it came off somebody who wore it and drowned then. That’s why it’s in the tupuna whare and it goes on every tūpāpaku, because they don’t know which family it belonged to so it goes on each one, and no matter who you are, if you’re Rangiwewehi that is your right (Hukarere Mohi (2), 14 August 2008, 6:21).

These narratives illustrate how the use of story continues to be a powerful “vehicle for communication” and teaching across generations within Ngāti Rangiwewehi (Lauritzen & Jaeger, 1997, p. 36). Although what the teller choses to communicate varies the way the tale is told and retold, the essential elements of the story itself conveys meaning and memory vital to our people. More than simply a method of retaining knowledge, these tribal narratives also assist in producing meaning from our past and present experiences, supporting the transmission and teaching of old and new found understandings. These moments of communication, teaching, and transmission are closely examined in this chapter, and are central to a consideration of the way in which our Rangiwewehitanga has been passed on and retained. In building and imaging a curriculum that is ours, the stories we tell are crucial building blocks, and are inextricably connected to the ways our mātauranga have been communicated over centuries within a rich oral tradition.

In exploring the ways we communicate and pass on our knowledge, this chapter addresses the three major themes: people, place, and survival. These themes, as they emerged in the interviews, offered multiple contextual examples of the way
our knowledge might be passed on, and in this way illustrate our distinctive pedagogical approaches to the transmission of our Rangiwewehitanga. Having established an idea of some of the key identity markers relevant to Ngāti Rangiwewehi, the purpose of this chapter is to examine the ways in which this knowledge has been passed on to interview participants, with a view to identifying those barriers interfering with the maintenance and expansion of our cultural practices. As the above excerpts illustrate, the threads of place, people and survival that were intricately woven through conceptions of our identity, also bind together the pedagogical frameworks referred to within the lives of those interviewed. Such insights into specific Rangiwewehi pedagogical practices are essential in considering the potential creation of a Rangiwewehi curriculum because there can be no facilitation of curriculum without pedagogy.

In contemplating the breadth and nuances inherent in our own pedagogical practice, this chapter also notes the formal and informal ways in which our mātauranga has been transmitted, and particularly how this explicit and implicit learning is facilitated within the framework of our Rangiwewehitanga. These tensions are important. While the formal settings demonstrate the aspects of our mātauranga that we have endeavoured to retain and control, the informal or implicit learning is perhaps even more imperative as these are the aspects that normalise our identities. This learning through osmosis, moves beyond the sometimes contrived and controlled domain of ritual and traditional practice, and exposes each learner to more personalised perspectives, to the complex worlds of individuals, contexts, and knowledge, that enables true ownership. This is where the real and lived experiences of Ngāti Rangiwewehi begin to shape and influence our mātauranga.

This chapter then is divided into three sections, each examining what the interviews tell us about the pedagogical tools and frameworks employed within Ngāti Rangiwewehi. The first section uses the theme of place to consider the pedagogical settings in which our mātauranga is passed on, and the significance of these settings within the wider plan for Ngāti Rangiwewehi cultural reclamation and revitalisation. The second section considers the theme of people, reflecting on the special roles individuals play within the processes of teaching and learning, and the particular role and responsibility that kaumātua have in enacting the
pedagogy and curriculum that Ngāti Rangiwewehi might yet create. The final section considers the remaining theme of survival, identifying those barriers that have interfered in the effective transmission and the consequent survival of our mātauranga. Indeed, before we can develop any possible models or solutions it is first necessary to understand the nature of the problem.

The Pedagogical Relevance of ‘Place’

Place, or rather ‘our place’, is not only central to the formation and construction of our identities as Ngāti Rangiwewehi, but is also highly relevant to the way our mātauranga is situated and conveyed. The significance of place and space here is emphasised by koroua Tuiti Walker, who affirms the notion that ‘our universe’ is as much an intellectual geography as it is physical:

> Well, the river was more or less the centrepiece of our universe I suppose in those days. From Awahou back up to Puhirua back down to Taniwha springs and back up to the pā, that was more or less our world view in those times (Tuiti Walker, as quoted in Bidois et al., 2009, p. 59).

The assertion here is that our living view of the world is understood and configured within specific surroundings, located and grounded in the intellectual, spiritual, and physical space that is Awahou village. Tarimano marae, as the heart of the Awahou village is then also the home of Rangiwewehi pedagogy. As Te Ururoa points out, the “idea of curriculum goes back to trying to find out what you are, and what you are, is according to your tikanga” (Te Ururoa Flavell, 8 August 2008, 4.45). Where else can you see, experience, and come to understand the tikanga of Ngāti Rangiwewehi more explicitly other than on their marae.

Kata Pihera identifies the marae as a key pedagogical setting. She recounts how her participation on the marae in tangihanga enabled her to learn about tikanga through experience rather than specific people in a premeditated routine:

> Nan and Koro lived at Awahou, would go and visit, catch up with cousins then, apart from then was tangi. All knew we were Māori and about the pā and our marae but we didn’t have the reo, didn’t have people to teach us different tikanga and kawa but we seen it visually at tangi – our experience (Kata Pihera, 7 May 2008, 6.52).

This view of the marae as a vibrant, living and breathing, pedagogical apparatus was also supported by comments shared about the organisation of classes held at
the marae with the explicit purpose of teaching specified skills or knowledge relating to our Rangiwewehitanga. Classes dedicated to teaching our waiata have been established and taught by various individuals over the years including Te Kaniwha Ahipene and his wife Mei, as well as Mita Mohi and Hukarere in more recent times. Mita was also acknowledged by several participants for setting up classes to assist our men in developing their skills in whaikōrero. While it has been hard to fully ascertain the nature of the curriculum and pedagogy that operated within those classes they appear to have been predominantly opportunities for iwi members to come together, learn what they can and then practice their skills, with repetition encouraging retention and providing a context where it was safe to ask questions.

This open learning environment was noted by members of the iwi as a distinctive practice amongst Ngāti Rangiwewehi, who, as Ella Bidois asserts, are “always willing to listen; that’s why we get on so well, we discuss not just with the koeke, also with the young ones, we have that unity; it will take us forward” (Ella Bidois, 25 April 2008, 1.07.05). Likewise, Te Ururoa also made reference to the “need to provide an environment where people feel safe to ask questions and discuss these things” (Te Ururoa Flavell, 8 August 2008, 21.47). His remarks, like Ella’s, allude to the tikanga of manaakitanga as not just a Rangiwewehi characteristic, but a practice summed up in the view of our people as ‘he iwi manaaki’, always open and inclusive. As many who attended the October wānanga observed, the principle behind our tikanga is often love:

I think kei te pai tēnā, kei te pai tēnā te kawa anō te kawa he tikanga anō te tikanga te kawa o Te Arawa mai Maketu ki Tongariro mau tonu ana tātou i tēra kawa, te tikanga... the motives behind the tikanga that’s what I’m getting at, the motives behind the tikanga no matter what the circumstances is, is love... So even though the tikanga has adjusted to suit the occasion e mau tonu ana i te kawa (Shae Maxwell, Wānanga recording, WS117004).17

Here, Shae Maxwell explains that while adherence to the kawa is maintained, we can, and we have, made adaptations to the tikanga, but these adaptations have

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17 One way to interpret this might be: “I think that is fine, that’s right, kawa has its own characteristics, as does tikanga. The kawa of Te Arawa spans from Maketu to Tongariro, and we hold firm to that kawa, as for tikanga... the motives behind the tikanga, that’s what I’m getting at, the motives behind the tikanga, no matter what the circumstances is, is love... so even though the tikanga has adjusted to suit the occasion we are still holding fast to the kawa”.
always been guided by certain principles like love. Understandings such as these, at least in a theoretical sense, have contributed to constructing a context in which it is increasingly safe to ask a significant range of questions, to consider the possibilities, and openly and honestly discuss our tikanga. It is in a sense an extension of the principle of manaakitanga or the expression of manaaki within our pedagogical contexts:

Within the iwi... the tikanga is still there but is it diluted down to oh I don’t say diluted I’ll say that it’s evolved over the years to accommodate the voices of the people and some people say it’s not tūturu and we say well he aha te mea nui o te ao, ko te tāngata, te manaakitanga o te tāngata is effectively more the precise answer. It’s how we show aroha to them how we manaaki them how we awhi them so that’s what I picked up over the last couple of days. The main point was aroha ake tētahi ki tētahi to show hospitality and thing to everyone who comes onto our marae so retaining the things the kawa the traditions that we have to uphold (Toro Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117007).

This manifestation of manaakitanga extends to include not only manuhiri to our marae but Ngāti Rangiwerehi whānui encouraging wider iwi participation, and allows for the articulation of differing and contrasting perspectives within our wānanga and iwi hui resulting in significant learning and thinking for all those involved:

Deliberately kept the notions of who we are alive by putting key questions in at hui, which wasn’t about being smart, although some people thought it was, it was challenging what we are doing. Now that they’re used to it they don’t mind. So at hui or wānanga I’d chuck up questions to make us dig for what it is that makes us Rangiwerehi. We’ve found out somethings we don’t know why we do them others we do (Te Ururoa Flavell, 8 August 2008, 8.06).

The wharenui, marae, and wharekai take on an even more significant role in this light as they are not simply sites of learning or mere utility, and are most certainly not static or inanimate localities. In their design, function, and capacity they are living spaces that bear the names of ancestors, they are places where promises are made and kept; rules and tikanga are upheld, transgressed, changed, and sometimes evolved. These are sites where a very real connection between the living and those who have gone before are forged and reforged, and in this whakapapa bond share the responsibility of transmitting our identity and knowledge. To this extent these places are living embodiments of our forebears
and subsequently reflections of ourselves, complete with the same aspirations and abilities to teach the curriculum. Moreover, in this sense they are not then simply vehicles or resources for the application of pedagogical practice, but in their own ways facilitate our learning as each member of the iwi develops a personal bond with these localities much like the child and its parent, the mokopuna and its tupuna. Thus, when we are in our wharenui we are surrounded by our tūpuna, and they reach out and teach us, guide us, reprimand us, and comfort us. This is a living pedagogy, one that is central to our Ngāti Rangiwhaitanga.

The marae as a site of pedagogical relevance and expression is also powerfully connected to kapahaka, in which generations of Ngāti Rangiwhahehi have had the opportunity to come home to practice as they have learnt their various brackets and performed at numerous functions, events, and competitions that have earnt the iwi an international reputation as performers. Indeed, Huia suggests that one way to strengthen your identity as Rangiwhahehi is to come home and experience your whanaungatanga through kapahaka: “Haere mai ki te rōpū o Ngāti Rangiwhahehi kapahaka, whakawhanaungatanga, ko te mea tuatahi, hoki mai ki te hau kāinga” (Huia Hāhunga, 5 May 2008, 1.18.37). Te Rangikāheke also comments on the importance of kapa haka not only as a tool to bring the rangatahi home, but as a vehicle for passing on important knowledge and values pertaining to our Rangiwhaitanga:

They’ve instilled some wonderful values...I thought our grandparents and parents are absolutely clever because the kapa haka is a medium that always brings our kids back and keeps them here at Awahou... so we’re very lucky, and I think it’s because of those values about what it means to be Rangiwhahehi, it is about those values even though sometimes you hate them, you grow up and you learn oh is that why we do those things, so what is it to be Rangiwhahehi? It’s very nice thank you very much (Te Rangikāheke Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003).

These examples show that when the appropriate circumstances combine, including someone willing and able to organise and teach, and sufficient numbers willing to attend, Ngāti Rangiwhahehi have consciously and naturally employed educational initiatives as a means of supporting the development of our Rangiwhahehitanga. This education, or teaching, is enabled and embedded in the

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18 One way of translating this might be: “Come and join the Ngāti Rangiwhahehi kapa haka group, it’s all about kinship ties and connections, the first and most important thing is to come home.”
places that echo our refrains. The locations, like the river, the wharenui and even the urupā overtly display our identities, sayings, genealogies, stories, and ways of viewing the world. They encapsulate the emotional and spiritual essence of who we are, and are important features in our pedagogy. This is not a new concept in education, as Jenny Leach and Bob Moon suggest:

Much of what is traditionally viewed as context for learning – the physical surroundings and materials used; the social, institutional and personal purposes at play; the people involved and the language used – are themselves an essential part of learning and thus of what is learned (Leach & Moon, 1999, p. 267).

For Ngāti Rangiwewehi, the curriculum is always connected to the places we have inherited, with which we have been charged to maintain, protect, and keep warm. These places embody, in both a physical and enduring way, the connections with our past and our histories that live on in the tangible surroundings and our recollections of these spaces. Such notions are clearly articulated by Hutana Te Pokenui in his statement of evidence at the 1879 hearing of the Te Taumata land block:

Every resource area, mountain, hill, cliff, lake, river and stream and many individual, usually prominent trees were named for the variety of incidents which had occurred in their vicinity. Burials, ancient and more recent, were recorded in tradition and their locations remembered and prized by the descendants of the deceased. The naming systems, the history and culture of its people and the identities of individuals and groups are intimately interwoven into it. (Hutana Te Pokenui, quoted in Bidois et al., 2009, p. 54)

These sites provide distinctive forums for nourishment and sustenance that are vital to teaching and pedagogy. However, while these spaces have always retained a nurturing purpose, in more traditional times the sustenance of Ngāti Rangiwewehi identities would have taken place primarily within the home. This is not to suggest that Ngāti Rangiwewehi identities are not currently nurtured within the home, but that the ways in which those identities are addressed and developed may be vastly different, as peoples understandings of, and exposure to, their Rangiwewehitanga varies. Indeed, the fact remains that a noticeable disconnection still affects many of our people, whose detachment has resulted in either an irregular transmission of our mātauranga, or an inability to reflect and maintain current practice and understandings relevant to the iwi. This point was commented
on, and identified as, a significant issue in the revitalization and retention of our mātauranga and Rangiwewehitanga.

The biggest problem would be to get everybody back, and to get the word out to those we have away. When I look at the numbers we have here the numbers are really down which tells me we need to go out and bring them home, pull in family and whanaunga. We all have to do it don’t leave it for just one person, we all have Aunties and Uncles and children and we need to bring them home and some of them have turned into kuia and koroua. If not for the knowledge they might have then in the knowledge they will get from these hui, and if they’ve come without knowledge then they’ll get it here and that’s what they’ll have to strengthen their whānau (Hukarere Mohi (2), 14 August 2008, 30.00).

The notion of strengthening the iwi by empowering the whānau is significant in the context of this discussing our pedagogical practice. As we have seen from our experiences within Ngāti Rangiwewehi certain decisions made in our homes have influenced the shaping and development of our unique and specific identities as articulated through our Rangiwewehitanga. Te Ururoa supports this point when referring to the benefits he sees emerging from the mahi that has taken place within the iwi so far. He argues that the “benefits will come through in the next 20-25 years because the next generation have heard the kōrero. We are in a good position because the scene has been set, over time” (Te Ururoa Flavell, 8 August 2008, 12.00).

