NGĀ WAI E RERE NEI

The Physical and Symbolic Representations of Embodied Waters of Birth and Mourning

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Abstract

Recently, there has been considerable public debate and much consternation, especially amongst Māori, about the future New Zealand's waterways. Māori have strongly held views, tikanga and cultural knowledge, about waterways and their deep connection to iwi (tribal/community) identity, history and sense of well-being. The waterways in public discussion are lakes, rivers, harbours and the ocean.

This thesis examines deeper aspects of tikanga that relate to Māori concepts of waterways and oceans, but more specifically to the waterways of the human body which I refer to as embodied waters. Māori cultural concepts of water and tikanga that is applied to water, is interconnected to the wider body of knowledge or mātauranga, in which water, is fundamental to concepts of human and environmental life and death. The thesis examines the tikanga, meaning knowledge, values and practices, regarding the embodied waters, related to human procreation and death.

The research examines the rich Māori knowledge base, relating to concepts such as te whare tangata, waiū, te ūkaipō, roimata and hupe which still have symbolic and material significance in Māori beliefs, values and practices. The research drew upon kaupapa Māori research approaches, as a way to examine tikanga, from a contemporary Māori perspective. My research examined recorded oral traditions and literatures, including whakatauākī, whakapapa, waiata mōteatea, haka and pūrākau, alongside other research literature in the field. The research approach also included an auto-ethnographic component that has enabled me to connect my own observations and practices, with this literature, to demonstrate how tikanga in relation to this knowledge is applied. The research focuses on two main iwi contexts, Tauranga where I was born and raised, and Waikato, where I have lived since I married into the iwi.

The thesis reveals the interconnected philosophies, cultural concepts, values and practices that are embedded in language, rituals, traditions, stories and symbols. I argue that these tikanga, give coherence and guidance, to contemporary practise especially in the context of cultural revitalization, where communities are seeking to restore certain tikanga. The thesis also finds that the tikanga relating to embodied

waters, for human life and death, still give meaning to the people and communities, who continue to adhere to tikanga, those traditions providing a cultural framework for understanding their identity.

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He mihi nui tēnei ki a koutou katoa, ngā tāngata, kaiarahi, whakaruruhau, kaikōrero i kaha āwhina, whakakaha, tohu mai, mihi mai, me te akiaki kia kaha ahau, kia oti ai tēnei tuhinga roa. Ki a koutou kore rawa e mutu te mihi.

There are many people to be acknowledged in this thesis. They are remembered as my whakaruruhau kaihautū inspirers, leaders, supporters, advisers who have inspired, led, cajoled, nurtured and encouraged me to be strong 'kia kaha' or 'hurry up and finish it", as an endearing command, to complete the study.

I acknowledge the visionary Professor Epeli Hau'ofa's[1] whose words are etched in my mind, when this project was born in 2001. His words questioning why my investigation centred on whenua, when so much was written about it, and so little, if any, was written about water and the Māori world.

Nō reira Epeli, e te rangatira, e te whanaunga o Tonga, o Fiji, kua huri atu koe ki tua atu i te pou o te ora, ki te ao wairua moe mai, kua pūawai tā tāua moemoeā. Nāu ka whānau mai tēnei kaupapa, nāu te tirohanga whānui, ka mihi, ka tangi, ka mihi anō, kua oti, kua tau.

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[1] Epeli Hau'ofa was the inspiration behind my study of water. At the time he suggested I look at this topic as a study project very little if anything was written about water in any depth (excuse the pun) about its cultural meanings. Now of course there are some studies, namely by Dr. Marama Muru-Lanning of Waikato-Maniapoto and Dr. Dean Mahuta of Waikato about the Waikato awa.

(moe mai e Rewi), Piritata Kirkwood, Toko Pompey[2], wahine toa o ngāi-tātou a Rovina Maniapoto-Anderson, ko Roha Tairakena me āna kupu āwhina.

Huri atu ki ōku ake o Tauranga Moana, arā tō mātou whaea a Rangiwhakaehu Walker, ōku ake a Kihi Ngatai, Morehu Ngatoko, Matiu Dickson, Te Tai Taikato, Pou Temara, tērā tungāne o Tūhoe. Mai ngā kōrero a John Farrell, rāua ko tōna tuahine a Peata McLeod i puta i tāku tuhinga roa paerua he mātauranga. He mihi tēnei ki a koutou katoa.

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[2] Toko Pompey actually wrote out a waiata about Waikato awa which he chants constantly at many gatherings especially within Tainui he attends. It is relevant in the study as it refers to his views and feelings about te tupuna awa o Waikato.

Katherine Parsons and John Robson who were very supportive, in searching for material, as were the staff of the former Hukātai Library at the Auckland University.

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Ka huri ki taku hoa rangatira, te manawa o taku ao, ki a koe Wetere Ngamuka. Ko koe taku pou herenga kōrero, taku tōtara tū tōtika, toka tū moana taku hoa whakawhiti whakaaro, whakatika i a au, tohutohu kia tōtika, kia tūpato te haere. Taku waimarie he tangata rangimārie, he tangata ngawari koe, e taku manawa koinei te take kua oti. Mai rā anō kore rawa koe e hamumu ko tāu he tautoko noa - ahakoa he aha aku mahi, nō reira nā te rangimārie, me tō arataki tika, kua whai hua tēnei taonga, arā i ō kōrero 'hei painga mō tō tātou iwi'. Koinei ka kī kua oti tēnei wāhanga, ka huri.

[3] Te Pua Wānanga is the name for the School of Māori and Pacific Development of the University of Waikato, where I was employed for a great number of years. The University's overall contribution and that of Te Pua Wānanga is acknowledged separately – as both have their own mana – within the broader and more individual sections of University protocols.

Moe mai e tōku hoa rangatira, e kore ahau e wareware ki a koe,
Me ngā wai i rere i waenganui i a tāua
Arā aua wai o Rangataua me tupuna awa Waikato
Koinei tō tāua ao, i te wā i noho tahi ai
- Paimārire

Prologue

My journey undertaken in this thesis brings together different issues and ideas linked to the Māori world of tikanga. I was born in Tauranga where whanaungatanga (family links) was a core value, within our nuclear and extended whānau. Raised as a NgāiTeRangi, Ngāpōtiki and Ngāti Ranginui woman, whanaungatanga influenced my cultural and individual strength. I am the third eldest of our family, therefore my role was supportive in relation to my eldest brother and sister. Our whānau (immediate family) ties stamped our links to Tauranga marae, predominantly Maungatapu, Tamapahore, Hairini and Huria. With the permanent establishment of the Tamapahore marae, in later childhood years whānau life also centred around this tūrangawaewae (footstool) of Ngāpōtiki hapū (subtribe). Though whakapapa (genealogy) knowledge was considered taboo during my childhood and teenage years, as whānau we also have ancestral links to other waka, but for purposes of my cultural position within this thesis, Tauranga iwi (tribe) remain dominant.

Major influences in my life in terms of tikanga Māori (Māori traditions) were my paternal grandmother, who lived with us, and my maternal grandfather, as were my parents.[4] In a maternal sense my mother's whānau, of which she had five sisters also influenced my life, as they were all strong women, in terms of character and bearing. Raised in this strong whanaungatanga setting, the importance of family, tikanga, voicing of opinions and aroha, were all prerequisites to my upbringing. I believe these learning signposts have held me in good stead during my adult years, in knowing what is considered right in cultural terms, especially in Tauranga and Waikato settings.

The thesis journey commenced in 2001 when I met Epeli Hau'ofa a Tongan scholar working at the University of South Pacific, Fiji. His view noting the significance of water in the Māori world triggered my original thesis aim – examining water[5] and tikanga Māori values, beliefs and traditions. Hau'ofa's view confirmed for me that this was a fertile area of research. It was a field which had not been studied in

4 My paternal grandmother died in 1940. I do not recall my paternal grandfather and maternal grandmother.
5 The initial focus was on external waters.

any great depth. It also resonated with me, as our traditions were to be a central part of the study. My thesis also commenced at a time when the water debate was not as significant as it is today in 2013). Therefore it was crucial that some research be undertaken in this area. In providing a more manageable project, the study has been refined to another ocean of waters – the human embodied substances of procreation, birth and death. This reconfiguration brings into sharp relief a tikanga Māori framework, for our Māori female voice and our embodied-water roles in birth and death.

Our roles as women and birth, also related to the world of whakapapa, whanaungatanga and manaakitanga[6] central principles of the Māori world, but also central to the concepts of female embodied waters. These roles in whare tangata, waiū, ūkaipō settings, linked to and within birth through nurturing, together with the continuation of those roles when mourning our dead, as puna roimata (bearers of literal and symbolic roimata and hupe) provide profound philosophical views, of the significance of Māori women.

I have lived in Ngāruawāhia since, marrying my Waikato husband at Tūrangawaewae marae in 1959. We have four children, with mokopuna and a growing number of mokopuna tuarua. Widowed in 2011 this thesis is also a legacy to my links with Waikato iwi, and their tikanga through the teachings of both my husband and iwi in Kīngitanga, and tupuna-awa-o-Waikato settings.

I am aware of the impact of whakapapa, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga in terms of this thesis, as the study has been shaped and configured, in a major way through tikanga Māori, within Tauranga and Waikato settings, situations where a large part of my life has been spent.

[6] These are features involving genealogical connections, kinship and nurturing values.

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TE WĀHANGA TĪMATANGA

(Chapter One)

Ko au te wai ko te wai ko au, Mai ngā papaka o Rangataua,
arā a Ngāpōtiki Huri atu ki a NgāiTeRangi,
NgātiPukenga o Mataatua waka Taka mai ki a NgātiRanginui o Takitimu
ko rātou katoa ko au, ko au ko rātou katoa.[7]

1.1 He tīmatanga (Introduction)

This thesis examines aspects of tikanga that are related to the beliefs, processes, rituals, and practices of human procreation and death. The thesis frames an understanding of these aspects of tikanga (traditions), through the concept of human embodied waters. Though acknowledged in whakapapa (genealogy) and kin relationships, the centrality of these human embodied waters in tikanga contexts, has not been examined in any depth, or as an exercise in highlighting tikanga with its own mātauranga (knowledge) base. The thesis argues that a focused examination of the meanings these waters portray, through tikanga involving procreation and death, will reveal the significant role the concept of water plays in values and practices.

