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Tū Te Turuturu Nō Hineteiwaiwa
Maintaining Cultural Integrity in
the Teaching of Māori Weaving

A thesis

submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

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at

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by

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
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Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

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Tū Te Turuturu Nō Hineteiwaiwa

Maintaining Cultural Integrity in the Teaching of Māori Weaving

Abstract:

“He whatu kōrero mō te whatu
He whiriwhiri kōrero mō te whiri
He rangaranga kōrero mō te raranga”

Despite the development and teaching of an increasing number of Māori focused tertiary programmes, many kaumatua remain concerned that tikanga is being lost. The research reviews the developments that have impacted on the teaching of Māori weaving (raranga, whiri, and whatu) and appraises the current status from the perspective of the oral narratives of Edna Pahewa, Christina (Tina) Hurihia Wirihana and Matekino Lawless. Whilst they would not describe them as such, all three are expert weavers who teach this taonga.

These weavers concur that despite the increased numbers learning these arts and acquiring high capability in the technical skills, many often lack the wairua, tikanga and values and remain apprehensive for the state of the art. Therefore, they believe that mātauranga Māori, spiritual knowledge and Māori tikanga cultural practices must remain central, at the very core of the art form itself and not exist as an academic study or peripheral addendum.

As a result of this study, a model framework, ‘Te Kāwhatuwhatu’ is proposed that advocates for the incorporating of Māori tikanga cultural practices into classes and teaching pedagogy and thereby foster the wellbeing of this cultural legacy and the mana and integrity of Hineteiwaiwa, kia ea ai te kupu

“ka tū tonu te turuturu nō Hineteiwaiwa!”¹

¹ ‘In order that it can be said, that Hineteiwaiwa’s weaving peg remains upright’ – that her mana remains intact.

Ngā Mihi - Acknowledgements



Figure 1: John Turi-Tiakitai

Taurikoriko mai a Te Whakaahu,
Te whetu i tīweka, i pūremu i a Kahuranaki
Te maunga ruakoha e tū mai rā
Ko Poukawa te waiū
Ko Te Hāpuku te tangata
Ko Ngāi Te Rangikoianake te hapū
Ko Ngāi Te Whatuiāpiti te iwi
o Ngāti Kahungunu, o Takitimu waka!

- Ā Tihei mauri ora!

Ko āku mihi ki tōku whanau i poipoia ahau kia whai i te ara mātauranga. Ko ōku mātua ērā, a māmā, a pāpā. Ōtirā, a John Tapiata ano hoki i poipoi mai i a au i te ao mātauranga nei ā ahakoa he roa te wā kua ngaro noa atu ia ki tua o te arai, kei kōnei tonu e akiaki mai!

Tuarua ki te hunga raranga, whatu, koutou i hāpai ēnei o ngā taonga tuku iho i a kui mā, i a whae mā, arā ngā taonga nō Niwaireka, nō Rukutia, nō Hinengaroa, nō Hineteiwaiwa, nō Hinerauāmoa rāno. Me mihi hoki ki ērā i whakaako i ēnei taonga, tae noa ki ōku hoa mahi hoki o Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. Me tōku kōkā a Te Rautangata 'Rosie' Kenrick I hinga atu rā i a au i tuhia te kaupapa nei. Hokia atu e whae ki a rātou mā i te po.

Me pēhea au, mēnā kāore ōku hoa nui, hoa piri pono a Edna Pāhewa, a Christina 'Tina' Wirihana, a Matekino Lawless ā me tōku poutaituara, poutauawhi a Donna Campbell, Ka nui te aroha mai i tōku whatu manawa - Tēnā rawa atu koutou katoa!

Nāku noa,

nā John Reid Turi-Tiakitai

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Chapter 1: Te Whakataki – Introduction

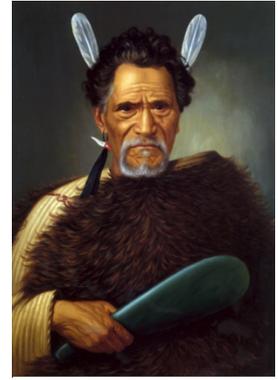
“Tēnā te ara nā Kuhu; he ara koropiko, he ara Kokikoki!”¹

1.1 Introduction

My family is fortunate in that we have many tūpuna photos, six to eight generations back on some lines. Some of these photos are of tūpuna dressed in Māori attire, in kahu kiwi or korowai; others in Pākehā fashions including luxuriant ball dresses, suits and military uniforms of their era. Each photograph serves not only as an image of an ancestor but also as a glimpse into their lives and the social mores and values of their time. One that has always fascinated me is of Erihapeti Whakamairu (fig.2.2) the daughter of Te Retimana Te Korou (fig. 2.1), a rangatira from Wairarapa. Like her father her portrait was painted by Gottfried Lindauer². She bears a moko kauae and wears Māori attire and adornments befitting her rank; huia feathers in her hair, mako taniwha earrings, a pounamu hei tiki and a korowai. All are trademarks of a Māori princess yet she has dressed her long hair in ringlets, and flower like decorations are affixed to her korowai. She was at the interface of Māori and Pākehā relationships. She took Erihapeti as her baptismal name and with her husband entered many land transactions with Pākehā. Her daughter, Meri (fig. 2.3) married three Pākehā.

¹ ‘Such is the pathway of Kuhu (internal reflection) it twists and turns’

² Gottfried Lindauer was New Zealand's leading painter of Māori portraits in the 19th century. He produced hundreds of individual portraits, commissioned by both Māori and Pākehā. Because so many of the Māori men and women Lindauer portrayed were tribal leaders and well-known figures, they are central to the history of Aotearoa - New Zealand.



2.1 Retimana Te Korou, ? - 1849



2.2 Erihapeti Whakamairu, C1822-1900



2.3 Meri Elers, 1856-1930



2.4 Charles Tarewa Elers, 1893-1948



2.5 Elaine Tarewa Turi, 1917- 1993

Figure 2: Family Portraits



Figure 3: Tangi and Ettie

Two of her mokopuna, Tangi and Ettie are renowned for their beauty and were photographed in their ball dresses at their presentation to the then Governor General. Charles Tarewa Elers (fig. 2.4), the brother of Tangi and Ettie is photographed in his military uniform, he was a world war one veteran and he married Te Rauoriwa 'Rosie' and is photographed with their son Claude Te Reweti Elers. My kuia (fig. 2.5), is one of the daughters of Charles, she too posed for a photographical portrait. It is modelled to appear informal, a style of its time. She sits in her lounge reading a newspaper, the bric-a-brac on her mantel piece. All contribute to a picture of a domesticated woman, the quintessential mother and home maker. She always called it her 'tangi photo' although it was well over ten years before it served that purpose. She gave all her mokopuna strict instructions for her tangihanga. She wanted to wear one of her pearl necklaces and her Rātana Church³ whetū-mārama⁴ brooch. Like her tipuna Erihapeti and all her other tīpuna I see in her photo, her mana, strength and dignity.

At its most basic level this thesis is also a study into whakapapa, a continuum from the very beginning of time and like my family photos, images and stories of certain points along that continuum can be viewed and discussed, albeit with the benefit of hindsight. Māori weaving (namely whatu, whiri, raranga) is a taonga, a legacy from our ancestors. Like many taonga, weaving has been part of the so called Māori cultural renaissance. Individuals and organisations have played a major role in its resurgence.

³ Rātana Church: a Māori religion and pan-tribal political movement founded by Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana in early 20th-century New Zealand. The headquarters is at Rātana, near Wanganui.

⁴ Whetū mārama (shining light): the symbol of the church is the five-pointed star and crescent moon.

1.1.1 The Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the developments in the teaching of Māori weaving and the consequential impacts of those developments on tikanga and the cultural integrity of these Māori weaving taonga. As well as viewing the past, it is also about putting a peg in the ground, taking a snapshot of what the terrain looks like today and then again to forecast in which direction we should perhaps go in the future development of this continuum. This is significant as we do not own the taonga but play a custodial role in our position as kaitiaki. The greatest impact on this continuum has been the impacts of colonisation and Māori responses to that, in re-establishing the teaching of these art forms.

This continuum is reflected in the title I have chosen for this thesis 'Tū te turuturu nō Hineteiwaiwa' – stand firm the turuturu of Hineteiwaiwa. Turuturu are sharp pointed pegs, two of which are fixed in the ground to serve as a frame for weaving garments. These props were erected with great ritual and ceremony. Hineteiwaiwa is the matriarchal deity of weaving, and I reference this expression to pose the question, 'have her taonga been retained with all the veracity that she would demand?' In fact this title is a line taken from a karakia recorded by Edward Shortland (1882). In this karakia the actual meaning is an allusion to another of her roles, as the deity of childbirth. Her weaving peg is erected as a prop, a support at the birth of her son (See appendix 1).

1.1.2 The Hypothesis

The old adage remains true that the only constant is change; Māori like any people are part of an evolving culture and society. As such Māori continue to wānanga their tikanga, cultural practices and the place of Māoritanga in 'te ao hurihuri'- today's present and 'ever changing world'.

My hypothesis is that the concepts of tika and tikanga continue to be central to maintaining cultural integrity for Māori and specifically in the development of the teaching of Māori weaving. The Ministry of Justice sought kaumatua and expert advice including those of the ilk of Wharehuia

Milroy and Wiremu Kaa⁵ to develop an understanding of traditional Māori perspectives on justice; this involved a study of cultural values and tikanga. Tikanga is explained as

Custom, which is derived from the word tika. Tika can cover a whole range of meanings, from right and proper, true, honest, just, personally and culturally correct, to upright. Tikanga does not denote a static set of rules. The whole Māori [legal] system was based on values, and being a values-based system, Māori adhered to principles rather than a set of rules. Tikanga grew out of, and was inextricably woven into, the spiritual and everyday framework of Māori life. Besides its moral and ancestral authority, tikanga adds rationale, authoritativeness and control which is timeless

(Ministry of Justice, 2001).

The loss of tikanga then can be viewed not merely as a departure from normal rules or conventions but rather as a total abandonment of values and all that is deemed as right.

1.1.3 The main question

The main question is to determine the present scenario, as espoused by expert weavers who are also playing a role in teaching of Māori weaving. The main question asks what are the present dynamics and issues facing teachers of Māori weaving in their practice and how are tikanga maintained to ensure cultural integrity?

1.1.4 Additional Questions

Additional questions would enquire of their own learning, the way they were taught, the tikanga within which they were instructed and what they have retained, abandoned or modified. Their lives journey in weaving, the highs and lows they have experienced and how this has influenced their practice and their teaching of weaving. Their thoughts are sought on customary/traditional and non-customary/contemporary practices and where they believe their own practice is heading. Questions concerning their teaching role are examined including; why are they teaching weaving

⁵ Senior Māori academics.

and what does that look like? How do they impart tikanga and cultural integrity and what tikanga have they modified or abandoned? The impact of New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) on their perspectives and teaching practice? In scoping future developments, what is important in the teaching of weaving for the future are explored and the tikanga they believe is essential to pass on and retain? Finally, what would they suggest to improve the teaching of weaving and its cultural integrity for future generations?

1.1.5 Goals of this research

Kei hea rā, Kei hea rā?	Where, oh where?
Kei hea rā te huarahi hei oranga	Where is the pathway to salvation
Mō tātou, mō te iwi Māori e?	For us, the Māori people?
Ā, titiro whakamuri	Look back to the
ki ngā taonga tūpuna	treasures of our ancestors
Hei tikitiki mō taku mahunga e!	As a diadem for my brow
	(Tapiata,1980).

This pōkeka summarises the ethos of the major goal of this research. This goal is to propose the future path for the teaching of Māori weaving in Aotearoa. In doing so it is crucial to review the path from the past, to analyse present practice and current trends and thereby set a sound and logical direction for future developments. None of this is possible without giving a voice to current practitioners who are also working in the field as teachers of these tāonga. A further goal then would be to capture the stories of such respected weaver/teachers in order that others may read their views, the issues they face and bring their own opinions to the table so that this issue may be fully debated to inform any future strategic direction with an enlightened consciousness for the betterment of the taonga and future generations.

1.2 Background

As a Head tutor of Māori Arts programmes at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa⁶, Waiariki rohe, I am aware of the importance of curriculum and teaching

⁶ **Te Wānanga o Aotearoa** is a tertiary education provider, in New Zealand. As a Māori-led organisation grounded in Māori values, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa is committed to the revitalisation of Māori cultural knowledge.

pedagogy in the education of our taurira; it is crucial that this is right to not only meet education demands but also maintain the cultural integrity of these taonga. I have concerns that organisational demands, policy and procedures are often incongruent with Māori tikanga practice.

I am studying this topic, firstly to identify the developments in weaving and its teaching and how these have impacted on tikanga and cultural integrity. Secondly, to gain a picture of present practices and issues. And thirdly to set a sound and logical direction for future developments. This has come at a time when we have had nearly 25 years since the establishment of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority and its impact on the educational sector both in qualifications and their content.

Tikanga is not static, it is in a constant flux of change often at the crux of the tension between traditionalist and contemporary ideologies. This thesis investigates how weaving teachers maintain this cultural legacy by incorporating Māori tikanga cultural practices into their classes and their pedagogy. How they have modified and developed these tikanga, whilst still aiming to maintain its integrity. For many, this is not a matter of cultural enrichment or peripheral addendum, these teachings must remain central; at the very core of the art form itself. This all occurs alongside the dilemma of often conflicting paradigms and discordant praxes in the very organisations for which weavers teach. Without tikanga, Māori weaving does not have any mana. Kaumatua, kuia often bemoan that tikanga, the teachings of our elders are being lost and stress the need to retain these customary practices, and bewail those who do not as kūware or whakahīhī.

Kia mau, kia ū
Ki ngā mahi o āku tupuna
Kua riro nei ki te po!

Hold and retain
the deeds of my forebears
Who are lost to Hades
(Kia mau, n.d.).

In March of 2014 I took part in a hui of Rotorua Weavers in preparation to host the national biennial hui to be held in 2017. When the topic of a theme for the hui arose, it was our kuia Matekino Lawless who described her concern over some of the habits she has observed by some weavers.

She suggested that it is important to awhi one another so that custom can be maintained with the mana it deserves. It is our role to encourage, support and teach new learners so they know what is right, what is tika. She is not alone in this whakaaro as I have heard this same concern from many of the weavers. They position themselves as Kaitiaki, custodians of these taonga.

As kaitiaki, Aotearoa's national Māori weavers collective, Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa (TRRWoA) was opposed to the inclusion of Raranga onto the National Qualifications Framework when it was first established in the 1990s. The elders concerns were based on the loss of authority of this art legacy, its tikanga, mores and values. Despite their concern raranga was listed on the framework and this has led to many secondary and tertiary Schools, Colleges, Polytechnics, Universities and Wānanga offering programmes in this art form. This is relevant to my position as a Kaiako Matua, heading the Toi programmes in the Waiariki branch of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWOA). In this role I have supervised Raranga Certificate and Diploma programmes across the Bay of Plenty, namely in Whakatane, Kawerau, Tauranga, Rotorua and Turangi. In 2013 we achieved accreditation to deliver a Degree level programme.

1.2.1 My relationship to the subject

I must have been around 6 years of age when my Primary School entered in the Hawkes Bay Primary School Māori Festival, one of the earliest in the country. We had to plait red, black and white crepe paper strips to make our tipare and tāpeka. I suppose that this interest in things Māori was my way of finding my Māori cultural identity as a 'half-caste' Māori⁷. Māori was not available at secondary school however at Teachers' College I selected Māori studies as my first elective. In 1992 I attended the Pacific Arts Festival in Rarotonga and was fascinated by the many weaving exhibitions from the different island groups present. Te Aue Davis, a renowned weaver, was a display weaver for Aotearoa. She was weaving a muka cloak with native feathers. Little did I know that further down the years our paths were to meet again.

⁷ Of mixed European and Māori ancestry

In 1997 I was appointed in a senior management position at Waiariki Polytechnic, Rotorua. In moving around campus, from the main administrative block to Māori studies block, I would always go through the arts block where Tina Wirihana ran her classes in fibre arts. When I left Waiariki Polytechnic, in 2001 I took a year's break and spent time learning to weave a cloak with Dawn Smith; Emily Schuster's daughter who was running Te Rito Weaving School at the New Zealand Māori Arts & Crafts Institute (NZMACI). At that time Emily had already passed away. She left a huge legacy and it was lovely to see her daughter carrying on her role. Sadly Dawn also passed away, well before her time and she was replaced by her twin sister Edna Pahewa. Soon after this, in 2002, I was appointed as the Cultural Manager at NZMACI, with both the Wānanga Whakairo and Te Rito Weaving School under my mantle. It was then we planned to re-establish NZMACI's relationship with Toi Māori Aotearoa⁸ and Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa (TRRWoA)⁹.

Edna become a committee member in 2003 and then held the chair from 2005-11. With Edna we established Te Kāhui Whiri Toi a select group of elders who have given over 40 years of their lives to weaving. This group meets to reminisce, tell their stories and provide a guiding hand for TRRWoA. It is through interacting with these groups that I have admired the counsel of our kuia and heard their concern regarding the loss of tikanga and values. Working with TRRWoA and Toi Māori I have become a māngai, speaker for the group and it was in this capacity that I have been privileged to be part of many events. This has included the opening of Te Aho Mutunga Kore exhibition in Porirua, which we were also able to bring to Rotorua before it moved to Auckland and then to many venues across America.

I was also invited by the Museum of New Zealand - Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) in 2007 to wānanga a project to write a book regarding their collection of cloaks. I was honoured to write a chapter with Kahutoi Te

⁸ Toi Māori Aotearoa is a charitable trust that promotes Māori traditional arts and Māori artists, both in New Zealand and overseas.

⁹ TRRWoA is a national Māori weavers' collective, under Toi Māori, which aims to foster and preserve Māori traditional textiles.

Kanawa, a weaver and academic from the renowned Hetet -Te Kanawa whanau. The book, *'Whatu Kakahu: Māori Cloaks'* was published in 2011 and was nominated as a finalist in the *New Zealand Post Book Awards*. It also won an award in the *Massey university Ngā Kupu Ora Māori Book Awards 2012*. The book was followed by an exhibition, *Kahu Ora: Living Cloaks* in 2012.

In 2014 I was privileged to work on a tūrāpa with Edna Pahewa under a project lead by Tina Wirihana. These were exhibited at Te Papa on the 8th July – 2nd November, 2014 before being presented to the United Nations Building, New York, in February, 2015.

TRRWoA also hosted a symposium *'IWI - Indigenous Weavers International'* in 2010 which brought together weavers to workshop, present research and papers on taonga across the globe. This was followed by another symposium, that Te Papa hosted in 2011 titled *'Māori and Pacific Textiles Conference'*, I was able to present some of my work from the book which detailed waiata, whakatauki and kōrero tuku iho that illustrated my topic *'Te Mana o Te Kākahu'*. I believe that in engaging with other indigenous weavers we gain appreciations of the similarities and differences between cultures, as well as the mana of our own work. The relationships formed at these forums have been enduring. A similar event, *'Whiria: Weaving Global Connections'* is planned for 2015.

I have been fortunate that these relationships have enhanced my role at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWOA). They have brought clarity to my role as a Head tutor of Māori Arts programmes especially Raranga. They bring clarification about how I can assist my tutors in interpreting their curriculum and an understanding of why they deliver and teach in the ways they do. It has also brought concern and awareness that at times, organisational demands, policy and procedures are incongruent with traditional practice.

1.3 Chapter Breakdown

Chapter 1 Te Whakataki Introduction: This chapter outlines the thesis topic, hypothesis, major question, additional questions and the goals of

this research. The background to why I am studying this topic and my relationship to the subject is also explained. It concludes with a summative brief of the chapter arrangement of this thesis.

Chapter 2 Te Whare Tikanga – Methodology: Kaupapa Māori theory has been at the crux of developing an acquiescence of alternative research methodology in Aotearoa. This chapter discusses the methodologies of Kaupapa Māori and Kaupapa Wānanga. Kaupapa Wānanga was devised as a research methodology for Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. The methods used in this research study are espoused and include Tikanga – cultural practice, Whanaungatanga – Internal relationships, Māori metaphor and Pūrakau as a narrative approach.

Chapter 3 Te Whare Pora – Traditions & Their Demise: This chapter looks at the place of weaving in Te Ao Tīpuna. The whare pora and its tikanga, the traditional stories regarding the origins of weaving, and the fibre resources are investigated. The place of weaving in traditional Māori society is investigated. The tikanga, traditional practices and pedagogy of our tupuna is examined. Finally, the impact of Te Ao Pākehā and colonisation in terms of weaving is explored.

Chapter 4 Te Whare Rangaranga – Rebuilding The Whare: Chapter 4 reviews initiatives of weavers in Te Ao Hurihuri. The establishment of women's groups like the Women's Health League and Māori Women's Welfare League and their role in promoting weaving skills. The establishment of the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute and Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa and their initiatives are examined. The establishment of NZQA and tertiary education is explored and issues like the customary versus contemporary debate and the commercialisation of Māori art.

Chapter 5 Te Whare Kōrerorero – Narratives: The oral histories of three expert practitioners and teachers of Māori weaving, Edna Pahewa, Cristina 'Tina' Wirihana and Matekino Lawless are recorded. They detail how they learnt, how they teach and concerns they have for the future

regarding weaving.

Chapter 6 Te Whare Whiriwhiri – Analysis: Common practices of teaching and learning from the interviews are examined through the lens of tikanga ako and best practice. A teaching model framework is provided to address the increasing number of technically capable but culturally deficient graduates.

Chapter 7 Te Whare Whatu Taongarerewa – Conclusion: A summary of this research and my future hopes are explored within this final chapter.

Chapter 2 Te Whare Tikanga – Methodology & Methods

“Ehara i te haerenga ihu kuri!”¹⁰

2.1 Introduction to the chapter

When I started as a new entrant at Primary School, we would paint or draw pictures, something I loved doing; the teacher then would write our caption which we would have to copy. By the mid primers, when I was 6-7 years old we had exercise books. The top half of the page was blank for our illustration and the bottom of the page was lined for the story. The teacher would insist we had to first write our story before we could draw our picture – how frustrating! It was when I went to watch Walt Disney’s ‘*The Jungle Book*’, that I knew what my picture would look like, - a panoramic view of the jungle! I decided to write my story across two pages, so I could have the full breadth of the page for my picture. Maui and the monkeys swung from tree to tree across the page away from Kaa the snake curled up in the right hand corner. Sha Khan the tiger prowled below, on the jungle floor, hidden in the long grass, from Baloo the bear.

The development of Kaupapa Māori theory and consequently research based on this framework is similar, in that it has been a response to an imposed traditional paradigm from Western culture. A way to develop research practice based on Māori tikanga practices and aspirations. Cram (2001) describes Kaupapa Māori theory as “an attempt to retrieve space for Māori voices and perspective [that] opens up avenues for approaching and critiquing dominant, Western worldviews” (p. 40). This chapter examines Kaupapa Māori theory and Kaupapa Wānanga ¹¹ as methodologies for Kaupapa Māori research. The Kaupapa Wānanga framework comes from Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and is derived from Māori cultural principles. The methods that have been utilised for this study included whakawhanaungatanga, Māori metaphor and whitiwhiti kōrero (semi-formal interviews) to capture the pūrakau (oral histories/ narratives)

¹⁰ ‘It is not like a dog following his nose’ Used in the sense that this is not an undirected exercise.

¹¹ An ideology framework developed at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa for learning, teaching and research.

of expert practitioners and teachers of Māori weaving. This is discussed in the following section.

2.2 Methodologies

Research methodology refers to the theory of the research and the grounds for the way the research has been designed and carried out (Rangahau, 2006). The methodologies I have employed for this research are Kaupapa Māori theory and Kaupapa Wānanga. These two methodologies are complementary and are both based on tenets of Māori cultural practice. They are described below.