The connection between the home and the marae is of vital importance. Indeed, as this saying reminds us, ‘te tangata e ākona ai i te kāinga, tūnga ki te marae/ the person who learns in the home is enabled to stand on the marae’. Thus, if as an iwi we can provide support for nourishing the development of Ngāti Rangiwewehi identities within the private sphere of the home, the public sphere of the marae will also experience a strengthening in vitality and participation as a consequence. Part of our responsibility then as a collective is to provide the resources necessary to support informal learning in the home, while similarly creating occasions and opportunities for a wider range of iwi members to participate and be exposed to the daily and regular activities and interactions within the iwi. These normal and natural everyday contexts are important pedagogical settings. As Leach and Moon suggest, they influence our understanding of the ways in which “[t]he
development of knowledge and learning is inseparable from the world, achieved through participation in the ‘culture of practice’” (Leach & Moon, 1999, p. 271).

**People as enactors of Pedagogy**

While the setting for learning contributes to, and shapes, the learning and teaching experience, the people who play the roles of teacher and learner are of equal importance. These roles, and the ways in which they are performed, were discussed by many of the interviewees, who often considered the process of mentoring as a means by which people were taught about their Rangiwewehitanga.

Wharehuia Hemara (2000) writes that mentoring as a strategy was involved “when an expert or elder... took a candidate under their care and ‘fed’ them knowledge” (p. 22). The idea of being fed knowledge is an apt description, as Anaru articulates in his understanding of the concept of whāngai: “Whāngai is not adopted. It’s to be fed, physically fed, fed whakapapa, the kōrero, fed everything” (Anaru Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117004). This conceptualisation of mentoring as a type of whāngai relationship highlights the personal nature of the interactions, which in practice could range from being a formal and acknowledged apprenticeship to an informal arrangement, where those seeking knowledge might simply spend time working alongside someone deemed an expert. An example of this type of relationship was addressed by Te Uruoa, who spoke about time he spent with my Koro Sam Hāhunga:

I sat with your grandfather, he had an important role as the person who knew most about Rangiwewehi. Never interviewed him, but just sat with him and collected up the information he had and his experience with the business side (Te Uruoa Flavell, 8 August 2008, 8.06).

The idea of learning through exposure to the knowledge and experience held by our kaumātua and kuia was a common theme in the interviews, with Koro Sam often referred to as a mentoring figure. Speaking on the ways in which he assisted and prepared them for the roles they now fulfil within the iwi, Kahuariki and Rikihana recounted the following story:

Early 80’s he encouraged us to get an education, then when we came back he teased us about being clever dickies, then eventually he would say those kids can do that. So now we acknowledge his leadership... it
was about earning your stripes... but at the time we just thought he was putting us through the ringer, but he was actually setting us up... So about 15 years ago he started his training ground. Those who he trained are all essentially the movers and shakers today who each had their own scraps with Koro (Kahuariki and Rikihana Hancock, 24 April 2008, 43.37).

The encouraging of education both inside and outside of the iwi, along with the provision of relevant information as circumstances required, and the creating of the appropriate opportunities, greatly assisted those who were learning to generate their own experience. Individuals, as the excerpts above illustrate, were selected and supported to develop in this way for numerous reasons. Sometimes it was simply because they were around and willing to make themselves available, while at other times selections were made because of specific skills, talents or experiences an individual might have. Although the process was not always easy, and at times may have seemed more difficult than necessary, such trials enabled one to demonstrate growth, which often led to new responsibilities and the building of greater capacity within individuals. In this way knowledge was also earned rather than simply learnt, fulfilling a type of apprenticeship.

Te Ururoa, Kahuariki and Rikihana’s stories then, reveal not only how individuals might be supported and prepared for future responsibilities within the iwi, but highlight the important role of kaumātua as our guides, teachers, and ultimate resources. Beyond Rangiwewehi, this emphasis is also common to other iwi, as Hemara (2000) notes, where the kaumātua are crucial for “[t]heir wisdom and reflection... [and] essential to the teaching of practical and social skills along with [the] underpinning [of] esoteric and ethical principles” (p. 43).

Indeed, in almost every interview participants spoke about how simply being around the kuia and kaumātua could result in a great deal of learning. Sometimes this was due to being exposed to the kōrero that they would have with one another as much as having their own questions answered. ‘Being there’, as Cherry Nikora notes here, provided opportunities to learn simply by spending time with our pākeke:

You had to be there to catch things, a lot of what they had to pass on, and that’s where I would have learnt a lot too because of the time I spent around them and with my Kuia too… they used to spend a lot of time together as an iwi, whether they were mixing socially or at a tangi
and they would talk a lot there, and you were taught as you grew up (Cherry Nikora, 6 May 2008, 49.01).

Beyond just being there, Rauroha Clarke emphasised the need to be an active listener with our kaumātua, and in the process allowing our answers to arrive as we paid attention to the kōrero taking place around us:

How did you learn all the things you know concerning Ngāti Rangiwewehi tikanga and history? Listening – I used to have a thing about sitting amongst the old people and just listening to them. All these discussions are not new. The meetings that were held at that time, ok they weren’t speedy hui but they were effective. Aunty Kato would always share if she thought you were worth sharing with, and Raiha Simpkins, her biggest passion was sewerage. Talking with my Mum about whenua, tūpāpaku, just sitting, and talking to the people, and of course, going out and looking for it. I don’t ask a lot of questions because normally when people talk the questions are answered (Rauroha Clarke, 5 May 2008, 1.07.01).

Asking certain questions could get you in trouble as Cherry lamented “like with your kuia, the reason she was like that with me was because I was such a nosey kid” (Cherry Nikora, 6 May 2008, 49.01). Such experiences although sometimes negative could still be instructive as they helped to instil an appreciation for appropriate behaviour. Learning in this way is a part of daily life and the interactions it entails. It is normal and it is natural. It is in the way a Kuia tells off her moko or the reasons why the child is reprimanded. It is in the way the kitchen is organised or the mattresses set out, the way people simply do the jobs that need to be done, and perhaps most importantly how they learnt to do those jobs.

A lot of the practices we were introduced to we carry on and we now carry out those roles on the marae now, those practices do rub off on you and they just become normal, its normal, you’re right it just became normal, that’s what you do (Te Rangikāheke Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003).

However, teaching opportunities were not restricted to individual interactions. Indeed, the same attitudes, values and beliefs, reflected in the more personal interactions, and mentor like relationships, operated similarly within the more open forums of the iwi. For instance, when Te Ururoa began asking questions around our tikanga and trying to determine what our tikanga was, the support and expertise generated and shared at the iwi level demonstrated the desire on the part of the kaumātua back then to retain our mātauranga and educate our people about who they are, he recalls:
Easiest way was to call hui, which is what we did and we had key people come out of the woodwork and say well this is what it is. Photographed taonga, gathered the kōrero whakapapa. Anyone could’ve written it up. Formed basis of on-going kōrero for my own wellbeing about what is tikanga, and trying to figure out why do we do things in certain ways and it’s been a really neat experience (Te Ururoa Flavell, 8 August 2008, 3.00).

Wānanga and hui, like the ones referred to by Te Ururoa, provide an important avenue for those who don’t have access to the insights and understandings of kuia and kaumātua, but also provide a convenient opportunity to draw from the pool of knowledge that exists within the iwi collectively. Moreover, exposure to the different perspectives and understandings that others hold is a key feature that makes wānanga so useful for the transmission and consideration of our mātauranga, as both Toro and Harata affirm here.

In the wānanga… I get time to sit back and listen to all the different views and think, and I go oh shit I never looked at it that way. It gives you the opportunity to really look at it and analyse… it gives you a chance to just sit back and āta whakarongo ki ngā kōrero because its coming from peoples own… you know, they learnt it growing up, they didn’t learn it from a book. That’s what I love about our wānanga, when we talk we speak from the heart and we speak of practical experiences (Toro Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117007).

It was good to have the different views, the rangatahi views, and actually not just the rangatahi views but the range of views because its making me reconsider where I sit. I don’t know that it’s made me change my mind actually but it’s just reinforced to me that I think I’m right and in a way I think that is the value in coming to the wānanga that we can hear and see these different views and it allows us an opportunity to shift and move or at least consider (Harata Hāhunga, Wānanga recording, WS117007).

Significant in the second excerpt is the mention of the contributions made by rangatahi. This interactive and reciprocal teaching philosophy and relationship reflected the belief that “learning is not only from the kaumātua’, as Toro pointed out, but also “from our young ones” (Toro Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003). While our pākeke occupy a special position within Ngāti Rangiwewehi, and are afforded the respect that comes with such wisdom and experience, we also acknowledge the abilities of our younger members to offer insightful and useful perspectives, further adding to the dynamic nature of Rangiwewehi mātauranga.
Barriers to the survival of our Rangiwewehitanga

The barriers we face in the transmission and teaching of our knowledge are multi layered, yet in order to more fully understand these issues it is important to remember that most of these obstacles have materialised as a direct result of years of colonisation rather than our own deficiencies or failings. These long standing historical issues include the systematic suppression of the Māori language and the use of policy and legislation to marginalise and dislocate our people from the land. Once disconnected from the land and language, the foundations of our identity as Ngāti Rangiwewehi have become increasingly more difficult to maintain.

These feelings of dislocation from the land, the people, and the culture have created various barriers to learning, which include deep seated emotional issues such as a sense of embarrassment and inadequacy for those who may no longer have the language or access to the culture, and the reality of distance for those who have necessarily moved away. These problems also reflect deep intellectual and psychological barriers that perhaps prevent people from really wanting to come home. In this sense there is a need to be aware of the historical context in which this discussion takes place. It is not enough to discuss the issue of people not participating at home without acknowledging the wide range of factors that were often outside our control, and yet had significant influence over the levels of participation available to our whānau.

Despite the different circumstances, or explanations, for peoples dislocation from the iwi, the realities of not ‘being there’ remains a significant barrier, not only for those unable to live at home, or travel back frequently enough, but for those whose homes do not have access to the people, mātauranga and experiences necessary to facilitate the transmission of our Rangiwewehitanga. Subsequently, the way in which we conceive of, and approach, these barriers is vital if we want to empower ourselves, and find adequate solutions. In this regard, we have, as Te Ururoa points out, certain obligations. Indeed, “if we believe in tikanga, and we believe in Rangiwewehitanga then we must believe in our obligations to maintain the tikanga” (Te Ururoa Flavell, 8 August 2008, 29.00). However, finding a range of ways in which we might choose to maintain that tikanga may offer better
alternatives, or potential solutions, to the problems and barriers we face now, simply by changing your frame of reference. When considering the transmission of our Rangiwewehitanga, the key problem, or barrier, here relates primarily to access: that is, the access to the places, the people, and the resources that carry, support and maintain our mātauranga. The question we might then ask considers how we might allow and encourage greater access to all the members of our tribal community.

Access to people and places

Given the ways in which ‘being around’ exposed one to the places, people and varieties of mātauranga that carry our Rangiwewehitanga, it is not surprising that interview participants identified exposure or peripheral participation as the most influential way in which they learnt about their identity and culture as Rangiwewehi. Anaru Bidois describes this way of learning:

[T]ransfer of history and information was more about your eyes and your ears as a vehicle to capture what is being said, heard. There was no ‘‘e moko mā, e noho’. It was a matter of being in the space where things would come up, pieces of information that might go into the brain and get stored until we get into education state and pull it out (Anaru Bidois, 20 April 2008, 18.46).

This pedagogy, as Anaru expresses it, was not a conscious construction or engagement in teaching or learning, but more a natural evolution of learning and understanding through exposure to the normal day to day activities of life, as Karl Leonard clarifies:

[Y]ou know, little bits that I learnt about Rangiwehehi, you didn’t officially learn you just happened to be around at the time and all these things just occurred or happened. So the events sort of spark your memory about oh no this is how it is and that’s why it’s like this so that’s how I really got to know about things that happened in Rangiwehehi and in Waiteti (Karl Leonard, 15 August 2008, 16.52).

The negative impact of learning in this manner meant that if people did not attend the marae or participate in iwi affairs regularly, or had little access to this knowledge in the home, then they were not exposed to the informal learning contexts that contribute so significantly to the understandings of what it means to be Ngāti Rangiwehehi. This point is also echoed by McDermott, who argues that “we can only learn what is around to be learned. If a particular kind of learning is
not made socially available to us, there will be little learning to do” (McDermott, quoted in Leach & Moon, 1999, p. 267). Karl expands on his own experiences in relation to this:

We didn’t really attend the marae… you weren’t allowed to go to the marae because you know I think they were all once again that Victorian mind that children were to be seen and not heard and even then you weren’t meant to be seen, lock them away at home. I think that’s probably contributed to a lot of lost knowledge because the kids had to stay at home, you weren’t to see anything that was going on at the marae so we only really got the stories second hand or when others would come to visit, all these stories would come out about different things and what happened there and so that’s just how they were… as a kid that’s what I was privy to, that children weren’t meant to be seen at the marae (Karl Leonard, 15 August 2008, 19.45).

Karl’s understandings were affirmed by many of the other participants, who similarly lamented the impact that these lost opportunities may have had on the retention of our knowledge for those who were not able to participate in the marae throughout their lives. For some people, missing out on that foundational knowledge earlier on in life has impacted on the confidence they have in their abilities to fulfil the roles they now find themselves in. Moreover, this disconnection early on often creates psychological and cultural barriers later in life that can sometimes hinder access to people, and deny an appreciation of, and affiliation with, place. These, as I have noted above, are crucial to the transmission and encapsulating of our Rangiwewehitanga.

One of the more common issues we are confronted within in the transmission of our mātauranga is that “when you ask difficult questions people say they know but they don’t, or [they’re] too scared to say they don’t know or they do but five other people know and all different versions of certain tikanga” (Te Ururoa Flavell, 8 August 2008, 3.00). As Te Ururoa reminds us, there is some knowledge that has simply been lost, which means there are some things we do not know, and might never get back. In other circumstances what knowledge has been retained comes from different and conflicting sources, raising questions of authority and debates about ‘the truth’. This questioning of authority no doubt contributes to the other barrier highlighted in Te Ururoa’s comments, where feelings of whakama or anxiety about not really knowing, or having developed the requisite skills and
competencies, eventually leads to the production of misinformation or withdrawal from the kōrero all together.

However, many of the interviews show potentially positive outcomes from missing out on those opportunities, as iwi members have made conscious decisions to intentionally pass on knowledge about their Rangiwewehitanga to their children and grandchildren because of their experiences growing up. Ella Bidois provides one such example, explaining that even though she lived at Awahou, children were not allowed to participate at the marae until they could work in the kitchens:

I don’t even remember because we weren’t allowed up here [at the marae], we had to stay home. If there was a tangi or anything you had to stay home, it was only for visitors … but not for us … They would chase you back where you can’t be seen, but that’s why we hardly ever saw marae life until we grew up, but I was determined when I had a family that they would know all about the marae because I had to learn it when I had children, when you were old enough to do the dishes well then you were allowed up here (Ella Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003).

Given her experiences over the years, and the huge changes she had witnessed, Ella made a deliberate choice to do everything in her power to retain the stories she’s been told, and to pass on her knowledge and experiences about what life at Awahou was like for her generation. This desire to retain this sense of Rangiwewehitanga is indicative of the strong discourse around survival that has influenced the choices of many iwi members as they strived to consciously retain and pass on what they have learnt over their lifetimes. This awareness has encouraged Ella’s active participation in the marae for most of her adult life, and has had a decisive and positive flow on effect in the lives of her children, as this excerpt from Toro Bidois illustrates:

It was just part of being Rangiwewehi at that time, we didn’t think we were special and yet when we think back we probably were because I hear a lot of kōrero from mates my age not experiencing that, going back to the marae. At Raukawa mates saying how privileged we are growing up on the marae and we were like what the hell are you talking about? We never ever thought it was a privilege, it was just normal, just natural to us, and they never ever experienced it (Toro Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003).
Toro’s recollections of life on the marae as normal and natural highlights the significant impact that Ella’s decision had for her descendants, as well as the potential ramifications for the wider iwi. Their experiences tell us that when we support individual iwi members to develop strong foundations in their Rangiwewehitanga, the benefits to the iwi at the collective level are obvious.