1.2 Whāinga me tōna mana (Aim and thesis relevance)

The thesis is intended to reveal, to make more obvious, the deeply significant role that water has in tikanga. This study specifically considers tikanga in procreation and death contexts. It will be argued they are central catalysts in reconnecting, recovering, reliving and regenerating the realities and symbolism of our world. Their cultural, emotional, social and physical representations of belonging, identity, nurturing and sustenance illustrates this. More specifically the nurturing and sustenance principles, allied to these waters bring into the tikanga framework

7 This is a condensed version of my blood ties to iwi of Tauranga, and the natural environment in which I was raised. It is a statement which grounds my stance as an iwi member and as one undertaking the research. This position is more important to me than the role of a researcher – it is a position in 'embodied-water terms' as I am of the tribes I have listed. My ūkaipō (symbolic place of sustenance and nurturing) is known in rohe (territorial) terms as Rangataua tāhuna – the seascape of Rangataua where I grew up.

central concepts of whanaungatanga, kotahitanga, manakitanga and aroha (familial ties, unity, support and love), which will be referred to throughout the study.

The tikanga of water, in this case of embodied waters, is a powerful concept that connects a wide range of tikanga that is still practiced today. Much has been argued about the significance of external bodies of water, such as oceans, rivers and waterways. This thesis focuses more on embodied waters, those waters or body fluids that sustain human life, such as blood, menstrual blood, breast milk, semen, hupe. The human body, and human life is predominantly water, and it makes sense that a philosophy or tikanga of life, is informed by concepts around waters or fluids. The thesis grapples with some of these complex ideas.

1.3 He aha e kore e tirohia (What will not be examined)

It is also important to clarify what the study does not cover. The thesis is not about the role of these embodied waters in current tensions which involve whakapapa linked to political and economic rights of water. The study is not about whakapapa (genealogy) of its own volition, although blood plays its role. The thesis is not about the external waterways of our world, although as representations and symbols in terms of ūkaipō, kaihau and waiū, they feature in Tauranga and Waikato settings.

1.4 Te reo (language)

It is also crucial to point out that te reo Maori (Maori language), which I will refer to as te reo from hereon, is a central component of the study. Te reo is significant because it is the vehicle by which values, beliefs, practices and the messages relevant to iwi (tribal) traditions, are captured, retained and given their deep philosophical meanings. It is the waka (symbolic canoe) by which the individual and collective iwi traditions, beliefs, practices and concepts are conveyed.

Tikanga and its philosophies embedded within te reo, enables tribal members to reconnect, recover, relive, and regenerate links to our traditions of the past, in broad and specific terms, within one's own tribal dialogue, spaces and situations. The knowledge base and its meanings, are clarified more succinctly when recaptured within one's own tribal reo, and in the language's own cultural domains.

In relation to our embodied waters this is important, as no other language can capture the embedded meanings, within those rites of passages and their themes except te reo. This is because words and terms convey those philosophical messages, of a worldview, centralised through tikanga configurations set by tupuna.

As Tīmoti Kāretu (1974) notes concepts, terms and philosophies are couched within the language. He pays homage to te reo and its relevance, in espousing worldview, tikanga, beliefs and values. For emotional, cultural and spiritual enrichment in the Māori world, no other medium captures our philosophies and messages except te reo and genre, such as waiata (chants) whakataukī (proverbs) karakia (prayer) karanga (female formal call) and whaikōrero (male formal oratory). Te Kapunga Dewes (1977) attests to this reo centrality noting that 'literature rests on the foundations of language' (1977, p. 47). Dewes further stated te reo 'is still the most essential feature of culture, which as a way of life continues to be dynamic' (p. 47). Salmond (1985) also expressed the significance of te reo, claiming it 'is the ceremonial language of the marae' (1985, p.128). Although she notes the language has been in decline Salmond further states that it is still regarded as the only proper language to use on the marae ātea' (pg.129) (formal platform of oratory). Unfortunately Salmond misses a crucial point – the use of te reo in everyday life as well – for in daily communication it also encompasses another of its many roles in the various domains of life. In relation to this study those daily points of communication are important for one may well be asked their place of birth (their ūkaipō) whakapapa (genealogy) and tribal background, basic tenents of tikanga and embodied water links, such as where one's whenua (placenta) is buried.

In further references to te reo's significance Hirini Moko Mead (2003) said this - 'It is worth noting that one's understanding of tikanga is informed and mediated by the language of communication. One's understanding through te reo Māori is different from one obtained through the English language (p. 2).

1.5 Tō te reo mana (Reo power)

Te reo's relevance in the thesis is also an acknowledgment of the language's validity and legitimacy. As Meyer (2008, p. 212) claims 'knowledge is relational, embodied, spiritual, subjective, grounded in sense experiences and shaped by

language. In activating te reo within the study, the knowledge base linked to cosmogonic and spiritual associations finds meaning in all the above settings referred to by Meyer. These relationships are subjective, spiritual, embodied and grounded in cultural terms, in a literal and symbolic sense within te reo.

The legitimacy and validity was also espoused by the gifted Ngāti Porou composer Ngoi Pēwhairangi (Kāretu, 1977, p.99) who reiterated that te reo should be spoken, and activated in all domains. It should be promoted in its rightful place as a 'living language' and one which carries with it the meaning of tikanga, even in modern day society. Further evidence of its importance within the study, is its validation and legitimation of knowledge, ways of knowing, of being, portrayed through tribal cultural lens. As methodology it also has its own knowledge base informed through its own words and messages. Te reo contains the fundamental philosophies of tikanga, and as metaphorically referred to by our cultural matriarch Ngoi should be 'caressed'[8] by the living winds of time, so fundamental meanings will never be lost. That basic philosophy and message of te reo being a chiefly taonga, (valued gift), indicating its tapu (sacredness) qualities, our traditions, a pathway for our cultural wellbeing, is at the very heart, of who we are as iwi. Let us, as our cultural whaea so eloquently captured, expose its purpose, its meanings, its depth to the world. It is the language of our tikanga (traditions), our knowledge base, echoed and listening in broad and specific terms, what her words and their messages convey.

> Whakarongo ki te reo e karanga nei
> Whakarongo ki ngā akoranga rangatira
> *(Listen to the call of the Maori language – listen to its noble teachings)*

Rewi (2010, p.103) in claiming te reo as central to Māori says it is involved with things of value and mana (power). Mana as a concept for him imbues 'authority' 'value and worth', 'status, respect, and acknowledgment of things animate and inanimate, (p.103) that are central to life. Te reo is central to tikanga and has all the elements mentioned by Kāretu (1977), Dewes (1977), Ngoi Pēwhairangi

[8] I have taken the first two lines only of this wellknown waiata to illustrate the centrality of te reo in Maori society – because the noble teachings are couched within the language.

(1987),[9] Salmond (1985), Mead (2003), Rewi (2010), Metge (1976) and Meyer (2008), in communicating worldviews.

Michael Krauss (1996) adds to the views claiming that languages are significant as each 'has its own beauty' (p. 20), further purporting an ethical issue in language protection, where possible. His view is that a society's language assists world communities understand why they live, feel, think and behave the way they do. Like a web of life and an ecosystem, linguistic diversity also forms systems, necessary to our survival as human beings. The views of the abovementioned writers support my view that the centrality of te reo allied to tikanga, is central to this thesis.

1.6 Ngā kōrero a Friere(Friere comments)

Te reo words, terms together with theories expressed above, also connect with views espoused by Brazilian educator, Paulo Friere's in Rose (1992, pp. 403-421, cited in L.T. Smith, 1999, p.157). Friere claims that in naming the word, one names the world. Although associated will literacy, his views resonate in relation to the use of our reo within tikanga and cultural 'spaces'. By naming our world through te reo, we also take ownership of our views, and acknowledge them, as valid and legitimate interpretations on our terms. Our language and its representations also affirm our own monitoring processes, as cultural kaitiaki (guardians) of te reo. Jon Reyhner (1996, p. 4) aptly sums up such views this way:

> Our languages are joint creative productions that each generation adds to. Languages contain generations of wisdom, going back into antiquity. Our languages contain a significant part of the world's knowledge and wisdom. When a language is lost, much of the knowledge that language represents, is also gone. Our words, our ways of saying things are different ways of being, thinking, seeing, and acting.

The above section points out the philosophical and most fundamental reasons why te reo is important to the study.

[9] Her words in Tīmoti Kāretu's Ngā Waiata me Ngā Haka a Te Kapa Haka o Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (Revised edition) 1987.

1.7 Te whakahaere reo i te tuhinga (Reo treatment within thesis)

I also explain the treatment of te reo within the thesis and text. Within the text I explain meanings of terms[10] in brackets. Should clarity require a more lengthy explanation I will provide further information within the text or with footnotes. Other reo terms and relevant expressions will also be used to support and/or clarify further meanings embedded within the language. For example, the words tūrangawaewae and ūkaipō are parallel features, which have similar meanings, in that they are places where one was born and nurtured, physically, culturally and emotionally. An interesting feature of the use of these words, centres on their usage – tūrangawaewae in my view, constructs a neutral label of where one belongs, while ūkaipō, displaying similar meaning, brings forth a more feminine slant, to a place of belonging, even though in ontological terms, such linguistic differentiations may not be highlighted, to any great extent or depth.

With regard to te reo used by interview participants I also leave their statements in verbatim form, as evidence to support (or contrast) my own assumptions and those of others, throughout the thesis. They maybe translated if clarity is unclear within a text explantion. Though translations could alter the intended messages and meanings, our iwi members wish to convey clarity of message for the study is the overriding factor. Waiata in various examples will not be translated[11] unless meanings in the text explanations are considered too lengthy.

1.8 Tauiwi (Colonials)

In terms of tikanga and te reo the impact of colonisation by white settlers on Māori society was major. The conversion of many people to imported religions, took place thereby further affecting the customs, beliefs and values held within ancient traditions. As Mead claimed (2003, p. 3) colonisation saw the 'repudiation of culture,' and the eroding of tikanga (knowledge base), a way of life central to tribal identity, belonging and mana. This colonial onslaught of tikanga, beliefs and values as documented by white male contributors such as Best, Grey, White and Smith, decimated many traditional practices, which had to compete with customs foreign

[10] By this I mean one or two words. Other meanings will be explained in the text or footnoted.
[11] Some sections or all of waiata, whakatauki may be translated if a text explanation is considered unclear or if a text explanation is considered too lengthy.

to tupuna, thereby affecting tikanga forever. In relation to the above writers however, it is fair to point out, that Best contributed much to the retention of tikanga practices and beliefs, notably within the Mataatua tribe of Tūhoe. His references and those of other white male writers in relation to women's roles however have been challenged by female writers such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1992, 1998, 1999 cited in Hutchings, 2002), Pihama (2001, cited in Hutchings, 2002), Ngahuia Te Awekotukutuku (1991), Aroha Yates-Smith (1998), Ani Mikaere (2003), Ngahuia Murphy (2010), to name a few.