2.2.1 Kaupapa Māori Theory and Research/Rangahau

The 1970's saw the blossoming of Māori cultural revitalisation (Bishop 1999). Māori were demanding that our reo and culture had a place in our society. Kaupapa Māori theory grew out of that era and is based on Māori aspirations of legitimising tikanga Māori, whakaaro Māori and mana Māori. Smith, (1990) summarised that kaupapa Māori theory presupposes three aspects. They are, one, that the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted. Two, the survival and revival of Māori language and culture is imperative. And three is the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing and over our own lives is vital to Māori survival

Kaupapa Māori theory is therefore relevant across multiple, if not all, areas of society that have become dominated by Western practice. It too, as a matter of course has been applied to research hence 'Kaupapa Māori Research' or as many would prefer 'Rangahau'. It legitimises Māori practice in the research world and therefore can be viewed as a resistance movement to cultural domination. Kaupapa Māori Research addresses issues of injustice and contemporary realities. It is a vehicle for social transformation – emphasising the need to produce positive outcomes for Māori, and not simply reproducing the status quo.

Kaupapa Māori Research is based on Māori worldviews, Mātauranga Māori, Māori philosophy and epistemology. Kaupapa Māori Research

embodies Māori culture and values and etches out a space for Māori to conduct research according to tikanga. Penetito (2006) explains that Kaupapa Māori is rather basic; it is not complex or grandiose at all, it revolves around our normal tikanga (practices) of engagement, our reo, rituals and whanaungatanga. That Kaupapa Māori Research is based on a Māori world view and not that of the dominant culture, makes a strong political statement. It brings to the fore issues of colonisation, cultural domination and racism. Smith (1990) explains how Kaupapa Māori theory is an attempt to challenge dominant Pākehā notions and provide “counter hegemonic practice and understanding”. Bishop (1999), summarises the following four dimensions as being significant to Kaupapa Māori Research:

1. is the operationalisation of tino rangatiratanga by Māori;
2. is collectivistic and is orientated towards benefiting all research participants and thereby challenges the dominance of traditional individualistic research which tends to benefit the individual;
3. is being and acting Māori - legitimated from within the Māori community; and
4. is accessing, defining and protecting Māori knowledge.

The first two dimensions, I believe are very important, they are best illustrated by the narrative of Tane, one of children of the primeval parents, Rangi and Papa. These parents were separated from their embrace by Tane creating heaven and earth. Tane in his pursuit of knowledge climbed to the upper most heaven to gain the baskets of knowledge. He did not keep these baskets for himself but placed them on the ridge beam of the whare for the benefit of mankind. Tane was asserting Tino Rangatiratanga by this act, not only for self-interest but for the benefit of all. Kaupapa Māori Research should benefit Māori. Smith (2006) asserts that Kaupapa Māori Research should aim to make a positive difference for Māoridom.

The third dimension commands one to act in a Māori way. This dimension legitimises Māori cultural practice. It also places an onus on the researcher to be grounded in their culture, to be aware of Māori values and mores of the research participants. Cognisant of tribal and whanau differences. In other words be able to operate within Māori cultural paradigms. I use this framework to reaffirm Māori cultural identity and cultural practice.

The fourth dimension, dictates the use of Māori knowledge and the protection of that knowledge. This is relevant for Māori in the face of colonisation whereby at the turn of the 20th century it was believed that Māori were a dying race, whose knowledge was barbaric or inferior and not relevant for the future. The revival and reclaiming of Māori knowledge and the framing of that knowledge in current societal belief has become paramount.

2.2.2 Kaupapa Wānanga framework

Kaupapa Wānanga was developed as a paradigm in 2008 by Edwards (2013) for Te Wānanga o Aotearoa staff. It aims to centre Māori worldviews and practices in the day to day activities in order to support the philosophy and values of the institution.

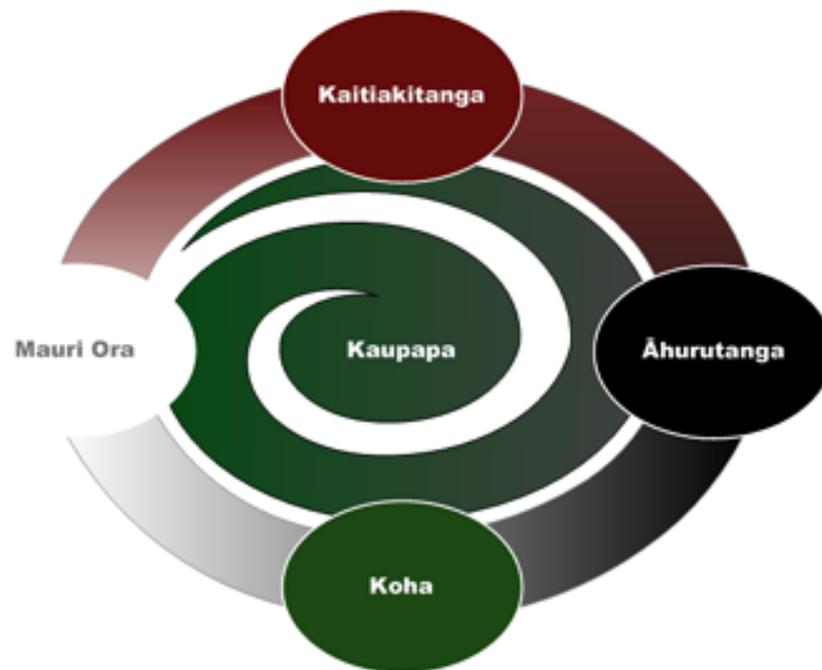


Figure 4: Kaupapa Wānanga, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa Staff Intranet

Kaupapa Wānanga exhorts each staff member to strive to achieve balance (a state of mauri ora) within their activities and working relationships. In accordance with the principles of Kaupapa Wānanga, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa views kaitiakitanga, āhurutanga and koha as key elements that contribute to the success of these endeavours, whatever the kaupapa. It provides an indigenous approach that is underpinned by Māori cultural values. These key elements are defined in the following table.

Kaupapa Wānanga Takepū	
Koha	The constant acknowledgement that valued contributions are to be given and received responsibly.
Kaitiakitanga	The constant acknowledgement that participants (including Te Wānanga o Aotearoa as an institution) at any time and place are always engaged in relationships with others, their environments and kaupapa.
Āhurutanga	The constant acknowledgement that quality spaces must be claimed and maintained to enable activities to be undertaken in an ethical and meaningful way.
Mauri ora	The constant acknowledgement that pursuit of wellbeing is at the core of all Te Wānanga o Aotearoa kaupapa and activities

Figure 5: Kaupapa Wānanga Takepū.

Since Kaupapa Wānanga was first introduced in 2008 it was only a matter of time before it was applied to the field of research. This has occurred both within and outside of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. Its application mirrors many of the facets of kaupapa Māori theory research. Kaupapa Wānanga Rangahau Methodology ensures obligations and responsibilities in all the aspects of the research process including ethics, methodology and method. These aspects must be viewed through the lens of the four key elements/takepū. Therefore it promotes that research must be imbued with generosity and giving (koha). That it be nurturing to all participants and keep them safe (ahurutanga). That all are held in high regard and that responsibility (kaitiakitanga) is embraced. If the research is successful in these three elements, then the fourth element, the wellbeing (mauri ora) for all would be maintained. To ensure that the researcher is cognisant of these obligations and responsibilities, Edwards, (2013) identified the following tikanga questions for the researcher to answer. These questions are based on each of the takepū/elements.

- Koha: Who benefits from the work?

What does reciprocity look like?

- Kaitiakitanga: How will I be accountable in safe guarding the people, their families and communities and how do I best do this in ways that are intergenerationally honouring?
What is my role in safe guarding the knowledge and the process of inquiry?
What are my own personal practices associated with people, place and events?
- Āhurutanga: How will I guarantee and assure the emotional, physical, cultural and spiritual safety of all aspects of the rangahau, the people, the places, the past, present and future?
- Mauri ora: How do I ensure the wellbeing of all is at the core of all my research activities?

2.3 Methods for this study

'Methods' refers to the actual tools used in the research and to a large extent are dictated by the methodology selected (Rangahau, 2006). Since kaupapa Māori and Kaupapa Wānanga implores the researcher to think through the research process (the topic, the ethical, methodological and process issues) from a Māori cultural perspective, the methods utilised must align with that paradigm. The methods I have selected, align to my methodologies and also, what is meaningful to me especially in terms of my engagement with the subject and the interviewees. These include the use of Tikanga Cultural Practices, Whanaungatanga relationships, Māori Metaphor, and Pūrakau.

2.3.1 Tikanga - Cultural Practices

Penetito (2006) describes that Kaupapa Māori agenda or flavour comes from the Māori context, the use of reo, tikanga and whanaungatanga. He further highlights that we cannot make the assumption that all Māori

innately operate with these practices. The need to define and prescribe these methods has arisen due to the number of Māori who have little or no understanding of these dynamics but wish to identify as Māori and want their research to be Māori. Ihaka (2014) states the 2013 census statistics show that only 11% Māori adults could speak te reo Māori 'well to very well' and less Māori attend hui, preferring to engage with things Māori through TV, Facebook or Twitter.

This research utilises the seven ethical practices as identified by Smith (2006). These are:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Aroha ki te tāngata | Respect for people |
| 2. Kanohi kitea (the seen face) | Face to face presentation |
| 3. Titiro, whakarongo...kōrero | Look, listen... speak |
| 4. Manaaki ki te tāngata | Share and host people, be generous |
| 5. Kia tūpato | Be cautious |
| 6. Kaua e takahia te mana
o te tāngata | Do not trample over the mana
of people |
| 7. Kaua e mahaki | Do not flaunt your knowledge |

2.3.2 Whanaungatanga and Internal positions

A core value in Māoritanga, that is enacted in every hui (gathering) and encounter, formal or informal is that of whakawhanaungatanga. Whakawhanaungatanga which is "the process of engagement through and by which relationships, connections, obligations and responsibilities between people are strengthened" (Macfarlane, 2013, p.143). Whanaungatanga is critical in establishing relationships and this is where tikanga plays a pivotal role. The place of mihimihi, whakatau, koha and manaaki are all fundamental elements of developing positive working relationships. A core component of this value is that of whakapapa. Whakapapa is more than just 'genealogy'. It is the way that Māori connect with one another, their world and their environment. In meeting someone new, Māori look to find connections through whakapapa, mutual friends or acquaintances.

The relationship between researcher and subjects then is an important ethical issue in Kaupapa Māori Research.

A big consideration for Māori researchers is their role as an 'insider' or an 'outsider' of the community they intend to research. Whether you are a member of the community under research, will dictate how participants relate to you, what they will disclose, how they will engage, where they will engage, and their level of comfort in participating. Whether you are an 'insider' or an 'outsider' will also impact on your own perceptions of what is happening, and on the analysis of the data being retrieved. Each of these positions has its merits and pitfalls; the most important thing is that you consider these issues, and the ethical implications of such (Rangahau, 2006).

Cram (2006) highlights the importance of an ongoing relationship and states that it in fact underpins the research. Mead (2006) identifies that when the relationship between the researcher and the community is direct and a long term one, it negates having their knowledge and resources being disrespected or misappropriated. Berryman (2013) espouses that it is essential for kaupapa Māori researchers to have strong relationships and to write as 'insiders' and not as if they were outsiders looking in. By writing as an 'insider' allows for real and authentic interpretations of the subject area.

Insider research is often a normal paradigm in kaupapa Māori research. This research is no different, I have had a long lasting relationship with Edna and Tina and indeed their respective families for many years, and we have worked together on art projects, on committees and symposiums. It is this close relationship which provides a sense of trust, respect and confidence in engaging in this research. Valenzuela (2013) identified factors in relationship building for culturally responsive methodologies. I restate them in Māori terms and add one more, kotahitanga. Kotahitanga would be seen as a goal of these factors, a manifestation of mauri ora as espoused in Kaupapa Wānanga. The following table (Figure 5) outlines these factors in terms of the relationships between the interviewees and me.

Ahuatanga - Factors in building and maintaining relationships.	
Whakaute- Respect	<i>Me whakaute, me whakanui ngā mahi o etahi atu!</i> Reciprocal relationships based on mutual respect. We have respect of the talents and roles each of us have individually as well as a collective group. I have the utmost respect for their knowledge and expertise in Māori weaving, as well as the leadership roles they have in the weaving community.
Aroha- Compassion	<i>Me aroha tētahi ki tētahi, ko te mea nui ko te aroha!</i> Showing concern for the well-being of others. As a collective we often meet to share ups and downs. We are supportive of each other.
Whakaiti- Humility	<i>Me whakaiti i a koe!</i> Those who are truly humble are those who value others opinions, those who do not pretend to know more than others. This is a valuable quality in developing collaborative work.
Whakapono- Trust	<i>Me whakapono ki a koe, me whakapono ki ētahi atu!</i> Very few people would go round trusting everyone, trust has to be earned. Trust is a cultural intuition. We trust each other.
Kotahitanga Unity	<i>Ano te pai, ano te ahua reka o te noho tahitanga o ngā teina me ngā tuakana I te whakaaro kotahi!</i> Kaupapa Māori research is a collaborative approach with knowledge flowing both ways and researcher and participants both having something important to contribute and learn. In unity anything can be accomplished.

Figure 6: Ahuatanga - Factors in building and maintaining relationships.

2.3.3 Kupu Whakarite Māori Metaphor

Māori traditionally have always had a strong oral literacy history. This is evident in whaikōrero, kōrero paki, whakapapa, whakatauki and waiata; all are rich in knowledge. Metaphors are often used to illustrate lessons or appropriate behaviour (Barrett, 2013). According to Smith, (2006) narrative and metaphor are often engaged as a model or template in the engagement or process of research.

Whakapapa, generally defined as 'genealogy' was utilised by Te Rito, (2006), in his research. He not only recorded a Tararere forty-six generations from Rangi and Papa down to himself but also captured the narratives of each ancestor. This not only contextualises the relationship between his ancestors, iwi and hapū and with other tribes but also with the whenua and papa kainga of his ancestors and present relations.

Hinematau McNeil (2001-2002) examined the use of a whakatauki as an ethical framework for the research of Māori mental wellbeing. The values embodied in the whakatauki shaped the research that was undertaken with Tuhoe kaumatua. Whakatauki are placed after each chapter title as succinct expression of the chapter contents.

The significance of the title of this thesis, 'Tū te turuturu nō Hineteiwaiwa' is taken from an archaic karakia and has been explained in Chapter 1. In effect, I am using it as a metaphor to question the health and integrity of Māori weaving today and by doing so, draw both traditional and contemporary practice under the lens for examination.

Within the abstract is an example of a Māori linguistic device, a play on words that also serves as a metaphor.

He whatu kōrero mō te whatu, Entwining tales about twining
He whiriwhiri kōrero mō te whiri, Plaiting dialogues about plaiting
He rangaranga kōrero mō te raranga. Weaving stories about weaving

Whatu kōrero, whiriwhiri kōrero and rangaranga kōrero are expressions that allude to whakawhitiwhiti korero; the dialogue between me as researcher/interviewer and the interviewees. This thesis weaves and entwines the kōrero between all participants and also from the past to the present. Further, these three lines highlight three forms or techniques of Māori weaving; Whatu – twinning (used in cloak manufacture), whiri - plaiting and raranga, as used for kete and whāriki. The allusion is that Māori weaving has an expansive history, kōrero and tikanga. Māori weaving comes from the Whare Pora. The use of the term 'whare', the weaving terms and kōrero have been utilised for the chapter headings.

Rangaranga also has the meaning ‘to lift up’ (Williams, 2001). Whiriwhiri also means to select and choose hence used for the analysis chapter. To my way of thinking a finished kākahu is probably the most illustrious of the weaving arts; a tongarerewa, a treasure - the conclusion is the synthesis ‘gem’ of this research.

Chapter Title	Literal meanings	Chapter Content
Te Whare Tikanga	‘The house of custom’	Methodology & Methods
Te Whare Pora	‘The traditional weaving house’	Traditions & Their Demise
Te Whare Rangaranga	‘The house of weaving – constructing’	Rebuilding The Whare
Te Whare Kōrerorero	‘The talking house’	Narratives and oral histories
Te Whare Whiriwhiri	‘The house of plying - interpreting and inferring’	Analysis
Te Whare Whatu Tongarerewa	‘The house of weaving treasures’	Conclusion

2.3.4 Pūrakau (Oral histories/ story telling/ Narratives)

“Each of us is born with a story, and that each of us has a responsibility to pass those stories on!” Marata, (2000).

A major method of my research is to conduct semi-formal interviews and whakawhitiwhiti kōrero (responsive dialogic exchanges) (Berryman, 2013) to gather the oral histories or narratives of the interviewees, expert practitioners and teachers of Māori weaving. Whakawhitiwhiti is to interact and/or to illuminate, kōrero is to talk, therefore this is a process of conversation between both parties (researcher and participants); both are afforded equal status with the aim of constructing an informed and shared narrative. This is possible given the established relationship between all parties. These interviews and dialogues will be conducted ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ and aim to develop a narrative, a history of their practice and

teaching as weavers. Lee (2009) describes pūrakau as a method that has evolved in the development of decolonising methodologies and is a Māori cultural responsive construct for narrative inquiry. Koukkanen (2000, as cited in Lee, 2009) declares that “contemporary indigenous peoples’ narrative knowledge has to be part of the decolonisation process which is taking place in all indigenous peoples’ societies.” The analysis of the pūrakau of the expert practitioners and teachers of Māori weaving provides the answers to my research question. Personal pūrakau from my life provide an introduction to each chapter; they serve not only as an analogy for the chapter’s themes but also provide a guide for myself and the reader alike in engaging with each chapter’s topic.

2.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has explained the theoretical frameworks of Kaupapa Māori theory and Kaupapa Wānanga as appropriate methodologies for this research because both of these frameworks are based on principles derived from ‘te ao Māori’. The methods that have been utilised for this study including whakawhanaungatanga, whitiwhiti kōrero (semi-formal interviews) and pūrakau (oral histories/ narratives) which all align to the methodologies that have been described. Finally Māori metaphor as a tool for framing this research has been detailed in terms of the thesis title, chapter headings and interview process.

Chapter 3 Te Whare Pora – Traditions & Their Demise

“Ehara i te mea poka noa mai; he tikanga nō Hawaiki rā ano!”¹²

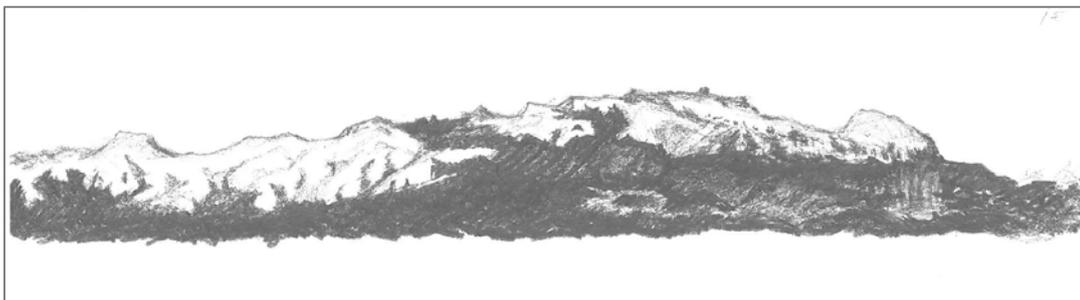


Figure 7: Te Mata – The Sleeping Giant

3.1 Introduction to the chapter

When I was six years old, we studied giants at school and were told the story of *Jack and the Beanstalk*. I remember going home for lunch that day and told my mother that story. She then told me the story of Te Mata¹³, the sleeping giant and pointed him out, as he lay across the eastern horizon. He was from the Waimarama¹⁴ area and regularly annoyed the people travelling to the coast from the plains area. In order to put a stop to this, a chief from Te Pakipaki¹⁵ decided his daughter Hinerakau could act as a decoy to divert Te Mata. They laid a plan to make Te Mata fall in love with her, which he did. They then set him a series of herculean tasks. The last of which was to eat away the hill that stood between these two papa kainga of Waimarama and Te Pakipaki. Te Mata attempted and took a giant bite out of a hill and he immediately choked and died. Alas by this time Hinerakau had also fallen in love with Te Mata. In her grief, she placed her cloak over him before jumping to her death. The cloak can be seen as the clouds hang over the giant. My mother warned me that it was predicted that one day he would be awoken and spit out his mouthful. I ran back to school, looking over my shoulder, scared that he would!

¹² 'It is not something, merely stumbled upon but a tradition from Hawaiki'

¹³ Te Mata – I was told the giant was named Te Mata but the popular version today is that he is Rongokakao, this is challenged by some Waimarama people.

¹⁴ Waimarama – a coastal village past Havelock North, home of some of the earliest inhabitants of Aotearoa.

¹⁵ Te Pakipaki (Te Pakipakitanga-a-Hinetemoa) – a small Māori village on the southern outskirts of Hastings

Recalling this memory I find it interesting that my teacher, who knew a lot about giants did not know about Te Mata, a giant dominating our very own landscape. It also reminds me that even though the Pākehā cultural map has been layered over the Māori one, our Māori narratives maintain the physical and spiritual connections we have with the land.

This chapter examines the 'Māori map' and how it was over layered with the Pākehā one. The whare pora is of the 'Māori map', its tikanga and pedagogy is examined alongside the impacts of the 'pākehā map' - colonisation on weaving and traditional practice. Whakataukī, pūrakau and kōrero tuku iho shows the celestial origins of weaving.

3.2 Te Ao Tīpuna¹⁶

3.2.1 He aha koia, te whare pora?¹⁷

Eldson Best (1898) described that the whare pora was a house “specially set aside for the teaching the art of weaving and its various branches” (p. 627). In 1941 he makes it explicit that whilst the term itself could be interpreted as “the house of weaving... it must not be understood as a house set apart for that purpose, in as much as no such house existed” (p. 505). He makes it clear that it is a “Māori habit of assigning his various activities, etc., to certain ‘houses’ ” (p. 505). He also gives the names ‘whare parapara’ and ‘whare takutaku’ as alternative tribal names for the whare pora. The whare pora then could be considered as a classification of mātauranga Māori pertaining to all forms of Māori weaving. It is both the curriculum and the pedagogy of teaching these art forms. Te Papa, (n.d.) references it as “a state of being as well as a place”. Mead, (2003) refers to the whare pora as the principles, traditions and knowledge base held, protected and instructed by the collective of weavers, old and young, experienced and novice.

¹⁶ The world of the Ancestors

¹⁷ What is this thing the Whare pora (House of weaving)?

3.2.2.The origins of weaving

Puketapu-Hetet, (1989) a renowned weaver of Te Ati Awa states that Weaving is more than just a product of manual skills. From the simplest rourou to the prestigious Kahu kiwi, weaving is endowed with the very essence of spiritual values of Māori people. The ancient Polynesian belief is that the artist is a vehicle through whom the gods create (p.2).

The spiritual nature of weaving starts from its very inception, indeed these are gifts from the gods a legacy passed down many generations to the present time. There are a number of atua associated with the origins of weaving. Tane¹⁸ one of the children of the primal parents Ranginui and Papatuanuku,¹⁹ married Hinerauāmoa, a tiny star in the heavens. From this union came Hine-te-iwaiwa, the goddess of weaving, childbirth and as Hina, the moon cycles. Te Arikini Dame Te Atairangikāhu (2005) referenced Rukutia as the origin of whatu, in her introduction to the book *'The Eternal Thread –Te Aho Mutunga Kore'* she wrote

E ai ki ngā kupu tuku iho a ngā tūpuna, ko Rukutia te
tupuna whakapūmau nana i tīmata te whatu o te kākahu.
E tika ana hoki kia whakanuingia e tātou ēnei mahi a ngā
uri whakatupu e whakaahua nei e tēnei pukapuka.
Te Arikini Dame Te Atairangikāhu, (2005).

According to the teachings of our ancestors, Rukutia was the ancestress from whom derived the weaving of cloaks. Also it is only appropriate that we acknowledge the works of her descendants, whose work is captured in this book.
(My translation)

(Ngata & Jones, 2005) in a waiata collected in 1930 from Ngāti Maniapoto, writes that her name refers to the twisting of fibre to make thread, described as 'te miri o Rukutia' and credits her as a founder of weaving.

<i>Tenei to tohu</i>	Henceforward your landmarks
<i>Ka mau ki au,</i>	Are firmly imprinted within me.
<i>Miria mai, e,</i>	Come with your caress,
<i>Te miri o Rukutia;</i>	The caress of Rukutia;

¹⁸ Tane is the god of many domains, an epithet applied to his name to denote each domain e.g Tanemahuta – God of forest, Tane-te-wānanga– God of knowledge,

¹⁹ Sky father and earth mother – they dwelt in a close embrace until Tane separated them.