However, we should also be mindful that while Ella’s decision was an important factor in these positive outcomes for her family, the transmission of knowledge and mātauranga to her children did not come from her alone. Ella was fortunate to have family support, easing access to key people who supported the growth and development of her identity, and encouraged her participation within the iwi. Moreover, as Ella’s children and mokopuna have become involved within the affairs of the iwi, they too have been supported, encouraged, and taught by their whanaunga and kaumātua. Not all people are as fortunate.

Kata Pihera explained that for her, even though she wanted to get more involved in the iwi not having any of her immediate family involved in the marae at the time made things harder.

[I] didn’t have a strong family link to the marae because my immediate family were not really involved in the marae and iwi activities. It came down to me putting myself in those situations. Questioned Mum about it, but didn’t feel comfortable approaching people even though their family because I didn’t know them. Didn’t feel I had the access I would have liked (Kata Pihera, 7 May 2008, 17.40).

For many people, not having that link to the marae, someone who knows the place and the people, and who can introduce you to your whānau, remains a somewhat ominous barrier standing in the way of their active participation in the marae. Indeed, our attitudes towards those who may whakapapa to us, but whom we might not know, contribute to the significant feelings of trepidation many of our ‘away dwellers’ might experience when first coming back home (Emery, 2008). Even for those of us who are ‘known’, earning your place at home requires work, as Te Ururoa found in his experience:

Even though you’re from home, and everyone knows the family or the whakapapa, if you’re not living at home, if you’re not regularly contributing at home you have to almost break the ice. You got to do the groundwork. When I came home, I came home to the iwi meetings regularly. My mother always attended the tangi, she was the only one
who kept our place, and I realised I needed to keep her place, and the place for our family (Te Ururoa Flavell, 8 August 2008, 6.13).

The importance of maintaining one’s ahi kā, as Te Ururoa emphasises here, was echoed in the wānanga discussions, and within many of interviewee’s narratives. For instance, Toro, although strongly asserting the importance of whakapapa connections, argued that the ultimate decision-making power should rest with those maintaining ahi kā:

I believe the decisions on how the marae should be run, the affairs of the iwi should be left for those who are keeping the ahi kā burning at home not to all those overseas, although they can whakapapa into Rangiwewehi, I don’t believe they got the right to make the decisions on how we should live and manage ourselves here (Toro Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003).

That is not to say that those living away from home would, in any way, be prevented from participating or offering their whakāraor on the issues, but that it should be left to those who have to uphold the tikanga to decide how best they might do that. This, in many ways, is an issue, or barrier, related to participation, which at a deeper level is itself an issue of access and self-determination. Subsequently, to follow this strain of logic we might then consider the more immediate need to encourage and nurture the participation of those iwi members who live outside of the rohe. Indeed, how can we provide access for those beyond our geographical boundaries? A contemplation of the many possible answers to these questions will be essential to ensuring the continued survival of our Rangiwewehitanga, and the global possibilities that exist if we can find successful ways of developing that sense of connection and belonging to the iwi within the homes of Ngāti Rangiwewehi where-ever they might live in the world.

Access to resources

One way in which we might increase participation in iwi affairs for those who live away from home is through the provision of greater access to the various resources that contain and convey our Rangiwewehitanga. However, the simple provision of a few key resources is simply not a viable, or adequate, long term solution in this context. Indeed, as the iwi themselves have noted throughout the wānanga and interviews, an understanding of who we are cannot be complete without the corresponding associations with our places, and while people might be
‘known’ in an intellectual sense through stories about their lives and experiences, such knowing cannot completely replace the bonds of whanaungatanga that develop through personal interactions. Despite this, providing individuals with access to the information necessary to understand their familial connections to our places and people can still help develop that sense of loyalty and association vital to overcoming some of the psychological and emotional barriers we face today. Indeed, in the process of reigniting these home fires, we can also re-forge invaluable connections, and re-open pathways of access and communication where the realities of distance, work, and travel have previously prevented many from returning on a routine basis.

A more thorough examination of those factors preventing either the iwi provision of these resources, or iwi members accessing this information, is essential. The magnitude of this task is highlighted by the comments from some of the interviewees, who affirmed that their knowledge and understanding of their Rangiwewehitanga was supplemented by sources external to the iwi such as published books or the Māori Land Court records. Reliance on published and external sources seems to be confirmed in the way in which some stories are retold in a very similar format, even at times using the same phrasing and vocabulary, perhaps raising questions around the origins of certain materials. Whether our kaumātua have learnt them from the published sources rather than the oral, or that the published accounts imitate the original oral sources, it is important, as Huia Hāhunga highlights, for the iwi to clarify what is in-fact our kōrero, because not all published sources are always accurate. On this topic she recalls: “I think I shared with you the Te Arawa book by Don Stafford. I bought it home from the library and I said ‘Nan, Uncle Hunuhunu’s in this book’, but she said ‘no, they didn’t give it all, and kei te ētahi o ngā kōrero’” (Huia Hāhunga, 5 May 2008, 52.37).

For the iwi, this is an important point because it highlights the fact that while there are published sources of information available, we need to be aware of the various historical factors that influenced the construction of those sources and their consequent relevance to our goals of revitalising and reclamation. Indeed, if Ngāti Rangiwewehi are serious about the reclamation of our history and identities can we really continue to reference Stafford, Best, or Metge? Should we not, instead,
be creating our own sources, quoting our own people and authorising our own accounts of our past? It would seem that this potential avenue would provide much greater access to resources for those not based at home, but wanting to develop some foundational knowledge and emotional connections before embarking on the physical journey home. In communicating this mātauranga and history, it is simply unfathomable that our narratives will continue to be imparted, taught, and mediated by a Pākehā person, and not one of our own people.

That is not to say that we have not yet authored any of our own accounts, or compiled any resources of our own. Throughout the course of our Treaty claims process we have developed a slowly growing, and impressive, array of research reports and information. While most of this mātauranga is available through contact with the Te Maru o Ngāti Rangiwewehi iwi office, simply gaining physical access to a resource does not necessarily indicate you will have full access to the knowledge contained within it. On this topic, Anaru identified an inability to understand and converse in te reo Māori as a significant hurdle to the accessing of essential knowledge and understanding regarding our Rangiwewehitanga. In reference to Te Ururoa’s thesis, Anaru explained that “all this puna o mātauranga, it’s still there to those who want to access it. For those who can access it, ko te katoa o te kōrero i roto i te reo” (Anaru Bidois, 20 April 2008, 23.31).

During the wānanga and interviews, many of our kaumātua indicated that both an inability to speak Māori and other negative attitudes towards those who cannot speak were significant barriers to the teaching and transmission of our knowledge. In alluding to the historical influences that saw te reo Māori as being inferior and in some contexts discouraged, Tommy told this story about his Father, Harry Bidois:

I remember as a kid I used to speak Māori because my kuia her name was Rangikahiwa too and she couldn’t speak Pākehā. She couldn’t understand Pākehā, so only me and my mother could speak to her, close relationship with my kuia. But our father thought Māori was just no good, and we missed out badly because of that. When she passed away it was back to no Māori being spoken in the house (Tommy Bidois, 5 May 2008, 8.11).

Harry Bidois was not the only person within the iwi who held such views about the language. Ella talked about how her husband Dick, and even our respected
koroua Kake Leonard, felt that English was the way of the future and as a result did not actively encourage their children to learn the language. Likewise, when he first got involved with the marae committee, Walter Bidois (Stubby) also recounted how the conducting the meetings in Māori was a barrier to participation for the younger ones who no longer had the reo:

[We] Got involved in marae committee and we used to have all our meetings in Māori, and I told Kake the young ones wouldn’t get involved if it stayed in Māori so it changed, not proud of my role in that, but no-one was really interested in kōrero Māori in those days (Stubby Bidois, 24 April 2008, 13.41).

Stubby’s recollection highlights a sad reality in our own history, where a movement away from the reo essentially erected barriers for later generations. For many of our old people, the implications of those decisions were not fully understood, and for some the regret is still being realised. Since that time we have come to appreciate more how “[l]anguage embodies the way a society thinks” and how the learning and speaking of a particular language facilitates and supports the development and transmission of “the collective thought processes of a people” (Little bear, 2000, p. 78). Such insights are significant to understanding the barriers we have faced as an iwi, when you consider that for some time the majority of members on our pae have had to learn te reo Māori as a second language. Their example can be viewed negatively or positively as an expression of what we can be capable of against significant odds, and an open display of our determination to survive, as Tauri explains.

I soon found that if you could speak Māori you were often given credit for something that you hadn’t earnt. The reo is sometimes mistaken for intellect when all they really have is the reo… The appreciation for the reo was always there… we weren’t taught the kawa we lived it, we watched it, saw it in action, we responded to it, it was a life thing. Rangiwehi, it didn’t give me the reo, not matatau, well I’m still not, I’m adequate but only just really. But kei te pai, other more eloquent than I, they have a role to play, but they need to work in collaboration with me together… they may have some things they lack I have, it’s a honohono thing (Tauri Morgan, 7 May 2008, 51.36).

The need to work in collaboration, to share, and to move forward together, is important, yet in reality, as Ella remembers, some shared their knowledge, but not everyone did: “Kato always shared her knowledge, she felt that was a common mistake – people too mean to share it out, men were nurtured, not women” (Ella
In other instances participants spoke of sharing resources with others, but those who they shared with were not respectful of the knowledge or the resources. Eruera Nikora describes how he has got around such problems:

Now I say I’ll photocopy what you want because I don’t want them to take the books. Like Te Ururoa thesis, two weeks in the tupuna whare gone… two days after they started to rip pages out. Like my Fathers books there were pages ripped out I was able to put it together from the tuhoe books. I don’t mind giving it out but I’ll photocopy it (Eruera Nikora, 6 May 2008, 1.12.36).

In these instances, even where the book or source itself was not irreparably damaged, the willingness to share and be generous with what we have may have been. Such past actions have conspired to create issues of mistrust, but also within the context of tikanga, contribute to uncertainty for some regarding the appropriateness for them to pass that knowledge on. On these issues Karl Leonard observed:

Sometimes I think ‘should I tell you or shouldn’t I. Should you hear this stuff or shouldn’t you. If you should have heard this stuff, shouldn’t you have heard it from your parents,’ and you know sometimes you’ve got to be discerning about what you give out. Sometimes you give too much, sometimes you give too little (Karl Leonard, 15 August 2008, 42.15).

This apprehension is understandable, and has been a significant problem not only for Rangiwewehi, but Māori in general, whose suspicions have most often been directed at Pākehā researchers. One of the more fervent commentators on this issue has been Tipene O’Reagan (1987), who writes: “There are few who can really be said to be steeped in their tribal past. The absence of knowledge is destabilising. It’s hard to feel secure and generous with what knowledge you have when you are underprivileged and relatively poor” (p. 144). O’Reagan’s insight here is reflective of our own reactions to a history in which we have necessarily learnt to withhold and reserve information. On the one hand, this is a protective strategy, yet has the adverse effect of erecting barriers in the transmission of our own knowledge even amongst our own people.

In devising a curriculum that adequately meets our needs, a deeper appreciation of the barriers that impact on the way our mātauranga might be communicated across generations is important. Coming home, and participating, is too simple an answer
for a people whose colonial history has in essence produced multiple layers of problems and issues that now complicate the process of transmission. Reconsidering the way access is granted, achieved, maintained, and reciprocal, requires a more robust consideration of the roles of ahi kā and the challenges for those who live away from the hau kāinga. When we examine more fully the reasons why some knowledge is taught, while other knowledge is withheld, then the nuanced realities that confront us might be better addressed. These are questions deliberately left unanswered in the limits of this thesis. However, in producing and owning more our own resources, and in opening the communication lines between the marae and individual homes, there are many possibilities available to us. These opportunities, and the direction they take, will be vital to the building and teaching of any curriculum we might imagine.

**Conclusion/Summary**

This chapter has considered the importance of people and place in the teaching and learning of our own distinctive iwi curriculum. For many, the centrality of certain locations have been essential to our teaching practices, while the roles of different people have also provided explicit models for pedagogical practice in the transmission of Rangiwewehitanga. For Ngāti Rangiwewehi, our places are living and breathing environments that essentially nurture and feed our people. They are crucial to the realisation of our curriculum, and active ingredients in the transmitting of our knowledge from one generation to the next. Like the places that provide shelter, protection, and inspiration, our people are also vital to the construction of our pedagogical practices. Aside from the many archetypes and models available to us, the roles of specific people in the teaching and learning process not only accentuates our own distinctive interpretation of our curriculum, but grounds it in the tikanga and kawa that is the foundation of how we interact and pass on our mātauranga. Finally, in examining more deeply some of the barriers we face in determining how our curriculum might be enacted and communicated, this chapter has identified a number of significant issues that must be addressed as we move forward. This includes the still present problems of access, and the deep emotional and psychological scars left from years of colonial oppression. Overcoming some of these barriers requires a more thorough
exploration of the ways in which our curriculum might be communicated, both on the marae and in the home. Subsequently, the implementation of varying pedagogical approaches that are both innovative yet considerate of our traditional methods is a major challenge in the imagining and realisation of an iwi curriculum.

While participants did not always explicitly reflect on the pedagogical implications of what they had shared and discussed, the ways in which they told their stories and shared their lives, revealed important insights to the ways in which teaching and learning occurred for different people. For many, their experiences illuminated a variety of nuanced approaches in which the dissemination of Rangiwewehitanga might be achieved. These pedagogical possibilities spoke to various contexts, from the dual pedagogical roles of mentor and learner, the kaumātua and rangatahi, to the educational realities of our tūpuna alive in living locations such as rivers, wharenui, and other parts of the marae.

Examining the ways in which our knowledge has been transmitted, has also highlighted many of the barriers we have encountered and a need to be aware of the historical and on-going impact of colonisation among our people. The very real problem of distance creates a type of dislocation from our own whenua that requires pedagogical approaches beyond the marae. In this process, our immediate challenge is to reconsider the way we might communicate and transmit our mātauranga across what may be vast geographical boundaries. In addition to these issues, the use of our language as the primary vehicle of transmission is also at question in the construction of our curriculum and its attendant pedagogies. For a people whose majority are not native speakers, the degree to which we can use our reo within our pedagogical practice is an issue we might yet consider more deeply.

Beyond these concerns, the issues concerning the need for wider iwi participation, and finding ways to support that wider iwi involvement may require a change in perspective. As well as considering how we might bring people home, we might yet consider how we can ensure they are supported to take ‘home’ with them, wherever they go. In this regard, Linda Smith (2000) has discussed the need for indigenous people to set their own directions:
We have the option to set our courses with respect to realizing our dreams and aspirations, and therefore we ought to be considering developing resistance initiatives around that kind of philosophy, initiatives that are positive and proactive. We must reclaim our own lives in order to put our destinies in our own hands (p. 211).