1.9 Ngā tuhinga (Writings)

The demise of tikanga has progressively eventuated through foreign cultural forces. Tikanga of Māori society was demoted to a state where tūpuna (ancestors) were pitted against each other. Their ability to organise their lives through their own worldviews and tikanga were suppressed, to the stage where many traditions were lost. This is not to say that tūpuna turned their backs on the colonised world. Many adapted to various aspects of the new culture, such as land-selling, and the use of the printed word. The written word and the collection and preservation of various tikanga aspects and genre, one could claim was minor recompense, for the demise of tikanga and te reo.

Another major negative effect of colonisation has been the inability of some iwi generation, to speak te reo and to understand tikanga. This has taken place through the imposition on their parents not to speak te reo, while at school. This gap in the knowledge base of many descendants has been a dilemma, many attempting to recoup, reconnect to, recapture and recover reo and tikanga for themselves. I claim this study which reflects and reinforces tikanga and te reo, will assist iwi members in understanding the philosophies of our world, through reconnecting, recovering and regenerating a knowledge base, that has meaning, intricacies, and depth. My study also assists further understanding of the positive ways our tikanga, practices promote ways of knowing, of being ourselves, through living in culturally appropriate ways, which enhance our cultural, emotional and spiritual wellbeing. I further claim my study will also assist iwi members seeking to recapture, reinforce, regenerate, reflect upon, and act accordingly, within their own Maori world, through the deep philosophical principles tikanga conveys.

1.10 Te reo wahine (Female voice)

My thesis is also a testimony to the voice of women, one severely suppressed by colonisation, and aided by the patriarchal nature of publications. The female voice is central to the women's knowledge base and business, for its practicalities and realities are experienced by women. As examples in relation to procreation, the female whare tangata (womb space), waiū (breast milk, literal and symbolic), and ūkaipō (suckled breast concept) are life experiences, physically endured by wahine (women). The whare tangata concept can be likened to female ancestral meeting houses, where whānau members are supported and nurtured, in physical and emotional terms. This interpretation of our tupuna-wahine wharenui, (those with ancestral female names) is an embodiment of our femaleness, and our bodies, where the whare tangata concept of nurturing and support continues.

In tikanga linked to death and its ceremonies we as female also play a significant role as puna-roimata, supporting and embracing the bereaved. Roimata and hupe are symbols of mourning and as links to our tikanga in human embodied-water terms this vital role is carried out by women.

These broader cultural spaces in which the physical and symbolic manifestation of our birth traditions are encrypted show mana wahine transposed from a physical situation to a broader symbolic one.

1.11 Te pātai (Problem)

The questions to be raised are these: Why are the above issues I refer to a problem? Why do we not know about embodiment and the significance of our embodied waters within our tikanga? The loss of this knowledge through progressive colonised practices such as religion promoted the patriarchal views I referred to earlier, and the invisibility of our female voice. In the pursuit of rediscovering the female knowledge base, tikanga relevant to the 'hine culture' needs to be recaptured as it is critical to the female role within Maori society.

My study linked to procreation and birth I claim will enable tikanga allied to these two themes to be reconnected, so the role of both gender through procreation and death can be understood with more clarity, and the female role is not compromised through colonised cultural lens. It is one aspect of tikanga from whence we can

evolve according to our ways of knowing, of being, of responding to, of reconnecting with our past, and addressing the need by many iwi members to live as Maori.

The tikanga I examine in procreation and death contexts assists in a small way to fill knowledge gap about women and to connect with a world we wish to recapture and engage in. I claim that the beliefs and values, enacted via rituals and practices, through information collected within this thesis also provides meaningful tikanga for future generations involving procreation and death. The thesis I claim also encompasses tupuna worldview, where learning through a knowledge base of practices and experiences can be embraced to enhance our physical, spiritual, cultural and emotional wellbeing so we will never be lost.

E kore tātou e ngaro he kakano i ruia mai i Rangiātea[12]
(*We will never been – we are seeds nurtured from Rangiātea*)

1.12 Whakarāpopoto (Summary)

The above section of my introduction highlights the centrality of tikanga and te reo in this study. It outlines how language contains the philosophies, ways of being, thinking and bringing forth meaning to the terms used in tikanga contexts. Secondly, and a reason also espoused by Rehyner (1996) it shows that te reo like other languages contains traditional wisdom, with their diversity portraying different ways of seeing the world through each society's words and terms. This is so in relation to procreation and death with words such as toto (blood) whare tangata, waiū, ūkaipō in birth, and puna roimata, roimata and hupe in death being critical to the two themes I examine, conveying far more embedded meanings than their literal translations illustrate. Tikanga has also been sounded out as central within the study as it is the glue which adds substance in a metaphoric, literal and symbolic sense to te reo to combine and link the thesis in both philosophical and linguistic terms to our world.

The significance of the thesis also highlights the view that tikanga recovery, recapturing, regeneration, reliving, and revitalisation through a female knowledge

[12] This is a wellknown proverb uttered by many orators. It states we as Maori will continue to have mana and authorityship as we are 'seeds' from Rangiatea – meaning it is our original homeland.

base adds to indigenous ways of knowing, imparted through Maori eyes. It enables our descendants to understand that tikanga of the past are still relevant in today's world. Tikanga can be accommodated to meet the various needs of a fast-changing modern world. Throughout time tūpuna adapted tikanga to their world of many changes, where they reconfigured iwi traditions to meet their needs, dreams and demands. I now outline the chapters' outline and content:

1.13 Ngā wāhanga (Chapters' outline)

This introductory chapter commences addresses the relevance of tikanga and reo within the thesis. The impact of colonisation is also referenced and is countered with the recovery of tikanga in relation to human embodied waters of procreation and death.

Chapter Two outlines methodologies and methods I use in the study, explaining why they are important, relevant and appropriate to the study. Academic processes are also outlined.

Chapter Three explains and defines the role of tikanga in relation to this study. The place and role of tikanga is crucial because it is the glue, with te reo which links the world of traditions to its philosophical underpinnings. Tapu and noa concepts are also included in this chapter. These two concepts also have a major bearing on rituals, practices, actions, restrictions and behaviour in both birth and death traditions. In this chapter I also review literature in relation to human embodied waters and their visibility (or invisibility) in tikanga settings and writings on birth and death customs.

The literature review is woven throughout because cited publications involving tikanga, in essence refers in broad and specific terms to ūkaipō (place of belonging) issues, identity and belonging. Indirectly such tikanga are references to tribal lands, ancestral waterways, iwi boundaries, and whakapapa. These points of reference are all veiled representations of blood, waiū and ūkaipō roles in action even though they may not be promoted as such in the literature. Identifying these gaps in tikanga and human embodied water connections justifies my thesis.

Chapter Four This chapter's aim focuses on kaihau-waiū, ūkaipō themes. I explore these themes, as the symbolic signposts (poupou) of nurturing and sustenance. Though the concepts refer to one's place of belonging, I contend both terms are also about nurturing and sustenance as the terms suggest. I connect these concepts to Tauranga moana, Rangataua tahuna and Waikato awa waterways.[13]

Chapter Five examines the embodied waters of procreation and birth through their roles in physical and symbolic settings. In terms of conception, whare tangata, waiū and ūkaipō aspects of birth these procreative and birth features are significant when considering their physiological and symbolic meanings and roles. Each portrays the more intricate dynamics of, nurturing and sustenance, which in a broader tikanga framework brings forth the question of belonging and identity.

Chapter Six examines the world of mourning and the role of puna-roimata, roimata and hupe - the universal symbols of mourning in death traditions. The roles these embodied waters portray in rituals of final separation, are central to iwi as they act as support systems. These features assist whānau pani (mourning families) during and in the aftermath of death when they merge back into te ao marama (the symbolic world of enlightenment), after loved ones are committed to Papatūānuku[14]. As a reflection of this nurturing process the puna-roimata concept, a term given to women, also indicates the permanent role we as wahine play in the last rite of passage – death – a tikanga which has continued throughout time, albeit in amended or changed form, irrespective of the onslaught of colonisation.

Chapter Seven concludes the study with a summary, and findings from the various chapters. This section will also outline ideas for future research. I now outline methodologies and methods used in the study.

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[13] I use the Maori terminology such as moana, tahuna and awa culturally linked to broad and specific markers – e.g features the broader water relationship in Tauranga, Rangataua is more specific to where I was raised, and Waikato awa illustrates its significance in Waikato settings

14 My whānau and I like many other whānau know the pain of loss as we farewelled my husband, a father and koro of our mokopuna just over 14 months ago – still very recent in terms of emotional loss and pain.

WĀHANGA TUARUA

(Chapter Two)

Ngā huarahi kimi, ngā kete mātauranga
(Methods and methodologies)

Ko tō tātou ao o te mōhiotanga
Kei ngā kete mātauranga i tukuna iho
E te ao o mua[15]
(Our world of knowing
are informed by the kits of knowledge
from our world)

2.1 He tirohanga (Chapter purpose)

To understand the role of tikanga and its meaning through the embodied waters in procreation and mourning situations, this chapter outlines the methods and methodologies I use to recover fragments of information, and the processes involved to commence the research journey.

The chapter and the thesis as a whole is generated in part by the practice of tikanga itself. This may appear unconventional but it is designed to weave tikanga, reo and the subject matter of embodied waters into a coherent whole. Reo and tikanga are inseparable and a study based in tikanga is philosophically different from a subject matter that can be easily broken down into singular objects or units of study.

2.2 Ngā huarahi mōhio (Ways of knowing)

Understanding and insights into tikanga practices and rituals involving these body substances, requires appropriate and relevant methodologies. Ways of knowing and knowledge bases are varied. They include personal experiences (therefore my own and those voices of experiences from other iwi members) our oral literature and genre, myths and tribal stories. Together with fieldwork and text analysis they provide a consolidated whole, upon which the knowledge base of our world is founded.

[15] Our knowledge base are contained within the teachings and worldviews of the past

My voice in experiental learning situations, gaining knowledge through one's lifetime, and the voices of other iwi members[16] are significant to the study. This knowledge is experienced, observed or practised in formal and informal situations. These various avenues of knowing, used by iwi groups contain much of the Maori world knowledge base. Questions surrounding methodologies relevant and pertinent to the study are therefore important, as they source knowledge, ways of seeing, of situations assessed through the most natural modes of learning, titiro (observe) whakarongo (listening), ako (learning), mahia (physically participate). As Hirini Moko Mead (2003) puts it, the tika (correct) to address issues through tikanga, brings into practice past templates and valid reasons for activating and carrying out tikanga in certain ways.