<i>Hiiā mai, e,</i>	Lure me on
<i>Te hi o Tonganui.</i>	With the lure of Tonganui.
<i>Ka mana, e Rangī!</i>	I will secure, O Rangī!
<i>To whitiki mai;</i>	The tie which bind us
<i>Makatitia iho</i>	Only a piercing thrust
<i>Ki te tara whaiapu,</i>	From a spear-pointed <i>whaiapu</i> ,
<i>Whano mauru noa</i>	Might otherwise bring surcease
<i>Te aroha i au.</i>	For the longing within me

(Ngata & Jones, 2005, p.292).

According to his Tuhoe informants, Best (1890) wrote that Hinengaroa is credited with the invention of coloured weaving patterns. Best (1898) also gives Hingangaroa as an alternative of Hinengaroa, a contemporary of Rua. Rua is a personification of knowledge and is known by many names. Rua-te-pūpuke is said to be the origin of whakairo (carving) but whakairo is also a term for pattern. The term ‘kete whakairo’ is used by weavers to describe ornate patterned kete. Hinengaro means mind, thought, intellect, consciousness and awareness. This pairing may refer to the culmination of mind and knowledge to produce woven articles.

According to Reed (1974), another deity, Niwareka was said to have come from the tūrehu folk of Rarohenga, a great granddaughter of Hine-nui-te-pō and Whakaruaumoko. She lived with her husband Mataora until one day in anger he struck her and she fled home to Rarohenga. Remorseful Mataora followed her to the underworld where he learnt the art of tā moko. Fully adorned he returned with Niwareka who brought the gift of tāniko cloaks to this world. Best (1924) writes that these arts came when Mataora returned with a famous cloak and belt, known as Te Rangikaupapa and Te Ruruku-o-te-rangi that became exemplars for weaving.

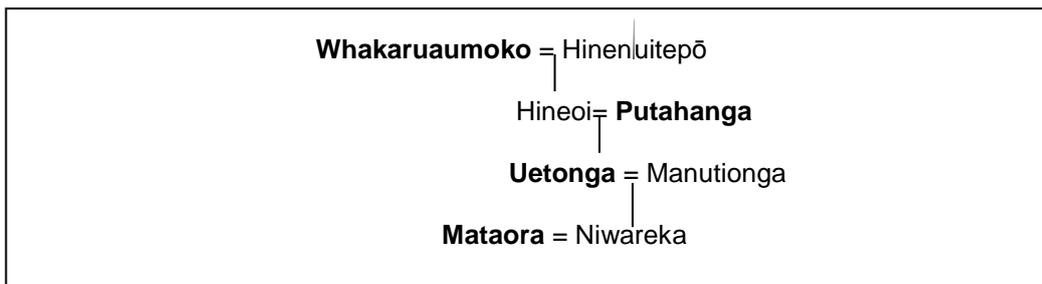


Figure 8: Te Whakapapa o Niwareka



9.1 Harakeke, NZ Flax – *Phormium tenax*



9.2 Raupō, Bullrush - *Typha angustifolia*



9.3 Kiekie - *Freycinetia banksii*



9.4 Pīngao, Golden Sand Sedge - *Ficinia spiralis*

Figure 9: Weaving Fibres

3.2.3 Weaving fibres and Kōrero tuku iho²⁰

*E hine e tangi nei ki te makariri i a ia,
Kāore nei e hine te rau o te ngahere i a tāua,
Pinea rawatia ki Tutira ra! ...*

O maiden, who art weeping because of the cold,
We own no garments of forest-leaves,
O child, Let us gather together to Tutira!
(Guthrie-Smith, 1953, p.68)

The lines of this waiata stress the importance of weaving fibers. Tutira²¹ with its lake and bush was a renowned site of Harakeke and Kiekie. Not only does the art of weaving have a celestial origin but also the very plants that are utilised. Of all the plants Harakeke is the most utilised. It grows abundantly throughout New Zealand, although different cultivars produce differing qualities. It is resourced to make baskets, mats, clothing, rope, fishing lines and nets. (Harrison, Te Kanawa, & Higgins, 2004) Harakeke is therefore a much prized weaving plant with many cultural and spiritual elements associated to it.

As well as Hineraumoa, Tane married many others producing all of the trees and plants. It is said that he married Hine-i-te-repo (Swamp maiden) to produce Raupō (Bullrush) and that he married Pākoki or Pākoti to produce Harakeke (Huata, 2000). Harrison, Te Kanawa, and Higgins (2004) prescribe Huna as the mother of Harakeke, a reference to the secretive and hidden nature of weaving.

²⁰ Oral histories

²¹ A small settlement by Lake Tutira, in North Eastern Hawkes Bay.

According to some people Kiekie is said to be a brother to Harakeke (Kiekie, 2006). Harakeke went to live with Wainui alongside streams and swamps, whilst Kiekie remained sheltered in Tane's forest.

Tane and his brother Tangaroa were forever fighting as evidence by the constant erosion of the land by the sea. As a sign of peace Tane plucked out his eyebrows and gave them to Tangaroa. Tangaroa unable to forgive Tane threw them back on shore where they grew as Pingao the Golden sledge grass.

An oriori from Te Whanau-a-Kai, gives yet another whakapapa, it cites Rangitahuri as the originator of whitau, the fibre found within Harakeke (Ngata, 2005). Figure 10 shows the extracting of the muka fibre or 'whītau' as described in the waiata. Figure 11 shows the fibre made into hanks or 'kaka'.



Figure 10: Extracting muka using a kuku

Ka noho Wainui, ka noho i a Rangi,
 Puta mai ki waho rā Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa;
 Ka maringi kai raro ko Para-whenua-mea,
 Nā Moananui e, nā Moanarua e,
 Nā Tu-i-te-repo, nā Tu-i-te-wao,
 Nā Tu-te-hemo-rere, nānā Rangitahuri;
 Nāna te whītau, ka roia hei kaka
 Ka mahana i ahau..."

The Mighty-waters did abide with the Sky Father
 Unto them was born the Great Ocean of Kiwa
 Poured down here below was the Muddy soil of
 Mother Earth
 Begotten, too, by the Mighty-ocean were the
 Open-seas

The Oozy-swamp, the forest -swamp
 Tu-te-hemo-rere begat Rangitahuri; she grew
 the flax from which cloaks were woven
 That now keeps me warm

(Ngata, 2005 p.226).



Figure 11: Extracted muka fibre

There are other weaving fibres each with their own stories, however these detailed, serve to illustrate that alongside the spiritual origins of weaving the plants themselves have divine pedigrees.

3.2.4 The place of weaving in traditional Māori Society

From the origin stories of weaving and of the plant materials used for weaving, it can be seen that the place of weaving in traditional Māori society was an important one. The many products and forms of weaving produced a number of articles with specific functions and purposes crucial to Māori society, this ranged from all forms of threads and ropes to the baskets, mats, arapaki panels in fine ware and a vast number of garments and clothing. Without weaving traditional Māori society would not have been able to function.

Tane when climbing to the heavens to obtain 'knowledge' was given this load in three kete, ngā kete mātauranga (Reed, 1974). Today people still refer to valuable lessons or knowledge as a taonga to be retained in their kete. 'Te Kete rokiroki o Te Whakaotirangi' refers to Te Whakaoti's small food basket; when the Te Arawa waka was nearly lost at sea in the whirlpool of Te Parata. It was her small kete that provided kumara seed that was planted to provide a food source for her and her descendants of Te Arawa. In a similar vein 'te kete a Rongorongo' refers to the basket of Rongorongo, the wife of Turi of Aotea waka. (Mead & Grove, 2001)

Women adept in the art of weaving and especially makers of garments, were desired marriage partners (Te Kanawa & Turi-Tiakitai, 2011). This is reflected in the proverb '*Aitia te wahine i te pā harakeke*'²². From Te Arawa comes this sparing song between the men and women of Ngāti Whakaue.

<i>'Mā wai e moe te tane</i>	Who would marry the man
<i>Māngere ki te mahi kai?</i>	Too lazy to prepare food?
<i>He rā te kai ki taua kiri- e!</i>	The sun is food for his fat belly – eh!

<i>Mā wai e moe te wahine</i>	Who would marry the woman
<i>Māngere ki te whatu pūeru?</i>	Too weary to do her weaving?
<i>Ko Tongariro te kai ki taua kiri -e!</i>	Tongariro's cloak will cover her-eh!

(Mitalfe, 1961, p. 37).

Anyone who has been to Rotorua on a cold winter's day with a southerly wind blowing from the snow covered mountains of the central plateau would fully understand the message of this song. It is recorded that many Ngāti

²² 'Marry the women in the flax cultivation'.

Kahungunu women were taken as prisoners by Waikato and Tuwharetoa from the Te Pākake²³ battle of 1825. They were retained by those iwi for several years, in order that they could instruct in the skill of extracting muka. (Grace, 1966).

Cloaks however are not solely about protection from the climatic elements. They also portray status and mana of their weaver. Captain James Cook on his first voyage to Aotearoa, New Zealand, in 1769 observed chiefs in a range of kahu kuri (Beaglehole, 1962). Angiangi, of Ngāti Kahungunu paid a visit to Taharākau of Gisborne and when it was time for Angiangi to return to Te Wairoa, Taharākau accompanied him. (Mitchell, 2014). As befitting his status, Angiangi dressed himself in his finest garments, but Taharākau dressed in a common pakē which made Angiangi comment, '*E Taha, ina - he māhiti ki runga, he paepaeroa ki raro, koia nei te kākahu o te rangatira*' (A dog-skin cloak on top and a fine cloak underneath, these are the garments befitting a chief). Taharākau replied, '*E roa raro, e tata runga*' (Long below, close above).

In the course of their journey they came to a high hill and on reaching the top the rain fell in torrents. Angiangi was soaked to the skin while Taharākau, dressed in his pakē, was well secured against the inclement elements. The moral is clear that fashion is important but so is the function of the so called inferior garment. Fine cloaks were not only symbols of chiefly status but were also used as items of gift giving and exchange. It is recorded that the waka, Te Toki a Tapiri built circa 1836 for Te Waka Tarakau of Ngāti Kahungunu, was given to Te Waka Perohuka of the Rongowhakaata people of Poverty Bay, in exchange for a famous cloak named 'Karamaene'.

Another reference to a woven article of status, the takapau wharanui (sleeping mat) can be found in the story of the half-brothers Ruatapu and Kahutia-te-rangi. Their father Uenuku is said to have referred to Ruatapu as a '*tama meamea*' conceived on a leafy bed; as opposed to Kahutia – '*te tangata i aitia*'

²³ A pā site at Ahuriri, Napier

*i runga i te takapau wharanui*²⁴ (Ngatai, 2005). This latter expression is still used today and is heard at the poroporoaki to people of rank.

3.2.5 Tikanga, traditional practices and pedagogy

Tikanga and pedagogy in weaving can be grouped into two major divisions (Mead, 1969). One, the rituals that are associated with dedicating the child to Hineteiwaiwa. Secondly, the on-going life experiences as part of normal child rearing practices. The latter is an important element that escaped notice by early ethnologists like Best and Andersen.²⁵ They were more concerned with peculiar visible rituals than the childhood nurturing and learning that provided the fundamental cultural principles and values of Māori society. The basis of these epistemologies has been identified by Rose Pere (1994) and Wharehuia Hemara (2000), where Hemara (2000) writes

While the whare wānanga seems to have been a formal setting, much other learning was carried out informally by adults who were charged with looking after children. Informal learning with an adult was often linked to the harnessing of natural resources (p. 41).

Thus children learnt whilst working alongside adults who instilled in them the correct practices and “it was crucial that children learn various skills, positive attitudes to work and moral codes that ensured the wellbeing of the whānau and hapū,” Hemara (2000 p. 11).

Girls were nurtured by the wider whanau. Pere (1994) cites the linguistic evidence of the term ‘whaea’ for mother and aunt as evidence of this. The child received care by all generations of the whanau. This tribal upbringing allowed the child to learn her whakapapa, her status, her role and her relationship in the order of things, including the physical and spiritual realms. Much tikanga revolved around the weavers’ knowledge of the environment, the knowledge of plants, their characteristics and growth cycles (Roberts, 2012).

²⁴ ‘Conceived upon the superior sleeping mat’- a legitimate, chiefly marriage.

²⁵ Elsdon Best (1856 –1931) and Johannes Carl Andersen (1873–1962), were fellow colleagues and ethnologists.

Hemara, (2000) cites evidence that suggests a child's learning began in the womb with mothers singing oriori that instructed the unborn foetus in particular lessons or instructions. The tohi was a baptismal ceremony performed over the child when the umbilical cord was cut. There are many examples of tohi recorded that dedicated girls to the tasks of weaving (Mead, 1969). The following example was recorded by Maggie Papakura of Tūhourangi, Te Arawa.

<i>Tohi ki te wai nō Tū</i>	Blessed in the sacred waters of Tū
<i>Whano koe</i>	Go forth to the world
– <i>tāngaengae</i>	– with vigour
<i>ki te mahi kai māu</i>	To cook food for you
– <i>tāngaengae</i>	– with vigour
<i>Ki te whatu pūeru mōu</i>	To weave clothing for you
– <i>tāngaengae...</i>	– with vigour...

(Papakura, 1938, p. 132).

As the child grew they would have been encouraged to participate in some of the tasks involved in the weaving of her mother, aunts and elders. It was common to be taught by one's kuia (Hemara, 2000). Such activities were often whanau or communal affairs and would include the harvesting of natural resources. As resources became available, the tikanga, spiritual and practical skills were taught to ensure the effective use of these materials (Hemara, 2000). These tasks were often stair cased depending on age and skill of the pupil, and had a mix of theory and relevant application. Learning then was a gradual, stair cased process. The child's talent, commitment and keenness to learn would be assessed by the whanau (Mead, 2003). It was only when the child showed natural ability that they were selected to be admitted to the weaving guild and 'entered' the whare pora.

Best (1898) appears to be the source for detail concerning the rituals of entering the whare pora as recorded by latter authors including Andersen (1907) and Mead (1969). Best (1898) details the ritual as:

1. Tohunga knowledgeable in appropriate karakia sought.
2. Pupil expresses her desire to learn.
3. Tohunga and pupil are alone in whare pora.
4. Pupil sits in front of turuturu weaving pegs.
5. Various garments in fine patterns are on display.
6. A pūwha is placed on the desired garment to be copied.

7. The pupil takes prepared fibres and tohunga recites the Moremore pūwha karakia
8. As tohunga finishes karakia the pupil bites the sacred (right) turuturu.
9. Pupil weaves the aho tapu and becomes under the influence of the invocations in that the knowledge, taste, dexterity and power be forced into her. That she may be clear headed, quick to grasp the new knowledge and to endow a receptive mind and retentive memory.
10. The pupil eats the pūwha (this may be just a symbolic touch to her lips) so that the desired pattern becomes clear to her.
11. Pupil weaves a few more lines, copying the garment before her. This is never completed in any form but is her pattern piece (Kāwhatuwhatu).
12. The hurihanga takapau lifting of the tapu is then recited so she may be free to leave and go and eat.
(Best, 1898, p.627-630).

Best (1889) also describes another karakia called a 'pou' that enables her to retain all knowledge. He claims that if the pupil is then shown a new pattern she would be able to reproduce on the first go as she has the influence of the gods upon her.

Pere, (1994) also describes the importance of tohu (signs and omens). A tahakura is an evil omen (Best,1898). Tohu is also the root word of 'tohutohu' (to instruct) and tohunga (expert). Children were brought up to heed the 'tohutohu' of their elders and to understand the many 'tohu', good and bad that maybe revealed. Many of these tohutohu had 'common sense' origins based on the values and epistemologies of the tribe. Andersen (1907) and Mead (1969) list many of these tohutohu. The breaking of which could result in faulty work, a loss of the art or even death, 'aroakapa' (Best, 1898). Mead, (2003) summaries these tohutohu as follows:

1. Fine garments were woven in daylight hours.
2. When the sun sets the sacred weaving peg is taken down and the work covered.
3. Aho should be completed across the garment.
4. Weaving is done under cover, that is with some form of shelter.
5. When strangers arrive, the work stops and the work is covered.
6. Should a person stand opposite the weaver, looking at the garment it was an evil omen.
7. Weavers should not eat (or smoke) whilst weaving.

8. Weavers had special rules concerning the harvest, preparation and disposal of materials. These activities all carry an element of tapu.
9. Weavers did not harvest or weave during menstruation.
10. Dying fibres required strict rituals to ensure optimal success. Failure to take the dye was a bad omen.
11. The talent was regarded as a gift from the gods handed down family generations and was something to be respected and treasured.
12. Artists worked under tapu and there were activities that were prohibited to the weaver whilst working.

(Mead, 2003, p. 258)

3.3 Te Ao Pākehā

3.3.1 The impact of colonisation

The initial arrival of Pākehā provided a flourish of innovation with the opportunity of new materials and patterns. The supply of coloured wools, created new forms with pompom and other adornments applied to cloaks (Lander, 2011). Also many older cloaks were updated by over sewing with coloured wools. Candle wick became a ready source of warps and cottons for wefts (Hiroa, 1987). Many weavers also imitated Pakehā fashion by producing Pakehā garments and paraphernalia like hats, evening bags, jackets and vests using Māori weaving techniques (National Museum of New Zealand, 1989). For example, Te Papa has a collection of Kiwi feathered muffs. For a time cloak weaving was retained as they were needed for gift and social exchanges but eventually this became replaced with substitute articles. Cloaks remain as a ceremonial and symbolic costume, something (Mead,1997) described as the 'heirloom effect', in which "the value of the traditional part of culture increases so much that it is retained, if not redeveloped" Mead (1997, p. 101). Cloaks did redevelop especially the styles of decoration, coloured wools and new forms of tags and attachments were created. Māwhitiwhiti stitching became fashionable, possibly derived from tapestry (Lander, 2011). Structurally, poka (shaping wefts) became less important and draw string ties have become popular.



Figure 12: My nana pa (grandfather), Rii Turi, as a baby being nursed by his kuia, Hiromina. His mother, Matuakore Pakai is on his right. His aunts Heeni and Kuini are seated on the ground with his cousin. Their korowai are good examples of the use of ceremonial cloaks that have utilised modern Materials and decorative patterns.

The impact of colonisation can be summarised as the tumbling down of the *whare pora*. Colonisation set decay in the spiritual and cultural backbone of the *whare pora* as indeed much of Māori society. This of course was not immediate, but as noted by Hiroa (1987), resulted with the dwindling numbers of weavers with each generation. This decline was due primarily to the adopting of Pakehā fashions and the discarding of Māori products as every day utilitarian objects (Mead, 1997). It must also be attributed to the dramatic decrease in the Māori population due to the introduction of new diseases and as a result of the musket wars. The adoption of Christian faiths also spelt the loss of traditional *karakia* and the abandonment of the belief in many traditional Māori concepts. It marked a change in social and cultural composition and function. The production of weaving was neglected or highly curtailed with the possible exception of a few districts, this including Rotorua where souvenirs were produced for the tourist trade and *piupiu* made as part of stage and guiding costume (Mead, 1997). These regions however also deserted many of the *tikanga* that were part of its structure.

3.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has shown that traditional Māori Society valued Māori weaving and had a system of epistemological teaching that enabled these arts to be passed down in successive generations. This pedagogy involved both formal and informal learning, and was fused with spiritual ritual and strict cultural practices that were constructed upon Māori cultural values and mores. These are reflected in whakatauki, pūrakau and kōrero tuku iho that are a major part of Māori culture. Much of these tikanga and cultural practices were part of normal child rearing practices within the whanau and wider hapū groups. The learner's position was dictated by whakapapa to both hapū and whanau but also to the gods who produced this knowledge as well as their offspring, the natural resources utilised by the weaver. This cultural construct was encased with tapu and many tohutohu that required strict observance. Colonisation resulted in the collapse of the whare pora, of weaving and traditional practice. It signalled a time of Māori adaption and subjugation, and for most the abandonment of these arts.

Chapter 4 Te Whare Rangaranga

– Rebuilding The Whare

“Waiho atu tētahi tikanga, kia ara ake tētahi tikanga”²⁶

4.1 Introduction to the chapter

Having Māori/Pākehā ethnicity I was described as a boy as being a ‘half caste’. This term is no longer considered to be politically correct. I was conscious of my cultural identity at an early age. My brothers and I were the white cousins. Unlike my brothers, I actively engaged in kapa haka, reo Māori classes and the marae. In effect these were conscious and unconscious decisions in the constructing of my tuakiritanga (identity). This waiata written by Rangimarie Hetet urges the youth to uphold and maintain Māori arts as part of their cultural identity.

E ngā uri whakatupu Whakarongo kia kaha Hapainga ake rā Ngā mahi hua tau A ngā tūpuna I waiho ake nei Hei painga mō te iwi O Aotearoa e.	O coming generations Listen, be strong, Uplift the arts Left by our ancestors for the good of the people of Aotearoa.
Kia kaha rangatahi Kei ngaro ngā taonga O ngā tupuna Hei whakaari atu Ki te ao turoa Taku mana nō tua whakarere Nō aku tupuna I mauria mai nei I Hawaiki rāno e.	Be strong, oh youth. Lest the treasures of your ancestors be lost as a portrayal of the future. My inward strength stems from the dim past brought by our ancestors from Hawaiki.

(Hetet, 1976, exhibition display signage).

This chapter is about cultural constructs – the path of re-shaping of the weaving arts in the main by Māori society, to fit their time and space and as a consequence of the impact of colonisation. In the most part this has been at the hands of the women themselves and the organisations they formed. There has also been other impacts from the commercial, arts and

²⁶ ‘One custom is put aside, so another may take residence’

educational spheres. Organisations like the New Zealand Qualifications Authority, Creative New Zealand and Toi Māori are examples of the types of organisations that have impacted on Māori art. In contention is the commercialisation of our Māori art, the traditional/customary versus contemporary debate and the argument regarding the cultural ownership and the authority to teach the art.

4.2 Te Ao Hurihuri

4.2.1 Women's' Movements

Wāhine Māori have always played an active role in the nurturing and welfare of their whanau, hapū and iwi. They played a central role in both traditional Māori society and the response to Pākehā political and social agendas within New Zealand. Many women saw this as their responsibility due to their whakapapa and tribal standing (Rei, McDonald, & Te Awekōtuku, 1993).

Meri Mangakāhia ²⁷ campaigned for Māori women to have the vote and to have their voices heard within the Te Kotahitanga movement and the Māori Parliament set up to cease land sales. She was also the catalyst for the formation of Ngā Kōmiti Wāhine (Māori women's committees) on marae across the country that discussed pertinent issues of the day including status and the welfare of their people (Rei et al., 1993).

Rei et al. (1993) highlights that from 1840-1901 the Māori population experienced decades of despair and Pākehā believed that the Māori was a dying race. In 1891 the population had declined by 40-50% from that of the 1840 population. Many did not survive their first year after birth. Life expectancy was 25 years for females and 28 for males. Consequently there was a focus on health education and providing healthy homes. There was also a drive to establish Māori nurses to work amongst their communities.

²⁷²⁷ 1868-1920 Te Rarawa woman of mana, suffragist. (Dictionary of NZ Bibliography).

The Māori Women's Institutes began in 1929, eight years after their Pākehā counterparts. They focused on homemaking and the family. They also encouraged that Māori retain their identity and cultural values. This included Māori women's arts and crafts, that were encouraged alongside Pākehā ones (Rei & Birch, 1993).



Figure 13: The Women's Health League's 77th birthday cake (September 2014). Nurse Cameron's photo stands at the rear.

4.2.2 Te Rōpū o te Ora – Women's Health League (WHL)

In 1937 a Scottish nurse, Nurse Ruby Cameron alongside Māori women leaders and Māori district nurses established Te Rōpū o te Ora - Women's Health League (WHL). Again the focus was on the health and welfare of the family. It focuses on the fellowship and understanding between Māori women and Pākehā (Morrison, 2012). In its heyday it had branches in Rotorua, Taupo, Te Teko, Opotiki and Gisborne districts.

The WHL has been at the forefront of finding solutions to many health and social issues that have arisen over the years. The WHL also encouraged the retention and maintenance of Māori arts and crafts and in particular the strict adherence to traditional dyes. Whilst WHL membership has declined over the years there remains a dedicated pool that maintains the values and practices of the league who are encouraging their children and grandchildren to join. The annual September birthday celebration, of the founding of the league, is a time of jovial competition. Various branches compete for the honour in being placed in individual sections as well as overall best branch table of Pākehā and Māori arts and crafts.