The potential construction of an iwi based curriculum, facilitated within the pedagogical settings and approaches as articulated in the lives of Ngāti Rangiwewehi is one such initiative. It is a site of resistance as we use it to shape and express our identity. It is a claim for power and control, over our knowledge and understandings, and the best ways to transmit these things to our children and grandchildren. It is a space for dreams and visions, a place where Rangiwewehi can plan for the future, reclaiming our lives and the destinies of our descendants yet to come.
CHAPTER 5

Ko te whiu ō te kōrero i whiua ki Tarimano

Ko te whiu, one of our most celebrated waiata, weaves together many of the key places and people in our history, and offers an apt exemplar for both the composition and aims of this chapter. Indeed, ‘Ko te whiu o te kōrero i whiua ki Tarimano’ is in essence a course of learning, which recounts a journey beginning at Tarimano, one that traverses the names and places that connect us to our whenua, and positions us within the wider Te Arawa context. It reaffirms the themes of people and place as central components of any curriculum we might imagine, and in its basic form is in itself an act of survival every time it is recited, performed, and transmitted. Thus, in considering whether a curriculum, or course of learning, is indeed a viable possibility, ko te whiu reminds us that the intellectual maps are readily available, and more importantly that the mātauranga crucial to our Rangiwewehitanga remains in the various reference points contained in its verses. Moreover, in its expression and language it fulfils one of the other key functions that we would expect in any curriculum: that is the conveyance of our knowledge within our reo, on our own terms, and with our own sayings and proverbs.

Given the significance of the waiata one might presume that its primary relevance, within the context of this thesis, relates solely to the place names, people, and history it records. However, the sequencing of the verses is equally important in considering the various ways a Ngāti Rangiwewehi curriculum might be constructed. Indeed, any curriculum we create must follow a similar pattern, passing on our core and central knowledge first. Once this foundation is established, then the intellectual tūrangawaewae that binds us to broader mātauranga beyond our immediate perspectives can be more safely navigated. Moreover, these connections are then able to enrich rather than restrain our knowledge, as they permit more detailed and nuanced illustrations of our individual and unique identities as Rangiwewehi.

The themes of place, people and survival draw attention to the significant cultural markers that contribute to the construction of a Ngāti Rangiwewehi identity. They emphasise a number of key elements and issues in terms of what a potential
curriculum might teach, and how it might be structured and delivered. These themes have also been used to highlight the ways in which our knowledge has been passed on, with particular reference to the many barriers that have obstructed effective retention and further development of our cultural heritage as Rangiwewehi. In light of these observations, this chapter revisits these themes as a means of reflecting on the ways in which the development of a curriculum might support us to overcome those barriers. This chapter then examines the central question of the thesis: whether or not a curriculum may prove a useful tool to further our aspirations. It considers first, the ‘core’ elements in each theme that are vital components in any potential Rangiwewehi curriculum, and secondly, whether the notion of a ‘curriculum’ is a viable process for determining the way we might teach, transmit, and maintain our knowledge. Moreover, this chapter contemplates the essential elements that might embody a course of learning relevant to us, and thus tracks ‘te whiu o te kōrero’ as it pertains to the realisation of our autonomy and mana motuhake.

A Curriculum of Places

In the 2010 draft of the *E tū ana a Ngāti Rangiwewehi 2040 strategic plan*, the tribal governance committee approached the question of who we are by referring specifically to place:

The home of Ngāti Rangiwewehi, Tarimano Marae is situated and located on the north western shores of Lake Rotorua Nui ā Kahumatamomoe and next to the Te Awahou River (Te Wai Mimi ō Pekehāua).

Rangiwewehi ki Uta boundaries extend from Waimihia Stream with Ngāraranui, south to Pauaraurewa a lake edge point and east with Ngāti Parua to Rangiwewehi ki Tai extending to Haraki Marae at Manoeka including the Mangorewa Kaharoa block which runs along the Pyes Pā Road to Tauranga (Ngāti Rangiwewehi Governance Committee, 2010, p. 6).

The mention here of the second Ngāti Rangiwewehi marae, Haraki at Manoeka, Te Puke, provides a useful reminder of why such mātauranga must form a part of the core of any Rangiwewehi curriculum. While our mandating and claims documents mention both of our marae, our present realities mean that in the day to

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19 Our connections and relationship with Rangiwewehi ki Tai is also discussed by Flavell (1986, p. 425).
day lives of most Ngāti Rangiwewehi (ki uta), Tarimano is viewed as our only marae. This has its benefits as Gina Mohi points out: “the social cohesiveness in Rangiwewehi is due partly to the fact that there is one marae, so for decision-making it’s much simpler” (Gina Mohi, Wānanga recording, WS117003).

Despite the fact that Tarimano is seen as ‘home’, it is important to remember that our relationships elsewhere have by no means expired or been severed. While many of us are aware of these ties, with the passing of key individuals on both sides who actively maintained and ensured those connections, these links are not as strong now as they once were. Subsequently, the mātauranga concerning both marae has the potential to deepen our understandings of who we are, but must be carefully negotiated in the context of our current political landscapes. The rekindling of those broader connections is important to our aspirations, and therefore to the goals and outcomes in any proposed course of learning. Nevertheless, at its core, a prospective Rangiwewehi curriculum must necessarily situate itself first and foremost at Tarimano and Awahou, where the home fires burn brightest.

As the interview participants have attested throughout the preceding chapters, place is fundamental to who we are, and in teaching and learning about ourselves, situates our knowledge, nourishes our mātauranga, and provides models that reflect our perspectives. They name our world, and are principal components of our curriculum. Although, there are a large number of places of importance to us, the focus here is on those specific areas that are central to our mātauranga. Indeed, while knowledge of certain fishing spots, places to catch tuna, or rama kōura, are clearly valuable, that mātauranga alone would be insufficient to ground a person in their identity as Rangiwewehi. Of more immediate and prominent value are specific key localities, such as our maunga, awa, marae, puna, and urupā. These are key places, the core elements of any curriculum we might conceive, and are essential spaces that every Rangiwewehi person must know.

These places teach us in multiple ways, through their names, through their histories and through our living and on-going interactions with them. In this sense grounding ones’ self in this mātauranga is most easily achieved through participation. When asked what someone would need to do to strengthen their Rangiwewehitanga, Kata Pihera emphasised the need to participate at the marae,
articulating her belief that even if you haven’t grown up with those connections then access comes through participation:

It’s easy but I can see that it doesn’t appear to be easy but it is, or it can be. Come along, get involved in anything. Attend meetings, identify things you can help participate in. There is access that way, talking to regulars at the marae. Just know who you are, introduce yourself (Kata Pihera, 7 May 2008, 35.31).

Knowing who you are though, and being confident enough in that identity to involve yourself in iwi life, can pose a more complicated and difficult process for some (Emery, 2008). It is possible that the construction and implementation of a curriculum might provide greater opportunities to bring people home. It has the potential to help develop an environment where people can truly become engaged in the community, where vital formal and informal learning is gained through exposure to the lived experiences of home.

Many of the interviewees have referred to tribal wānanga as a principal space and model for both the development and implementation of a potential Rangiwewehi course of learning, or curriculum. While wānanga may be viewed and used in a pedagogical sense, as a way to teach and implement knowledge, they also prove to be equally useful as a tool for developing the curriculum. As Anaru explains, the wānanga as an appropriate forum to unpack and unfurl our ideas is also a space where learning is highly structured and sequenced:

So what do we need to do? Wānanga, if we come through the karakia, ko te pū, ko te more, ko te mana. From the seed, to the rootlet, into the trunk, to branches, to twigs, to leaves, to fruit. It’s about the conception of an idea… Some of us want to start at the fruit. We’ve got to have the conversation about it, but wānanga is further up, need to start at the seed (Anaru Bidois, 20 April 2008, 29.01).

Wānanga as a context for kōrero and discussion has always been an important feature of Ngāti Rangiwewehi learning and teaching, but also for decision making. Operating in some senses like the spiral curriculum originally discussed by Bruner (1960), wānanga regularly revisit the same topics, concepts, issues and ideas allowing deeper and more complex consideration of the chosen kaupapa. The conversation is always influenced by those in attendance, the stories shared always link to key places and people and the underpinning principles and tikanga manifested at a particular time or place. As new participants join the conversation
their stories are added, although stories are often repeated, albeit with the focus slightly changed or the emphasis placed according to the intentions of each different story teller. In this way the learning is always related to previous understandings, expanding and enlightening as we are exposed to the stories again and again, from the various range of perspectives and views that we hold as individuals. As a forum for decision making the detailed consideration of the wide range of views is essential to ensure that any final decisions have been well thought out and will in the end hold the support of the iwi.

Wānanga then provide opportunities to come home, affirming “the participatory nature of taku Rangiwewehitanga” (Anaru Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117007). As several participants pointed out, “wānanga are important in assisting us in planning to move forward…. but call a wānanga and [only] Ngāti wānanga will come, what are the ways we can encourage other people to participate?” (Toro Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117003).

One suggestion in response to this problem encouraged te iwi to “have a calendar, [and] have several fixed dates each year” so that people could plan for these set wānanga or iwi activities (Harata Hāhunga, Wānanga recording, WS117003). It was also mentioned that “half the problem is [that] people don’t know what’s going on, so making it available like on facebook” (Phillipa Moore, Wānanga recording, WS117003). The use of a range of media and the importance of effective, and up to date communication, are important considerations. In reflection, the development of a curriculum could provide assistance with the way this knowledge is presented, particularly how it is connected to other initiatives. Another recommendation related to extending our conceptions of appropriate spaces in which to have these kōrero or wānanga:

In trying to develop a curriculum it’s not just about the content but also about the process. We’ve got to consider how we do it, some people say just have a wānanga but it may not be a wānanga it might be that any time there’s an issue having the ability for anyone to put a take on the table, feel safe, not be shot down and have a kōrero on it (Te Ururoa Flavell, 8 August 2008, 15.04).

Here Te Ururoa was specifically talking about utilising opportunities when we are together, such as tangihanga, in the breaks between one, when we can consider and discuss the issues that face us at the time. This is a highly useful proposition,
because if we broaden this philosophy then there is no reason why the curriculum cannot be enacted and applied to spaces beyond just the marae.

In reconfiguring and reimagining curriculum on our own terms, it is possible to make wānanga more accessible by extending our conceptions of place. This re-conceptualisation then challenges us to produce multiple curricula, for those who live and are able to meet at home, and for those Ngāti Rangiwewehi who live abroad. Indeed in this age of continual technological development it makes sense that we might start considering how to utilise those advancements that allow us to reinvent ourselves in new ways. That is not to suggest that these alternatives would replace our more traditional meetings on the marae, but within the context of a curriculum, they could be used to complement the traditional face to face wānanga, providing a way to gently familiarise those who have not been home for some time, or to maintain contact for those who are incapable of returning on a regular basis. This broader consideration of space is not simply about the accessibility of our knowledge, but in relation to curriculum encompasses an intergenerational approach, a fuller family experience, where the curriculum is inclusive of age brackets rather than prescriptive in the same ways that primary, secondary and even tertiary curricula divide their learners in the Pākehā world.

Although a more inclusive approach is possible, several interview participants noted how the nature of our iwi discussions can sometimes be quite heavy and are often long and drawn out. Rauroha Clarke, for instance, pointed out that “the kaupapa and the take that we discuss can be really overwhelming...there are people who want to be involved but it goes over their heads, can be a bit out there” (Rauroha Clarke, 5 May 2008, 57.31). Without a strong interest in, or some general understanding of, the often long and complicated background information, people may become confused and potentially discouraged from participating, as Anaru explains:

If even I find some of our meetings not people friendly how are people who don’t have the same drive going to handle it. That’s the dilemma, because we’ll always have to do the business but how can we do it in a way that is more inclusive, do we always have to use this format (Anaru Bidois, 20 April 2008, 29.01).

This perspective is important here because it highlights the moments and places, where learning, business, and politics collide, where the mātauranga and
atmosphere deepens beyond the songs sung at Kōhanga, where the tamariki and rangatahi course of learning is outweighed by the complications of their pākeke. In the potential construction of a curriculum it remains for the iwi to consider exactly where the pathways for learning might converge and diverge between our mātua and tamariki. While issues of format and applicability are similarly relevant in the development of a potential curriculum, what is equally interesting is the possible ways in which a potential curriculum might also help us in the political affairs of the iwi. Indeed, Rangiwewehitanga in all its many nuances has been moulded as much from our cultural encounters with Pākehā, as it has been by our kōrero tuku iho from our ancestors. This is knowledge that both our rangatahi and pākeke should be grounded in. In this sense our curriculum, on all levels, should help us to understand and grapple with previous and ongoing colonial encounters, developing in us a fuller comprehension of the range of factors and dealings that have led us to our current predicament. To this extent, a potential Rangiwewehi curriculum on our terms is most certainly a positive and achievable initiative, but should always be critical and mindful of the need to careful negotiate those views that intersect with ours.

Wharehuia Hemara (2000) has described learning as a dynamic and complex interplay between the individual and their community, and that “[b]y acting out the knowledge that has been accumulated, there is no separation from knowing and doing” (p. 39). Such observations affirm the importance of place and hint at the ways in which teaching and learning take place in the day to day acts of living on the marae. However, such teaching opportunities provide more than simply learning, as Tommy elaborates here, working together in these ways helps form those bonds that solidify our relationships to the places of importance to us, and cements the whakapapa ties that bind us together as an iwi:

I was always involved with Awahou, with committee marae... always there for working bees. I used to organise a lot of them. Work schemes started coming out, and were building this mattress room... They raised it at the meeting that the PD workers were going to come out and build the mattress room. I was against it because I believe that working together on the marae was what kept us together and strong as an iwi. I said that if they did that I was going to leave. I was really brassed off because I felt they were taking away from us work that was keeping us together (Tommy Bidois, 5 May 2008, 33.45).
There is little doubt that the construction and implementation of a curriculum has the potential to greatly assist our people, yet it must take stock of our key spaces and their relevance to the way we view the world. Locations are always spaces of power and control, and for Ngāti Rangiwewehi, our physical sites are as much our spiritual domains as they are our intellectual fountains and wellsprings. In the imagining of a curriculum, places such as wānanga can quickly transform the course of learning. When this occurs, the curriculum itself has the potential to change as it meets the needs of various learners, whether it be attentive pākeke or sometimes our bored rangatahi. Indeed, although we fervently admonish the vital places in our mātauranga, we must necessarily broaden our horizons to compensate for multiple curricula, in and beyond the marae.

**A Curriculum of People**

In the same way that Tarimano and Awahou are core components of any curriculum we might imagine, so too are the many people who embody the characteristics, values, practices, beliefs and the mātauranga that make Rangiwewehi who we are. When specifically asked about the prominent personalities of Ngāti Rangiwewehi, the names recounted were generally the same, but the stories which bought these personalities to life were often varied. For Tommy Bidois, one of these figures is Jimmy Drake:

> He was an outstanding fulla… cultural work was second to nothing, doing his waiata and singing. I learnt a lot of songs just by listening to him… He was Rangiwewehi – for culture, when it came to action songs and haka and everything like that Jimmy Drake, he was a Hākopa. Following on from him there was Aunty Kato, George or Gladys that took over after that and she started teaching the kids, then George Brenan (Tommy Bidois, 5 May 2008, 40.48).