Nga huarahi kohi korero (Methods of data collection)

Issues surrounding methods of data collection were important because of the cultural nature of the study itself. For methods in collecting information there was a need to explore the various ways our knowledge has been retained and captured. This would determine the focus on what I should collect, how it would be accessed and the protocols involved in undertaking this process. As Stokes (1985, in Yates-Smith (1998, p.15) notes 'This entails us Maori controlling our own past and the research'. Therefore the collection of information required sensitivity, respect for our tikanga, values and beliefs, and also for those iwi member providing information. It was important then that tika' (correct) ways of approaching these processes would not be compromised.

Methods involved recording and/or writing notes of interviews and discussions about life experiences of iwi members. These included elicitng tribal stories, waiata whakatauki or tongi[17] linked to my topic. Information was sought from Tauranga and Waikato iwi members who agreed to participate in the study, with others being interviewed as the study progressed.

[16] These iwi members are from both Tauranga and Waikato – the settings for the major part of the study.
[17] Waiata means chants/songs/laments, whakatauki means proverbs, and tongi is a Waikato term for prophetic sayings.

The interviews and other data collection commenced in 2005. Some information was written by various iwi members.[18]. For example a Waikato iwi member produced written information in 2008, another in 2012, with yet another in 2013. A Tauranga iwi member wrote his information in 2013.

In relation to interviews it was crucial that information from elderly iwi members who agreed to participate be obtained during the early stages of the study[19]. This was seen as crucial as much information has been lost through the passing of loved ones who possess ancient and traditional knowledge.

Other methods involved fieldwork[20] where notes were taken in most instances because the acquisition of this knowledge involved the natural modes of learning I refer to elsewhere - titiro (observe), whakarongo (listening), ako (learn), mahia (physically participate). As Hirini Moko Mead (2005) puts it, there are tika (correct) way to gain information and address issues. This is accessed through the above modes where one observes, listens, and/or puts into practice what is learnt.

Searching for appropriate oral literature and discussing tribal knowledge through stories and genre such as waiata, whakatauki, and 'kōrero kāuta' (fireside talk) were also ways of collection information. Fieldwork enabled place, people and situation dynamics to be observed first hand. Together with written texts these various avenues of collecting information uncovered valuable evidence. These methods and methodologies have presented themselves as a consolidated whole to address my study.

2.3 Kete mātauranga (Knowledge kits)

Methodologies are important when undertaking research. They frame the information gathered. In relation to methods and methodologies L.T. Smith (2006, p.143) refers to Harding, (1987), who states that methodologies define a framework

[18] E.g. Toko Pompey provided a waiata in written form in 2008. Noki Haggie interviewed in 2005 on water, **wrote** her views on childbirth in 2012.

[19] It was crucial that their information be accessed in case of their passing on. Unfortunately five iwi members have gave their knowledge have passed on at the completion of this thesis. Moe mai koutou katoa.

[20] Fieldword together with interviews is a western approach which I use in the study. It fits with the view that a) one can 'listen, look, observe and do' in learning, and b) interview people if they so wish.

in which the research is positioned, and given context. This demands a framework (whakairinga korero) which is seen as appropriate and suitable for the topic, audience, focus and context. The following section outlines the major framework I have chosen.

2.4 Kaupapa whakairinga kōrero (Kaupapa framework)

My study is couched in the main, within the Kaupapa Maori framework, championed by L.T.Smith (1999).[21] Tuhiwai sees our ways of knowing, and what we term knowledge, as central to this approach. These avenues involve many ways of acquiring information – e.g. through oral genre. In relation to Harding's rationale (see above), Smith's Kaupapa Maori approach defines such a framework based on the avenues in which iwi knowledge is informed. For example the inclusion of oral literature such as waiata, purakau, tribal stories, myths, legends, and personal experiences, are all frameworks in the Kaupapa Maori approach in which my topic can be set.

Through personal experiences such as mine, and those of other iwi members, observation and practice, knowledge is then based and grounded in cultural reality, whether in formal or everyday life. The study and its topic can then be seen by iwi as real as it 'comes alive' as opposed to the sterility of objective[22] research positioning.

2.5 Ngā reo maha (Many voices)

As a methodological tool, the Kaupapa Maori mode can also accommodate many voices, or as few voices, as one wishes. Ancestor voices, those of community members, young and mature, male or female are all eligible contributors. The provision of these voice-spaces in research also engenders an inclusive approach, positioning knowledge according to a set of values, beliefs and philosophies. One of those values involves inclusion where everyone has knowledge of a sort. Its relevance however can be challenged, contested or accepted by one's own trial

[21] Refer to 2.3. section and Harding's theory.
[22] Objective methods and methodologies can position a researcher outside of his/her own real-life community. This is an avenue by which many western-based methods of research are carried out.

members. Viewing information from various angles allows it to be acknowledged as legitimate or seen as inconclusive but still viable.[23]

2.6 He momo rangahau kimi, hopu mātauranga (Research methods and methodologies)

The Kaupapa Maori approach is qualitative[24] in nature. In story form for example, the Creation myths are grounded in traditions and beliefs, where we see ourselves as an integral part of te ira atua (cosmogonic and superhuman world), and the ira tangata (human world). Mythology is also in this qualitative space as are many of our ways of knowing. For example the role within Kurawaka[25] alludes to our origins in our ira tangata (human element) procreative terms as noted by Yates-Smith (1998). Stories orated in the past, and the modern world, culminate in tribally-recognized ways of handing down knowledge, and as knowledge which has been handed down.

He taonga tuku iho[26]
(Valued treasures handed down)

Genre[27] as a Kaupapa methodology creates a situation for the researcher, to deconstruct taonga tuku iho like karakia (prayer), waiata tawhito and mōteatea (ancient chants and laments) and search for embedded meanings. The following words to a section of a Ngāti-Tara oriori[28] (lullaby) for example refers to the procreation[29] highlighting waiata as methodology. Mātauranga (knowledge) is further revealed here when a child's biological beginnings and origins are referred to in physiological and symbolic representations. Knowledge about the young, their cultural origins, aspects of their background is thereby retained in oral form.

[2323] By this I mean information still requires explanations for tribal members.
[24] This means that information is qualified through such avenues as waiata, stories as examples in relation to my thesis.
[25] This refers to the role played by Papatuanuku's mons.veris in the creation of the ira tangata (human element)
[26] This is an acknowledgment that knowledge handed down is a valuable legacy.
[27] Here I mean oral and storied genre such as waiata, and tribal stories e.g. tohora of Mangatawa, Tauranga and its association with the 'milky' waters – within the Rangataua inlet.
[28] See Nga Moteatea Part III, p.4
[29] The detail is about a male child's birth and arrival into the human world. The words according to the Ngata translation claims he comes from the origins of human – te kunenga o te tangata. This statement can be seen in two spaces – that of the cosmogonic world where in beliefs we originate from Papatūānuku and Ranginui through Hine-ahu-one, and in human terms from the procreative processes (and therefore waters) of our parents.

Nau mai e tama i haere mai koe i te kunenga o te tangata[30]
(Welcome young male (offspring) you have come from the origins of humans)[31]

Methodologies asserted by the Kaupapa approach, fill gaps relevant to research processes in indigenous contexts. Its focus sets our own ways of dealing with topical questions on our terms. In my view, iwi knowledge systems as central features of Smith's (1999) Kaupapa Maori mode can sit by side with the western-based approach to research such as fieldwork and interviews.

Continuing with the application of genre as methodology, it is rich with references to a variety of topics, espoused by composers, iwi members of the performing arts, and orators, the linguistic craftsmen of words. This form of knowledge contains important messages handed down over time. In effect as L.T. Smith (2006) claims, 'we are demystifying knowledge and information, speaking about, it in plain terms to the community' (p.161). Kovach (2009) notes it 'offers spaces for indigenous ways of researching' (p.24).

Methodologies acknowledged through Kaupapa Māori ways such as karakia (prayer), waiata (various chant types), korero pūrākau (myths), tribal story-telling, also recognise the distinctive features of Maori knowledge. Accessing and referencing these kete mātauranga (knowledge kits) sets out to make a positive difference, for the researched according to Smith (p.191). Furthermore the benefit in Tuhiwai's view, does not have to be immediate or direct, but should in some way be of use, to the iwi or community under scrutiny.

2.7 He kimi huarahi (Meaning extraction)

I also provide an autoethnographic voice through my own personal experiences and learning situations throughout my life. This knowledge has been experienced, observed, or practiced in formal and informal situations, both as a community and iwi member and as a teacher.

In terms of meaning extraction Bochner (p. 375, 2008 in Adams and Jones)[32] sees one's own voice, i.e. an autoethnographic or insider-participant approach as a way to 'extract meaning from experience rather than to depict experience exactly as it

[30] The is a section of a lullaby by Ngai-Tara of Wairarapa. See Nga Moteatea, Part III, p.4
[31] This tells of the child's origins
[32] See *Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, 2008, p.373.

was lived'. Adams and Jones (2008) articulates the views of Denzin (2006) regarding autoethnography as enacting 'a way of seeing and being (that) challenges, contests, or endorses the official hegemonic ways of seeing and representing the other'. Ellis[33] sees the autoethnographic approach as putting the 'autobiographical and personal' in a conversation with the 'cultural and social'. To conclude these conventions and theories associated with this approach I include the words of Tomaselli, Dyll and Francis[34] who claim that autoethnography 'involves the use of cultural richness for self-reflection and understanding the nature of the encounter'. On a personal note this approach encompasses my life experiences which I use throughout the study as a form of learning and knowledge. My own information has been learnt within two distinct situations of lived realities that of childhood, and marriage.

2.8 He reo nō te iwi (The collective voice)

Another methodology allied to the Kaupapa Maori theory is the ethnographic avenue - 'the voices of the people' approach. I label it 'he korero na nga uri' - 'voices of iwi members'. There are similarities with this approach and the autoethnographic mode. Its point of difference – autoethnographic as Ellis (earlier) spells out is 'autobiographical and personal'[35]based on a writer's experiences and knowledge. Ethnogrphy for the researcher, captures voices other than his/her own.