Figure 14: Whakarewarewa Branch President, Edna Pahewa at the 2014, 77 year birthday celebrations; the branch was the winner of the Nurse Cameron Cup for 'best league table cloth', Pitau Mereaira Brown Memorial Cup for 'best display of articles on the table', Sir Apirana Ngata Memorial Cup for 'most points in Māori Arts & Crafts', The Horohoro No1. Cup for 'best collection of handiwork - European and Māori Materials' and the Mere Morehu Memorial Cup for 'most points in handcraft and Māori'.

4.2.3 Māori Women's Welfare League (MWWL)

(Rogers & Simpson, 1993) relates the development of the Māori Women's Welfare League (MWWL) with the establishment of early organisations including the Māori War Effort Organisation in 1942. This organisation was particularly concerned with those city workers employed in the wartime industries. In 1943 it was recommended by the National Service Department to create welfare and liaison officers. Six women from across the country were appointed to this role. In later years the number of welfare officers increased to over twenty. Under Te Rangiataahua Royal they were encouraged to follow the Women's Health League model of tackling health and welfare problems by forming regional women's groups and a national collective. Despite Rangi Royal's request for the Women's Health League and the Welfare Officers groups to amalgamate, the Health League declined. The Welfare Officers groups consequently established the Māori Women's Welfare League in 1951. Like the Health League the MWWL encouraged inter branch competitions in Pākehā and Māori arts and crafts.

Rangimarie Hetet²⁸, the doyen of weaving was a significant member of the MWWL. Part of the citation for her Honorary Doctorate in 1986 reads

²⁸ Rangimarie Hetet, CBE (1892–1995), Ngāti Maniapoto. Renowned korowai weaver and mother of equally famous weaver, Digger Te Kanawa.

Although Rangimarie Hetet's work was known and appreciated in the years before the 1950's, wider recognition of her mastery came when the Māori Women's Welfare League was expressing its concern at the loss of traditional craft skills, and the fear that they would die out. The League looked for people who could save these skills- and they called on Rangimarie (Waikato Museum, 2014, Exhibition Display Signage).

She is further described as “one of those women who lived at the time when women were skilled in both Māori and Pākehā crafts, she exhibited at A&P shows²⁹, taught and competed at MWWL conferences and displayed her skills both nationally and internationally” (Waikato Museum, 2014, Exhibition Display Signage).

The MWWL panui of April-May 2014 talks of Rangimarie ...

She was not weaving as a practising artist before she joined the League. In a newspaper interview in the mid-1960s, Rangimarie credited the League's call as the catalyst to producing a number of works for which she earned accolades, an honorary doctorate, as well as, exhibiting both nationally and internationally. She died in 1995, aged 103. Mrs Hetet said her renewed interest in weaving began when she joined the Māori Women's Welfare League in 1950.

(MWWL, 2014, p.3).

As Hetet (n.d.) explains “I used to watch my mother when I was little, but I was never really interested. I knew how to weave and make things but I did not want to then” (as cited in MWWL, 2014, p. 3).

'E ngā uri whakatupu', is an exhibition at Waikato Museum, celebrating the weaving legacies of Dame Rangimarie Hetet and her daughter Diggeress Rangituatahi Te Kanawa. Digger wrote in September 1998

Weaving with our traditional materials is for me an on-going craft - fulfilling, adventurous, rewarding and inspiring. This ancient Māori craft maintains its mystic, mental and physical therapy, just as much today as it would centuries ago. I learnt this craft from my late mother, Dame Rangimarie Hetet and was encouraged by my father Tuheka.

²⁹ Agricultural & Pastoral Shows.

At the age of 9 years, I completed my first piece of tāniko from my mother's left over fibres and at 14 years, I made my first piupiu. The tāniko piece was gifted to an Uncle and the piupiu to a friend. According to my father this traditional gesture would give me the incentive to master the craft.

Preparation of the natural materials is tiring and tedious, a true test of your patience and determination.

My mother would sigh and say "Mā te hē ka kitea tō tika" (to go wrong you will see what is right), I have used this proverb with my students.

One of the policies of the Māori Women's Welfare League formed in 1951 was to revive the art of weaving. My mother and I were asked to teach and with the blessings of our tribal kaumatua we did this (Te Kanawa, 1998, n.p.).

At the opening of the '*E ngā uri whakatupu*' exhibition Waana Davis, QSM, chair of Toi Māori³⁰ spoke of Digger Te Kanawa and her friend Emily Schuster³¹. She spoke not only of their friendship, their skill and ability at weaving but how they as two woman had the mana to cross tribal boundaries to teach weaving. They were brave, courageous and had integrity. She recalled how they both voiced their disappointment at the total absence of raranga and whatu from the famed *Te Māori Exhibition*³² that toured the United States in 1984. I quote Waana, as these two women in effect fulfilled, in part at least, Rangi Royal's desire that the WHL and the MWWL combine. Emily was from the WHL and Digger from the MWWL, they both combined their strengths and talents to teach and retain Māori arts and crafts. In doing so they worked not only at their local hapū and iwi level but nationally. Although they did not go anywhere, they were not invited, they were at times criticised by others for teaching outside their tribal areas. They however were steadfast in their belief that they had to

³⁰ Toi Māori is a charitable trust that represents 10 national art form committees, including Te Rōpu Raranga, Whatu o Aotearoa.

³¹ Emily Schuster, OBE, QSM (1927- 1997) Ngai Tūhourangi, Ngāti Pikiao. Renowned weaver. Founded the Weaving School at Te Puia and Founding Chair of Aotearoa Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa Weavers

³² Te Māori was exhibited in New York, St Louis, Chicago and San Francisco as well as New Zealand.

put aside parochial tikanga for the benefit of the art itself (E. Pahewa, personal communication, September, 2014).

4.2.4 Project Employment Programmes (PEP)

The 1980's saw recession in New Zealand, the government of the time initiated fully subsidised work schemes known as Project Employment Programmes (PEP) 1980-1988. The purpose of which was 'to give subsidised short term employment in the public sector for the job seeker who is at risk of becoming long term unemployed'. The Department of Māori Affairs also ran MAccess courses (1987-89) for Māori individuals, who were 'disadvantaged in the labour market and are identified as lacking in skills' (Gill, 1989).

As part of these schemes many set up weaving initiatives. In my hometown of Hastings the recession saw the closing of the Tōmoana freezing works and many of my aunties and cousins did such a course. One cousin after completing a scheme created her own business manufacturing piupiu for sale to schools and kapa haka groups. The course taught respect for the tikanga and the harakeke resource and my Auntie Rosie Kenrick composed this waiata that alludes to this practice.

E tū mātou ki te waiata
He waiata harakeke e
Me karakiatia te harakeke e
E kī ana te Atua

We stand to sing
This song about harakeke
First pray for guidance
So said the Lord

Me mahi te harakeke e
E kī ana ngā tīpuna
Me mahi kete, piupiu, whāriki e
E kī ana ngā mātua

Work with the harakeke
Advises our ancestors
To make these treasures
So say our elders

Kaua e mahi kinotia te harakeke e
E pai ana te haere a te mahi e
E kī ana ngā tīpuna

Don't belittle the harakeke
And the work will progress
According to our ancestors
(Kenrick, 1988)

Though simple, its message and advice is clear.

4.2.5 New Zealand Māori Arts & Crafts Institute (NZMACI)

Sir Apirana Ngata³³ in 1926 was instrumental in a legislation encouraging 'the dissemination of the knowledge of Māori Arts and Crafts.' A carving school was established at Ohinemutu, Rotorua the following year, under Harold Hamilton and ceased operation with his death in 1937 (Winiata, 1957).

In 1962 the Government, Tourist and Publicity Department, that was based in Rotorua decided to upgrade the Whakarewarewa thermal valley area and it was also proposed to include an Arts and Crafts Centre, in 1963 the Rotorua Māori Arts & Crafts Institute Act was passed and in 1967 it was amended to the New Zealand Māori Arts & Crafts Institute (NZMACI, 2003). In 1967, Te Wānanga Whakairo o Aotearoa (Carving School) received their first intake. Te Arawa have always been fine artisans and no doubt this was part of the reason for selecting Rotorua as the site for the institute. Paul Tapsell (1997) writes

Te Arawa are renowned for their weaving skills, especially of *korowai*, *kaitaka*, *kākahu*, *piupiu*, *kete* and *whāriki*. For the past century, the most famous manufacturers of weaving in Te Arawa have been the Ngāti Wāhiao people at Whakarewarewa, who use geothermal activity to assist in preparation of such items, which are still traded throughout Aotearoa. (Tapsell, 1997, p. 355).

The guides at the institute were always demonstrating weaving arts as part of their tours but it was not till 1969 that Emily Schuster was appointed Supervisor of women's crafts. Emily wrote of her early life "as a child I was always being taken by the old people into the bush and the swamp. It took me four years to condense what I learned into the basics I needed for teaching other Māori women." In (Brinkler, 1993, p.117).

June Grant, also of Ngāi Tūhourangi descent, wrote about Emily in the foreword to the catalogue for the exhibition '*Ruku Kapa*', "Emily Schuster renowned weaver of the finest *kākahu*, *kete* and *piupiu* maker, her

³³ Sir Āpirana Turupa Ngata (1874 –1950) was a prominent New Zealand politician and lawyer and was in office from 1905-1943. He is also known for his work in promoting and protecting Māori culture and language.

premature passing left a legacy of supreme skills honed by her mother Ngātai Bub and Aunt Rangitīria Denna” (Grant, 2014, p.3). Classes in that first year were conducted in kete, whāriki, piupiu and tāniko as well as holiday classes for secondary Māori girls’ schools. Emily went on to teach many classes, gave frequent demonstrations and addressed numerous audiences both at Whakarewarewa as well as many areas throughout New Zealand. She then became in great demand to represent New Zealand at functions overseas, including Australasia, Europe, Asia and America. At NZMACI Emily taught her students in the display area. It was not until almost 20 years later in 1988 that a dedicated building was opened as the whare raranga and in 1994 a new weaving house Te Rito built. She was adamant that she was not going to use the name ‘Te whare pora’ as she believed that presupposed a level, a skill and deep sense of tapu and wairua that only existed with our tūpuna kuia (E. Schuster, personal communication, 1994). Despite that, when she passed in 1997 she was farewelled as “he tohunga raranga nō te whare pora”³⁴. Emily was awarded with both a Queen’s service Medal in 1983 and an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 1994 for her services to Māori arts and crafts.

Emily’s legacy has been maintained at NZMACI by ensuring that the Ahorangi raranga, head of the Weaving School has come from within the school of Emily’s teaching. In 1991 Donna Waiariki held the role before Emily’s own daughter, Dawn Smith took over the reins in 2001. Then at Dawn’s sudden death, her twin sister Edna Pahewa took over from 2002 till now (NZMACI, 2003).

4.2.6 Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa (TRRWoA)

In 1972 the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council established the Māori and South Pacific Arts Council (MASPAC) and Ngoi Pewhairangi³⁵ was a founding member. As Toi Maihi (1997) recounts, when Ngoi’s term on

³⁴ An expert weaver from the school of weaving

³⁵ Ngoi Pēwhairangi (Te Kumeroa Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi), (29 December 1921- 29 January 1985) was a prominent teacher of, and advocate for, Māori language and culture, and the composer of many songs. She spearheaded the Māori Renaissance in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

MASPAC was completed, Sir Kingi Ihaka (the chair) asked her what could they give her that would match her contribution to Māori arts; Ngoi replied. “I want to restore the mana of weaving” (as cited in Ka’ai, 2008, p. 77).

At the opening of Takapūwahia marae in October 1981, Ngoi lead discussions to establish a weekend raranga wānanga. She furthered discussions in 1982 bringing representatives from across the country (Ka’ai, 2008). In April 1983 at a hui in Rotorua, a committee was formed and Emily Schuster appointed as convenor. Other members were Digger Te Kanawa, Cath Brown and Toi Maihi. The kaupapa was set, “to nurture, foster and preserve the techniques and the love of weaving with and for our people” (Brown, 1993 p.43). The wānanga was held at Labour weekend that year at Ngoi’s marae at Tokomaru Bay. The hui involved a full programme of presentations, seminars and wānanga as well as hands on weaving for the 400 or so in attendance. The following year 600 attended the hui at Te Teko. Māori and Pacific Island weavers shared their skills, techniques and weaving materials. (Brown, 1993 p.43).

By 1986 this group was to become known as the Aotearoa Moana nui-a-Kiwa Weavers the fore runner to the present Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa (TRWoA). The change came about when MASPAC was replaced by Creative Arts council who structurally divided into two separate funding arms, one for Māori (Te Waka Toi) and another for Pāsifika arts (Pacific Islands’ Arts Committee). The kaupapa remains as the sharing, nurturing and fostering of the art. The hui is now a biennial affair.

TRWoA has always been led by strong women. Waana Davis addressing the gathering at the opening of the *‘E ngā uri whakatupu’* exhibition at Waikato Museum recalled how Emily Schuster and Digger Te Kanawa were not hesitant to rebuke the leaders of the highly acclaimed milestone 1983-87 exhibition *‘Te Māori’* for its total absence of weaving and women’s arts. They responded in 1986 with works in the *‘Amokura’* exhibition that toured across UK and Europe and the *‘Te Pūāwaitanga’* exhibition of 1987 of purely weaving works that began in Christchurch before travelling to

Rotorua and Auckland. A third exhibition in Rotorua followed in 1989-90 displaying contemporary pieces and 'new directions' (Brown, 1993, p.44). When Te Papa was then asked to take an exhibition to Australia in 2000 on the coat tails of the '*Te Māori*' exhibition they ensured that they did not repeat their mistake. Cath Brown, (1993) explains that the '*Te Pūāwaitanga*' exhibition gave a new focus to weaving work, she stated that, "this exhibition opened the eyes of many people, not least the weavers themselves that saw their work in a different light." (Brown, 1993, p.44).

Regional, national and international exhibitions have now become an integral part of the weavers' world. TRRWoA have exhibited in many exhibitions curated by Toi Māori and have enjoyed success in many parts of the world especially America and Canada. '*Te Aho Mutunga Kore: The Eternal Thread*' (2004-7) showcased the continuum of customary to innovative contemporary works. Diamond (2012) highlights this by writing of the exhibition

Older styles and practices dominated one section, while in the other were placed contemporary fibre works ranging from innovative, wearable forms by Donna Campbell through to impressively arranged fibrous forms that extended from ceiling to floor by Maureen Lander. These taonga demonstrate departures from and also links to the taonga displayed in the first section

(Diamond, 201, p.333).

TRRWoA has produced or collaborated to produce a number of publications. This may be seen as a departure from the tikanga of keeping such knowledge as exclusive for the selected few but aligns with their kaupapa of nurturing and fostering the art.

TRRWoA has in some ways returned to its foundation. It began as a larger Pacific group of weavers, then focused solely on Māori and with exhibitions and displays overseas has forged strong relationships with weavers across the world. In 2010 the *Indigenous Weavers International* symposium (IWI) held in Rotorua broke new ground, as TRRWoA brought together many of those weavers to share their stories, skills and knowledge. The format of the symposium took on a new eclectic persona

where weavers like past TRRWoA hui shared with hands on workshops, informal chats, excursions, displays and exhibitions. There was also space put aside to present research papers and panel discussions. The hākari was followed with an inspiring fashion show. Te Papa held another research symposium in 2011 focusing on Māori and Pacific textiles.

These indigenous relationships have also resulted in weavers artist residencies overseas. Christina Wirihana completed artist residency at Evergreen State College, Olympia, Washington State, USA in 2006 and 2012. Karl Leonard followed in 2013. Collaboration art works have also been a part of these developments including designing and decorating a new weaving house. Other residencies include Canada, Hawaii and throughout Asia and the Pacific.

4.3 Te Ao Hou³⁶

The last half of the twentieth century has been about the reclamation of traditional knowledge. This has involved the establishing of new groups and tikanga to enable that to happen. This has not always been easy, there have been challenges but as the saying goes if there is one constant it is change. Three major debates that continue to impact have been the commercialisation of Māori art, dispute regarding the definition of Māori art, the traditional/customary versus contemporary consideration and the contention of whose art is it anyway?

4.3.1 The Customary and Contemporary Debate

In reclaiming our Māori art practices a number of philosophical questions have come to the fore. Some have arisen as we have been confronted with Western paradigms that are in discordance with our practices. Others as we reshape our practices to fit our 'new world'. In all of this the terminologies we use become important. For example within New Zealand historically we have looked at Māori art as the traditional forms of whakairo, raranga and kōwhaiwhai. Those things are different from the Western world. Diamond (2012) makes the point that "art practice prevails

³⁶ The new world

over the historical and theoretical knowledge in the school system” (p.325) She however argues that rather these should be based “within an expansive knowledge based conceptual context of mātauranga Māori, where the making of art, the public display of that kind of creativity, and an understanding of its genealogy including its old and newer traditions, all constitute toi Māori” (p.325). Toi Māori, she argues ‘makes no distinction between art practice and art theory but pays particular attention to Māori creativity of past and the present’. Western ideology, she argues has a fixation on chronology, time and space it is lineal and progressive whereas toi Māori stands outside of time.

In 2010 I was fortunate to attend the 89th Sante Fe Indian Market. The market had a range of artists who produced a range of work, from the ‘traditional’ to the ‘contemporary’ and they too were focused on these philosophical debates. Ringlero (2010) a curatorial consultant from Casino, Arizona (as cited in Jackson, (2010), contended that

Traditional art demonstrates direct connection to the ethnological roots of past utilitarian cultural production and is produced by an artist who has tribal affiliations... [Whereas]...contemporary art is directly grounded in the Anglo-European high art traditions. Such forms are without ritual or utilitarian association and have no reference to tribal ethnographic object production. (p. 94)

This is also true for our Māori arts but McMaster (2010), Curator Canadian art Gallery Ontario (as cited in Jackson, 2010) describes it as a false argument.

There is a great deal of difference between traditional and contemporary but it must be seen as a false argument created over half a century ago or maybe earlier. Basically what do we mean by traditional? It is about the present being connected with the past... but we know that a huge discontinuity happened...and Native peoples were severed from tradition. (p. 94)

Bernstein (2010) Executive Director South Western Association of Indian Arts (as cited in Jackson, 2010) is even more pointed. “The concept of ‘traditional’ is a Western one, created from the desired belief that Europeans really did not exterminate the Indians and their way of life” (p.

92). It is true too that Māori, at least in most areas suffered a 'discontinuity'. Bernstein is correct in that we tend to view those works that have maintained traditional practice and techniques as somehow being more Māori, 'tuturu Māori'. Stephen Wall, (2010) Chair of SWAIA (as cited in Jackson, 2010) questions the whole business of authenticity.

Not only the continuum of past and present but an issue of authenticity. The perceived notion that something from the past is more traditional more Indian than present works.

The traditional/contemporary dichotomy continues not because of the aesthetic values of community but because of the inordinate power of the marketplace and the focus on the artefact and not the values that inspired the artefact" (p.95).

Santa Fe is also home to the Institute of American Indian Arts College (IAIA) that was founded in 1962. Their catch phrase says it all "Creativity is our tradition" and this is further enforced in their mission statement, "To empower creativity and leadership in Native arts and cultures through higher education, lifelong learning and outreach" (IAIA, n.d)

This thinking is more aligned to Diamond's (2012) where we shouldn't view our art through Western paradigms but rather through our own cultural practices. I am of the firm belief that innovation is also our tradition.

4.3.2 The Commercialisation of Māori Art

Te Arawa have long played host to the tourism industry. Pākehā were attracted to the geothermal sights and attractions. Tūhourangi in particular, who lived in the Tarawera and latterly the Whakarewarewa geothermal areas were quick to realise the potential for economic prosperity (Tapsell, 1997). Whakairo and woven articles were sold on demand and Te Arawa who were once ridiculed as being 'kupapa' in the land wars were now being mocked as being 'plastic Māori', This is a slang expression for someone being false and culturally inept. But as Te Awekotuku (1981) reveals in her doctoral thesis, the tourism industry has played a major role in the retention and dissemination of traditional weaving skills. As part of their guiding tradition guides dressed in piupiu and cloaks and

demonstrated tāniko and raranga kete and tourists were keen to acquire such articles as souvenirs and keepsakes. When the Polynesian Festival (the forerunner to the Matatini festival) was established in 1972 there was a sudden surge of demand for piupiu from the NZMACI weaving school, as many were ignorant of how to make them (NZMACI, 2003).

With my long association with Tūhourangi and Te Arawa, I can only endorse Te Awekotuku (1981) that the economic benefit, while a matter of fact is secondary to cultural knowledge inheritance and expression. In effect. I believe artists have developed congruent mind sets and parallel processes. One for traditional manufacture based in Māori cultural paradigms and another for commercial souvenir arts grounded in Western paradigms. Biculturalism at its best!

Diamond (2014) highlights that authenticity of Māori art and souvenirs however remains an issue. This was identified by the 1994 meeting of the Aotearoa Māori Tourism Federation who raised concerns about the mass-production of machine carved figures, Māori dolls, tablecloths and tea towels. These were culturally offensive and all appropriated Māori cultural property. Māori have always asserted their tino rangatiratanga to control things Māori including their art forms.

In February 2002 Te Waka Toi (the Māori Arts Board) of Creative New Zealand (the Arts Council of NZ) launched The Toi Iho trademark, a registered trademark of Māori quality and authenticity. However in 2009 the decision was made to remove funding for it. A core group called Transition Toi Iho Foundation (TTIF) lobbied for the retention of the mark as they strongly opposed the decision to permanently disestablish Toi Iho. In 2010, Creative NZ agreed that TTIF should take responsibility for Toi Iho. In October of that year a new limited liability company TIKI – Toi Iho Kaitiaki Incorporated replaced TTIF as the legal entity and later in 2013, the Toi Iho Charitable Trust was instituted in place of TIKI. “The Toi Iho Charitable Trust remains committed to Toi Iho artists, supporting their high-quality creative work and advancing the cultural future of Māori as indigenous people” (Toi Iho Māori made, 2012, p. 2).

Chen (2011) discusses the significance of the Waitangi Tribunal report on the Wai 262 (flora and fauna and cultural intellectual property) claim, which amongst other things found that laws and policies breach Treaty of Waitangi principles by:

- Allowing others to commercialise Māori artistic and cultural works such as haka or moko without Māori consent.
 - Allowing the commercialisation of indigenous plant species that are vital to iwi or hapū identity without their input.
 - Allowing others to use traditional Māori knowledge without consent or acknowledgement.
 - Providing little or no protection against offensive and derogatory uses of artistic cultural works.
 - Not taking account of core cultural values such as whanaunatanga (family) and kaitiakitanga (guardianship).
- (Chen, 2011, n.p.)

The Wai 262 report recommends a new commission to protect cultural works against 'offensive and unauthorised uses'.

4.3.3 NZQA & Tertiary Institutes

The New Zealand Qualifications Authority: *Mana Tohu Mātauranga o Aotearoa* (NZQA,) was established by the Education Act 1989, provides leadership in assessment and qualifications in NZ schools and in tertiary education. The NZQA maintains the National Qualifications Framework (NQF), which was modelled on the UK. It has nine levels covering all levels in secondary and tertiary education. Monte Ohia (Ngāti Pukenga, Ngaiterangi, Te Arawa) was on the working party to assist in the writing of the 1989 Education Act. Inspired to lift Māori attainment in education, he became a Senior Manager within NZQA. He developed 20 Whakaruruhau (Māori standard setting bodies) in a variety of subjects including te reo, tikanga, tourism, carving and weaving to incorporate Mātauranga Māori knowledge on the framework.

Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa was approached but they were strictly against it. Matekino Lawless a committee member at the time recalls Emily Schuster as the chair expressing the view ‘why would we give our knowledge to the Pākehā to control? I am the kaitiaki of the knowledge passed down to me.’ But NZQA were adamant. A member of the Rōpū did assist out of the belief that if it was going to happen it better be done properly. Matekino elaborated further by saying, by breaking the knowledge down into standards, it loses the holistic nature of the art. Students could pass the standard but have little or no understanding of the wairua or tikanga required. It becomes less of a taonga and more of a mere commodity (M.Lawless, personal communication, January 13, 2014). This is why Emily did not believe in the tohu, the work itself was the qualification and it was not for the government to say what a pass was or not, that would be a whakahawea.