The people in our tribal history, as our wharenui aptly demonstrates, hold up the tāhūhu kōrero and in this sense prop up the house as a living being. Their photos, stories, and memories, are the essential building blocks of any curriculum we might conceive. Indeed, without them, there is no curriculum. During the interviews I heard many stories about Kato Flavell and her daughter Gladys, and later the work that Hori Brenan did with our kapa haka. However, Kato Flavell was involved in more than just kapa haka, and was described as our historian, and our pātaka whakapapa, as Rikihana Hancock explains:
Kōrero has always been, whakapapa is, the males domain. When I first came back the real pātaka whakapapa was nanny Kato. Only knew her for 4 years before she died and all the kaumātua I knew went to her to talk whakapapa. Not many knew it, so it became her and a few men. In Te Arawa still now knowledgeable ones still say it’s the domain of male, but at Awahou it’s different. Not all wāhine at Awahou agree but the precedent has been set they did it and did it well (Rikihana Hancock, 24 April 2008, 56.31).

Nanny Kato, an exception to the male norm, held a significant role in terms of retaining our mātauranga, passing her knowledge on freely to those who were interested in learning. She provided strong leadership and influence within the iwi, and composed waiata that have since served to define our Rangiwewehi. She is one of the strongest examples of a key figure that would have to feature within any potential Rangiwewehi curriculum.

Another prominent leader, referred to in nearly every interviewee is Pakake Leonard. Pakake was a distinguished kaumatua who during his time as chairperson of the Marae committee oversaw the building and opening of our current wharekai, Te Aongāhoro. He was described as “an authoritarian”, and as Toro recounts: “he spoke and that’s what you did and you didn’t argue aye, nobody argued” (Toro Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117006). He also held prominence within the wider Rotorua community as the first Māori chairperson of the Westpac bank and as the first Māori Deputy Mayor:

Pakake Leonard, he was brilliant, Deputy Major, first chairman of Westpac bank… When Dad was sick he told Kato to get Kake, he gave the mana o Ngāti Rangiwewehi to Kake, all the things he should have taught his sons he taught to Kake (Ella Bidois, 25 April 2008, 30.54).

Some individuals while holding significant and influential positions within the iwi, were recalled as much for their actions as their roles. Such is the case with Te Kaniwha Ahipene, another prominent kaumatua of Rangiwewehi and chairperson of the kōmiti marae following Pakake. While there are no doubt a number of different stories that could have been told about his life, the one story that was shared by everyone who mentioned him, was the influential role that Te Kaniwha, also known as Don, played in the shifting of the paepae from the right hand on the
tāngata whenua side, to the left, in line with the rest of Te Arawa, as Eruera Nikora recalls:

Well a few years back there was quite a big debate about what side the pae would stand on... You see what happened was Sir George Grey asked Te Rangiākāheke to write up a kawa, so at that time there was a kawa o Tarimano and he wrote it up because it belonged to Rangiwewehi. And he only really wrote it up because Sir George Grey wanted some written information. Now the kawa o Tarimano is not the same as the kawa o Te Arawa so there was a debate for quite a while... So they decided they needed to make a decision, the iwi, so what happened, it went through a lot of the iwi, the women, then they sent it back to the paepae, and Te Kaniwha, her Dad was the main man on the paepae and he decided to go with the kawa o Te Arawa (Eruera Nikora, 6 May 2008, 35.56).

This decision to change the tikanga of Ngāti Rangiwewehi has continued to be debated since then, with the current paepae now considering a return to the original tikanga as set out by Wi Maihi Te Rangiākāheke. These historic occasions, and the individuals involved in them, are part and parcel of who we are as Rangiwewehi. They are core components, or rather threads, of any potential curriculum that we might construct.

While most of the interview participants shared stories of those people whom they recalled within their living memory, there are other celebrated historical figures whose place within any Rangiwewehi curriculum are vitally important. Indeed, how could we conceive a curriculum that taught us about Ngāti Rangiwewehi without learning anything about Hikairo, or Kahawai, both key figures in the leadership of our iwi, and ancestors about whom songs have been written. Similarly, Te Ao Kapurangi, another illustrious Rangiwewehi woman, provides a further example of a tupuna whose exploits are remembered in song and whakatauaūkī as Hukarere Mohi recounts:

When Ngāpuhi came down to battle and she wanted her people to be saved, and the Ngāpuhi said “well if they go through your legs they’ll be saved.” But that’s degrading, and she knew that her people, the men, wouldn’t do that. But she was clever. Women are very clever you know. She climbed up onto the whare and straddled and they walked...
through the door and that’s how they were saved. That’s where that phrase “Anō, ko te whare whawhao ō Te Aokapurangi” the people squashed into it (Hukarere Mohi (2), 14 August 2008, 10.05).

Stories such as this one are far more important to Rangiwewehi than the exploits of Cook, Tasman, or Grey: all key figures in the New Zealand discursive narrative. Indeed, Te Aokapurangi remains a much more appropriate founding figure for our tamariki and mokopuna. Such powerful positive role models are sorely needed for our people today, when much of the mainstream media portrays Māori in a range of unflattering and negative stereotypes, firmly entrenched as they are within the deficit discourses of ‘other’ (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). In the creation of our own curriculum, our ancestors can be brought to the fore, allowing a re-centering of our stories, told from our perspective, thus assisting us in furthering our goals, realising our autonomy, passing on our knowledge, and empowering our people.

A basic understanding of our key ancestors is essential to the curriculum we might imagine for ourselves. Knowing who Kererū, Ngata, Whakaokorau, Whakakeu, Te Pūrei, Tāwhaki and Rehu were, and are, is vital to knowing our world, and will give us insights into why we have hapū named after these tūpuna today. How can we have a Ngāti Rangiwewehi curriculum without a knowledge of the tūpuna after whom our iwi is named? Coming to know this whakapapa requires us to understand the process of our relationship, and how it is relevant to our past, present, and future lives.

In this sense, the whakapapa itself could be considered a type of curriculum, complete with content to be learnt and its own range of attendant pedagogical considerations, as Hemara (2000) has noted: “For Māori, individuals hold positions on a whakapapa continuum. They are intimately connected to everyone else. These links are part of an ever-widening cycle of relationships where information is continually being transmitted and received” (p. 33). Whakapapa, in this way, serves to instruct us on our positioning within the iwi, and helps to provide order. It provides explanations about our duties and responsibilities, and accounts for the corresponding rights we might expect for fulfilling those obligations.
The teaching and learning of whakapapa though is a somewhat contentious issue. As alluded to earlier, there remains a prevalent view amongst many of our own people, that whakapapa, and the learning of whakapapa, is inherently tapu. Whakapapa constitutes mātauranga that is so important and sacred that it cannot be simply passed on to anyone. This dilemma has made it difficult for some to know who they can and cannot trust:

They would sooner take a knowledge of their own traditions with them than pass them on to the present generation. They believe if it goes out to another person outside the family, in a short time it will have dissolved, absorbed by all the other people who have access to it. There is also fear that by giving things out they could be commercialised. If this happens, they lose their sacredness, their fertility. They just become common. And knowledge that is profane had lost its life, lost its tapu (Te Uira Manihera, in King, 1981, pp. 7-8).

For Ngāti Rangiwewehi, this challenge remains an issue. However, as Anaru asserts here, development and change will be necessary if we hope to ensure the long term maintenance of our mātauranga and the continued retention of our whakapapa:

Development has to happen or else kua ngaro… The most important thing about this mahi isn’t the whakapapa connection, it is the responsibility to our people. Like a puawai, relevant information, if we hold onto it, it will shrivel up and die, but needs to be shared so it can blossom because it doesn’t belong to us (Anaru Bidois, 20 April 2008, 22.31).

An extension of this issue pertinent within Te Arawa is the apprehension felt by some concerning the teaching of whakapapa to women. Comments made within the interviews, taken alongside precedents such as those set by Kato Flavell, as mentioned earlier, seem to suggest that such views are not entirely reflective of the attitudes held within Ngāti Rangiwewehi as Eruera Nikora’s comments illustrate:

In the old days the women used to sit in front of the kaumātua poutokomanawa, and it was really to feed, if they stop or they hesitate, the next name normally those kuia in front gave them the lead again, so who holds the knowledge of whakapapa? I’m like that, I say let them have a look at the books, I’m not frightened of anything because I’m strong in my own belief that they are the holders of the whakapapa not the men, because they were killed in battle (Eruera Nikora, 6 May 2008, 1.00.46).
Cherry Nikora also shared her belief that “the holder of the whakapapa has to be the women, and being the whare tangata has a big part of that, they have a fair idea of who’s who and who the children are and who the uri are” (Cherry Nikora, 6 May 2008, 1.00.46). Others commented on the difficulties of learning whakapapa, explaining that for those who have difficulty dealing with issues of incest or infidelity the learning of whakapapa can be upsetting. Such concerns, however, were also used as a justification for the argument that we must teach our people our whakapapa, with several interview participants sharing stories where close relatives often raised away from home met and had relationships without knowing the whakapapa connection: “That’s why I always say it’s really important, you got to tell them now, don’t wait till it’s too late... it’s about keeping the whakapapa healthy, and about keeping the whenua” (Eruera Nikora, 6 May 2008, 1.06.46).

Eruera’s comments here highlight the importance of teaching our people their whakapapa, and in the process equipping them to appropriately defend any challenge to their rights. Unfortunately, many of our kaumātua, who traditionally would have held this mātauranga, are not as confident in this knowledge as they feel they should be, and the existence of variations to the whakapapa add to these feelings of apprehension and trepidation. Subsequently, the place of whakapapa as a core component in a Rangiwewehi curriculum, aside from being fundamental necessity, would also assist us in overcoming these barriers. Indeed a consciousness of the whakapapa connections and the obligations these entail could encourage wider participation in iwi affairs, as Kata’s comments here suggest:

    Being involved with the iwi, and hearing the processes, seeing the amount of work involved in trying to maintain a strong iwi and develop as an iwi, I’ve seen the work that goes into it now and I know there was a lot of work that went into it before (Kata Pihera, 7 May 2008, 43.00).

A curriculum that is built on the foundations of our own whakapapa, located in our significant places, enables us to frame our mātauranga and tikanga within our worldviews. Ensuring that our people are grounded within this knowledge is immensely empowering, and allows us to make more informed about our future directions. As Toro argues here such opportunities to clarify our position are
important in creating more certainty and security for those in the decision making positions within the iwi:

We’re all sitting back and saying what shall we do, it’s quite easy for us to say we’ll take the direction of the kaumātua and sometimes, no disrespect to them, they don’t know what to do in that situation. So collectively… in this situation, as an iwi we discuss those things and we all come up with a clear idea and say this is what we do when that happens in the future and you know there’s no disrespect to anyone, all of us we’re all learning all those old ones have taken the scholars up to Puhirua and we’re still lucky we’ve got these ones like Mum and them and these ones that do know to tell us (Toro Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117007).

Making the most of the mātauranga that still remains with us can be used to create a strong foundation, and may provide a more realistic option in the short term, and greater potential in the long term as those taught at home ensure a larger pool of people to draw on to support both the functioning of the iwi, and the education of those away from home as Te Ururoa articulates here:

[T]he ones who are carrying the tikanga are the ones who need to know this stuff, because in the end they’re basically in the hands of those people who run the show at the time to do it. It’s not the ones that are in Bali, or China, or where ever. Although it’s good for them to know, but short of telling them what’s going to happen, then everybody fits in with whatever the pae says, that’s it, and that might be adaptable from time to time depending on who’s on the pae. For us, having that small key group of people who are here to run that pae, and I say that as someone who isn’t able to be here all the time…this is it, this is the law, this is how we run it, for the purposes of this tangihanga this is how it will be and we take the consequences of that (Te Ururoa Flavell, Wānanga recording, WS117004).

In many ways this suggestion parallels what is actually happening at the moment within the iwi. Despite the stated intention to try and bring people home, in actual fact, the same people are usually in attendance at our hui and our wānanga, and as the discussion continues and decisions are made those attending are becoming stronger and surer in what we do. If we continue as we are, albeit with a more conscious intention of clarifying our tikanga and equipping those in attendance with the skills and mātauranga they need to fulfil those primary roles, the resources and experience we develop along the way may assist us in distributing those skills and knowledge to a wider group over time. A curriculum has much
potential to support the iwi in clarifying these issues, developing appropriate resources and sharing them amongst those whom they would benefit most.

In the establishment of an iwi based curriculum we should consider measures to assist the growth of the iwi collectively, but also of the members of the iwi individually. As alluded to earlier, if our intention is to strengthen and revitalise our Rangiwewehitanga we must consider what responsibilities lie with the individuals to do their part, and what responsibilities the iwi might have to its individual members. Such notions were articulated by Kata in her interview:

I know I definitely have a responsibility, and that’s why I wanted to get more involved. That’s why I could jump in head first keeping in mind it’s not just for me. To make it different for my children than it was for me, so they know who they are and where they’re from and to be involved with Rangiwewehi (Kata Pihera, 7 May 2008, 39.00).

From this perspective perhaps the true function of a potential Rangiwewehi curriculum will be more about providing greater access for those iwi members wanting the mātauranga to strengthen their Rangiwewehitanga. In the creation of such resources and the inevitable discussions that will need to take place as we work towards clarifying our positions and collating the necessary information, the iwi will also collectively be in a process of consciousness raising. Arguably, this may be the greatest benefit that the iwi might expect and a necessary step if our mātauranga is to do more than simply survive. We must consider how we can encourage more and more iwi members to consider their own obligations in this journey, asking themselves “what am I going to do in the rebuilding…[of] my tōku Rangiwewehitanga, my essence of being Rangiwewehi,… it’s all about our own journey what do we need to reemploy” (Anaru Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117006).

Whether ‘re-employing’, or reconnecting, it is our whakapapa that contains the threads that bind us together. In building, or even imagining, a curriculum the key people in this whakapapa are crucial, from the nanny Kato’s to the Hikairo’s and Te Rangikāheke’s, there is simply no curriculum without their presence. The people, like the places, constitute core elements in the curriculum, but more than this, it is the whakapapa structure itself that is perhaps of most importance. Indeed, our whakapapa highlights the fact that our own learning and understanding is inherently a process of interconnected steps, where each
individual and their story is in effect, laid upon each other in a sequence that enriches our mātauranga. Whakapapa then, highlights the ‘course of learning’ that marks Rangiwewehi as the eponymous ancestor, and then through his offspring the various descent lines of not only our hapū and whānau, but our intellectual capacity. Thus, if we follow a whakapapa approach within our own curriculum, we have the choice to begin with Rangiwewehi, to work towards that tupuna from our own personal perspective or to trace our lines to others through his position. The curriculum then is a sequential ‘course’ of learning, yet that course is not necessarily determined by mere chronological measurements of progress popular to our colonial counterparts, but imagined from multiple perspectives as we note the lives of various iwi members whose countenances are still with us in the lives of their own descendants. To this extent, a curriculum is highly useful, but only in as much as it is reconfigured and refined to reflect our worldviews.