Seen by some iwi members[36] as central, appropriate and culturally safe in research te reo Maori adds to autoethnographic and ethnographic pathways for those whose mother tongue is te reo Maori. Both these approaches of giving information is therefore important in relating personal experiences.[37] They can be informed through the language of choice (te reo) which activates the most natural means of communication to illustrate iwi members' thoughts and knowledge. In effect presenting iwi mātauranga (knowledge) in te reo, firstly portrays it as a

[33] See Adams and Jones, 2004/2008.
[34] See *Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, 2008, p. 348 – Article 'Self" and "Other" from pp. 347-372.
[35] See Ellis, in Adams and Jones 2004.
[36] This is so especially for those who have a command of the Maori language
[37] This can be seen in many of the interviews, discussions (and fieldwork) conducted in te reo. However those who provide their experiences in English are also valued as it is their preferred language of communication.

communication tool, and secondly as a methodology, because it contains the knowledge, philosophies and worldviews of iwi participants.

2.9 Ngā pitopito kōrero (Fragmentary evidence)

As information for my study on embodied waters in tikanga contexts has not been studied in any great depth, data sourced from fragments of evidence also reveal interesting insights into our tikanga and embodied waters.

The Kaupapa Maori ways of seeking information together with these fragments provides valuable links to tikanga practices, values and beliefs. Substantiated through life experiences, genre and iwi stories they become pivotal features of Maori knowledge. As Kingi Tāwhiao stated to Te Whiti and Tohu of Taranaki, when seeking enlightenment[38] in their time, they needed to find meaning of life for each one's iwi. Here are words Tawhiao is claimed to have said.

Kimihia te mea ngaro. He roimata taku kai i te ao i te pō[39]
(Seek that which is hidden)
Roimata is what I (symbolically) consume day and night)

2.10 He wero ki te ao o tauiwi (Direct challenge to the western world)

The Kaupapa Maori methodology, in my view is a direct challenge to the controlling nature of western-based research, with rules set out by western researchers and institutions. Such rules favour an objective stance[40] ignoring indigenous methodologies and methods to favour the western-centric stance. It also ignores the inclusive aspect for the researcher.

Western-based methodological frameworks used by the Māori researcher can be interpreted by one's own tribe as privileging the colonial approach. Interpretations through this pathway can also be read as generating bias, especially if inappropriate monitoring systems are practised, with no reality checks involving the researched community. Through objective western positioning findings can be seen as inconsistent with the lived and practised realities of the researched community. In

[38] By enlightenment I mean ways to deal with life's events and crises to help iwi.
[39] Referenced from a discussion within Hukiterangi Muru at Tūrangawaewae, Ngāruawāhia kaumātua.
[40] By this I mean seeing one's tribe from the 'outside looking in'.

terms of this control mechanism (Mutu in Bishop, 1998)[41] claims that research barriers arise from the parties who determine the framework in which research is undertaken, the methodologies used, and interpretations of results. Manulani Aluli Meyer (2008) a Hawaiian scholar, states that individuals have 'their own distinct beliefs of what knowledge is, and what knowing entails (p.218). She declares her ways of seeing the world are different from those of others. For Manulani the point is important:

> It (a society's own worldview)[42] is transformative; there is an awareness of it being appropriate for those groups who see the world in their own way, and through their own epistemologies. Such views are a means of reading, interpreting one's human, cultural, and natural environment, in ways recognisable by them, and are liberating for the community involved, because of their own epistemology[43] (p. 218).

Manulani also alludes to expanding the notion of knowledge understanding, and what it entails. For her this truth is 'vast, limitless, and completely subjective' (p.218). If we are to follow her theory, we as Māori of Aotearoa also see, know, respond and view our world on terms she has expressed, different, though similar dependent on one's cultural lens.

2.11 Ngā tuhinga o mua (Earlier writings)

In earlier studies on tikanga, conducted in the main by Pākehā male writers, the western approach of objectivity was obvious[44]. A broad and general sweep of information on beliefs and traditions was published. Such knowledge contained information about the cosmos and the metaphysical world. This included legends stories about the natural environment, tribal histories and stories, including those of epic ancestor journey. Whakapapa (genealogy) was also seen in various publications. Although much of these early records indirectly involved the embodied waters of procreation, especially within whakapapa[45] this plus the role of women in this setting was barely mentioned if at all noted. A study was conducted

[41] See Te Oru Rangahau 7 – 9 July 1998.
[42] This is my insertion.
[43] Epistemology as I interpret it means knowledge and its base.
[44] In other words this objectivity allowed us as iwi Maori to be researched from the 'outside'.
[45] I promote this view because atua relationships and mythology are about the creation of the universe, the origins of humankind through procreative processes involving male and female, Tane-te-waiora and Hine-titama.

by Elsdon Best[46] *The Lore of the Whare Kohanga* (1978), with his earlier articles on the subject as forerunners of his work on te whare kōhanga (the birth house) appearing in the Journal of Polynesian Society publications.

Research on embodied-waters in tikanga contexts, reveals a) little detailed information regarding the physical and symbolic representations of procreation and mourning, b) invisibility of the female voice in tikanga[47] and c) little if any acknowledgment of the centrality of women, and their distinctive presence, in the tikanga and embodied waters concepts e.g. whakapapa[48]. This thesis will show female centrality in tikanga, promoted through birth and mourning contexts. Explained and understood through personal and collective iwi experiences, views, citing cosmology, mythology and oral literature such as tribal stories, all allude to te taha wairua (spiritual world) te taha atua (the cosmogonic and metaphysical world) and te taha tangata (the human dimension).

2.12 Ētehi atu whakaaro (Other commentaries)

In research methodological thought involving iwi members and topics Evelyn Stokes (1985) claimed the Māori voice should be seen as valid and meaningful, where experiences, stories and mythology of our world, has relevance for iwi. To recognize and accept our knowledge is legitimation and validation of a worldview, seen through our cultural lens. Also important for Stokes was the notion that our knowledge base, was as central to our philosophies of life, as to mana and rangatiratanga (sovereignty). Kinchloe and Steinberg (2008) see the importance in 'production of indigenous knowledge,' as assisting cultural conditions that allow for indigenous self-sufficiency (p.135). At the same time there is 'learning from the vast storehouse of indigenous knowledge' (p.135). This allows people of different societies, to consider the 'compelling insights' these knowledge bases provide, 'into all domains of human endeavour' (p.135).

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[46] He deserves credit because he at least mentions the embodied waters in this publication, and the role of women. His 'unclean' reference to women though in menstruation and birth is a small point against that view. Yates-Smith (1998) and Murphy (2010) dispute such a view.

[47] This is a glaring example of female exclusion, showing the 'outsider-looking in' objective stance, in a (research time space) without noting the roles played by both male and female.

[48] Whakapapa is another arena where male bloodlines are highlighted more readily than those of females. There is an exception seen in Api Mahuika's research on female leaders in his tribal area of Ngati-Porou (See Te Ao Hurihur p. CHECK)

I now turn to institutional processes regarding research.

2.13 Ngā tai pari, tai timu o te rangahau (The tidal ebbs and flows of research)

Academic study has many processes to abide by. These are referred to in this section to illustrate the journey required to writing the actual thesis. On commencing the study, discussions around what was required to enrol for doctoral study were advised, my capability to engage in doctoral work, the need for a supervisory panel to guide me in the study, and a proposal to be written. These were the preliminary requirements of the research journey.

2.14 Te kaupapa (The Proposal)

In the primary stages of the research writing up the proposal was a major focus. Higher Studies committee of the tertiary institution were to gauge my suitability or otherwise for the study. This was duly carried out with the support of my chief supervisor at the time, Dr. Tom Ryan, whose advice I valued highly, and the eventual acceptance by the controlling committee.

The journey involving data collection commenced. Discussions then took place with my primary chief supervisor on the different forms of evidence which could be collected to commence the study. This development included familiar processes as I had been a staff member in the tertiary sector, and acquainted to an extent with information accessing and collection.

It was suggested that variations of water and Māori cultural links be accessed. Texts and an analysis of content, referred to as textual analysis were important, as this information was ready and available. These works needed to be cited, an examination of that literature was required, all providing appropriate examples which could be extracted for various chapters.

I must confess I found this to be one of the more enjoyable parts of the initial process. What I did not foresee, was the need to narrow down this information, into a tight compact body of knowledge from which to draw crucial information. This ‘tight’ requirement as I was to comprehend later would provide the compactness of the study – featuring a particular aspect of the underlying topic, and unravelling the

meanings from the angle I had settled on. Appropriate information required collection to support my argument. Finnegan's[49] points on various angles regarding research were informative:

> As with the quest for meaning, what you find partly depends on what you think important to look for symbols, psychological functions, social interactions, personal artistic expression, and the results will be interpreted according to your assumption about the nature of humanity, of history, or of art in relation to society.

However what was new was the focus of such collection. What did I need to sort through and keep? What kind of information involving water (as it is a major area for research) did I need to search for? What about searching for information with our iwi? Which iwi? Why not many iwi? Iwi contributions brought in to play the question of 'human talent'[50] in research settings - a term used by the Ethics committee of my alma mater.

The question of applying proper processes or doing things in a 'tika' way as referred to by Hirini Moko Mead (2003) in research contexts together with the ethics surrounding the study were issues I addressed during the initial stages of my study. Information regarding data collection, data storage after completion, the ownership of evidence prior to the actual commencement of this work were all aspects of doctoral work which required consideration.

2.15 Ngā tohutohu (Advice)

Suggestions made by various scholars that I should search the Waitangi Tribunal Claims reports[51], the Ngā Mōteatea waiata Volumes 1 to VI written by Sir Apirana Ngata, and later supported by Pei Te Hurinui Jones[52] pivoted the study to issues I felt were meaningful and supportive of my argument.

Within these archival precincts evidence was awaiting collection. There was also an array of material linked to water in the Waitangi Tribunal Claims reports as many

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[49] See Finnegan Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts, A guide to Research Practices, 1992, p. 125.
[50] This is referred to as iwi members and people who wish to become participants in the research.
[51] These are reports produced by the Waitangi Tribunal an advisory body to the Government regarding iwi grievances. The Waitangi Tribunal was set up in 1975 through an Act of Parliament.
[52] Sir Apirana Ngata and Dr. Pei Te Hurinui Jones were writers of the Ngā Mōteatea books – volumes called Parts I, II, III, IV (and which have since be added to by Dr. Tamati Reedy, and Dr. Hirini Moko Mead, 2007)

of them referred to waterways within iwi tribal territories, with identity issues such as iwi claims to tribal domains, tūrangawaewae (one place of birth and identity) and ūkaipō (the nurturing mother figure) issues.