She did not believe in criticising anybody’s work. A beginning student could put all their wairua into a piece, start and finish it to the best of their ability, it is a taonga to them and should be seen as such for it becomes the basis of their learning for their next piece and the advancement of their skills (E. Pahewa, personal communication, January 13, 2014).

Despite their protest concerning the cultural ownership and the authority to teach the art, weaving standards became part of the framework and many tertiary organisations, Polytechnics, Universities and Wānanga have created qualifications or units on weaving. This also exposes this learning to rules, regulations and practices of those organisations. Furthermore Government funding relies on retention, achievement and graduation of students so tikanga may be comprised even more.

4.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has shown some of the events that shaped the path of the weaving arts. The first three quarters or so of last century has been the reclaiming and teaching of the arts by groups like the Women’s Health League and the Māori Women’s Welfare league. The New Zealand Māori

Arts & Crafts Institute has also played a major role alongside other groups like Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu and Toi Māori but they also tread new paths by showcasing their mahi as 'arts' worthy of exhibition at local, national and international levels. We now have a growing library of books and DVDs. Alongside hui and wānanga there are symposiums, international conferences and artist residencies. There are a number of courses and qualifications at secondary and tertiary level. The worldwide indigenous movement has forged new alliances and opened new commercial and cultural possibilities. In some instances this has brought about philosophical questions regarding our tikanga, practices and paradigms. However due to or in spite of all of that weaving is still here and will still continue to grow, change and evolve.

Chapter 5 Te Whare Kōrerorero – Narratives

“Ko te kai a te rangatira, he kōrero!”³⁷

5.1 Introduction to the chapter

As a child, I would cling to my mother when she had morning or afternoon tea. Firstly so you could eat the home baking, she or our neighbours had made. This was usually given with the command ‘take one and get outside’, but I would always linger. The reason was to listen to the gossip. Sometimes I was totally oblivious to the details or sense but that they would talk excitedly was sign enough that it was significant!

In this chapter, Edna Pāhewa, Christina ‘Tina’ Wirihana and her mother Matekino Lawless present their stories. They are a feast of kōrero albeit just the choicest crumbs selected from a banquet that is far too immense to present here. The pūrakau derive from interviews and are insights into their thinking and beliefs that have been shaped by their years of experience. They discuss their learning and their teaching. They discuss tikanga and are quite candid on some of the solutions to current problems and what needs to be retained as we move to the future.

None of the three would describe themselves as expert weavers but their works have all been sought for exhibitions, nationally and internationally. They have all served and continue to do so, in the teaching of raranga and whatu of taonga. Between them, they have worked in the community, PEP schemes, schools, Polytechnics and Wānanga. They are members of either the WHL or the MWWL and all are staunch members of TRRWoA. Edna being a past chair of the rōpū, Tina the present and Matekino a member of the rōpū’s Te Kāhui Whiri Toi. The words they offer, although restricted in this space come from a wealth of knowledge and great expertise. It can best be encapsulated in the words of my tipuna, Te Rehunga where he remarked “ahakaoa he iti taku whare, i ahu mai au nō roto i te kōpua kānapanapa”³⁸

³⁷ ‘The susitenance of chiefs is discussion’

³⁸ ‘Although my house is small, I emanate from a deep pool’ – used in the sense whilst there may be only a few words, it comes from a wealth of experience and with deep wisdom.



Figure 15: Edna Pahewa

5.2 Pūrakau 1 - Edna Pahewa

(Te Arawa, Tūwharetoa)

Eddie³⁹ always told me; you do not have beginner weavers, expert weavers, just weavers, we should all just be weavers, so I think I would just call myself a weaver, even today.

I would call myself a weaver now, not an expert weaver and I still get whakamā when people call me that. To me, that was my mother, Auntie Digger, nanny and them. They were all the experts and I am definitely not a tohunga. But then you look around they have all gone and you are really it. I still would never call myself a tohunga or an expert although it has been labelled on me many a time, I just feel really whakamā.

5.2.1 My Learning

When I was at a very young age, about 8 or 9, I stayed with my kuia because my mother and dad were going away on a trip. My sister Dawn and I were dropped off with Nanny Bub. Nanny Bub was the younger sister of Guide Rangī, she taught us how to weave at that early age. It was piupiu, the first thing we learnt. She taught by command, you do this, you do that – that was how she was, we did not want to do it but she made us. She was rather abrupt, there was no room for error. She really just showed us, told us what to do and you had to do it, there was no practicing or anything, you just had to do it. Her style of teaching was rather dictatorial!

The piupiu were for sale, it was to help for the daily needs, in order to put food on the table! Whatever you wanted to buy, be it for school or for

³⁹ Eddie Maxwell, Ngāti Awa, Te Arawa. A renowned weaver and loved companion.

whatsoever you had to contribute. She believed when you were old enough, you had to contribute to the family welfare, so she made us learn. We had always taken the backs off⁴⁰, even for my mother, at a very young age, we were always taking backs off to help make the piupiu because that is what brought the money in for the family. All of us from a young age learnt that, which I suppose is a start. But with Nan we had to mark, scrape, and whatu. She showed you and you copied. Look and learn or look and know.

My Nanny Bub and Aunty Rangī would have learnt from their grandmother. I know my mother did not learn from them, she learnt from their mother, her kuia. It is the granny that shows the mokopuna.

Beside my mother, Dawn and Nanny, I learnt quite a bit off Aunty Digger. I had never done preparation of muka for kākahu while my mother was alive. I used to watch my mother all the time and admire her and thought I must spend time to learn but sadly she died before then, so Aunty Digger taught me and Erenora. I know Aunty Digger also taught my mother, so it was good. Appropriate in a way to fill the void left by my mother. Aunty Digger and I could work together and she enjoyed it and I enjoyed learning from her.

Eddie also taught me, he got me back to weaving whāriki. I still haven't learnt my mother's style of hiki, I have heard it is different to Eddie's way. My mother and them actually cast on, and add on right to left, the same way they add on left to right. The way Eddie showed us is completely different to that.

I think that the way nanny made us learn was always kept in us, it sowed the seed. Dawn and I are the only two out of five girls that took up weaving, as teachers to carry it on. Although nanny taught me, my mother fine-tuned things. She would tidy up a lot of things.

⁴⁰ Where the epidermis of the leave is removed to expose the muka fibre

5.2.2 My Teaching

I learnt kete and all the other things, much later on in Tokoroa, in 1976 - 77 and I was approached to teach. I was in my 20's with two kids and carrying another one on the way when I was approached by the local marae in Tokoroa, Te Papa o Te Aroha. My mother and I helped to do the tukutuku for them, so then they approached me about doing a MAcces course. They were government funded. I could make kete but it was teaching it. That was my biggest problem, showing and teaching other people. I had no confidence in that and I remember ringing my mother and saying 'oh they have asked me to go down and teach' and she said 'well do it', I said 'but I do not know enough to teach someone', she said 'you will be surprised, what little you think you know is a lot more than what other people know'. I said 'what if they ask me something I do not know?' She said then you ring me and I will tell you, then you will know for next time'. That was how I learnt to teach weaving kete. It was mainly Dawn and my mother that showed me kete. It was more of a showing you how; they'd show me and then I would do it. Dawn spent a lot of time with my mother learning the whole lot at the Institute and travelling out to teach and she was a good teacher.

It was at that marae that I began teaching, although there was no paperwork I had to deliver 3 hours a week, usually Friday afternoons, for the students who were doing School C Māori. It had a mahi-ā-ringā component, so we would teach them tāniko, flax or kete. I also taught the Brownies Māori badges because my daughter, Lisa was a Brownie and a Girl Guide. So I would take them for their Māori badges. Even though I moved to Tokoroa I was always weaving.

I actually had to go to courses to learn how to teach adults. I knew the craft but I had to go to Waiariki Polytechnic to learn how to teach. My mother was dead against that, 'who are they to tell us how to teach our craft', but it was not so much telling how to teach weaving, it was the skills of getting it over to the student. She had a point. She actually told me not to go but 'the hand that feeds is the hand that rules' and they said that you

had to have a Certificate in Adult Teaching and they paid for you to go and get it.

Te Wānanga o Aotearoa has been the strongest impact on how I teach because they sent you on courses on how to teach. We had to do a Diploma in Education and there was also a degree but that was run conjointly with Massey University. It was all part of a learning curve and that was good and exciting. Achieving goals and showing others, whereas I would always be the one to be shown by my mother, nanny and them but this was the time to share my knowledge with others and see their appreciation on what they learned to do, the garments they had finished – that was all exciting. At the Wānanga it was the best atmosphere for teaching things Māori not just weaving but carving and all the courses they offered. It gave Māori that second chance. That was great, a different atmosphere altogether within Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, it was the humble beginnings of the Wānanga. However it just grew so quickly and so fast that maybe it lost a lot of its values or got them mixed up along the way. You must maintain the quality of delivery. When I left one of my students became the head and that's not right but it was all they could find. Doing three years on a weaving course does not make a tutor. That is how they operated in a lot of things. Your learner would become your teacher and that was the downfall.

At the Wānanga I felt like I sold my culture for the almighty dollar because I was teaching the NZQA units and my mother was so deadly opposed against it. I was told by one lady well it is better to be with them, then against them. To be with them and seeing what is being delivered and maybe question that, rather than being against them and let them deliver whatever they wanted to. We went to a few hui for NZQA under the Whakaruruhau with Erenora and others. It was funny because when many of them saw me, the daughter of Emily, they would be quick to apologise.

What I did not like was that I became a teacher behind a desk rather than one weaving with the student, a practical weaver, which is how we learnt. We learnt by sitting there and looking and watching and doing, not hiding behind the desk and doing all this paperwork. I could understand the need

for accountability and even for paperwork but I did not like it, so when Tapa⁴¹ came along it was the time to move on and get out of that classroom.

5.2.3 Tikanga

For my mother and nanny the only tīkanga that was really observed was regarding the paru. We never had any other tapu things but the paru! You could not go by the paru at that time of the month for women. But anything else, no real tikanga, nothing. I do not know whether they did not want it to be too taputapu or what. In my learning that would have been the worst thing to do. That and stepping over the harakeke, they use to growl us even at a young age. If you were learning to mark and you marked right through and you ruined the flax, look out! It was worst with my mother because she would mark exactly enough for a piupiu and if you ruined one, she knew she was one short and you would get blasted. Usually it was her fault that there was a mistake because she would either not mark it deep enough or marked it too deep and it just broke.

I remember Eddie, when he was teaching whāriki, he did not like doing it at Te Puia because of the tourist coming through, it was distracting. Also the way you positioned yourself when you are weaving a mat, it was alright for him as a man but he felt conscious for women parting their legs or having one foot up and one foot down. He went into hiding a lot, he would prefer to work when no one else was around. He did not like the scraps going in with lolly papers and things like that; so he was particular and yet in other ways he was quite free. He would use a washing machine to wash his muka or his garment. He would add shoe polish as a dye. And he would dye or clean the muka in the microwave.

I observed more tikanga at the Wānanga for example karakia. We were never taught karakia from my mother, nanny and them. You just went and got the flax - rain, hail or sunshine! I remember when I started at the marae at Te Papa o Te Aroha⁴² and I said 'oh they talk about having karakia for the flax', my mother said 'oh well if you want to do one, do one'.

⁴¹ Tapa Nicholson was the Cultural Manager at NZMACI at the time.

⁴² A Ngāti Raukawa, Catholic marae, Tokoroa.

It is not as though we did it when I first learnt weaving, I learnt that later. I find that many of the tikanga I have learnt over the years are quite sensible, for example the tīkanga not to harvest during rain, winds or the frost. It is not safe because knives will slip or something could happen accidentally in those conditions.

I have maintained tikanga around the parū, not going near it with your mate wahine. And of course at the institute with the number of women tourists going around it was always kept away from them. Until some crazy ones decided why not put out the parū so the tourists could see the dying process!

5.2.4 Te Rito

After Dawn died I kept going to Te Rito weaving School due to them being there so long and my mother was so passionate about setting it up. I could feel my mother and Dawn's presence there. Donna did really well carrying it on after my mother had died. Then when she decided to leave, then Dawn took over from her. Donna often told me that she was happy when they approached Dawn but then Dawn also died. One time I was at the institute and Tapa said to me 'what are you doing here?' I said 'I just love coming here' it was just the space that I could feel the both of them there and all their work around the place so I just felt really at home. And he said 'right that's good I just needed to hear that'. Next minute he came over to Tokoroa to tell them I was coming home. It was important for him that the head of the school come from the same teachings as my mother and that was good. With me being there now, I am still trying to keep that pool of learning going. There are so many different ways of weaving now, some not so good, some good and I think to keep the tutors we have up there now, being taught from that same puna of learning is a good thing.

5.2.5 Creativity

I teach the students the basics and then their own creativity, their own mind, takes it on another journey and you can learn a lot from that. Even off my students, when I see what they are doing, I remember my mother and Auntie Digger, we were at a hui and they were out the back learning

how to do something that a young girl had shown them. And that was reverse weaving, which just go backwards and forwards, and backwards and forwards instead of left to right on every row. They both marvelled at that. Techniques that these younger ones or even older ones develop.

A lot of that sharing comes about with the interaction with weavers, especially with the Rōpū at a national level. I believe my mother had three passions. The first one was the family of course, then the institute and thirdly weaving in the Health League. Those were her three strongest points.

I use to hate some of the contemporary stuff that is getting produced, I thought they were a waste of our materials whatever it would be. I have seen the start of a pingao kete that had no top and no bottom, a creation, something contemporary but I thought if it was finished off, it would be a beautiful pingao kete. The same with some of these things that hang from the ceiling. I never appreciated it, but I can appreciate it as something that looks nice but I still think it is a waste of the material, even now.

5.2.6 The future

A lot of things have been lost, even simple things like keeping your harakeke away from your everyday rubbish. It should be much easier these days because you get recycle bins that are special for this and that. Not so long ago, it was just everything in the same bin and to the dump. Back in the day they would say you would lose your knowledge of learning if you did things like that, but now times change and everything changes.

Eddie was my dearest friend and I learnt a lot off Eddie, so I have got no problem with male weavers honestly but I just hear what our predecessors said in the Rōpū and that was 'let the women be the Kaitiaki of the craft'. There are people who challenge that, men and women. They think they should be allowed that role because of their knowledge and the skills they have. They are not listening to what our kuia had said to 'let the women be the Kaitiaki'.

It is about giving back and thanking the creator. This is a taonga that has come from way back. These are things that are slowly getting lost, things that I think should be retained. Where I work at the institute, sometimes they want a quick buck from the tourists, 'oh we can offer you to teach you a bit of Māori weaving if you pay extra' - and that would be making a flower and that is not even Māori weaving!

I also have a problem with people that learn for the wrong reasons. If someone came to me and wanted to learn to make kete to sell, I would say to them. They need to start at the beginning, learn the values and learn how to make a kono before you learn how to make a kete. This worries me deeply that people jump in half way up the ladder and do not ground themselves in the basics. Although I learnt from my nanny and them for commercial reasons, we still had cultural tīkanga. I feel there is a difference from being brought up with it to learning inside an institution. I do not know what it is but I see it. You just can tell, I am not saying they are all selfish but it is just not about the skills alone. Although I have taught at those places you do not teach students everything. There are things that you have learnt that you hold onto. Like my nanny use to say 'you spit a little and swallow the rest'. You know the people to teach that rest to and it is the same with your students. There is some that you connect with and you would teach a bit more because they have the wairua. Yet my mother use to always say 'no matter how ugly a weaver's first kete looks you do not know how much wairua they have put into it' or how hard it took them to get to that level. As long as they started and finished it, they knew the process of making it. We always had to be respectful of everyone but not now, you get those that just pull you to bits, pull anyone to bits, which is very sad. I just walk away when you hear that type of talk but that is old school respect. They do not have a lot of respect these days and it is not just the young ones either, it can be some older ones too!

I think the appreciation, I have of being a Māori weaver is the exchange with other indigenous cultures, in how similar we are. There might be just a slight difference but the indigenous people are all so similar in many

ways and that is not just with the craft. I suppose we all have the respect for our mountains, our rivers and our elders. Unfortunately the young are not being taught the same.



Figure 16: Christina Wirihana

5.3 Purakau 2 - Christina Wirihana

(Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Pikiao)

‘Ko Tina Wirihana ahau,
Nō Ngāti Maniapoto, Raukawa,
Ngāti Whawhakea o Tanui waka,
Nō Ngāti Pikiao o Te Arawa waka.
Ko taku kainga noho inaianei, i
waenganui o Ngāti Pikiao’.

A few years ago, when I was doing my own masters, I use to reference me as ‘Tina from the Pa’ because I was really involved with my role on the marae committee, so I would just see myself as ‘Tina at the Pa’. ‘Tina at the Pa’ has now become a weaver but I found it was other people that called me ‘the weaver’. When I was just starting to weave with my mother, I saw myself as a mother, as a wife, as all of those components that kept the home warm and then amongst all of that, the weaving gradually encroached from being in a little space to actually taking over.

5.3.1 My Learning

It was when my mother was showing an interest in weaving that my mother and my Aunty Nana Nicholas decided between the two of them ‘we are going to have a wānanga’. Aunty Nana married my dad’s brother, Uncle John Nicholas and Aunty Nana was working at the Institute⁴³ at the time she was one of Emily’s immediate off-siders. They might not have used the word ‘wānanga’ but we were going to get together and it was signalled out to the community. So beside my mother and Aunty Nana there was just my sister in law and me. That was when I learnt to weave Kono and then Kete Riwai. In learning, I was also watching my mother and Aunty Nana as they were working on kete. I pretty much learned through observation at that early stage. I had a little taste and when I went to high school, I would have been about fifteen going onto sixteen, I was one of

⁴³ New Zealand Maori Arts & Crafts Institute, Rotorua

the senior Māori students to do tukutuku mahi to create the tūrapa for the assembly hall, there were six of us. This was an opportunity given to the school principal, Miss Hogan by Emily and the institute. Emily and Nana Nicholas did not teach as such they just told us what to do.

When I was at high school there was also the Institute's holiday programme, a two week window to go to the Institute so I said 'I am going to go', it was after the wānanga with my mother and Aunty Nana and having a little bit more experience, I was keen. I had just become familiar with Kete Whakairo and I will always remember my first day, there she was Emily, a little lady but she soon made a presence, she sat herself down and she said 'right, show me what you know'. I remember those words 'show me what you know'. The challenge was laid down straight away and so I pulled out what I had and I remember her saying 'mahia' and I said okay. All within the half an hour of this happening she had an urgent phone call and she had to go to Ruatahuna. I never saw her again for those two weeks. Aunty Nana was not there then because she had moved on, so Erenora Hetet came in. So other than the first initial half hour with Emily and with that 'show me what you got', I was with Erenora for the two weeks.

According to my mother, that was the right thing really, that 'show me what you have got' because on the course that she had, there were always one, two or three of the women that would say 'oh I have done a bit of weaving' and she would say 'okay you show me what you can do', similarly with Emily, if you already know something, show me what you know and I will show you what you do not know.

Erenora Hetet's approach was different again, two totally different people. Erenora would just watch what I was doing and indicate that if there were areas where I needed help, to let her know. All that time, she was thinking of simple whakairo because I was just doing takitahi and I had no idea about pattern because I had not even ventured that far then. That is when she insisted to look at how to manipulate the harakeke so it can do different things. I believe, and my mother supports this, that I was one of those that learned very quickly by observation. It is natural because I

believe that all the other contributing factors to understanding the weaving process were already working so that when I actually looked, then I could do things. I would just observe then go home and do it. One day, years after, I showed my mother something and said 'oh I have made a mistake' and she said 'oh, thank God you are human!'

I believe I was meant to be in this role because things just happen right from when I was first introduced to the harakeke and all of the other fibres, right up to my position today. It is evident in my being so passionate about something, which has major significance for us as a people. If things were not connecting me spiritually way back then, I would not be doing what I am doing today because I drive and advocate and I am a people person. I do individual projects but that is so that I can satisfy my inner need but to involve people to work in projects is great because that is how our people did it. It is not about Tina's project, it is not about that, it is about the people coming together and all of that and the United Nations' project⁴⁴ is a prime example.

5.3.2 Weaving Highlights

Probably the initial highlight was really having the support of my family, my mother and dad and my siblings and leading on to my husband and kids. If they did not support me I would not have been able to weave, they could have been very problematic, however the support was there. This allowed me the flexibility to have this conversation with the harakeke, with the kiekie, with the pingao, the tanekaha and tāwhero. Combined in that highlight is what I learned growing up on the farm, being taught about the lore of the ngahere through dad's teachings. And that was all embedding tikanga but it was not called that then, but today we have the word crossing our paths in whatever we do. In my upbringing those types of words, 'tikanga' and 'tapu' were not part of our everyday conversation but that was probably due to our parent's ways.

Emily and Erenora they outlined more the tapu and it came to a point, 'what am I able to do if it is too tapu, am I not allowed to touch it?' This is

⁴⁴ United Nations project, Tina headed the creation of tūrapa panels as a NZ gift to the United Nations

how I saw it. Always at the forefront was being respectful and about knowing what your limits were, it probably was a good thing. They only gave so much because you have to go and find out. You do not give it all, you might give examples and they can go and find out what these things are and what they really mean. I was not inquisitive, I was respectful of my limitations, I was also respectful of whether I should approach somebody to ask. What I was good at doing was listening and working it out. If you work it out, at the end of the day it is about common sense.

That encompasses one highlight and probably watching the progress that my mother and I have achieved is another. We would get together and weave because I was feeling the same thirst that my mother was and because she was thirsty for all of that, I picked up on that thirst. We would have our sessions together and then we would work things out and laugh but really we were trying to make things work. 'Oh this is why that goes there and that goes there because we need to do this, this and this'. So we did a lot by discovery, we were mindful of the connection that was starting to happen as a mother and daughter but we were also mindful that we wanted to have that with the rest of the whanau.

5.3.3 Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa

With all of that happening, we were mindful of what else was happening, we were strong minded Women's Welfare league members and strong Play Centre advocates and those two organisations actually helped to inform us and exposed what we were doing beyond our little community. It was a Māori pre-school advisor, Miria Pewhairangi a wonderful women, who at Play Centre said 'right you do this' and that was the first introduction to doing Kono and things, as containers for things in pre-school education. I thank her for that. We were oblivious to knowing there was a weaving organisation. We eventually found out, through our involvement with the Māori education foundation pre-school officer, her name is Hine Pōtaka. We were part of a small team advocating pre-school education through using weaving. We were notified that there was a hui in

Tokomaru Bay in 1982 and for us to go, and we were having this discussion with Hine Pōtaka and my mother and I regret it every day, she stopped us from going! Hine Potaka she stopped us from going to that hui, that was the first one and there was another one that we missed going to, that was at Omaka, in Blenheim otherwise we have attended all the national hui,

The rōpū⁴⁵ I think has brought many an opportunity for a person like me and for my mother, opportunities that we could see, in that we could give back to the people. We have done all the hard yards, we have explored and are excited about what we have discovered. The conversations that we would have with a Kete, that is not speaking to us but we visualise, we are hearing the voice of that Kete talking to us. It is getting the opportunity to dialogue through intangible and tangible realms and so I see the rōpū Aotearoa - Moananui a Kiwa Weavers as setting the platform for us, for more people to know what we were actually up to.

5.3.4 My Teaching

I was approached to apply for the position at Waiariki Community College to do the weaving in 1986. I was encouraged by Ross Hemara who was the Head of the Arts Department, but also by Malcolm Murchie who was the Principal of the polytechnic, having already known Elizabeth Murchie. I went through the interview process, the first formal interview I had ever been to, and one of the questions they asked; 'Are you a traditional weaver or contemporary?' I said 'well', I did not know what contemporary meant, I said 'I am a traditional'. Then the next question was, 'well the course offers contemporary so how are you going to facilitate that?' I said 'well when the transition happens that is when it will be decided, but I cannot tell you when that will be'. I was the first weaver to be appointed at any tertiary institution that was the vision of Malcolm Murchie, before any other tertiary organisation, before NZQA standards and strongly supported by Ross because they were mates. I remember once that was confirmed,

⁴⁵ Aotearoa - Moananui a Kiwa Weavers later replaced with Te Rōpu Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa

we talked to a lot of the kaumatua around because I needed to have the support of Ngāti Pikiao because it was like I was this lonely person in this universe, Aotearoa and I am determined to making a difference.