A Curriculum of Survival

If people and place are to be considered core components of a Ngāti Rangiwewehi curriculum, then it is important here to examine some of the vital threads that weave them together, and give deeper meaning to their status. The importance of these core elements have been the focus of many iwi initiatives that have recognised the need to keep our language, tikanga, and mana motuhake alive and kicking into the twenty first century. These threads, as has been noted in earlier chapters, all feature in stories of survival that accentuate the aspirations of our people to speak our language, live our customs, and seek outcomes conducive to our own visions and dreams. Indeed, if our curriculum is one of people and place, it is also a curriculum of survival, perhaps best expressed here by Tauri, who asserts that it is all about “our own strategic educational requirements. We don’t fit into what somebody else wants to give us” (Tauri Morgan, 7 May 2008, 16.34).

An emphasis on those things, we believe are essential to our survival, are as important to the curriculum as the people and places that define who we are. The retention of our tikanga provides a primary example, and was identified by various iwi members as a central feature that contributed to our Ngāti Rangiwehehitanga, as Philippa Moore explained, “I think you know you have your set tikanga, because that’s what makes us, us, and nobody can dictate who
we are, and it’s about being committed and sticking to it” (Phillipa Moore, Wānanga recording, WS117004). The assertion that other iwi cannot dictate the terms of our tikanga is a matter of mana motuhake, which we must defend and uphold. However, as has been discussed in previous chapters, our ability to be committed to our tikanga is sometimes impacted upon by other factors outside of our control such as a lack of fluent and confident speakers of te reo able to take their place in support of the few kaumātua currently on our paepae. Nevertheless, as Anaru notes, these issues need not be debilitating to our tino rangātiratanga:

It’s about who works for who? Does the tikanga work for the people or do the people work for the tikanga and when we’re talking about practicalities instead of talking about these sort of things, if we can do it this way which makes it fine for us and we’re not stressing and everything, let’s do it, because we’d be silly to make a rod for our back (Anaru Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117004).

Most of the interviewees recounted various ways in which tikanga have changed or provided alternative interpretations that might better meet the needs of people. However, these adaptations were not always advocated as long term or wholesale changes. In facilitating these moments of adaption, a curriculum has the potential to provide a specific learning context in which the iwi can more carefully consider revisions that are appropriate, or not, to the tikanga. In this regard, there is a need to maintain balance between a willingness to evolve our tikanga, while ensuring the key elements and underlying principles remain intact.

Although Rangiwewehi are capable of making the changes necessary to adapt to the different circumstances, there is still a need for caution because “if you start making allowances then people start expecting them as well” (Phillipa Moore, Wānanga recording, WS117004). During the wānanga Te Ururoa elaborated further on the difficulties that arise when creating such allowances and exceptions:

If you are able to have exceptions then you’ve got to understand what the exceptions, are and if you create the exceptions then there’s no rule. You can’t have a rule because you’ve created a change, you’ve created a precedent (Te Ururoa Flavell, Wānanga recording, WS117004).

Te Ururoa’s concern here stresses the importance of starting with a firm understanding of the tikanga before contemplating the need for adaption or
change. Being educated in the fundamental and traditional aspects of our tikanga then allows for a more informed application and ownership of our ways of being for future generations. The introduction of a curriculum to support the teaching and learning of this knowledge would necessarily operate on specific principles related to the on-going survival of our traditional practices. As we begin to understand the principles underpinning the tikanga more intimately, we may similarly grow to view the tikanga differently, yet this is a form of ownership that requires a deep knowledge of our cultural world, its laws, practices, and spiritual beliefs. The construction of a curriculum on our terms, with specific aspirations for survival and autonomy, is essentially a course of empowerment. For Ngāti Rangiwewehi, this is an important goal, because as Anaru reminds us, “the real power lies in us, because that’s what information gives us… the power of choice” (Anaru Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117006).

A fuller understanding of tikanga enables us to offer more robust explanations when we not only define it, but seek to amend it, if only on special occasions. On this issue, Te Ururoa notes how this can be a very quick process, yet one that includes and encourages discussion amongst our own:

There was a tangi recently where I basically told them that the last person on the pae will speak Māori, why, because we’ve decided that that’s what they will do. They didn’t like it too much but they had to go with it, and how we got around it was… we said give us your Māori, [and your] waiata, and that’s the end of the formal proceedings. After that you can speak Chinese if you want, but we’ve done what we had to do, and having done that they were comfortable enough, so for me a lot of it is about talking amongst ourselves first about what we will do (Te Uruoa Flavell, Wānanga recording, WS117004).

The decision that Ngāti Rangiwewehi has made to ensure that only Māori is spoken on our paepae is as much a matter of respecting our traditional tikanga as it is a matter of ensuring it survives into the future. The flexibility between formal proceedings, where a strict observance of specific tikanga is preferred, and more informal hui, where whānau are afforded greater room to move on set protocols, is dealt with on a case by case basis. Te Ururoa’s example above also highlights the desire of Ngāti Rangiwewehi to preserve and maintain the speaking of te reo Māori within our rituals, practices, and most importantly within the everyday lives of our iwi. Our language has long been a core element in the struggle to survive,
not just for Rangiwewehi, but for Māori in general, as the late Sir James Henare stressed “the language is the core of our culture and mana. Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 34). Other Indigenous peoples have similarly declared “that every time we speak our language, we are decolonizing ourselves” because “there is a distinct worldview in language” (Weenie, 2008, p. 554).

The ambition to have Ngāti Rangiwewehi capable of operating completely in te reo Māori is an achievable and important goal, as articulated in our 2040 Strategic Plan (Ngāti Rangiwewehi Governance Committee, 2010, p. 17). However, beyond just the revitalisation of the Māori language, our mission, “to affirm the mana of Ngāti Rangiwewehi as we move into the new millennium”, suggests the possibility of exploring te reo ake o Ngāti Rangiwewehi: that is our own distinctive phrasings, sayings, words, and dialect (Ngāti Rangiwewehi Governance Committee, 2010, p. 12). While it is currently unclear what mātauranga exists relating to any specific Rangiwewehi reo, we are fortunate to have a wealth of written information from our tūpuna, such as Wi Maihi Te Rangikāheke, one of the most prolific Māori writers of the nineteenth century and “New Zealand’s first professional historian” (Belich, 1996, p. 192). Utilising these resources, as well as those members who are fluent speakers, our waiata, and of course our kaumātua and kuia, there is space yet to explore the reo that we deem is specific to us. These aspirations and visions are expressive of the mana motuhake o Ngāti Rangiwewehi, as Te Ururoa points out here:

If we believe that tōku Rangiwewehitanga is what makes me who I am as Rangiwewehi, and if we say this is how it will be, then that’s how it is. People accept it or they don’t accept it. It doesn’t matter actually, because in the end, that is what our people have said makes us who we are. Put another way, if we don’t have those things in place then we don’t actually have anything that guides us about what makes us unique (Te Ururoa Flavell, Wānanga recording, WS117002).

In a curriculum of survival, our reo and tikanga are vital components. They set the tone, the rules, and the standard for what is taught, how, why, and in what manner. In essence, a curriculum of people, place and survival returns our knowledge to us, on our terms, and in our language. Inextricably intertwined with the notion of survival is the more positive desire to empower, to loose and break the shackles as Anaru highlights below:
There’s a kōrero that goes until the tiger learns how to write, the story which is told is always that of the hunter,... a lot of our history has been written from other people, unfortunately until we start having a look at it a lot of our value system has also been impacted by other peoples values, and it’s about sorting through that and one of these things that has impacted upon us and we’ve just started to break free now but there’s still some insidious links and… then we can start to understand the impact of Victorianism upon us as a people and breaking those shackles away (Anaru Bidois, Wānanga recording, WS117006).

To understand what it means to be free, to be consciously aware, is an emancipatory act. Subsequently, to become active in our self-determination we must necessarily be aware of what it is we are resisting, we are struggling against, and what it is that we are essentially surviving for. Thus, in a curriculum of survival and empowerment, it is important to confront the realities of our past, present, and future, as Gina Mohi points out:

Because the reality is that we’ve been colonised and institutionalised into another way of thinking and it’s a subconscious thing too because we do it without thinking so it’s trying to be clear about which head am I thinking with is it my Pākehā colonised one or my tikanga one… you know it took 150 years to get here it ain’t going to happen overnight but we’ve got to start somewhere… that’s our reality we’re in transition back to our roots (Gina Mohi, Wānanga recording, WS117006).

In considering the usefulness of a curriculum for Rangiwewehi, it is difficult to look beyond the underlying desire to survive. Whether it be our language, customs, or autonomy, we have struggled to retain these aspects of ourselves. Thus, in embracing the act of survival we look forward to a transformation from resistance to liberation and empowerment. The conceptualisation and eventual implementation of a curriculum on our terms has the potential to facilitate this, so long as it remains grounded in our mātauranga, taught within our pedagogies, and led by our aspirations and dreams.

**Conclusion/Summary**

In the construction of a Ngāti Rangiwewehi curriculum, this chapter has pointed to some of the key components of what our course of learning might contain. Ko te whiu o te kōrero as it relates to our ways of being would necessarily take account of those things most precious to who we are. If a curriculum is viable
then, on our terms, it must necessarily be a curriculum of place, of people, and survival, to truly embrace and reflect our aspirations and worldviews. Subsequently, there is little doubt that the construction of a curriculum to facilitate the transmission and realise our mātauranga is useful, and indeed, crucial if we are to adequately teach our future generations. Our curriculum, if we might begin to imagine it, is primarily a curriculum of place, where Tarimano, Awahou, Tiheia, Kaikaitahuna, and other sites are central to the way nationalism, science, maths, and history might be perceived. Likewise, our course of learning would equally be a curriculum of people, such as koro Hunuhunu, Te Rangikāheke, Hikairo, Tawakeheimoa, Te Aongāhoro, and of course Rangiwewehi. These are our founding mothers and fathers, through who we are able to explore all other facets of contemporary life, in our world and beyond. Finally, our curriculum will always be a curriculum of survival, where our language, tikanga, and autonomy are favoured as the essential goals and requirements that drive our direction into the future. In this regard, our focus on survival is merely transitional as we seek a more liberated sense of being. Thus, in every aspect these curricula, as they are weaved together, share a primary and singular objective: that is the on-going empowerment of our Ngāti Rangiwewehitanga.

Whether or not ‘curriculum’ is the right term remains to be seen. Indeed, there are most likely more appropriate words in our own language that more aptly describe what we are trying to do. However, as we currently function, each task is assessed by the community to ensure that the pedagogical settings and approaches are grounded within the epistemological foundations of the iwi. In other words, the aim of this thesis is not to name our curriculum, but to examine what might be contained within it, and its applicability to our needs. This is a project beyond the confines of these pages. Moreover, if a curriculum is about the learning of a body of knowledge, for a specific purpose, then in many ways Rangiwewehi already has a curriculum. What remains is for the iwi to become more consciously engaged in its evolvement, and particularly with initiatives and research that might contribute to our ways of framing a curriculum in the future. While these initial transformations may begin in the mind, it is incomplete if not joined by meaningful action, as bell hooks (1994) has argued:
Urging all of us to open our minds and hearts so that we can know beyond the boundaries of what is acceptable, so that we can think and rethink, so that we can create new visions, celebrat[ing] teaching that enables transgressions – a movement against and beyond boundaries. It is that movement which makes education the practice of freedom (p. 12).

One of the most empowering aspects relevant to the imaging and potential realisation of our own curriculum is the fact that we are the masters of our own destiny. A curriculum on our terms then is not only viable and useful, but in itself is an act of freedom. The facilitation of that process, as this chapter has stressed, is more than achievable in a curriculum that brings our places, people, and aspirations to the forefront of teaching and learning.
CHAPTER 6

Anō, ko te Riu ō Tāne Mahuta

From its opening pages, this thesis has endeavoured to tell our stories and privilege our voices as it has considered the possibility of a curriculum that speaks to our needs and visions. In this regard, it is a story book, complete with our oral accounts and perspectives, an embodiment of who we are as Ngāti Rangiwewehi. In claiming this space, this study has necessarily drawn on the words of our own tribal members, and has sought to situate their narratives within an appropriate structure. Subsequently, in returning to, and reclaiming, the story of our kaitiaki Pekehāua, a more suitable ‘structure’ has necessarily been fashioned from our kōrero tuku iho. Thus, ‘Anō, ko te Riu ō Tāne Mahuta’ serves as an immediately more relevant intellectual edifice, within which the vital mātauranga of this study might be best housed, and most aptly displayed. Most importantly, an invocation of this structure challenges the reader to depart from other more formalised conceptions of ‘the Master’s thesis’ to engage more fully with our knowledge on our terms, as they are framed within our conceptions.

The life narrative interviews, or stories, referred to in this study were conducted with 18 iwi participants, yet many of the voices heard here were also drawn from a wānanga held to develop our understandings of our Rangiwewehitanga and the possibilities and challenges that might emerge in the likely construction of an iwi curriculum. Although there were many themes and issues that arose in the course of these discussions, this thesis has focused primarily on three specific threads: these were place, people, and survival. These themes, recurrent in each chapter, have served to emphasise the interwoven nature of our underlying mātauranga and identity, our pedagogical approaches, and those core components relevant to the imagining of a Rangiwewehi course of learning. The division of the body of this thesis into three main chapters considered first, the importance of understanding those things that essentially form our mātauranga and identity, secondly, the pedagogical issues and modes most suitable to our people, and finally, the core elements of a potential curriculum and its viability to our overarching needs and aspirations.
A Curriculum Housed in our Mātauranga

Before considering the question of whether a curriculum is even viable or useful to Ngāti Rangiwewehi, it was essential to know what specific mātauranga exists in relation to our sense of community and worldview. On this issue, both interview and wānanga participants identified several key markers in chapter three. Within the theme of place, for instance, many stressed the importance of several essential physical locations to which our identity is intimately intertwined. These sites of significance, as their accounts emphasised, literally ground our tribal identity in our mana whenua. Subsequently, to fully know and appreciate our Rangiwewehitanga, a personal relationship to these places was perceived as a necessary part of the education process. For our people, assertions of tribal identity were generally articulated in their pepeha, often written and expressed in specific waiata, or recited and reinforced in kōrero tuku iho. Moreover, place, according to most, worked to configure our mātauranga in not only a physical sense, but in an intellectual and spiritual geography crucial to our sense of being.

Like place, people were also highlighted in chapter three as a key part of the way our mātauranga is shaped and maintained. Prominent tribal figures, as many of the narratives revealed, have been etched into the collective memories of our people. The stories recounted about their lives provided powerful archetypal models, revealing deeper insights into the varying characteristics and qualities that might inform the construction of a possible Rangiwewehi curriculum. In considering the mātauranga relating to Rangiwewehi as a people, participants contemplated questions surrounding the issue of who can identify as Rangiwewehi, and found that although whakapapa remained a crucial factor, there were still some instances in which membership was a far more flexible process. Ensuring that our identity is defined on our terms, as the interviews and wānanga discussions highlighted, often meant a rejection of foreign measures and standards that have limited and misrepresented our ways of being. This affirmation of self and collective identity was reflected in the various stories of people, whose roles in shaping our mātauranga not only underscored their epistemological significance, but reinforced the notion that their ways are our ways: a vital imperative in the transmission and upholding of traditional customs and beliefs.
Together with place and people, many participants also recounted stories of survival, both personal and collective. These narratives, within the fabric of our mātauranga, accentuated a desire to move beyond mere perseverance to a more emancipatory and liberated reality. The theme of survival then, within chapter three, highlighted the need to acknowledge our connections with other iwi, while ensuring that our values and goals are not undermined or subsumed within their worldviews. For many, the mātauranga of survival included a knowledge and maintenance of our historical and cultural practices, and the deeper awareness of our obligations as kaitiaki, not only in relation to land, but our language and intellectual treasures. Characterisations of Rangiwewehi as survivors were popular in a wide range of stories shared throughout the interviews, and illustrated our ability to adapt tikanga when required. These accounts suggest that before a Ngāti Rangiwewehi curriculum might be produced, its epistemological foundations must first be understood. Indeed, the authority to adapt tikanga comes from a firm grounding and appreciation of its initial purpose and underlying aims, and an awareness of its nuances. Such grounding requires a strong foundation in our kawa, as the unchanging principles and values which our tikanga are established to maintain and express. Thus, as chapter three illustrates, in constructing a possible Rangiwewehi curriculum, an understanding of our mātauranga is invaluable in assisting us to identify and preserve our mana motuhake. Moreover, the utility of a curriculum that speaks to our perspectives, in this sense, is always reliant on its grounding within the mātauranga that houses our views and visions.