Further to this, searching the Journals of Polynesian Society sources of information I found would uncovered supplementary points. These avenues such as the waiata from Ngā Mōteatea volumes I, II, III, IV and V, were catalogued in the early stages into various themes. Other relevant information came from methodologies I have referred to earlier in the chapter

2.16 Whakaae kia hopu korero (Permission from iwi)

Obtaining permission to record from participants, from hui organizers were all extra procedures involved in the data-collection. Teaching at the same time (as my research has been undertaken on a part-time basis for nine years), also hindered progress, tested my patience and resolve, to the stage where I even admit to having wondered about ever completing the project. I have, apart from these lapses of ineffectiveness, and sparse motivation, always known I would complete – the big question was when?

2.17 Ngā patapatai ake (Interview arrangements)

Dealing with interviews and processes is another responsibility of a researcher. Prior to the interviews all iwi members were notified by phone to discuss interviews, discussions and processes involved. This was to gain their permission kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) and to familiarise each of us as researcher and participant with the procedures of academic research. Explanations regarding the topic, questions I had prepared, to support them in triggering experiences or knowledge were also discussed when meeting with them.

Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi is a philosophy embedded within tikanga. Meeting my iwi members in person was important because I believe, and as Mead claims (2004) it is culturally the right thing to do **haere mai ki te kōrero kanohi-ki-te-kanohi** (*come and speak face to face*).

In relation to the question sheet these were sent out to those from Tauranga iwi, as contributors stated a meeting was unnecessary for this task. Waikato members

were given their questionnaires personally when I met with them. All stated however that any processes or questions which required clarifications about their involvement in the research would be discussed when we later met kanohi-ki-te-kanohi to consider my request. Arrangements were made so I could meet with them, personally, either individually or as a group.

On eventual meeting with iwi members, and prior to our discussions I indicated their involvement was entirely under their control, they could withdraw from the discussions and/or interviews whenever they wished. With explanations understood in the research agreement, all participants agreed for their experiences to be captured, and were agreeable to the conditions.

Some interviewee participants met as a group although there were dominating forces. Although this may be seen as a tension by non-Maori, as the views of some group members were not fully captured it is the way our world operates. Life experiences from older and more mature iwi members are practical and realities of the tribal world – this is knowledge in practice, and highlights that theory and practice go hand-in-hand. This indicated group dynamics in play, and a way of tikanga processes in operation. Iwi members of mature age are seen to have 'been there and done that', experienced life's realities compared to younger members who are still reaching these milestones (and therefore acquiring knowledge) as they age. Lived realities traversed by pakeke (elders) and mātua (parents) in the Māori world is seen as acquiring wisdom[53].

Most iwi members who agreed to participate did not wish to sign the forms as they felt that feedback from myself as an iwi member who happened to be the researcher was more meaningful as a for of monitoring for the study. They were informed of the research progress through phone calls or personal discussions and visits if available. Most remarked there was no requirement for them to sign a 'Pākehā form" as they indicated they were involved on their own terms to support my study. 'Hei painga mō te iwi me aku mokopuna' or similar sentiments were a catchcry of comments from those and other informants who wished their knowledge to be recorded. These and other aspects regarding discussions, tribal experiences, stories

[53] This is through living life 'in the real' so to speak, and acquiring knowledge as we age.

and interviews procedures were duly addressed when primary hui (meetings) were held. It is interesting to note that the group situations were drawn together through consensus. Three participants asked where information would be held[54], as they wished tapes which recorded their words to be returned to them on completion, as archival material for their whānau and hapū.[55]

2.18 Karakia (Prayer)

I also point out that interview and discussion sessions commenced with a karakia (prayer). In Tauranga context two women performed karakia as they did not see their delivery as a issue (male members were not involved in these interviews). It is a sensible solution when interviews are being carried out collectively or individually, when a male is not present. Again it asserts a mana wahine mentality, and indicates a knowledge base latent within us as females, and the multiple roles a woman can play in iwi settings. In the case of Waikato iwi members, male with the exception of one woman[56] performed the karakia.

2.19 Te wairua me ngā tau (Demeanour and age)

In relation to my request for iwi member participation I believe my age, demeanour, wairua (spiritual dimension) as a community member in both Tauranga and Waikato rohe (tribal area) was taken into account. Me kaha koe – kua pakeke koe (be strong, you are more mature)[57] was indicative in their consideration of my age and the responsibilities involving research (and perhaps completion).

In my view group or individual comments prior to the collection of knowledge allows the iwi participant or group to 'sum up' an interviewer's intentions, the means by which the information is addressed, used, interpreted and eventually archived. I believe I passed with flying colours, with the proviso that there was benefit for both iwi in what I was doing.

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[54] Though I had explained what they preferred in terms of their recordings, these asked again to clarify their understanding.

[55] As a mark of manaakitanga whanaungatanga, and respect I will return all the interview recordings to the participants or their familes, if the iwi member has passed on.

[56] This was prior to the interview with Iti Rawiri and Noki Haggie.

[57] This and similar comments came from some our female elders. One kuia (female elder) stated I was probably getting 'getting a bit long in the tooth', also referring to age the others alluded to.

As a point of reference to age it was suggested (jokingly maybe) by one of our kuia (female elder) that I was 'getting a bit long in the tooth', and that research was for younger people. My reply (as I knew her well - a member of my own hapū) was that 'age is not a barrier to learning' as stated by Sir Robert Te Kotahi Mahuta[58]. It is only a 'state of mind.' In this positing it is a statement of truth, for irrespective of age we are still learning, until we defer to Hine-nui-te-pō. I also stated to our female whanaunga (relative) that age should not be a criteria on which to base who is eligible to research. She agreed somewhat,[59] after convivial discussions about the merits (or obstacles) of research for those who are more mature.

2.20 Te wā, ngā whakarite (Time, place planning)

All these activities, dates, places of hui, were arranged and/or organised so dates could be set for recording of information or discussions.

2.21 Ngā taputapu hopu kōrero (Recording tools)

Audio recording was the method in which some information was collected. In instances where public hui took place notes were written. This is problematic as one is not able to capture verbatim what has been said by speakers or orators. One can only gauge through summarised points of information, situation, time, place, and features of interest, or alarm. As Finnegan (1991) claims choosing relevant equipment needs 'level-headed' consideration – to choose otherwise can be cost in terms of time, and planning. She further notes that with visual and audio supplements now more readily available, they support the 'still relevant, recording devices of pen and paper' (p.62). Some information appropriate and applicable to the study has been extracted from tapes, especially in the Tauranga and Waikato instances.

[58] Sir Robert Mahuta referred to this statement of his when asked what, in age-terms was his view of a kaumatua. He replied that age was only a state of mind for him.

[59] She stated this jokingly of course – but a point which was very fruitful for discussion and for us to ponder over – as I said she could do research for the iwi - to which she replied she had many other things to do. This was relationship repartee expressed with trust, confidence and commitment to our tikanga and ways of responding to, outlining, advising and even commenting on research issues.

2.22 Ngā whakahaere rangahau (Research organization)

The organisation and processes of, and involving these activities is a basic requirement of the research journey where one should be prepared for changes, cancellations or amendments to planned activities or the recording of information[60].

2.23 Ngā korero ā-waha – ā tuhinga (Aural and oral literature)

In further data gathering exercises listening and noting information with iwi members was an engaging exercise where experiences, discussions and story-telling, or reading tribal texts and private manuscripts provided the study with a taha wairua (a spiritual interface).[61] This involved myself as an iwi member, who happened to be the researcher, interacting with our people on a 'kanohi ki te kanohi' basis, and the recognition of the taha wairua in action.

2.24 Ngā kohinga kōrero (Fieldwork)

Fieldwork is another means of gathering information. It involved attending various gatherings, or sitting with iwi members and discussing aspects of the topic at hand. This approach produced further knowledge in tikanga especially those aspects highlighting the physical and symbolic symbols of mourning – roimata and hupe (tears and nose-mucus). This avenue of data-gathering also took place in the main, from 2005 to 2010, although snippets of valuable raw data was heard and after this latter date – e.g. 2012[62]. Fieldwork observations allowed words to be noted, as were actions and behaviour. The environment, the occasion, the day were also written down[63], highlighting the time, place, context of information, whether during formal or informal situations.. Mourning practices, rituals and symbols linked to mourning were observed, heard or jotted down Such occasions are sensitive spaces for researchers especially for whānau to be confronted with those wishing to capture thoughts and views. Variations of what took place during tangihanga were also noted, portraying how people revealed, orated or highlighted their emotions. This is especially significant with regard to tears.

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[60] This is because many Maori participants carry out multiple roles where time is used in the most appropriate places for them.
[61] This was evident when I read my late husband's diaries, an excerpt which is included in this study.
[62] It is used in the chapter on tears.
[63] E.g. if it was a sunny, foggy or rainy day, the occasion, place, and context.

2.25 Ngā huarahi tono (Requests)

Fieldwork processes also involved noting dates of hui, contacts to be made, and/or permission from elders or committees. Notes taken during fieldwork in most instances involved writing in short legible form, as this was a situation where observation or being an active participant was the norm. The recognition of these evidence-collection methods brings into play a suitable western-based approach – that of information-gathering through observation. It advances a rounded view of accessing and gathering information which is culturally appropriate (whakarongo, titiro) merged with a western-based approach (e.g. note-taking).

2.26 Me tono me whakaae (Request and approval)

Prior to the commencement of fieldwork and interviews with people, research requires ethics approval from one's School of enrolment – in my case this was obtained from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, the faculty I was initially enrolled in at the University of Waikato. The ethical procedures and permission protects the name, reputation and integrity of the institution, and the people involved in the research[64]. This is important as challenges can be made by contributors, regarding the research, its processes, as well as possible challenges to the institution in relation to the study. It is a protection mechanism, and an important and crucial requirement in formal academic contexts to safeguard all involved.

2.27 Ngā kitenga, te titiro (Observations)

There were features during research observation in relation to toto, roimata and hupe when listening to rituals in tangihanga and other gatherings. The oratory/eulogies were imbued with creative references by leading kaikaranga[65] and kaikōrero when addressing the occasion. There are also examples of settings which are not tangihanga occasions such as Waikato poukai[66].

Kua ruia te roimata ki runga i a koutou te tira haere
Kua kore koutou e haere mokemoke
Kotahi tā koutou haere

[64] I am familiar with most of the processes as I was a member of the University of Waikato's Ethics Committee while a staff member of the institution's Te Pua Wānanga ki Te Ao School.
[65] Female callers in formal situations. Male orators are called kaikorero.
[66] These are Waikato ordained gatherings to honour the bereaved, the widowed and the destitute

(Tears have been shed on you have departed
You do not go alone,
You go together)[67]

In other formal hui irrespective of the purpose, the dead are also honoured, thereby providing further settings to record roimata and hupe references. Such fragments of information have been collated into the appropriate chapters.