In being the teacher I decided that I was just going to do what came naturally so instead of being instructive, it was like going to a hakari. I still use this concept today, hakari is a smorgasbord, so you put everything on the table, all the ideas, and then you are going to see which ones are going to work. The students can take from this and that and if it works, then they can go back to it. In the meantime I am fuelling this smorgasbord. You are always going to get one or two that will come in with some knowledge and those one or two whether they realise it or not are actually going to be helping you out. The key is to pick up on that quickly, to make it a conducive learning environment for weaving. I had to bring pieces in, that is going to communicate messages to the learners, so they learn through observation. I am working on this process at the moment. Some pick it up through observation and then some need a little bit more help but all that comes with the dynamics. So what I experienced way back then in 86' to what I am experiencing today is still the same.

In tertiary institutions, there are things I could not do, could not teach, and tīkanga I had to abandon. Tertiary institutions can be very main stream. In taking this taonga into that stream and making it to fit into a mainstream box whilst not disrespecting my teachings and my learning's that was a hard task. You really needed to ensure that you were firm in your decisions and not make the change because of that environment. For me at the time there were senior tutors, Tom Reweti, Hike Hohepa and Grace Malcolm. So at least I had some protection there to support me, in applying these tīkanga associated to the practice in the classroom.

It is still an issue, even today going into an institution, knowing you are going to have to contend with all of that. I resigned from Waiariki seventeen years ago because I could not see a shift; there was no respect for the weaving and all of that. I went to Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi, our own Māori organisation. However it was worse, in that they saw weaving as something you did at home and it was just weaving.

It was just an attitude, in terms of their inability to understand the significance and the role weaving played in Māori society. I think it is through their own ignorance and then they shut down the Arts school.

At Toi Houkura, Tairāwhiti Polytechnic, in Gisborne, the school that I am at now, there is a strong Māori focus, it is a strength which I am really respectful of and it is an integral part of the learning. The way information is disseminated through the various modes for tāuira to achieve, is great. I have not seen anywhere else where it works like this and I just think it is just wonderful.

Traditional and contemporary are words that seem to be used a lot. Traditional I call customary; contemporary I say is new and innovative. I work in both these areas but I believe that you must have people ensuring that the traditional methods and all that is associated within that word is practiced, adhered to and transferred to the learner in order that the mokopuna be exposed to the same realm of learning that this generation has gone through. There's nothing wrong with innovation and new contemporary pieces but these pieces have to be informed by tradition because it cannot be informed by itself.

When I started at the polytechnic there was no such thing as a curriculum but then NZQA made their units. The whakaruruhau actually put the cart before the horse, units one to four were actually put in place and then they conducted the consultation process with the iwi. Many weavers including Rangimarie Hetet, Diggeress Te Kanawa, Saana Murray, Emily Schuster, Cath Brown and my mother and I were of the anti-group. We were saying no, no, we do not want it but it was already in place. So irrespective of the feelings the weavers had, the Whakaruruhau were going ahead. They disrespected these 'tohunga' and the tikanga associated to the weaving.

It still comes up in discussion, the thing is at the end of the day, it is there and it is given a lot of people an opportunity to learn. It has actually forced people to see things in a different light. Some faculties and institutions, such as Te Wānanga o Aotearoa has done very well with a good delivery

and have a lot more weavers coming out, but the depth of the knowledge may not be to the depth that we would want it to be. We need to focus on ensuring that there is a depth and breadth of knowledge and that these aspects are not put to the side, in the too hard basket. It is easy to focus on the range of forms as this is more easily measurable. So to produce a kete, it is easy to mark it off, they have achieved. Understanding all that spiritual knowledge and tikanga doesn't get marked. I have always advocated it is not only about the form it is about understanding all of this.

I will teach what I am able to teach, so that it leaves room for them to go back into their rohe. I like to encourage them to go and kōrero with their nanny. 'Do you have any nanny's in your rohe?' 'Do you kōrero about...?' So it is encouraging them to go and kōrero and there's some beautiful works that are coming out and well executed and I do not begrudge that.

5.3.5 The future

I would love my mokopuna to go with their own perceptions because that is going to make them unique but also with the knowledge of their Nan's thinking and their Nanny-Nan's⁴⁶ thinking. They are already aware. Monique the older of the two mokopuna talked about Nan's weaving and therefore it made her look at where she comes from and whakapapa which is really good. With my mokopuna, my mother's grand mokopuna I am teaching them through observation and then I can see, this one is going to be the weaver, the other one is trying but loses patience and gone, 'Nan can you finish this piece Nan?' They have already identified themselves without them knowing; this one is going to go down this track, this one down another avenue.

In regards to tikanga, there are several layers and you need to identify which layer are those people in and the way this could be brought out in the open, to have a forum, have the discussion. The Whiri Toi needs to lead that forum so there would be more control of letting people speak. With tikanga, you also need to be mindful and very respectful as it is

⁴⁶ Great grandmother

applied differently in different rohe so what might be appropriate for us to do here in Te Arawa may not be somewhere else, so we need to understand that.

(Matekino adds) I think it is the wairua of what they are doing, it is the wairua and they cannot see that. This is an example – they could be weaving something then next thing this one over here can kōrero pūrakau, she leaves her mahi ā kua ngaro te wairua i tana mahi. I would not accuse anyone of ‘kāore rātou i te mohio ki ngā tīkanga’ but we can read it in a person, that is how far we have got with our mahi, we can read whether that person can do the mahi or not. It is the whole nature of that person, I would not say that they haven’t got it, they would have it but I am saying that it all happens through the wairua of the tinana. I would not say that they haven’t been instructed properly, it would have been put upon them but it is coming into the modern world these days, where it is put aside, it is a big distraction.



5.4 Pūrakau 3- Matekino Lawless

(Ngāti Maniapoto)

My name is Matekino Lawless and I was born at a place called Korakanui in the Waikato area. Te Awamutu, would be the nearest town. I was born there in the year 1928 but where we actually lived was back in the Parawera area.

Figure 17: Matekinokino Lawless

My whanau name is Onehi, my dad was Tahi Onehi, his father was Onehi Mautara and my dad took his Christian name Onehi. Tahi Onehi married my mother of course, she was a Mason from Rangiriri. Her dad was Tasmanian, he came over to New Zealand and met up with a Māori lady from Rangiriri, Ngāti Wāwhākia.

I have never described myself as a weaver or an artist. I will always say I am just me. There are other people that say 'oh here's the expert' but I do not take that very well actually. Well I mean to say expert was not a word used in the early, early days. We just did it because it was in our culture, it was us, and we do these things. It is tīkanga. Someone else can say I am a weaver but I do not say I am a weaver. I suppose that would be whakahīhī, that sort of thing. I do not know everything, we are always learning, you know others might recognise me but I am just me.

My dad's aunt wove but I cannot remember whether my dad's mother wove. I cannot remember her, but I can remember Nanny Hinenga because she would want me and I would go and live with her. As with my dad's mother, she would want me as well and I would go but I cannot remember what we did. I can remember I would hide in her skirt, she had these big floppy skirts and wherever we went I would get in and hide I do not know why. Nanny Hinenga wore a kauae and she wove. We lived in a kauta at the marae at Parawera and King Tāwhiao lived there as well. He had his own whare but I cannot remember him but that is the story. We lived in this kauta with a big fire at one end and this nanny she wove whāriki because it was a dirt floor. She would weave thick whāriki then she

would have the nicer ones on top, in the part where we slept and the not so nice ones where we ate. She would line the wall of the kauta half way up with woven pieces and the rest was all newspaper. It was all lined and that was the lining. I grew up with these two kuia with one weaving all the time. This is what exposed me to it, with them involving the mokopuna. 'Kia kite ratou i ngā mahi.'⁴⁷ It is not that they were actually teaching per se but my first learning is from there. I now see that is how I grew up, it was not till I was adult and had my children and it clicked.

She wove piupiu and mostly the whāriki. She would weave kete, kete kumara, kete riwai and kete for everything. They were all made for specific purposes, for kai and whatever. She would be doing her weaving but there was always, 'kaua e tutū'.⁴⁸ The tohutohu that I can remember, all these things she would say. I suppose it did not come to me till I was an adult, had children and I started to weave. Then these tohutohu would just come and also when I was teaching it. I would say these things, then the trainees would ask 'oh why is it?' Then I had to think, like stepping over the harakeke and not criticising your mahi raranga. They would say 'oh this is ugly, I am going to throw it away' – 'no you do not do that', 'well why not?' and I said 'now how do you think you learnt this. I have shown you and I must of got it from someone to be able to show you. I am respecting where I got it from and now I am showing you just for you to say it is ugly. You have tipuna?', 'yes', 'well that is where all of this came from so you are saying that your tipuna were ugly'. I am just simplifying it so that they would understand. These things are just coming across now and I would say, well I often think of the whakatauaki 'ngā kakano i ruia mai i a Rangiatea'. You can describe that in so many ways, I am that seed of my kuia. Living with her, she would kōrero all the time about different things and she's planting it into my mind. The old people would say that is where you start planting ngā wānanga even to the child in the womb, ngā kōrero, ngā waiata, ana ka whanau mai ka puta mai i ngā pepi⁴⁹. And it is so true.

⁴⁷ 'So they could them working' (weaving)

⁴⁸ 'Do not touch'

⁴⁹ Narratives, songs and when the child is born these talents come forth from the child

5.4.1 My Learning

The seeds were planted there but it was with the Play Centre that I began weaving because all my children were at school, I think the eldest one was at work but I still had my youngest one down here and I was helping other mothers in the community by being part of the Play Centre. I am one, Rari and I, I think we are the only ones alive now of the originals that set up the Play Centre here through the welfare officer. Nini Naera was her name and I do not know how it happened, but next thing we were meeting. I cannot remember where we met, I think I was the youngest parent and there was Nan Francis, Aunty Bub Emery, and Rari Pearson and we wanted to set up this Play Centre. On this particular day, I can remember it quite clearly at the kura, we were entertaining the children with different games and one of them was tearing paper into strips and weaving them together and we were showing the little tamariki how to weave. I think that might have went for a week or two or whatever period of time. Then one day I thought, because the flax was growing there, we could do this with the harakeke. I cut harakeke with the tamariki and then we stripped it and we did what they did with the paper. And it was from then and I think by then I had become a member of the Māori Women's Welfare. The Rotorua mother branch had set us up here at Rotoiti as a branch and then we would attend meetings in Rotorua. It was the other branch anyway with Pohe Royal, Hana Anaru and Mere Nini of course, those dear old souls. There would be activities that were suggested that we do when we go back to our branches. We did these things as a competition and brought them to the next hui and show. That was a good thing, then the weaving was mentioned. One of our members in Rotorua was a student of Emily Schuster's. One weekend it was organised that she could come out and show us her steps in weaving kete. We had it at Punawhakareia just for the day and there was quite a few of us young mothers but already Tina and I were toying with harakeke, how to do this and how to do that.

There was not much weaving in this community but what I can remember was one kuia who lived down the bottom there and our kuia Kataraina Emery, they were weaving whāriki. I cannot remember them weaving kete,

it was always whāriki. We learnt how to weave kete with Nan Nicholas, she was a Morrison and she was married to my husband's brother. Everything just bloomed from there.

No one has taught me. How I have learned is by going along to workshops or the like with my piece that I have put together and asking the right questions. For an example there was one wānanga at Tunohopu and I wanted to know how to do a hiki on a whāriki so I wove my first papa and I wove it up to where I was going to do the hiki. I picked up my work and went to the hui. I knew Eddie Maxwell was going to be there because by then we knew Eddie, so he showed me how to do the hiki. I was away and I think that is how I have learnt. Tina and I would go along, we would see something, she would come home and she would do it straight away. She'd do it straight away and she'd get it. She'd finish it straight away. That is how it is done. I have never had to sit down with anyone to show me how to weave as we have just gone along and watched, all just by looking.

What I can remember is 'titiro mai'⁵⁰. It is that, I worked it out, that they did not know how to show you, you had to watch. I worked that out and then one kuia, kua mate inaianei⁵¹, Ruihi Oketopa she was a dear old kuia. Tina spent lots of time with her and I did but Tina mostly. And we would go up at night to visit her as she wove her whāriki and we would watch her and she would say 'I cannot teach you, you just have to watch me'. She has people going there wanting her to teach them and she would say to them 'no you just come here and watch and then you should know; I cannot teach'

I would have picked up some tricks of the trade that way. Like where it is spreading out and putting two together to even it up and all those sorts of things. I would have picked it up watching her so it was always watching and observing and coming home and practicing it straight away while it was still in my head and it was simple.

⁵⁰ 'Look here'.

⁵¹ 'She is dead now'.

To learn whatu kākahu⁵² we went to Diggers but already we knew how to tango muka, to miro but we just wanted to know more. Digger got funding for a wānanga for whatu Korowai and I do not know how we knew but Tina would have known somehow. And so Tina registered her and I and there were only four of us. There was her and I and a father and daughter from up north and we do see him and his daughter now and again at Poukai⁵³, at Kokohinau⁵⁴ and it was just the four of us. We stayed on the premises and we learnt the patu of course and this guy who was helping doing things for his daughter, he would patu the muka and he was so patient that of course he had to do it three times. Unravel out and again and again and all told he was counting how many times he wacked the muka and it was 600 times. We did little samples and Digger showed us how to attach the feathers and how to do the intricate sides and away we went. That was all we needed.

The methods, I believe it is an important part of our tīkanga. The method in preparation, the method in accessing and ngā tīkanga o te wahine mō ēnā tū mahi, all of that, I can remember that being spelt out. Digger spelt those things out and even Emily. Yes I am a stickler at that. I need to know how it is done and I would work it out and once I had worked it out I could remember. One of the tīkanga that I learned from Emily and Digger, is whatever you are doing is to complete that line and 'kia mohio koe, me timata koe ki tenei taha'⁵⁵ but always complete it. That is so right because in my early days before I even found weaving I was a knitter. I worked it out that if you left it half-finished when you went back to it you would say 'Oh where am I?' and you have to work it all out again. Whereas to complete it you have got that rhythm right to the end and you start a new one. The tension would be the same and it is just like the knitting. If I left it halfway and I went back to it; you get a different tension and you can see it in the garment. You can read it. I do not know if it would be the true tīkanga but to me it is all part of common sense.

⁵² cloak weaving

⁵³ A hui held by the Kingitanga within its tribal area.

⁵⁴ Kokohinau Marae, Te Teko

⁵⁵ 'You know, you start here on this side...'

Then there is wairua. I will give you an example. When I first put a kete whakairo together, I was reading from a book. I learnt mostly from books and I could not read the pattern. I had gone up so far and I sat to do the whakairo. I could not get it, I sat there, sat there, undo, undo and then I convinced myself that I would leave it and try again the next day. That night I dreamt how to put it together, to get the pattern and when I woke up it was fresh in my mind. I went straight down to the weaving shed and I put it together, no trouble. So there is something spiritual, telling me how to do a pātikitiki pattern.

5.4.2 My Teaching

It happened with Te Runanga o Ngāti Pikiao. It was not a runanga then, it was Ngāti Pikiao 'something else'. Ngāti Pikiao had met and they decided to set up work schemes because we had lots of people around doing nothing. So they set up the work schemes and they applied for funding to establish carpentry, commercial sewing, typing, and weaving courses. I think there were about 6 or 8 that they got funding for. So they advertised for tutors for these, I applied for the weaving and I was the only one that applied and so they set me up at Punawhakareia with nothing. The flax was around and that was it. I already had tools and after a while they got us some tools and that was it.

It was very practical to start with because I already knew what to do from my weaving. It would have been more of a sharing because I knew all the girls from around here, they were all young mothers. It was a sharing thing. After doing a lot of talking, this is what it is all about, 'dah, dah...' they were willing to learn. They always wanted their own kete and it was quite easy. We would have open days and at the end of the year we would have an open day at the marae and the girls would set up a display of what they had done, their kete and kete whakairo. They have learnt the weaving, the dyeing and by then we were getting supplies, the dyes and all that. We had set up and we would get a good gathering of kuia and koroua from around because the raranga was a thing of the past being revived. We got all these kuia to the open days and I would say to the

girls 'you might like to give kete to whoever you choose to, this is all part of tīkanga to give because they are the ones that left all this to us, from their kuia and so on, it comes down and it has come down to you, so you choose which kete you want to give' and that is what we use to do. And these kuia use to just think they had struck gold! It was lovely to see that happening.

I have done whāriki for a few of our marae. I think that is tīkanga 'kia whakapaipai ō mātou marae'⁵⁶ and that was the feeling I had and that is what we did. We wove two for each marae, 'why do you give two?' was the question. 'Well would you like to go somewhere on your own and leave your husband behind?' I would say things like that and I would say 'I would not want to give one whāriki because it is going to be mokemoke. It has to have a mate', but it was always something that would just happen without question.

In regards to weaving, I have never had a thought of selling. I think it came in the recent years when Tina was influential in setting up an exhibition of my work in Waikato. She was adamant that my mahi be shown to my people, to go home. That was an awesome exhibition and of course there was whāriki there, two whāriki and the museum wanted to purchase a whāriki. That was the first time that that occurred. It is still up there in a big frame. Other than that I have never wanted to weave to sell. I have made korowai for different ones that asked and ae, kei te pai⁵⁷. I feel good about it I just feel really good but I could never price anything like that. I will stay poor forever. I think if I am commissioned to do anything it is like I am being pressurised I think that is the thing that comes to mind and I do not want to be pressurised. I like to do things in my own time.

This is what happened to the course that I had. I would get young women who would come on to learn and as soon as they have got the idea, it was sell, sell and that is why they wanted to learn, to sell. And in this day and age everyone is out to make money to survive, that is important but ah

⁵⁶ To beautify our marae

⁵⁷ Yes that's fine

mohio rātou ki a rātou tīkanga?⁵⁸ I think that is a vital part of our culture, do not forget tīkanga.

I have read in a book, three points of information. 'Tribal knowledge, tribal cultural knowledge and tribal ecological knowledge', 'katahi, ka tino rangatira koe'⁵⁹. And I have researched that and it means a lot and it makes me more observant of people. Some people talk tīkanga and tino rangatiratanga and I say to Tina what the heck do they know about it and I would say, 'do you know what tino rangatiratanga means?' 'me mohio ana koe ki ngā tīkanga kia rangatira koe'⁶⁰. There are many of them here, right across the board and it really makes me mad but when I picked those three points up, it made me stronger. In another book by Linda Smith, the head of the Wānanga o Awanuiarangi's wife,⁶¹ she has even mentioned knowledge and I was saying to Tina these are three points that will help you in whatever you are doing and in whatever you thinking of. It is a guideline for her. I picked it up and then I mentioned it to her and I said be aware of those three points. They mean lots of things and you can use those as examples in your presentations. And I translated it, 'Te Mātauranga Māori, Ngā Tikanga a Iwi, Te Mātauranga o te Taiao, katahi ka tino rangatira, ka heke mai te tino rangatiratanga'⁶².

I have strong thoughts on traditional and contemporary works, because when Tina started to change it was very noticeable to me. I would say to her 'what ugly thing are you making?' I couldn't attach myself to what she was doing. It has a beauty not like the beauty of tukutuku work and it does not grab me like that. I would just look at it. And then she would say to me 'but you are doing contemporary work' and I would say 'how?'. 'Well you are doing modern design' and I said 'but it is already set for us, those designs I am just copying them but you are creating something new'. This is what I think. Tina seems to pick up something contemporary with my work but I cannot think contemporary.

⁵⁸ But do they know their traditions

⁵⁹ When you know this, 'then you become a chief' (have something worth knowing)

⁶⁰ 'You should know these customs, so that you are of some worth'

⁶¹ Graeme and Linda Smith, senior Māori educationists.

⁶² 'tribal knowledge, tribal cultural knowledge and tribal ecological knowledge and then you will have some standing, chieftainship will fall on you

5.4.3 The future

Well I am excited in what I am revealing to you because I think the weavers of today, all they know is to weave. Do they know about tribal knowledge, do they know about cultural knowledge and ecological knowledge, do they know about those three things? I would ask whether the rangatahi within our weaving have been fed this knowledge or are they just being taught how to weave and that is it. There is so much more. And this is where, ka raruraru ne?⁶³ When the NZQA was introduced to the weavers Tina and I would go to the meetings. There was a lot of argument about going into that system. Remembering Saana Muurray's, Emily's, Diggeress's and Erenora's comments. Those four women were not happy that this government system was encroaching on our knowledge of weaving but of course they were already going to do it anyway and so it went on. The Runanga's weaving course had to change to the NZQA system and what happened? The Runanga just came and gave me these papers. Just like that. Do it this way, they did not know at all. I was not aware either but lucky Tina was already part of this system and she more or less taught me how to read what the NZQA wanted and then what happened? I put the Runanga on a pedestal! Then none of that culture thing was in it, it may have been in the next but I had the first stage and it was training to cut flax the correct way. Nothing about karakia or any other thing but that was part of my course anyway, that I introduced.

I would say Emily, Saana and them were right in protecting 'ā mātou tīpuna.'⁶⁴ They were protecting that because I remember Emily saying, 'I am the caretaker of the work of my kuia and koroua' and then Saana, she was quite argumentative about going into the system. I would say it has ended up a good thing but 'me mohio ngā kaiako ki ēnā mātauranga mō ā matou mokopuna.'⁶⁵ How would they know if it is not being continually passed down, like how it was done with me, and 'kua kuia inaianei.'⁶⁶ I am very, very concerned about whether that is happening? I am

⁶³ 'We run into trouble, eh?'

⁶⁴ 'our ancestors'

⁶⁵ 'the teachers should know these teachings [to pass on to] our grandchildren'

⁶⁶ 'I am an elderly women now'

concerned, really concerned 'kia tika ngā mahi mō ā tatou mokopuna'⁶⁷
and I am thinking are we all doing that?

⁶⁷ 'Do things right for our for our grandchildrens sake'

Chapter 6 Te Whare Whiriwhiri – Analysis

“He tapiki i wetewetea i te awatea!”⁶⁸

6.1 Introduction to the Chapter

I was born in the generation, whose parents had been deprived of ‘te reo’ and many of our rich cultural practices. My father worked hard as a shearer and gave very few words of advice but once he told me, “you better stay at school as you would be no bloody good as a shearer!” The belief at the time was that education was a key to a good job and success. You had to learn the Pakehā way if you wanted to get ahead. Looking at the stories I have told, in introducing each chapter; one could correctly surmise that my life was a mixture of Māori and Pākehā cultural upbringing. Our three weavers all identify that the culture, tikanga and wairua are important elements that are required for the continued health of weaving. For many, this is lacking as part of their upbringing.

This chapter is an analysis of the narratives in chapter 5. These narratives detail the lives of three weavers, Edna Pāhewa, Tina Wirihana and Tina’s mother, Matekino Lawless and details their learning and teaching of weaving, and their concerns regarding present and future practice. Teaching pedagogy is examined in terms of the tikanga they incorporate in their practices. The origins of many of these tikanga can be found in the whare pora and the consequential historical developments outlined in chapters 3 and 4. The analysis of the tikanga they collectively use will be central to providing a model of crucial elements for best practice in the teaching of weaving. It is proposed that if the model was to be adopted by NZQA, tertiary Institutes and kaiako raranga, it would overcome some of their concerns noted in current teaching paradigms.

6.2 Learning and Teaching Approaches

In all three narratives, the weavers were practitioners in the first instance. They could share their skills with others but they did not regard this as

⁶⁸ ‘A tangle undone in the morning light’ used here in the sense that the analysis is done with enlightenment.

'teaching'. 'Teaching' is something else. Edna talks of teaching in terms of doing 'paperwork', being 'academic' and her concern of 'not knowing'. Tina talks of 'not being instructive but rather providing visual stimuli for her students. Matekino is more blatant when she talks of past mentors, 'they did not teach they just told us what to do'. With her own teaching she talks of being 'practical' and 'just really sharing'.

It can be seen then that they view 'teaching' through the lens of one being formal, instructive, an authority, involving paperwork and academia; something that belongs in schools and Pākehā institutions. The pedagogy that they apply; I have chosen to align with 'ako'. 'Ako' as espoused by Pere (1994) is Māori pedagogy and is embedded in Māori tikanga, values and practices. This is congruent with their own views of their practice as being 'ordinary and natural'. It is important then to examine the basis of these practices in terms of the tikanga and the cultural values that underpin them. Edna Pahewa tells us "We learnt by sitting there and looking and watching and doing; not hiding behind the desk and doing all this paperwork".