A Curriculum Taught with our Pedagogy

In maintaining our own autonomy, a curriculum based on our mātauranga could only ever be communicated appropriately in our terms. This was the primary focus of chapter four, which examined the ways we have communicated, taught, and preserved knowledge. Within this chapter the themes of place, people and survival were again employed to illuminate distinctive pedagogical approaches specific to the transmission of our Rangiwewehitanga. A robust understanding of our pedagogical practices was important here because there can be no realisation of an iwi curriculum without an appreciation of its attendant pedagogies. Indeed, as many of the participants observed, the communicating and teaching of our
knowledge is itself inextricably part of our mātauranga. This was highlighted well in the opening section of chapter four, which considered the way in which our sites of significance worked to educate our own people.

Speaking on the importance of place, many of the interviewees referred to the marae as the primary pedagogical setting, noting the wharenui in particular as a living and breathing example of our teaching in practice. Within these spaces, the environment itself frames not only what is normative, as overtly evident in the tukutuku and carvings for instance, but what is expected in the protocols or tikanga relevant to each location. Thus, the mātauranga communicated in wānanga and even kapahaka practices were, as many noted, significantly amplified in these places, where the ambience and immediate surroundings served to facilitate learning in an explicitly Rangiwewehi context. The affirming of these locations as fundamental pedagogical sites also raised the question of those spaces we consider to be ‘home’. In considering the way our mātauranga is conveyed, a key idea expressed in chapter four highlighted the pedagogical implications in broadening our perceptions of tribal space. Bringing the marae into our own homes requires a re-conceptualisation of place, which in turn welcomes a redefining of the pedagogical practices and commonalities we sometimes associate exclusively with our communal sites. The possibilities here, although not expanded on in chapter four, emphasised the potential for greater iwi participation, and more clarity concerning the pedagogical inferences in both formal and informal learning.

Beyond the boundaries of place, the second theme in chapter four returned to the role of people, as both teachers and learners within a specific Ngāti Rangiwewehi paradigm. People as ‘enactors’ of our pedagogy was an idea expressed by a range of commentators, who recounted stories about whāngai, formal and informal teaching contexts, mentoring, and the teacher/student relationship. The view that knowledge was earnt as well as learnt highlighted distinctive aspects in our pedagogical approaches that have been common over many generations. However, the primary method, most iwi members recalled, was simply described as exposure, from time spent with the old people, to being present during tangi and other gatherings. Some stressed the active participation and engagement in iwi affairs, while numerous others offered examples of how the informal contexts
of day to day interactions enabled the learning of tikanga through osmosis. Mentoring was also discussed, particularly the process of selection, and the opportunities it offered for learners to demonstrate specific skills. However, much like the places, access to suitable role models and mentors has not always been readily available to everyone. Indeed, the learners have not always been available to the mentors. In reflecting then on some of our major pedagogical practices, the theme of people in chapter four illuminated the various long standing methods maintained by our iwi, yet returned to the frustrating issue of access: a key problem addressed in the final section on survival.

In exploring the barriers to our transmission and pedagogical practice, the theme of survival in chapter four identified a number of important issues related to the maintaining of our autonomy. Before a more thorough consideration of the obstacles we face could be undertaken, it was stressed that our struggles, and perceived deficiencies, have not been self-induced, but have materialised as a direct result of an aggressive colonial history. This included the systematic suppression of our language, and in some instances, the alienation and dislocation of the people from their own land. These more obvious barriers, at a deeper level, also contributed to the creation of other less visible, or conscious, impediments, such as the estrangement of those who have moved away, and the immensely difficult pathways they now face to reconnect with home. These realities were observed by many of the interviewees, who emphasised not only the physical, but cultural, distance between those who were not exercising ahi kā, or were seemingly detached from the iwi and marae. Without access to the places and people, the pedagogical approaches, key to the transmission of our mātauranga, were effectively disabled. Indeed, as many of the participants noted, this disconnection from the marae and irregular participation in iwi affairs often led to knowledge gaps, frequently coinciding with a lack of confidence in the language. For some, the fact that knowledge could simply be lost was an issue they had accepted without difficulty, while for others the complexities of conflicting sources raised questions of authority and debates about ‘the truth’. In dissolving some of these barriers, the theme of survival in chapter four focused on a re-conceptualisation of distance and space, positing a challenge to our people to consider the possibilities of taking our pedagogical practices into the homes of our
A Curriculum of Value to Ngāti Rangiwehi

The fact that Ngāti Rangiwehi have our own specific pedagogical approaches and mātauranga, as chapters three and four illustrated, means that we have ready-made curriculum maps at our disposal, and the instructional tools and compass necessary to navigate them. With this information at hand, chapter five then returned to the central question of the thesis, which asked whether or not a curriculum might be a useful tool to further our aspirations. Once more, the themes of place, people and survival were employed to draw attention to the key elements that we would insist are essential components within any potential Rangiwehi curriculum. Indeed, if we are to imagine a curriculum, as chapter five asserts, it would necessarily be a curriculum of place, people, and survival, where our sites of significance, important peoples, and underlying ambitions are carefully interwoven. Most significantly, if these threads remain tightly bound then a curriculum is not merely a viable prospect, but a highly useful production, so long as its tapestry reflects our patterns and designs.

If a curriculum about Rangiwehi is to be viable and useful, then as this thesis has argued, it must necessarily be a curriculum of place: that is a course of learning that grounds our understandings within the physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual geographies of our mana whenua. These places, such as Tarimano, Awahou, Tiheia, and Kaikaitahuna, are in essence key localities that are vital to any course of learning related to our Ngāti Rangiwehinitanga. However, as the iwi noted, the imparting of our mātauranga in these spaces was not always a process applicable to all of our peoples, and did not necessarily accommodate the learning styles of both our rangatahi and pākeke. Thus, in the implementation of a curriculum that is functional and effective, the underlying key elements emphasised in chapter five would in actuality be delivered in various ways for different learners. In addition, when contemplating the value of a curriculum for our iwi, various peoples saw the manufacturing of appropriate
teaching resources as another important factor. Subsequently, these views suggested that the true value was not so much in the development of a single curriculum, but multiple curricula relevant to the various contexts and places within which we might communicate our worldviews.

A curriculum inclusive of our key people was also seen as an invaluable course of learning pertinent to our future aspirations and empowerment. This was the focus of the second section in chapter five, which stressed the vital roles of specific tribal figures in our past, present, and future. These included our eponymous ancestor Rangiwewehi, and other tūpuna such as Hikairo, Te Aongāhoro, Te Ao Kapurangi, and Tawakeheimoa. In more recent times, leaders such as Te Rangikāheke, Pakake Leonard, and nanny Kato, have all had an immense influence on who we are. These people, among others, as the iwi maintains today, are vital figures, whose lives and experiences provide archetypes to the way we understand our identity. Thus, a curriculum that brings their lives to the fore, as chapter five argues, is not simply a useful possibility, but an extremely important development if we are to contend with the ‘other’ notable peoples afforded more important recognition in New Zealand’s mainstream courses of learning.

Finally, in examining the value of a curriculum for Ngāti Rangiwewehi, the closing section of chapter five contends that in all respects it must ultimately be a curriculum of survival. In this sense, it was argued that a curriculum about us would necessarily include some of the key elements that we believe have been crucial to our fight for self-determination. This included the language, which beyond a universal Māori lexicon would favour those words peculiar to our own distinctive Rangiwewehi idiom. Likewise, the retention of our own specific tikanga and mana motuhake would be afforded privileged positions in the shaping and delivery of a Rangiwewehi curriculum framework. One of the major contentions to emerge in this section questioned the term survival as the most appropriate way to describe the act of protecting and progressing our dreams and ambitions. Indeed, the very value of a curriculum based on survival would then enable a transformative course of action, where what was once deemed a theme of endurance and struggle might one day be realised as a mode of liberation and empowerment. Thus, in evaluating the usefulness of a curriculum for our people, it was emphatically answered in chapter five with a resounding yes. This
affirmative response though was conditional: based on the fundamental need to ground any potential curriculum within our ways of being and knowing. To this extent, each section of chapter five reinforced the key contentions in both chapters three and four, noting those key elements that are crucial to the conceptualisation and realisation of a curriculum on our terms: that is our place, our people, and those things we require to survive.

**Rethinking the ‘Curriculum’**

This thesis has argued that a curriculum can be a useful tool for Ngāti Rangiwewehi, so long as it is grounded within our mātauranga, and communicated primarily within our pedagogies. For all those whose voices have filled these pages, the themes of place, people, and survival emerged as common threads in a collective story about who we are, what we believe, and how we communicate. The narratives they shared speak to the significance of storytelling, and as this study has endeavoured to emphasise, the importance of ensuring that the story is told and controlled by those to whom it matters most. Indeed, as vital as it is for us to take ownership of the kōrero surrounding Pekehāua, this in itself is only one small step in asserting the right to imagine and own more fully our teaching and learning, in both content and practice.

Although this study contemplated the applicability of a curriculum to our tribal needs, it deliberately avoided a complex defining of what a curriculum might be, choosing instead to operate on the most basic view, that a curriculum is in essence a course of learning. Despite this resistance, there remain a number of striking comparisons between the way our people have expressed their views of curriculum and the literature available on curriculum construction. The most immediate similarity is that of storytelling amongst our people, which shared a considerable resemblance to the narrative curriculum described by Lauritzen and Jaeger (1997). Indeed, with such a powerful emphasis on oral tradition and kōrero, storytelling and narrative has also been a key part of the way we have retained memories, knowledge, and organised our systems and concepts. Likewise, the use of wānanga within Ngāti Rangiwewehi, in many ways paralleled the spiral curriculum model proposed by Jerome Bruner (1960),
particularly in returning to an initial kaupapa, while progressing and deepening the group’s understandings as the course of learning evolved.

Beyond these models, this study also signalled the applicability of whakapapa as a potential curriculum model relevant to the way we might structure our own learning. As a course of learning whakapapa constitutes a significant body of content. However, it also implies a specific structure and order to the learning, and suggests that certain aspects should be mastered before one can truly progress. Building on previous knowledge, a whakapapa curriculum, enables many of the places and people of importance spoken about in this thesis to take centre stage. Indeed, one of the more obvious templates in this regard is the whare tupuna, an edifice that embodies and overtly displays the whakapapa that binds us together as one. These potential models then, although not the focus of this study, demonstrate how a Ngāti Rangiwhewehi curriculum might yet be designed and implemented. Moreover, they provide examples of how a curriculum is not simply possible, but highly useful in conveying our worldviews to future learners.

In creating and implementing a curriculum on our terms, this thesis has argued that one of the most useful functions could be to facilitate more opportunities for those living away from home. This would, however, require a significant re-imaging of space, where the curriculum might be taken beyond the marae and into the homes of our various whānau. However, it is important to note that these alternatives would not replace more traditional meetings on the marae, but could be used to complement our hui and wānanga, essentially growing our capacity as a people. In this way, the development of a curriculum has the potential to be exceptionally useful in addressing, and dissolving, barriers to access. In realising this link between the marae and our private homes, it is important that the iwi author and disseminate our own accounts, particularly when mainstream resources fail to address our views. Thus, one of the other advantages in creating our own curriculum is that it provides a means by which we might challenge those discourses and essentialised identities that have marginalised or subsumed us. Indeed, if Ngāti Rangiwhewehi are serious about our autonomy then we must create our own published sources that comprise our views and understandings. This reclaiming of our own stories and identity, in and of itself, is reason enough, to pursue the possibility of a curriculum for our people.
Ko Rangiwehi, e ngunguru nei!

Like the hollow trunk of Tāne Mahuta, we have a frame that is ours, just waiting to be filled with our stories. In many respects it is perhaps the most apt construction within which we might protect and restore those things that are vital to who we are. More than a simple metaphor, or anecdote, the story of Pekehāua is an inextricable part of the story of Ngāti Rangiwehi. Subsequently, when searching for a structure to adequately house our kōrero, it invokes not only the visceral imagery distinctive of our mātauranga, but the broader esoteric knowledge that speaks to our vibrant and nuanced perspectives. It is an ideal edifice to contemplate both the form and utility of a curriculum about us. Indeed, for Ngāti Rangiwehi, the imagining, and perhaps realising, of a curriculum must first and foremost be conceived on our terms. As this thesis has argued, a curriculum shaped by our mātauranga, and delivered with our pedagogical approaches, is an immensely empowering proposition should we seek to pursue it. This is the emphatic assertion of this study: that a curriculum, however we choose to name and define it, is indeed a useful tool, and has a number of benefits so long as it is grounded in those things that are of value to Rangiwehi. Of fundamental significance here are our places, which are vital to the ways we are nurtured, identified, and grounded, and our people, who hold us together, and provide wisdom and guidance. A curriculum founded on these underlying aspects, as this study has shown, will always reflect our aspirations and visions, particularly for our language, history, well being, and empowerment. Consequently, with all these facets in place, it is now not a question of whether a course of learning is viable or useful, but whether we are willing to realise its full potential.
GLOSSARY