2.28 Whakatau (Cultural statement)

I commence each chapter with a whakatau mainly in te reo. Should other appropriate whakatau in English be seen as relevant and pertinent that avenue will be used. The whakatau is a cultural method used[68], in line with tribal conventions around introductory statements. In written form it allows me as a female researcher poetic licence to introduce my chapter in this way. I use whakatau in te reo for various reasons a)in my view it is culturally appropriate as it acknowledges our reo b)it acknowledges our universal means of introduction through - ordered processes c) it is appropriate to the study recognising tikanga through our formal cultural processes. In my view a thesis, the collation, analysis and interpretation of its data is a formal process, and this form of introduction is an awakening call that opens our cultural door – te tatau o te mātauranga. It also involves the use of reo. Te reo is the key to understanding messages and philosophies within the whakatau I provide. Tīmoti Kāretu puts reo relevance this way 'Ko te reo tōku māpihi maurea'. Te reo is my symbol of identity. Reyhner (1994) adds to that view saying language is central to any society:

> Languages contain generations of wisdom, going back into antiquity. Our language contains a significant part of the world's knowledge and wisdom.

2.29 Ētehi atu kōrero mō ngā kete mātauranga (Other methodological insights)

Also appropriate to the research are processes I use in this study – i.e. how things fit together. Heshuius as referred to by Bishop (1998, p.134) coins such a view when addressing pedagogy (knowledge). He expressed the view that there was a need for

[67] My reference to those recently departed loved ones of whānau. This mihi says they do not go alone because as others have also died during the same month, week, or days – it is stated by the orator-world that they go together as a group – in other words a group of wairua – embarking to the spirit world.
[68] Mainly by orators to beging their oratory.

'new metaphors' – ways about 'how reality fits together and how we can know.' 'We make sense out of reality and construct reality through our own metaphors' (in Bishop, p.134).[69]

The study in engaging Kaupapa views on methodologies and method links with points raised by other indigenous scholars such as those referred to by Vine Deloria Jnr.[70] He states that 'a turn away from academic towards tribal knowledge bases that exist at a grassroots level is the answer to the complex dilemna of modern scholarships in Indian Affairs.' Though he was referring to his own people Deloria was echoing views similar to the Kaupapa frameworks espoused by Smith (2006) regarding knowledge.

2.30 He whakatūpato (Caution)

In relation to research methodologies and methods there are other issues which bring into focus the 'researcher' position. For example correct protocols for discussions are important - such as 'te wāhi tika' – alluded to by Mead (2003).[71] I see this as important in a research relationship where engagement with more mature members requires sensitivity, such as the use of tupuna whare[72] for interviews or discussions. This recognition of appropriate processes sets the mood, tone and environment regarding tikanga issues. As one raised in a more traditional setting, but also as the researcher who happens to be from various iwi, I view this as appropriate aspects of tikanga Maori in operation within the realm of tapu and noa. Mātauranga gained over years of experience deserve respect involving the information and tikanga discussed. This recognition of tikanga is central to Mead's (2003) theory of doing things according to a 'tika' (correct) set of principles.

2.31 Taha wairua, hinengaro, whakaaro (Spirituality's, mentalities and thoughts)

Sensitivity to the cultural values inherent in these ways of dealing with research are alluded to by Bishop (1998), Mutu (1998), T. Smith (1998), Mead (2003), Vine Deloria Jnr (2008), Heshuius (in Bishop, 1998), and Tomaselli, Dyll, and Francis

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[69] Te Oru Rangahau – Russell Bishop, Ph.D. *Whakawhanaungatanga as a Research Process.*
[70] See *Handbook of Indigenous Methodologies*.
[71] Mead, in *Tikanga, Living by Values* (2003).
[72] Ancestral house

(2008)[73]. The emotional aspects when dealing with real-life situations and experience is largely ignored in scientific approaches. However as indigenous researchers as the above scholars allude, we should not allow ourselves to be intimidated by our conventional scientific peers who may be unsettled by unconventional methods.[74]

2.32 He huarahi anō (Another way)

The above methods and methodologies linked to research outline the caution required when one is searching for information. The writers I have mentioned are emphatic in their belief that ways of conducting research other than the conventional methods followed by the western model of objectivity and scientific fact are possible and should be activated. They also express the view however that there is an advantage working within conventional approaches as these offer complementary analysis via different social and cultural lenses and cast light on what we think we are doing.[75] In relation to this statement the study as I have signalled will use other approaches, relevant to the study.

2.33 Huarahi whakawā (Cultural monitoring)

Through what I term a 'cultural monitoring system' 'he whakawānga o ngā kōrero' the scrutiny of one's writing, obtaining iwi feedback or 'readback' (as I refer to it) all constitute issues to be faced when conducting research. Views given regarding indigenous research, in other words 'getting inside people's thinking' are posited within ancient ancestral knowledge handed down over time. Tupuna Maori like other indigenous groups viewed some information as sacrosanct, whereas others were for general consumption. In research information analysis and interpretations therefore requires justification and reliability from those researched as their knowledge captures views reflecting cultural messages.

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[73] See *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* – 2008, Article title 'Self' and "Other" – Auto-Reflexive and Indigenous Ethnography by Keyan G. Tomaselli, Lauren Dyll, and Michael Francis, p. 347.
[74] Tomaselli, Dyll and Frances (2008, p.348).
[75] See again Tomaselli, Dyll and Frances (2008, p.348).

2.34 Te huringa o te koru (The unfurling koru)

Metaphorically the means by which I have undertaken research in this study reflects the unfurling koru with its curved appearance, gentle yet symbolic of strength and the ways in which it reaches its zenith. It compares with the gathering, acquiring of this knowledge which finds some maturity as more knowledge is accessed. The koru unfurls its own strength when growing similar to that of iwi knowledge base which builds strength through its own layers and growth.

2.35 Nga rauemi (Sources)

Written sources for the study are from primary and secondary oral and written sources. I have cited texts in publications, journals, manuscripts, as well as research theses. Sources especially in relation to journals, have been an important avenue to cite information, on the topic of embodied waters. References found in genre such as the Ngā Mōteatea Volumes, Part 1, (reprint, 1988), Part II (1961) Part III (1980), Part IV (2007, 2009) provide pertinent points regarding waiata.

Also relevant are reports involving iwi claims to the Waitangi Tribunal Claims. These claims which identify iwi grievances against the Crown, i.e. central government, bring to the fore ūkaipō positing, for many iwi members of Waikato and Tauranga and therefore useful in that context.

Fragments of information in media circles such as television, and documentaries such as tangihanga together with iwi booklets have also unearthed further information.

2.36 He tirohanga ki te reo (Language points of reference)

The use of te reo for iwi members was a relevant prerequisite to research involvement. For our iwi contributors te reo me ōna tikanga (language and its traditions) is a feature of individual views, with their matauranga interwoven throughout the study in their own voices.

Te reo articulates embedded meanings more vividly, than when translated into another language – in this instance English. What better way to inform the target group of research, than in our own language. With English explanations to highlight clarity and meanings, it informs other indigenous readers with little or no

knowledge of reo. This use of te reo also recognises it as an appropriate vehicle to portray an indigenous voice. Another reason for the use of te reo in various instances was a measure of authenticity from iwi members, especially elders and others who contributed in reo. In taking into account their views informed through te reo, I am recognising and acknowledging participant means of communication, their reo knowledge, ways of expressing views through the medium most appropriate for them.

Although these views shape the use of te reo throughout the chapters, contributors who communicated their thoughts in English are also valued. These ways to assert, support, challenge, or disagree on points I raise in the study, provide valid information as comparison, contrast and interest, for that which I write. In a sense it also challenges me to justify and defend my own argument.

2.37 He aha i tuhi ai i te reo Pākehā (Why write in English?)

It has also crossed my mind that I may be questioned, especially as a native speaker of te reo why I have not written in te reo. Although that was the preferred medium I felt the need to express my views in English, so our own iwi who are in various age groups, and who do not possess or understand te reo are able to access the information. It is also advantageous to supporters of iwi who may be non-Māori, such as those who assisted in the recognition of te reo as an official language. They too will be able to read my thesis. Writing in English we must admit is a way of engaging with a wider local and international audience who do not speak or understand te reo. It is also a means of connecting with other indigenous peoples, and the wider community of Aotearoa who strongly support the Māori worldview in our country, and who may wish to read my work. I add as a rider however, that the views conveyed through contributions from the indigenous and western world and from our own viewpoints are those interpreted through the eyes of a researcher. The use of English does not deter from that view.

2.38 Te koha (Acknowledgment)

I also raise the issue of nomenclature in the provision of information. In iwi contexts the Christian names of people are normally used even in formal situations. Research is a formal situation. Naming one by their Christian names in the Māori

world suggests inclusion, and excludes 'cultural distance'. For example acknowledgment by one's first name in society especially for women suggests a warm, friendly approach. This style can be seen on Māori Television where interview participants are never acknowledged by their surnames. The approach of recognising contributors by surname in research models is a view pursued by western academia. In using the western system I as the researcher can also be 'seen' by iwi as distancing myself from my own cultural world – in other words bringing to the fore an 'objective' approach. To our people it can signal a sense of arrogance by doing things 'the Pākehā way'. The Pākehā way is normally taken with a grain of salt in Maoridom, although it is fair to note that we use it when it suits us. Be that as it may our world has always treated the Pākehā way with caution – obviously harking back to dealings in early colonial times, the confiscation of lands, and the thrust of religions to the detriment in many instances of our way of life. Should I shift too much within that Pākehā space it fuels the thinking that I am replacing our own traditions for Western 'objectivity' and 'distant formality.' In other words I become an iwi member but 'from the outside looking in'.

2.39 Kia mārama ai (Clarity)

For clarity in identifying informants and writers, I will refer to the iwi members when first acknowledged by their Christian and surnames. I will then use their Christian names. For pubished Maori writers I will revert to the accepted academic form of acknowledgments. As much as it was an aim based on cultural conventions to be more inclusive for our people who have published, clarity and scholarship recognition has to be the over-riding determinant.

Iwi members who contributed information and who wish to be publicly acknowledged will be recognised in such a way. Other iwi members who wish to remain either anonymous, or who wish to be known through terms such as a) 'whaea' or mother figure; b) 'kuia'; c) 'rūruhi' – elderly women; d) kaumātua – elder male figure; g) rangatahi, person of younger generation will be referred to in that manner. In the appendix section iwi members[76] will be referred to through usual general conventions with their surnames, then their Christian name/names and their

[76] See listing at end of thesis of iwi members who were interviewed/discussed points around the topic, or wrote their contributions.

tribal groups. Ages will not be given as I felt it intrusive that I should ask such a personal question. I point that most of the iwi members are in the more mature category.