6.3 Tikanga and Practice

In articulating the practices utilised by Edna, Tina and Matekino I will be defining them in terms of 'tikanga ako' as identified by Pere (1994), Hemara (2000) and Mead (2003). However, it must be remembered that in practice it isn't so simplistic as many of these tikanga are interrelated. They do not stand alone. It is their interconnectedness, their correlativeness that gives them resilience and vitality.

6.3.1 Titiro, Whakarongo, Ako – Look, Listen and Learn

In chapter 3, some tikanga were explained that we can illustrate from our three weavers. Hemara (2000) mentions that much of the learning took place in an informal manner. This is exemplified by our 3 weavers and their reticence to be labelled teachers. Their teachers just 'showed or told them', they as students just 'looked, listened and learnt'. 'But with Nan, she showed you and you copied. Look and learn or look and know'.

(Edna Pahewa, personal communication 2014) 'They did not teach, they just told us what to do.' (Matekino Lawless, 2014). 'I was watching, so I pretty much learned through observation' (Tina Wirihana, personal communication, 2014).

Pere (1994) in reflecting on her upbringing also talks about the importance of observation and participation. This can be summed up as learning by doing and gleaning knowledge from the master, from the one who knows. Much of this learning occurred within the wider whanau. Edna points out for her family it was the kuia who taught the mokopuna. 'With Nan we had to mark, scrape, and whatu. She showed you and you copied. It is the granny that shows the mokopuna.' (Edna Pahewa, personal communication)

6.3.2 Te Whanaungatanga - Intergenerational Learning

This intergenerational practice is important in terms of whanau dynamics. It not only reinforces whanaungatanga relationships but also aides in ensuring an authentic, enduring legacy into the future. "Kaumatua were considered a vast information resource. Their wisdom and reflection were considered essential to the teaching of practical and social skills along with underpinning esoteric and ethical principles." (Hemara, 2000)

Edna explains that with her whanau there was an ethical consideration of all members contributing to the whanau wellbeing. (Hemara, 2000) reinforces this as a common experience to be taught by one's kuia albeit that other aunts and family members would also have input. Edna expounds whilst she was taught by her kuia it was her mother that often gave further instruction and final rectifications. 'Although Nanny taught me, my mother fine-tuned things. She would just tidy up a lot of things.' (Edna Pahewa, personal communication, 2014).

6.3.3 Ngā Tohutohu – The Teachings

Traditionally children were encouraged to hold to the teachings of their elders – 'kia mau ki ngā tohutohu o ōu tūpuna!' Tohutohu are the

teachings, the instructions given, the 'do it like this' and the 'never do that'. When Matekino began to teach weaving many of these tohutohu from her kuia came back to her, she tells us

She would be doing her weaving but there was always, 'kaua e tutū'. The tohutohu that I can remember, all these things she would say. I suppose it did not come to me till I was an adult, had children and I started to weave, then these tohutohu would just come and also when I was teaching it (Matekino Lawless, personal communication, 2014).

There are multitudes of tohutohu, their origins can be traced to pragmatic, rational practices, for example not harvesting flax in the rain for the reasons that it could increase risk of cutting yourself, falls but also because the flax would have absorbed more water, making it harder to weave.

6.3.4 Te Whakaute - Respect

(Pere, 1994) also emphasises the importance of the tūpuna-mokopuna relationship; tūpuna are the link with the past and a vast repository of knowledge, the mokopuna are the link to the present and the future. This practice enforces the tikanga of respect, respect for those relationships, respect for the knowledge and the gratitude that you were chosen to receive it.

We always had to be respectful of everyone but not now, you get those that just pull you to bits, pull anyone to bits, which is very sad. I just walk away when you hear that type of talk but that is old school respect. They do not have a lot of respect these days and it is not just the young ones either, it can be some older ones too! (Edna Pahewa, personal communication, 2014)

Matekino also expresses a story that illustrates this point of respect for the knowledge and where it comes from.

They would say 'oh this is ugly, I am going to throw it away' – 'no you do not do that', 'well why not?' and I said 'now how do you think you learnt this. I have shown you and I must of got it from someone to be able to show you. I am respecting where I got it from and now I am showing you just for you to say it is ugly. You have tipuna?', 'yes', 'well that is where all of this came from so you are saying that your tipuna were ugly'. I am just simplifying it so that

they would understand. (Matekino Lawless, personal communication, 2014)

It also places an onus on the mokopuna chosen to receive the knowledge, to act as its 'kaitiaki', as its custodian and responsible for its further transmission' to pass it on intact.

I think that the way nanny made us learn was always kept in us, it sowed the seed. Dawn and I are the only two out of five girls that took up weaving, as teachers to carry it on. Although nanny taught me, my mother fine-tuned things. She would tidy up a lot of things (Edna Pahewa, personal communication, 2014).

Tina recognises this legacy as a whakapapa; she is as much at home working with customary pieces as she is with ground-breaking innovative contemporary pieces. She works to ensure that the traditional methods are practiced and adhered to but at the same time has no difficulty with innovation, but warns "these pieces have got to be informed by its whakapapa because it cannot be informed by itself".

6.3.5 Te Pūmanawa – Natural Talent

The ethos is that the knowledge is not yours but rather it belongs to those who taught you , and back to those who taught your teachers and so forth back to the deities themselves - 'ehara nāu, nā ratou mā kā; he taonga tuku iho!'⁶⁹ Mead (2003) stresses this point.

In traditional Māori belief a talent (pūmanawa) for creativity comes to the individual through the parents and down through ones ancestry....the pūmanawa was unique to the whānau and that it is expected that this talent will manifest itself in one or more descendants from time to time.

Edna identifies her kuia as teaching her, 'planting the seed'. Matekino similarly identifies herself as 'the seed of her kuia', albeit that she did not begin weaving till much later. Māori see that these pūmanawa or natural talents are thereby genetically linked. Tina talks of her mokopuna, Matekino's grand mokopuna

⁶⁹ 'It isn't yours but belongs to them, a treasure passed down'.

I am teaching them through observation and then I can see, this one is going to be the weaver, the other one is trying but loses patience and gone, 'Nan can you finish this piece Nan?' They have already identified themselves without them knowing, this one is going to go down this track, this one down another avenue. (Tina Wirihana, personal communication 2014).

6.3.6 Te Puna Mātauranga – The Knowledge Pool

The modern application of this can be seen at the New Zealand Māori Arts & Crafts Institute, where Edna's current position as the head of school was deemed important as she came from the same 'puna' as her sister and mother. She had the same teachings. Traditionally this is very important as it moderates the work practice to the same processes and techniques. Edna too cites how she deemed it appropriate that after the death of her mother, she went to Diggeress Te Kanawa to learn how to prepare muka to whatu kākahu because Diggeress had also taught her mother.

I used to watch my mother all the time and admire her and thought I must spend time to learn but sadly she died before then, so Auntie Digger taught me and Erenora. I know Auntie Digger also taught my mother, so it was good, appropriate in a way.

(Edna Pahewa, personal communication 2014).

6.3.7 Te Ara Ako – Staircased Learning

Much of these activities were often staircased and linked to age and development. This concept is often expressed in the phrase 'mā te wā' equivalent to the expression 'by and by' or 'when the time is right'. Edna relates how she and her twin sister had to remove the 'backs' off piupiu strands from a very early age and that at a latter age her kuia deemed it appropriate that they participate in a larger extent of the process. Before long they knew how to make piupiu from the harvesting of harakeke, the stripping and sizing of the strands, kotikoti- the marking of the pattern and removal of the epidermis to reveal the muka sections, the whiri – joining the strands at the waist band, and the application of waiwai and paru – the dyeing process.

This idea of staircasing knowledge based on the skill of the learner is important as it shows that learning was based on competency. All three of

our weavers comment on this. In Tina's narrative her mother points out that Emily was correct to tell Tina 'show me what you know and I will show you what you do not know' in order that she progress her learning. (Matekino Lawless, personal communication, 2014).

Those that quickly displayed aptitude were fed more challenging tasks, those who did not were held back.

There are things that you have learnt that you hold onto. Like my nanny use to say 'you spit a little and swallow the rest'. You know the people to teach that rest to and it is the same with your students. There is some that you connect with and you would teach a bit more because they have the wairua.

(Edna Pahewa, personal communication 2014).

It was probably a good thing. They only gave so much because you have to go and find out. You do not give it all, you might give examples and they can go and find out what these things are and what they really mean.

(Tina Wirihana, personal communication, 2014).

In our consumer society students often want to learn a particular skill and can even demand to be taught this or that. We would all agree that it isn't appropriate to teach someone to run before they can walk; and to teach someone how to walk before they can crawl but according to Edna you get those people that want to do exactly that.

I would say to them to start at the beginning. Learn the values, learn how to make a kono before you learn how to make a kete and that worries me deeply that people jump in half way up the ladder and do not ground themselves.

(Edna Pahewa, personal communication, 2014).

This again relates to concept that learning is staircased. It is a respect for the knowledge and also the resource. It isn't good practice to leave projects unfinished.

6.3.8 Te Aro Tika – Being Focused

As (Hemara, 2000) points out, it was important at each stage to ensure the correct tikanga and skills were taught, that ensured the effective use of these materials. Edna recalls not receiving a telling off when strands were

incorrectly marked or scraped but the deadly silence of her kuia. It was a waste of material due to insufficient attention or slovenly practice. It is bad practice to waste or disrespect the resources. The plant resources were held in high regard, as reflected in their whakapapa and tikanga associated with their harvesting and use - 'Kaua e moumou, kaua e tūkinu'⁷⁰. These 'hapa' were not to be tolerated; it was not 'tika'. Given this attitude to resources it is no wonder that Edna expresses the following thought.

I used to hate some of the contemporary stuff that is getting produced, I thought they were a waste of our materials whatever it would be. I have seen the start of a pingao kete that had no top and no bottom, a creation, something contemporary but I thought if it was finished off, it would be a beautiful pingao kete. The same with some of these things that hang from the ceiling. I never appreciated it, but I can appreciate it as something that looks nice but I still think it is a waste of the material, even now. (Edna Pahewa, personal communication, 2014).

Traditionally students are encouraged to be focused on their work. Mistakes were seen as bad omens. This can be seen in some of the tikanga of the whare pora. For example you must complete a line of aho, especially the 'aho tapu' which sets the pattern for the cloak. When a stranger appeared the work needed to be covered up, so that there were no distractions. Matekino talks about modern day practices she has observed and how weavers tend to be less focused and more easily distracted. She sees this as not adhering to the 'wairua o ngā mahi'.

I think it is the wairua of what they are doing, it is the wairua and they cannot see that; this is just an example – they could be weaving something then next thing this one over here can kōrero pūrakau, she leaves her mahi ā kua ngaro te wairua i tana mahi. (Matekino Lawless, personal communication, 2014).

6.3.9 Te Ngana, Te Aumou - Perseverance

Tina in assessing her mokopuna noted that one displayed tenacity, a resoluteness to complete her work while the other gave up and left it for Nan to finish. Perseverance is a trait held in high esteem. Tardiness is

⁷⁰ 'Do not waste or damage'

abhorred. Much of the weaving process is lengthy and laborious. Persistence is required to complete much of the work. This trait is best summed up in the proverb 'he ringa raupa'- the hard worker with calloused hands. So admired was the industry and the productiveness of a good weaver. A passionate weaver is always weaving something, as Tina says 'you get 'itchy fingers'.

6.3.10 Te Ako Mutunga kore - Lifelong Learning

It would be easy to surmise that teaching was a student focused activity but Hemara (2000) disagrees. He advocates that the teaching/learning experience were 'co-operative ventures'. The teacher and learner are co-dependent; it is a reciprocal relationship, the kaupapa then becomes the focus, not the student. Both teacher and students learn from each other. Edna relates the story.

A lot of that sharing comes about with the interaction with weavers, especially with the Rōpū at a national level. I remember my mother and Aunty Digger, we were at a hui and they were out the back learning how to do something that a young girl had shown them.

(Edna Pahewa, personal communication, 2014).

Yet another concept that is evident is that of life-long learning. Mead (2003) writes 'that there is so much to learn that it is not expected that any one person would ever learn it all'. All three of the weavers see that in themselves, that they are still learning, discovering new skills, creating and recreating based on past taonga. Tina is particularly inspired by examining old pieces and recreating them. She has studied and revised 'tatua', the 'ngehingehi' and an early whāriki type panelled garment. In the documentary (Schuster, 2000) about Emily's and Digger's trip through European Museums as part of their 1988 Air New Zealand Travel Award they are seen both experimenting to reproduce a chevron patterned whiri that intrigued them on a cloak they had seen at a museum. Not only does this serve to illustrate lifelong learning but also the ability to 'look' and 'read' the construction, the pattern. Weavers are renowned for examining kete whakairo patterns and emptying out the contents of a kete to investigate how it was made.

6.3.11 Te Takoha – Gifting

It can be seen that with this emphasis of pūmanawa and intergenerational teaching, various whanau would be recognised as authorities of particular skills. This remains the case and many iwi and hapū can identify their exponents of the craft. It is seen that their abilities enhance the whanau or hapū mana and are thereby often called upon for taonga as part of tribe's gift giving. This may or may not have financial recompense but many weavers see that as cultural responsibility to the hapū or iwi. Matekino perceives that very much as part of her role. Both she and Tina have gifted whāriki to the Ngāti Pikiao marae. "I think that is tīkanga 'kia whakapaipai ō mātou marae'⁷¹ that was the feeling I had and that is what we did" (Matekino Lawless, personal communication, 2014).

Matekino has done the same with cloaks. She has woven them for those she respects as iwi leaders. Tapsell, (1997) points out that Te Arawa have a proud history of gifting taonga. Taonga are physical treasures imbued with whakapapa, mana, tapu and kōrero and their exchange between tribal groups was common place at prestigious events where they were laid down on the marae. Tapsell (1997) references Te Kuru-o-te-marama Waaka⁷², a Tūhourangi elder, gifting taonga created by his mother, Ani Pareraututu. As a young lad Kuru was selected to lay down a fine kererū and kōkō cloak at the coronation of King Koroki in 1933. Te Atairangikaahu later explained to him that he was buried in that very cloak and that she would arrange for a replacement. To which he replied that he had been paid the greatest honour and that nothing could ever replace that. In 1986 at the centenary of the Tarawera eruption he gifted a highly prized whāriki to Sir Paul Reeves⁷³ again made by his mother at the turn of the century, she herself was a survivor of the eruption. This encapsulates the belief that the value of taonga is not in their keeping but

⁷¹ 'to adorn the marae'

⁷² Te Kuru-o-te-marama Waaka (1914- 97) Tūhourangi, Achieved rank of corporal in the 28th Māori Battalion, Director of the NZMACI 1966-79.

⁷³ Sir Paul Alfred Reeves ONZ GCMG GCVO QSO CF (1932 –2011) Te Ati Awa was Archbishop and PriMatekino of New Zealand 1980 t-1985 and the 15th Governor-General of New Zealand from 1985 - 1990

in their giving. Matekino also imparted this thinking of tākoha with her students.

I would say to the girls, 'you might like to give kete to whoever you choose to, this is all part of tīkanga to give because they are the ones that left all this to us, from their Kuia and so on and it is come down to you, so you choose which kete you want to give' and that is what we use to do. And these Kuia's use to just think they had struck gold! It was lovely to see that happening. (Matekino Lawless, personal communication, 2014)

Tina and Matekino also have the role of setting up the King's whanau dais at Ngāti Pikiao's poukai. This request by the iwi not only acknowledges their skill in weaving but their whakapapa connections to Ngāti Pikiao and Tainui iwi.

6.3.12 Te Whakaiti - Humility

When you identify the tikanga and values listed above of our three weavers, you can understand their similar responses to my question 'how do you identify yourself?' None would say of themselves that they are experts or tohunga. Matekino was most vehemently opposed.

I have never described myself as a weaver or an artist, I will always say I am just me. There are other people that say 'oh here's the expert' but I do not take that very well actually. Well I mean to say expert was not a word used in the early, early days; we just did it because it was in our culture, it was us, we do these things. It is tīkanga. Someone else can say I am a weaver but I do not say I am a weaver. I suppose that would be whakahīhī that sort of thing. I do not know, we are always learning, you know others might recognise me but I am just me. (Matekino Lawless, personal communication, 2014).

6.3.13 Te Wairua –Spirituality

The persona of an individual, according to Mead (2003) can be attributed to 'several attributes. He lists them as "personal tapu, mana, mauri, wairua and hau." Both Matekino and Edna refer to the student with the right wairua, the correct spiritual, psychological and social attributes. "We can read it in a person that is how far we have got with our mahi; we can read

whether that person can do the mahi or not, it is just the whole of that person” (Matekino Lawless, personal communication, 2014). “There’s some that you connect with, that you would; which it isn’t fair, but you would teach a bit more because they have the wairua” (Edna Pāhewa, personal communication, 2014). They would argue that ‘wairua’ is ‘caught not taught’ but Mead (2003) concludes several avenues to assist. “These include proper enculturation into the culture, education in tikanga Māori and te reo Māori, participation in ceremonies and generally becoming comfortable with the fact of being Māori and the responsibilities that come with that fact.”

6.3.14 Tikanga Ako

The following table summarises the key cultural competencies that the interviewees have shared. The ramifications for teaching have been also summarised in terms of key tikanga that should be taught and incorporated into weaving programmes. It is by no means a definitive list but provide a starting point for thought and discussion on best practice in terms of teaching weaving.

Tikanga Ako		
Tikanga	Translation	Ramifications for teaching
Titiro, whakarongo, ako	Look, listen and Learn	Applied experiential learning
Whanaungatanga	Family Relationships	Intergenerational Learning Creating Whanau atmosphere
Kia mau ki ngā tohutohu o ōu tupuna.	Hold to the traditions of ones forebears.	Respecting the knowledge base Teaching 'correct' attitudes to mātauranga Māori
Te Whakaute	Respect	Respecting teachers, learners, teachings, the resource
Ehara nāu, nā ratou mā kē; he taonga tuku iho!	It doesn't belong to you but to the ancestors; a treasured legacy passed down	Upholding concepts of kaitiakitanga and responsibilities
Kaua e moumou, kaua e tūkinu	Do not waste or disrespecting the resource	Awareness of conservation and respect for the resource
Pūmanawa	Natural talent This could be seen as a genetic trait within certain families.	Fostering those with natural talents Reconnecting to whanau base.
Te Puna Mātauranga	The knowledge Pool (Traditionally this would exist in families or hapū .)	Clarity regarding teaching sources
Mā te wā	In due time	Staircased progression Developmental approach
Te aro tika!	Focused on the task	Elimination of distractions
Te ngana, Te aumou ki tāu mahi	Be keen and persistent in your work	Developing a strong work ethic
Te Ako Mutunga Kore	Life Long Learning	There is always something to learn
Tākoha	Gift Giving	The importance of giving back Creating situations to promote this tikanga
Te whakaiti	Humble yourself	Creating situations to promote this tikanga
Te Wairua	Sprit, soul	Providing situations and learning to enable the student to capture the wairua

Figure 18: Tikanga Ako

6.4 Kei hea mai? -Towards a Model

6.4.1 The Issue

Edna, Tina and Matekino have articulated quite clearly the issue facing us today in regards to present practice. They have also articulated the answer. Weaving needs to be taught within the context of its own culturally appropriate tikanga. Matekino sums it up this way.

The weavers of today all they know is to weave. Do they know about tribal, cultural and ecological knowledge, do they know about those three things? I would ask whether the rangatahi within our weaving, have been fed this knowledge or are they just being taught how to weave and that is it (Matekino Lawless, personal communication, 2014).

Tina advises,

The depth of the knowledge may not be to the depth that we would want it to be. We need to focus on ensuring that there is a depth and breadth of knowledge and that these aspects are not put to the side, in the too hard basket. It is easy to focus on the range of forms as this is more easily measurable. So to produce a kete, it is easy to mark it off, they have achieved. Understanding all that spiritual knowledge and tikanga doesn't get marked. I have always advocated it is not only about the form it is about understanding all of this (Tina Wirihana, personal communication, 2014).

Edna too, laments the loss of cultural knowledge and places that in the global indigenous cultures.

I think the appreciation, I have of being a Māori weaver is the exchange with other indigenous cultures, in how similar we are. There might be just slight differences but the indigenous people are all so similar in many ways and that is not just with the craft. I suppose we all have the respect for our mountains, our rivers and our elders. Unfortunately the young are not being taught the same. (Edna Pahewa, personal communication, 2014).

Puketapu-Hetet (1989) again wrote of this discrepancy, she wrote of the 1980's Project Employment Programmes (PEP) training programmes "Many excellent weavers were trained during this period, attaining a high

level of manual skills. However, manual skills do not make a weaver” (Puketapu-Hetet, 1989, p. 2).

The issue is that the art weaving needs to be taught with all of its cultural knowledge and practice. It also begs the question, why has this not been so? Puketapu-Hetet wrote in 1986

My teaching technique has developed through trial and error. We have refined it to the stage that I can now teach people to weave very quickly. In the old people’s way, though, the slower way, you learned and understood the spiritual side. This is what most young weavers miss out on today. I am talking about where weaving is part of you; when you are weaving you are at one with yourself and the world. It is a sense of belonging and of self-knowledge (Puketapu-Hetet, 1986, p. 40).

Is the answer merely one of expediency? Maybe so, but I think the answer must also lie in the impact of colonisation as already discussed. These impacts include the dramatic decrease in the Māori population, the adoption of Christian faiths and the loss of traditional karakia, and the general abandonment of the belief in many traditional Māori concepts. For those that retained the art, the marked changes in social and cultural subsistence meant that much of this knowledge was abandoned or at best, highly truncated. In fact much of this knowledge was of an inalienable nature, specific to an individual or whanau group.

When it was seen that the art was in decline and groups like the Women’s Health League, Māori Women’s Welfare League and NZ Māori Arts & Crafts Institute taught weaving across tribal divides they were cognisant that they were putting aside parochial tikanga for the benefit of the art itself (Edna Pahewa, personal communication, 2014, September, 2014). They taught the ‘basics’, the ‘skills’ and encouraged learners to research their own tribal tikanga. Of course many skilled weavers within their local tribal groups were adverse to these changing dynamics and went to their graves with all of this particular knowledge. No wonder then we are facing a generation or three that are totally devoid of any comprehension of this cultural wisdom and its praxis.

Tina talks of the future for her mokopuna “I would love the mokopuna to go with their own perceptions because that is going to make them unique but also with the knowledge of their Nan’s thinking and their Nanny-Nan’s”. (Tina Wirihana, personal communication, 2014)

This traditional cultural knowledge communicates specific understandings regarding not only the weaving practice but also ideas about cultural, social, and ecological interaction. It guides your behaviour and shapes one’s personal and moral character towards a state of harmony and order - mauri ora. This knowledge traditionally was passed down matrilineal lines and guarded surreptitiously. There are examples of this in other indigenous women’s arts.

According to Yohe (2012), the Navajo weavers have some identical and very similar tikanga. They for example are also instructed to weave only in the daytime and cover their work at night. They too select members of the family to learn these skills and act as kaitiaki of this work, and like us it is often from grandmother to grandchild. Industriousness is also encouraged; whilst we speak of ‘ringa raupa’, hardworking calloused hands, they talk of ‘round hands of laziness’. Their knowledge can also be divided into these two domains, the technical skills or ‘dos and donots of weaving’, which also have ‘weaving taboos’ and secondly, ‘weaving teachings’ which similarly are often transmitted in traditional stories, songs, and proverbs and also in personal experience. The ‘dos and don’ts of weaving’ are viewed as ‘reciprocal relationships’ between the weaver, ancestors and the cosmos. Central to these relationships are the ‘Navajo Holy people’ who are viewed as supernatural beings. The weaver in adhering to the taboos maintains the place of the ‘Holy people’ and in return the weavers maintain their skills and creativity in ‘a state of abundant harmony, balance, order and beauty’.

Navajo weaving taboos are not understood as static doctrines, mere superstitions, or relics of the past these taboos are a part of living systems of knowledge,

elements of a much wider set of distinctive cosmological understandings and social systems that continue to be lived and enacted by Navajo people.