The majority of these definitions were taken or adapted from the Te Aka Māori online dictionary, accessible at [www.Māoridictionary.co.nz](http://www.Māoridictionary.co.nz). Reference was also made to the Williams (1991) *Dictionary of the Māori language.*

ahi kā - burning fires of occupation - title to land through occupation by a group, generally over a long period of time.
aroha - to love, feel pity, feel concern for, feel compassion, empathise.
awa - river, stream, creek, canal, gully, gorge, groove, furrow.
awiki - to embrace, cherish.
hapū - kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe - section of a large kinship group.
hau kāinga – hau - wind, breeze, air, breath, gas, vital essence, vitality of human life, kāinga- true home, home, home base.
hui - gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference.
iwi - extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor.
kai - food, meal.
Kaikaranga - caller - the woman (or women) who has the role of making the ceremonial call to visitors onto a marae, or equivalent venue, at the start of a pōwhiri. The term is also used for the caller(s) from the visiting group who responds to the tangata whenua ceremonial call.
Kaikōrero - speaker, narrator.
Kaitiaki - trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, keeper.
kaiwaiata - singer, vocalist.
kākahi - freshwater mussel.
kapa haka - concert party, haka group, Māori cultural group, Māori performing group.
karakia - incantation, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation - chants recited rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures.
kaumātua - adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man. A macron over the second 'a' indicates the words use as a plural.
kaupapa - topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme.
kawa – within Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Te Arawa, the kawa refers more specifically to the underpinning principles that inform our tikanga, and the specific protocols and customs of the marae and wharenuia. In this way within Te Arawa it is commonly suggested that the tikanga is adaptable but the kawa is not.
koeke - used within Rangiwewehi in the same ways as kaumātua.
kōhanga reo - Māori language preschool.
kōmiti marae – Marae committee.
kōrero - speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, conversation, discourse.
kōrero tuku iho – oral traditions and stories transmitted.
koro - elderly man, grandfather, grandpa - term of address to an older man.
kōura - freshwater and salt-water species of crayfish.
kua ngaro - be missing, lost, out of sight, disappeared, absent, hidden, destroyed, consumed, gone, extinct.
kuiia - elderly woman, grandmother, female elder.
kura kaupapa - primary school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction.
mahi toi - art, craft.
manaakitanga - hospitality, kindness.
mana motuhake - separate identity, autonomy - mana through self-determination and control over one's own destiny.
mana whenua - territorial rights, power from the land - power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land.
manuhiri - visitor, guest.
marae - courtyard - the open area in front of the wharenui, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae.
matapiko - be stingy, mean, covetous.
matatāu - to know, know well, be proficient, expert at, competent, fluent.
mātauranga - education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill.
matua - father, parent, uncle.
maungā - mountain, mount, peak.
mauri - life principle, material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions.
mōhio - to know, understand, realise, comprehend, recognise.
mokopuna - grandchild, descendant - child or grandchild of a son, daughter, nephew, niece, etc. Can be used in both the singular and plural
ngāo - strength, energy, stamina, vigour, verve, get-up-and-go.
pā - fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city.
pae, paepae - beam, bar, horizontal board, threshold of a house, door sill, orators' bench, speakers of the tangata whenua.
pākeke – adults.
papa kāinga - original home, home base, village.
papa kōhatu – foundation stone, there are three within Te Arawa, Tarimano is the first followed by Te Papa-i-o-Uru at Whakaue and Te Pākira at Tuhourangi.
pātaka whakapapa – storehouse of knowledge pertaining to whakapapa.
pepeha - tribal saying, proverb (especially about a tribe), set form of words, formulaic expression, figure of speech.
piupiu - a type of skirt made of flax used in modern times for kapahaka performances.
pou - post, upright, support, pole, pillar, goalpost, sustenance.
poutokomanawa - centre pole supporting the ridge pole of a meeting house.
puawai - flower, blossom, bloom.
puna - spring (of water), well, pool.
rama kōura – way of collecting kōura. At Awahou people would put socks on their hands to protect themselves from the nip of the kōura, then they would reach under the edge of rocks and logs and when the kōura nipped the socks they would pull their hands out of the water and drop the kōura into their kete.
rangatahi - younger generation, youth.
rōpū - group, party of people, company, gang, association, entourage.
rongoa - remedy, medicine, drug, cure, medication, treatment, solution (to a problem), tonic.
tāhuhu kōrero – (tāhuhu) ridge pole (of a house), subject of a sentence, main theme, direct line of ancestry.
take - topic, subject, matter, issue, concern, claim.
tamariki – children.
lāngata whenua - local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land - people born of the whenua, i.e. of the placenta and of the land where the people's ancestors have lived and where their placenta are buried.
tangihanga - weeping, crying, funeral, rites for the dead.
taniwha - water spirit, monster, chief, something or someone awesome - taniwha take many forms from logs to reptiles and whales and often live in lakes, rivers or the sea. They are often regarded as guardians by the people who live in their territory.
taonga - property, goods, possessions, effects, treasure, something prized.
Te Ao Mārama - world of life and light, Earth, physical world, marama is also indicative of understanding and enlightenment.
Te Pō - place of departed spirits, underworld - the abode of the dead, also darkness or night.
te reo ake o Ngāti Rangiwewehi –(ake) original, indigenous, own, real - with possessive pronouns the word order is variable. Te reo ake o Ngāti Rangiwewehi refers to the specific dialectical differences, including phrases, grammatical variances, whakatauākī, waiata, and pepeha belonging to Rangiwewehi.
te reo Māori –(reo) language, dialect, tongue, speech.
tikanga - correct procedure, custom, practice, convention, commonly used within Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Te Arawa to refer to the protocol and cultural practices that take place within the formal procedures of the marae and wharenui.
tupuna - ancestor, grandparent - western dialect variation of tipuna. A macron over the first ‘u’, indicates use of the term in the plural.
tuna - eel of various species.
tūrangawaewae - domicile, place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa.
tūpāpaku - corpse, deceased.
tupuna whare - ancestral house.
tūturu - be fixed, permanent, real, true, actual.
urupā - burial ground, cemetery, graveyard.
waka - canoe, vehicle, conveyance, spirit medium, medium.
wai – water, stream, creek, river.
waiata - song, chant, psalm.
wairua - spirit, soul, quintessence - spirit of a person which exists beyond death.
wāhi - location, locality, place, part, piece, portion, section, share, segment.
wāhi tapu – place of spiritual and cultural significance.
wānanga - tribal knowledge, lore, learning also to meet and discuss.
whaikōrero - oratory, oration, formal speech-making - formal speeches usually made by men during a pōwhiri and other gatherings.
whakaaro - thought, opinion, plan, understanding, idea, intention.
whakapapa - genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent.
whakatauākī - proverb, saying, aphorism - particularly those urging a type of behaviour.
whānau - extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people.
whanaungatanga - relationship, kinship, sense of family connection - a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging.
whāngai - to feed, nourish, bring up, foster, adopt, raise, nurture, rear.
*whare* - house, building, residence, dwelling, shed, hut, habitation, people in a house.

*wharekai* - dining hall.

*whare kura* – common term used today to refer to Māori medium secondary schools.

*whare tangata* – womb.

*whenua* - land, country.
Resources

Oral Sources

Oral History Life Narrative Interviews:

Recordings for this project are held in the Te Maru o Ngāti Rangiwewehi offices, Ngāti Rangiwewehi Īwi Archive, Ngongotaha. Interviews were also recorded with Karl Leonard and Sam Hāhunga, however these interviews were not archived.

Anaru Bidois, 20 April 2008, Koutu.
Meihana Tuhakaraina (Mason), 22 April 2008, Awahou.
Emil Richard Hancock (Rikihana), 24 April 2008, Rotorua.
Jocelyn Kahuari kirangi Hancock (Kahuari ki), 24 April 2008, Rotorua.
Walter Bidois (Stubby), 24 April 2008, Awahou.
Micheal John Bidois (Tommy), 5 May 2008, Rotorua.
Te Ruri Rauroha Clarke (Rauroha), 5 May 2008, Awahou.
Huia Julie Hāhunga, 5 May 2008, Awahou.
Cherry Tipia Mei Nikora, 6 May 2008, Rotorua.
Tauri Sonny Morgan, 7 May 2008, Rotorua.
Katarina Pihera (Kata), 7 May 2008, Rotorua.
Te Ururoa James William Ben Flavell, 8 August 2008, Rotorua.
Dulcie Hukarere Mohi (Hukarere), 14 August 2008, Awahou.

Wānanga Digital Audio and Video Recordings:

The wānanga recordings used within this thesis are held in the Te Maru o Ngāti Rangiwewehi Offices, Ngāti Rangiwewehi Īwi Archives, Ngongotaha.

Friday 8 October 2010, recording WS117002.
Saturday 9 October 2010, recording WS117003.
Saturday 9 October 2010, recording WS117004.
Sunday 10 October, recording WS117006.
Bibliographic Sources


### APPENDICES

**From Chapter 3: E kimi noa ana**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maori Phrase</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E kimi noa ana i te timatatanga</td>
<td>Seeking and wondering where is the beginning of our ancestral powers and genealogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te ihi, te wehi, te mana</td>
<td>Orangikahui wherein lies our forebears of many generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O aku tupuna whakina mai</td>
<td>Kei Raro iho ko te ana i Hauraki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kei Orangikahui</td>
<td>Ka hoki whakamua ki Puhirua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Te moengaroa o te tini, te mano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O aku tupuna o Te Waharoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ka whakatika au ki te hiwi i Puketi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matakitaki iho ki Mokoia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ki tuku moana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ki te Rotorua-nui-a-Kahu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maori Phrase</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kei raro iho ko te ana i Hauraki</td>
<td>Directly below there is a cave at Hauraki, go forth to Puhirua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka hoki whakamua ki Puhirua</td>
<td>Where sleeps hundreds and thousands of our ancestors and Te Waharoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te moengaroa o te tini, te mano</td>
<td>I will go direct to the hill at Puketi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O aku tupuna o Te Waharoa</td>
<td>Where I may look upon Mokoia Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka whakatika au ki te hiwi i Puketi</td>
<td>And lake Rotorua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matakitaki iho ki Mokoia</td>
<td>Kei raro iho ko te ana i Hauraki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki tuku moana</td>
<td>Ka hoki whakamua ki Puhirua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki te Rotorua-nui-a-Kahu</td>
<td>Te moengaroa o te tini, te mano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O aku tupuna o Te Waharoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ka whakatika au ki te hiwi i Puketi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahore au i whakaroaroa</td>
<td>Matakitaki iho ki Mokoia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka hikoi au ki te Putahi</td>
<td>Ki tuku moana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Rakei Kohunga tena</td>
<td>Kei raro iho ko te ana i Hauraki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whakawhitit atu i nga wai o Te Awahou</td>
<td>Ka hoki whakamua ki Puhirua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Te moengaroa o te tini, te mano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O aku tupuna o Te Waharoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ka whakatika au ki te hiwi i Puketi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E tare mai ra te hiwi i Pukeroa</td>
<td>Above me towers Pukeroa hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka heke iho ki te puna o te taniwha</td>
<td>Down below the Taniwha Springs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Te Haehaenga o Pekehāua</td>
<td>Where Pekehāua the taniwha was killed and hacked into three portions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E huri te kanohi ki te hautonga</td>
<td>I turn my face in a southerly direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Papaiouru, Ko te Pakira</td>
<td>To Papaiouru, to Pakira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko nga papakohatu enei o Te Arawa</td>
<td>The foundation stones of Te Arawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titiro koe ki te whitinga mai o te ra</td>
<td>Look to where the sun rises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Ngamahorehore</td>
<td>To Ngamahorehore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Whakamanu</td>
<td>To Whakamanu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ko Mataimarino
Ka tae au ki te Werenga

E hoki ana ra ki toku iwi
Ki a Rangiwewehi
Ki toku papakohatu ki Tarimano
Ka tae au ki toku tupuna
Tawakeheimoa e ko koia
E koro e

From Chapter 4: Te kiri o Tāwhaki
Te kiri o Tāwhaki, ka whara koe
I te oneone rā, he moenga kē hoki

Tēnā e te tau, tēnei te moenga
E taka te āhuru, e pai ana e te tau
Mei tangohia koe, i te okohititanga
I te wa i mua, tēnā ko tēnei
Ka tūwhera nui tonu, te tau o taku ate

Te kopikopī mai, hua noa te mahara
Ki o iwi i te tonga, mā Uenukukopako
Mā Rangiteaorere, mā Tawakeheimoa
Mā Te Kererū Kai Wai,  Hei whati whati kī
ki mua ki ngā tohu
Mā Kawatapuarangi
Mā Ngāti Whakaue, mā Tuhourangi
Mā Rangitīhi whakahirahira
Hai whakatikatika
Mō ngā wā o te hē, i o iwi ngahuru
I te wā ki te uru, ehara koe i te tangata

Oh descendant of Tawhaki, wounded
Over yonder, an unfamiliar resting place
Oh beloved one, here is where you lay,
Be at peace my dear
You were taken, before your time
In before, then as now
My love is abounding for you dear one,
The thrusting belly, rouses the memory

Of your people to the south,
Uenukōpakō, Rangiteaorere,
Tawakeheimoa and Kererū Kai Wai
Disregarded the vow before
instructions
Kawatapuarangi, Whakaue,
Tuhourangi and the significant
Rangitīhi
Make amends
For the injustices of your people
Whilst in the west, not a person
He kuru tonga rerewa, ko te pito kahurangi
O te ika a Ngahue, ko te Poutāhū
O Tawakeheimoa, ka tanuku kei raro
Ko te motu tapū ā Kahu, ka whati rā e
Te Rau o te Huia, he uira hiko noa
Te tara ki o Rangikahui, ka ngaro rā e
Te uri o te tangata, he oti hoki rā mōtā
Taku rutu ki te wai,
Taku wetewete ake
Te ara o ngā tapu,
Nō hea e mauru
Te ngau a te Atua, hē rawa i tāwiri
He waka i taupoki, i tahuri ki te wai
E herea ana mai, te taura o te pō
Taku kōtuku tura e, ka moe koe i te kino nā i

but a precious greenstone ornament,
The prized offering of the fish of
Ngahue, the supporting post of
Tawakeheimoa, falls into disarray
The sacred Island of Kahu, violated
Te Rau o te Huia, a mere flash of lightning
At the peak of Orangikahui, forever departed
The progeny of the people, in anguish
I offer
My lamentation to the waters,
to disentangle oneself
The path of sacredness,
From where will it be appeased
The gnaw of the Gods, merciless is the quiver
A capsized canoe, overturned in the water
Fastened to the cord of the night
My precious one, rest on in sorrow

From Chapter 5: Ko te whiu o te kōrero
Ko te whiu o te kōrero
I whiu ki Tarimano
Ko Te Aongahoro
ko te ruahine
A Tawakeheimoa
Kia rere ki mua
Ko Rangiwewehi e

Tis said
Tarimano is the foundation
Te Aongahoro
The revered spouse
Of Tawakeheimoa
Whose first born son
Was Rangiwewehi

Turn Southwards towards Weriweri
And greet Ngararanui
Continue on to Parawai to
Whatumairangi
Gaze upon the Maunga Ngongotaha
Directly below lies Te raho o Te
Rangipiere
And The Fairy springs of Tuhoe

Proceed to the Te Papaiouru
Above is Pukeroa Oruawhata
Gaze down upon Ohinemutu and
Muruika
Tamatekapua who married
Whakaotirangi
Where resides Ngāti Whakaue

Remain Tuhourangi on your Stronghold
Pa
As we continue around
Lake Rotorua to Uenukukopako
Hinemoa who swam to Mokoia
To her lover Tutanekai

We will proceed to summits
Of my many relatives of
Kawatapuarangi
To be embraced and inspired
Within the threshold of Houmaitawhiti

My thoughts return to the coast to
Waitaha
Where my Ancestors rest peacefully
At Otaraninia, at the base of Rangiuru
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maori Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ka huri te aroaro ki te uunga</td>
<td>I face towards Maketu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o te waka ki Maketu</td>
<td>To the landing place of the Te Arawa canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tamatekapua nana i whakakau</td>
<td>It was Tamatekapua whom traversed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Moana-a-Kiwa</td>
<td>The Great Sea of Kiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I whakarere atu te kāinga tuku mai</td>
<td>Leaving behind his homeland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na Houmaitawhiti, te kупu ki ona uri e tae koe,</td>
<td>Houmaitawhiti’s farewell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki tae, ki tu, he mate mou</td>
<td>Message to his descendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me mate taraawhare</td>
<td>Live in peace hereafter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kia hiwa ra</td>
<td>Be strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Arawa</td>
<td>Te Arawa E!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>