While reciprocity guides the exchange of weaving taboos, notions of alienability and inalienability inform the circulation and withholding of certain weaving teachings within Navajo communities

(Yohe, 2012, p. 110).

It is this 'inalienable' nature of certain knowledge that gives its prestige and value and it is therefore more highly guarded and protected.

We too, could of course, just teach our own or a select few and that was and remains so the standpoint of some. I think that could possibly be plausible if weaving had remained in the custodianship of tribal experts but one of the results of placing this knowledge in the NZQA framework is the danger that the 'norm' will become 'technical experts' devoid of any of the deeper cultural knowledge and those who insist on operating in the true customary way will be become more and more circumscribed and confined to an ever diminishing, shrinking pool that has little, if any impact on the art and its welfare.

Rather, I believe, the responsible course is to reclaim and incorporate this spiritual, cultural knowledge into our teaching practice. It needs to be reinstated as the 'norm'. It needs to be taught through every day classroom practice, so that students are not studying it but actually living it. This requires teachers to analyse their practices and create appropriate teaching methodologies that are culturally and spiritually rich. That stimulate and install culturally appropriate tikanga and values. Bentham Ohia, as the Chief Executive of Te Wānanga O Aotearoa would quote his father in saying "Do not teach about my culture but teach me through my culture" (Bentham Ohia, personal communication, 2013).

This doesn't mean regressing to the past but rather continuing to use, adapt and incorporate this knowledge in our normal lives. This also doesn't mean we do not innovate and incorporate new technologies and ideas; knowledge is not static but there is a need for a strong cultural

base. This knowledge needs to be again deep rooted within the mauri, the wairua, the very soul of the individual and the collective. In some cases it even needs to be re-created. I remember at the 2003 national hui of Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa at Rangiotu Marae, Palmerston North, a few were learning how to skin bird carcasses and asked what were the traditional tikanga practices and karakia, no one knew but the reo experts were challenged to create new and appropriate karakia.

6.4.2 Te Kāwhatuwhatu - A Model Framework

The New Zealand Qualifications Authority recently established 'Ngā Kaitūhono' whose role is to ensure a 'mātauranga Māori' approach. This research would endorse that endeavour and NZQA's aim 'to reinforce and recognise mātauranga Māori in educational, cultural, social, customary and economic development requiring distinctive pedagogies and methodologies that are credible and robust' (Black, Bean, Collings & Nuku, 2012). This model provides a framework for those 'distinctive pedagogies and methodologies'.

Black, (2014) as part of Ngā Kaitūhono' proposes a five part framework, 'Te Waka Mātauranga' depicting the knowledge development process. Many of the features of that model are pertinent in this case; this includes the notions of knowledge reclamation from the past, connectivity of knowledge and knowledge creation for the future. My model focuses on the need to weave together the technical skills with the values, tikanga, spiritual, ecological and cultural knowledge that our weavers have described as being a crucial element that needs to be strengthened. All of those bodies of knowledge are part of what has become increasingly known; after the last few decades as mātauranga Māori.

The weaving of the technical skills and the spiritual knowledge is not a new model to weaving. Toi Maihi (2012) tells us that

aho (wool threads) is a word for connection, which makes total sense when you see that the aho connects the whenu (warp threads) and whenu is short for whenua, and yes, is

the earth that sustains us after the birth but whenua is also the placenta, which feeds us before birth... But an older name for whenu is lo, the omnipotent one. When you put a kākahu on, that lo is against your skin and the aho, the connection with all of those elements, that you live amongst and learn from and that you then hand that knowledge on.

(Toi Maihi, 2012, video)

It is therefore appropriate that the 'whatu pūeru' is an appropriate metaphor for the interweaving of Mātauranga Māori and weaving skills. I have named my model, 'Te Kāwhatuwhatu' after the pattern piece created by the student in the whare pora. In this model, it is the 'pattern' for teaching that is being created. To 'whatuwhatu' is to weave and that is what the model demands that the elements be interwoven. The Kāwhatuwhatu requires the erection of the turuturu. The pair of turuturu are complimentary, the right being tapu and the left noa. In this model they also reinforce this concept of duality; tapu-noa, physical-spiritual, technical-theoretical and so forth. The tāwhiu represents their connectiveness between these dual principles, from which everything else is built upon.

Four whenu have been selected, they are named 'pūkenga', wānanga', 'tāura' and 'tauirā'. According to (Makarini Temara, personal communication, October 18, 2014) these terms commonly appear in karakia tahito and have multiple meanings.

Williams (2001) gives the following:

- | | | |
|----------|--|----------------------------|
| Pūkenga: | 1. Skilled in, versed in | 2. Repository |
| Wānanga: | 1. Lore of the tohunga | 2. Instructor, wise person |
| Tāura: | 1. A tohunga who accompanies armies to battle | |
| | 2. The second order of learners being initiated in esoteric lore | |
| Tauira: | 1. Teacher, skilled person | |
| | 2. Pupil, particularly under instruction by a tohunga | |
| | 3. Pattern | |
| | 4. Copy | |

As 'ako' is used to describe the dual principles of learning and teaching (Tangaere, 1997) so too can these words be used to describe both a teacher and a student. This reflects the philosophical standpoint whereby the 'teacher–student' is a reciprocal relationship; the focus being on the 'mātauranga'. The 'mātauranga' is all important and needs to be mastered correctly. A student that has mastered the technique, concept or lesson is also looked upon as a 'knowledgeable' person and has the responsibility as a kaitiaki to correctly pass on this 'mātauranga'.

In this model these terms have been translated to mean the following:

- Pūkenga: The Technical Skills: the manual capacity to actually weave.
- Wānanga: The Lore: the understanding of the Spiritual Teachings and how this impacts on the cultural values and tikanga of weaving.
- Tāura: The connectivity: the capability to balance in harmony the physical/spiritual elements. The whakapapa relationship with the Taiao, environment and resources. The ability to connect works with techniques, designs and kōrero from the past with future works. The relationship with whanau, hapū , iwi and/or community including modern raranga organisations.
- Tauira: The exemplar: The skilled person who models best practice as the kaitiaki of the art and works to perpetuate the teachings and skill to future generations.

These four strands need to be woven together in the teaching practice. The emphasis should not be on just one whenu alone; as some would argue, we have focused purely on pukenga skills but need to have all four work together. Some organisations focus on research as an academic skill and involve students with researching the other whenu, wānanga for example. Whilst that is not adverse, the aim here is to re-enculturation through practical experience, in the class routines and procedures. This could involve for example the idea of gift giving, or community projects.

Tikanga surrounding harvesting should be modelled and incorporated as normal practice. Weaving wānanga and tikanga must be taught and shared in order to realign people to valued practices but they should also be protected and respected so that this weaving inheritance has cultural integrity and mana and remains connected to Māori identity and cosmological whakapapa.

‘Taura Tāngata’ is a term used to describe relationships. The connection with one’s own whanau, hapū and iwi is desirable and should be encouraged but is not always practical, in which case other relationships should be fostered with local iwi or community. For example many regions have local weaving groups. Tina Wirihana describes how once she worked to provide a pā harakeke at the organisations she taught at but now encourages students to look within their whanau, many are delighted to have ‘nanny’s flax’. This not only provides a whakapapa connection to the resource but also to ones tīpuna bringing a stronger sense of identity and purpose.

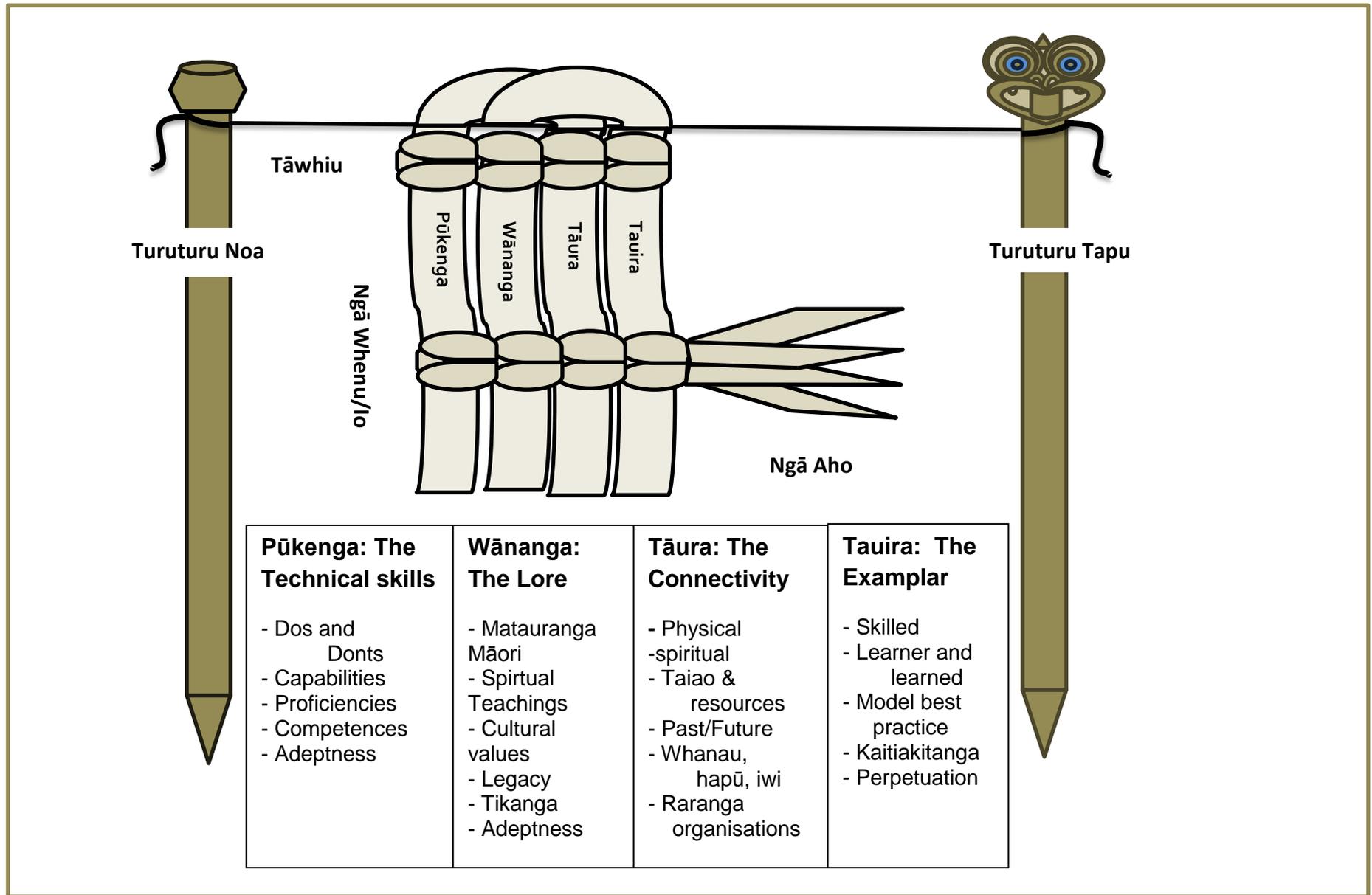


Figure 19: Te Kāwhatuwhatu Model Framework

6.5 Chapter conclusion

The analysis of the three weavers, Edna Pāhewa, Tina Wirihana and Matekino Lawless have highlighted that many students are taught only technical skills and have a lack of cultural knowledge. They stress the need for a teaching pedagogy that also incorporates tikanga practices and the values, as held in high esteem by senior weavers, to the technical competency. Mead (2003), agrees “Today the whole process is focused on technical mastery and, while the traditions are respected, the rituals are not as important as they used to be” (Mead, 2003, p. 259).

The weavers interviewed identified a number of tikanga, value based practices that they utilise in their teaching. Most originate from their own learning but the essence of many of these tikanga can be traced back to the teachings of the traditional whare pora itself. The practices they collectively used have been listed in Figure 17 as Tikanga Ako. This is by no means an exhausted list, it can and should be critiqued according to the beliefs of other weavers but the crux remains that currently there is an increasing number of weavers who have the technical skills but remain devoid of any depth and practice of these cultural teachings.

The Kāwhatuwhatu model proposed here highlights the need not only for knowledge in technical skill but a connection to a multiplicity of other factors including tikanga and lore. The place of the weaver in connection to ‘te taiao’ is another factor in restoring our whakapapa connection to the weaving fibres. The positioning within whanau, hapū and iwi relationships and weaving organisations is another element. Innovation too, to be valid needs a whakapapa a link to traditional techniques or other teachings. Finally, the responsibilities of the learner in terms of perpetuating this legacy are included as the fourth whenu. This necessitates an understanding of the role and responsibilities as a kaitiaki of these arts and their perpetuation.

Chapter 7 Te Whare Whatu Taongarerewa – Conclusion

“Inā te whatu tongarerewa!”⁷⁵

7.1 Research review

The aim of this thesis was to examine the developments in the teaching of Māori weaving and the consequential impacts of those developments on tikanga and the cultural integrity of these taonga. The traditional whare pora and the place of weaving in traditional Māori society have been discussed. The interconnections between tikanga, whakapapa, wairua, tapu, noa, and ako accumulated in practice with strict protocols and traditions that played a major part in the pedagogy of our tīpuna.

With the impact of colonisation much of this knowledge was devalued or abandoned as Māori increasingly adopted Pakehā societal beliefs and values. Despite the general demise of the art forms, it never totally perished, but was promoted by many women’s groups like the ‘Women’s Health League’ and ‘Māori Women’s Welfare League’. Many weavers including Emily Schuster and Digger Te Kanawa discarded restrictions and taboos on teaching outsiders due to the many requests from those who had no more weavers in their families. The New Zealand Māori Arts & Crafts Institute and Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa have also spear headed many cultural developments in both the teaching and the promotion of the weaving arts.

These developments have been gradual and so are accepted today, for example the restrictions on whom one could teach. Weaving exhibitions are also common place today but at one time it would have been considered whakahīhī and inappropriate. The place of commercialisation has also impacted on the arts and whilst some would not begrudge the sale of pieces; those who learn weaving solely for financial benefit are frowned upon.

Māori are part of an evolving culture and society. As such Māori continue to debate tikanga and mātauranga Māori for the present and the future.

⁷⁵ ‘Indeed it is a priceless treasure’

This research has also been about surveying the current terrain, to determine the present scenario.

Utilising whiriwhiri korero (responsive dialogical exchanges) as a method to capture the pūrakau of three teacher/weavers, namely Edna Pahewa, Tina Wirihana and Matekino Lawless has been successful in that all three have spoken candidly about how they view the present state of the teaching of weaving, and the dynamics and issues facing them in their practice and their teaching. They describe the tikanga they adhere to in their teaching. They talk about those students who have the skill but not the wairua. This lack of wairua, manifests itself with an absence of tikanga or dissonant values.

They also discuss the establishment of NZQA and how that has relegated some of these spiritual teachings by focusing on those elements that can be easily discerned and assessed. They implore that to improve the teaching of weaving for future generations, it is critical that the imparting and enculturation of students is seen as an important ako element, alongside the technical skills themselves in order to preserve cultural veracity. My hypothesis, that the concepts of tika and tikanga continue to be central to maintaining cultural integrity for Māori and specifically in the development of the teaching of Māori weaving is therefore valid and accurate.

7.2 Why does it all matter?

The major goal of this research is to propose the future path for the teaching of Māori weaving in Aotearoa. My research has captured the stories, and opinions of three teacher/weavers, they provide a clear view on the crucial issues that need to be fully debated to clearly set any logical future strategic direction for the betterment of the taonga and future generations. This is significant if you adhere to the belief of our elders that this is a taonga tuku iho and that we have an important role in our position as kaitiaki.

Anderson, Binney, & Harris, (2014) although not writing about weaving specifically, summarises the importance of the past to our future direction, it in this way

The richly illustrated past....sheds light on Māori origins, it takes a long view of Māori society and politics and it exemplifies those things that have mattered to Māori over time. It acknowledges too, that although the processes of colonisation placed the Māori world under barely endurable stress, the fundamental dynamics and creative energies of Māori society have been preserved into the present and will persist into the future.

Some things have changed and some have stayed the same. Māori cope, survive and excel in this volatile world - but need now as much as ever, that old sense of communal strength, whanaungatanga, and its principles of mana and rangatiratanga. The past, as ever, speaks recalling the deeds and drive of tūpuna to the concerns of the present, and guiding the future (pp.488-489).

No longer are we striving to simply retrieve and revive past knowledge, but are also revitalizing and reconstructing how it applies in today's society with modern constructs and approaches. It is therefore crucial that we do this whilst maintaining the true essence and values that give the work mana and cultural integrity.

At the NZQA panel for the accreditation of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's Maunga Kura Toi Degree in Māori arts, 2012, this custodial accountability of Te Wānanga was raised by the panel. They asked, 'with the accreditation of this degree, Te Wānanga would become the tertiary institute with the largest number of students in Māori art, what role would Te Wānanga play in the future developments of Māori art forms?' Whilst this position of responsibility was acknowledged, no one really could provide a succinct answer. I believe this research is an example of an initial attempt to take this role seriously.

7.3 My hopes for the research

The Kāwhatuwhatu model framework stresses the importance to incorporate mātauranga Māori in a real and applied way to address the increasing number of technically capable but culturally deficient. Many teachers maybe already running successful classrooms and producing technically and culturally capable graduates but I believe that the task remains to clearly identify and articulate best practice, appropriate teaching methodologies - tikanga ako and to be confident in their purpose and implementation.

I hope this research works as a catalyst to facilitate discussion and debate. I hope to present this research in research, cultural and educational forums. I hope to work with the teachers of weaving in Te Wānanga o Aotearoa in their professional development to critically review our practice and to identify examples of best practice. Next year is also the major review of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's Maunga Kura Toi Degree programme. This research is timely in reshaping this qualification.

We need to fully understand our own epistemologies with the aim that we may evoke the enculturation of our students into tikanga Māori, tikanga raranga and re-invigorate the wairua so that the whare pora o Hineteiwaiwa may again stand true and that we are aware of all the obligations, duties and accountabilities that come with her domain.

Kia tū tonu ai te turuturu nō Hineteiwaiwa.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ 'So that the weaving peg of Hineteiwaiwa may remain in tact'

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9. Appendix: The Karakia of Hineteiwaiwa.

Raranga, raranga tāku takapau,
Ka pukea e te wai,
Hei moenga mo aku rei.
Ko Rupe, ko Manumea,
Ka pukea: ê! ê!
Mo aku rei tokorua ka pukea.
Ka pukea au e te wai, Ka pukea, ē!
Ko koro taku tane ka pukea.
Piki ake hoki au ki runga nei:
Te Matitikura, ē!
Ki a Toroa i runga,
Te Matitikura, ē!
Kia whakawhanaua aku tama
Ko an anake ra.
Tu te turuturu no Hine-rauwharangi;
Tu te turuturu no Hine-te-iwaiwa.
Tu i tou tia me ko Ihuwareware;
Tu i tou kona me ko Ihuatamai.
Kaua rangia an e Rupe.
Kei tauatia, ko an te inati,
Ko Hine-te-iwaiwa.
Tuku iho irunga i tou huru,
I tou upoko,
I on tara-pakihwi,
I tou uma, I to ate,
I ou turipona, I ou waewae.
E tuku ra ki waho.
Tuku ewe, Tuku take,
Tuku parapara.
Naumai ki waho!

10. Glossary of Māori Words

A

aho	string, line, woof threads
aho tapu	first weft in a garment
āhurutanga	<i>literally</i> warm, comfortable, Used in the sense of a safe environment
ako	Learn, teach, instruct
Aotearoa	New Zealand
aroha	Love, yearning, pity, passion, affection, regard
aumou	constant, persistent

H

hākari	entertainment, feast
hapa	mistake
hapū	sub tribe
harakeke	NZ flax, Phorium tenax
hei tiki	a human figure pendent
Hinangaroa	
hinengaro	mind
Hineteiwaiwa	
hui	gathering
huia	extinct bird, Heteralocha acutirostris
huna	conceal

I

io	warp, vertical
Io	Supreme being
iwi	tribe, people

K

kahu kiwi	Kiwi feathered cloak
kaiako	teacher
kaiako matua	head teacher
kaitaka	fine cloak with decorative borders
kaitiaki	custodian
kaitiakitanga	custodianship
kaka	hank of muka fibre
kākahu	cloak, garment
karakia	prayer
kauae	chin

kaumatua	elder
kaupapa	purpose, plan, programme
kāwhatuwhatu	The pattern piece woven in the whare pora
kererū	Wood pigeon, <i>Hemiphaga novaeseelandiae</i>
kete	basket
kete whakairo	patterned basket
kia mau	hold fast
kiekie	a climbing plant, <i>Freycinetia banksii</i>
koha	gift, donation, contribution
kōkō	female Parson bird, <i>Prosthemadera novaseelandiae</i>
kōrero	tell, say, talk, conversation
kōrero paki	story
kōrero tuku iho	oral legacies
korowai	cloak ornamented with black thrums
kotahitanga	unity
kotikoti	marked cuts for the pattern in a piupiu
kuia	elderly women
kupu whakarite	metaphor
kūware	ignorant

M

mahi	work, work at, occupation
mahi-ā-ringā	hand work, hand crafts
mako taniwha	tooth of the mako shark worn as an ear ornament
manaaki	shoe respect, kindness, hospitality
māngai	mouth, speaker
Māori	NZ native
Māoritanga	Māori culture
marae	tribal meeting complex
mātauranga	knowledge
mauri ora	Well-being, life principle
māwhitiwhiti	cross over pattern
mihimihi	greet, acknowledge
moa	An extinct large bird, <i>Dinornis gigantea</i>
moko	tattoo, grandchild/ren
moko kauae	ladies chin tattoo
mokopuna	grandchild/ren

N

ngana	eager, intent, persist
ngehingehi	a small bag in which berries were squeezed to extract oil or juice
noa	Common

P

Pākehā	European
pāpā	father
papa kainga	village, home
paru	iron oxide-rich mud used in black dying process
pingao	Golden Sand sedge, <i>Ficinia spiralis</i>
piupiu	waist garment
poka	shaping wefts
pōkeka	Chant
pounamu	greenstone, jade
pūkenga	skills, repository of knowledge
pūmanawa	Natural talents, intuitive cleverness
pūrakau	legend, narrative

R

rangahau	seek, search, pursue, research (modern)
Rangi	Sky Father
raranga	weave
raupō	Bulrush, <i>Typha angustifolia</i>
reo	voice, tone, speech, language

T

takepū	applied principles
tākoha	gift, present
tamariki	children
Tane	Diety who produced mankind, trees and plants and who sort knowledge
tangi	cry
tangihanga	funeral
tāniko	weft twined patterned borders
taonga	property, treasure
tāpeka	bandolier
tapu	restricted, sacred (modern) to trace a single line of descent from an ancestor without showing marriages.
tararere	
tātua	belt, girdle
tauirā	teacher, skilled person, pupil, pattern
tāura	teacher, pupil
tāwhiu	the thread secured to the two turuturu weaving pegs
tika	right, correct
tikanga	rule, method, custom
tīpare	headband or fillet
tipuna/tupuna	ancestor
tīpuna/tūpuna	ancestors

titiro	look, view, examine
titiro mai	look here
tohotohu	sign, instruct, guide
toi	art, knowledge
turapa	tukutuku (lattice work) panel
tūrehu	fairy
turuturu	weaving pegs
tutū	mischievous, disobedient, undisciplined.

W

Waiariki	Bay of Plenty district
waiata	song
wairua	spirit
waiwai	mordant
wānanga	lore, teachings, instructor, discuss, debate
(Te Wānanga o Aotearoa)	A Māori Tertiary provider
(Te Wānanga o Awanuiāraangi)	A Māori Tertiary provider based in Whakatane
whaikōrero	oration, speech
whakaaro	thought, idea
whakahīhi	arrogant, vain, conceited
whakairo	carve, pattern
whakaiti	humble
whakapapa	genealogy
whakaponu	faith
whakarongo	listen
whakatauki	proverbs
whakaute	respect
whakawhitiwhiti kōrero	dialogue
whanau	extended family
whare pora	House of weaving, weaving school
whāriki	woven mats
whatuwhatu	weave (as for cloaks)
whenu	warp threads
whenua	land
whetū mārama	Star and crescent moon , symbol of Ratana church
whiri	plait
whiriwhiri kōrero	responsive dialogical exchanges