2.40 Korekore he tuhinga mō te wai tinana (Paucity of water sources)

It has been interesting to note that little in-depth research regarding water in tikanga setting has been attempted prior to my initial pursuit of study involving water. From the middle of the 21st century the issue of water became a hot potato in Aotearoa politics, between central and local government, therefore the thrust on water issues now presents a varied and achievable goal, for many emerging researchers.

2.41 Tēnei hīkoi rangahau (Research journey)

The research journey, in terms of methods and methodologies and procedures has proven to be a lonely and isolated activity. Though functions and seminars with other doctoral students have been rewarding, discussions regarding issues which have challenged me, the final analysis rests with me as the ultimate producer of the goal I have pursued. Apart from inspirational supervisors who have provided every means to help my progress, the journey is still that of one person, walking the long road, and running the long race' in other words doing the 'hard yards' so to speak, alone.

2.42 Ngā whakapiringa (Spiritual support)

There is one consolation for me however, in addressing the study through the inclusive kaupapa Māori approach. As it includes many voices I have felt the presence of my Tauranga tūpuna (ancestors) such as Tatai Blake our waiata and pātere matriarch who nurtured my interest in these genre forms. a nurturing mother figure, a symbol and mentor in that field. I also feel the presence of my older whānau members such as my own kuia Te Matetu, paternal koroua Mokohiti, and paternal patriarch of Ngaitamarawaho Te Hare Piahana (who attended my wedding and was spokesperson for Ngāti Ranginui at Tūrangawaewae marae) Matua Peheriri Reweti who illustrated to Hariata (his daughter) and I the benefit of learning and knowledge. To past cultural tribal mentors such as Turi Te Kani of

NgāiTeRangi, tribal huānga (relatives), pakeke (elders), my own parents, they are present, ā-wairua (in spirit).

To our Waikato iwi members, rūruhi, kaumātua and whaea (female elders, male elders and mother figures) who contributed in a significant way through their knowledge, support and encouragement so the goal would be attained 'kia ū ai ki uta[77], their involvement was of the highest order. Tūpuna and iwi members are the real methodologists they are the real **'researchers'-tuara-backbone** of my journey. Spiritually and psychologically they have inspired me to move ever onward. Tūpuna set the criteria; iwi members follow, duplicate or amend them, to retain the mātauranga. Ancestors responded to a changing world. I am just one of the 'collectors' of that valuable knowledge.

To whānau and my beloved hoa rangatira Wetere, whānau whose advice was gladly received on what constitutes completion, whakaotihia (finish it) and who have been well aware of my mission, they too have given me the most fundamental message – respect the knowledge, use it in the spirit in which it was given to find additional meaning to our tikanga Maori.

2.43 Te whakarāpopoto (Summary)

The curling koru of the kaponga tree, unfurling its life, like this thesis gains its own momentum, metaphorically stretching upward to reach its peak, as portrayed in the points raised in this chapter.

In summary and hindsight then, this chapter, from the origins of the study and inspiration from Epeli Hau'ofa, to the primary proposal and to 'tika' or correct positing and procedures regarding our ways of knowing, combined with knowledge production provide a concentrated whole to address the many issues beset within research, the topic and protocols for the study itself.

From the many knowledge avenues illustrated by iwi members, to Smith's (1999, pp. 142-161) allusions to Kaupapa Maori research avenues, together with the views of other local and international contributors to the research process, tikanga, its

[77] This symbolises a canoe which will eventually reach land, metaphorically signalling the completion of the project.

practicalities and realities within research continue to become more significant and prominent. All contributors with individual perspectives bring together many cultural ingredients, so research becomes more inclusive, appropriate and meaningful for our iwi communities.

Through iwi ways of storing, gaining retaining, articulating and practicing knowledge acquired irrespective of the occasion, the end result is a corpus of material sourced from our own Māori world of learning. Multiple-levelled avenues provide some answers to research questions and aims. Where one does not respond meaningfully another pathway of knowledge production is accessed, so philosophies involving real-life situations, with truth and meaning for iwi are uncovered.

I turn now to the Tikanga Chapter. As it the main conceptual framework in which the study is posited tikanga requires real and theoretical elements for understanding its nature. I commence with my own experiences. I then add the views of Tauranga and Waikato iwi members. Oral literature will permeate the chapter. This tikanga chapter backgrounds the broader framework for the main chapters on embodied waters as physical and symbolic representations of procreation and mourning traditions.

WĀHANGA TUATORU

(Chapter Three)

Mā ngā tikanga hei kawe
Kei ngā tikanga, ngā kōrero tuku iho,
Ngā hekenga mai o te ao o mua,
Ki tō tātou ao Māori o nāianei[78]
(*Our traditions, our stories are our legacies from the past*
to our modern Māori world)

3.1 Tīmatanga kōrero (Introduction)

Tikanga is the cultural mat which embraces a whole way of life and behaviours, in formal and informal situations within the Māori world. Tikanga range from everyday activities to the formalities and rituals that accompany life events of iwi. For example they are visible in procreation and mourning.

Because an investigation of the whole cultural and social status covered by tikanga would be too broad, only selected aspects of tikanga are addressed. They include the place of women in traditional Māori society, cosmological aspects of the feminine that ground tribal philosophies, beliefs and values in relation to my topic of procreation and mourning. Since the Māori worldview is organically unified and enacted, it will also be included in our discussions. Oral literature permeates these tikanga themes of embodied waters in birth and mourning contexts. These themes are sourced from my own experiences and observations, from the voices of Tauranga and Waikato iwi members, and from our tribal oral literature.

3.2 Tikanga Māori (Māori traditions)

Tikanga cover a way of life and explains the Māori world. They (tikanga) are the essence of life and living. Tikanga have aspects which are normative and which continue to this day. On the other hand tikanga may change to meet the needs of a Māori world affected by the influence of modernity. Iwi with knowledge of their tikanga are confident of their identity, know their purpose in life, and, drawing on their past, may devise a plan for a future yet unknown[79]. Tikanga illustrates the

[78] I use poetic licence to put forward the chapter's aim – tikanga and its concepts.
[79] Jones and Mead's idea of time.

collective and individuals as one cohesive unit, enhancing kinship, mana and pride in the group. Intersecting and addressing tikanga provides the cultural space for doing things right or tika as Mead (2003, p. 361) declares.

Different situations have arisen in my life, where tikanga, in both informal and formal settings, accommodates both male and female. In the study a major focus of mine zooms in on women and tikanga.

Tikanga is used in the study in many ways. It is noted for example in the rituals involving birth where embodied waters are seen as tapu and central to physical and symbolical representations of manaakitanga, tiaki, kotahitanga and whanaungatanga (nurturing, sustenance, support, and kin-based relationships). The tikanga concept is further promoted in the chapter to highlight the use of rituals, ceremony and our oral arts to focus on cultural messages relevant to embodied waters. Tikanga is also promoted in the chapter to signal relationships with embodied waters in symbolic terms such as links to tupuna awa Waikato and the waters within the Tauranga waterscape.

Another portrayal of tikanga signals the roles of women in various contexts such as nurturing and sustaining tribal and family life, our roles as leaders, as workers who enhance tribal gatherings. Mythology and tikanga are also coupled to show the female mana in the form of our atua wāhine (female deities). More specific references to our female roles, will illustrate tikanga within the study focus, embodied waters in birth and mourning situations. Tikanga where many of our Tauranga wharekai (dining rooms) are named after females add to symbolic female roles and the nurturing concept so evident in the business we as women fulfil.

3.3 Te mana wahine (Female power)

My life experiences enacted in practical terms, through every day and formal life, over many years, has given me a space and an authoritive voice from which to speak on women's roles. I am a mature woman, and with many others my age, seen as whaea (mother figure/s) and kuia/rūruhi (women elder/s). I speak from life experiences on tikanga. This view of authorityship in our Māori world is emphasized because we have lived the realities of tikanga, in everyday and formal situations. It is based, not only through living it in practical terms, but also through

a career of teaching Māori culture[80] in secondary, tertiary and tribal settings. Experiences and practices on the ground so to speak, was the puna mātauranga (knowledge pool) from which material was drawn in course offerings on Māori culture. Two specific courses Te Ao Wahine and Te Whītiki o te Kī[81] for example focused on Māori women's roles in our society. It not based on the idealized and romanticized versions that past literature about the 'Māori as he was' portray.

Throughout my life women have been to the fore. For example my mother had four brothers and five sisters. Though they recognized their eldest brother as the tuakana, most senior family member, my mother and sisters were always forthright and outspoken, especially at our meetings about family land. They were strong role-models and very influential on my life. Such examples encouraged the womenfolk of our generation to voice their opinions, and to put their knowledge into practice. On our father's side we were fortunate to have our tupuna whaea (grandmother) living with us. Her sage advice was always welcome, without however undermining our father's role as provider, and our mother's role as his hoa rangatira. These basic principles of life taught me to be fair[82] but to respond in meaningful ways to life's challenges. Words such as the following recall what I felt were an intrusion into my teenage life. With humility I recall them as pivotal moments in learning.

'Kia mōhio ai koe ā te wā' (*so you will know in the future)*

Continuing within informal and formal settings women's roles are ongoing. For example as young members of our whānau we constantly supported our grandmother, a weaver, carrying her woven articles to a specific place for dying. Unused flax was buried[83] as my sister recalls.

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[80] Courses 14.66.205 Undergraduate, MAOR66.506 Postgraduate, Te Whītiki o te Kī. Both courses focused on tikanga pertaining to women.

[8181] These were taught during my years at the University of Waikato, from 1985 to 2010.

[82] As they interpreted fair – and as I interpreted it in my own way modelled on what I experienced and observed.

[83] I am not certain whether flax was buried in certain places – as I did not take particular notice of those everyday rituals – As a young person growing up those 'grandmother' demands seemed tedious at the time – and completing her requests was the aim – rather than watching what she did in terms of rituals and so forth.

3.4 Te rumaki kai (Food planting)

As a family unit food was planted with womenfolk preparing the seed to be planted. In preparing the ground for planting the entire family was involved. Under the guidance of our senior female members, tasks were carried out. Vivid recollections of cutting between the protruding shoots (eyes) of potato seed would produce two halves instead of one whole, to be planted. In other words it was 'two for the price of one'. Those damaged were saved for the table. Planting and harvesting at that time was a tedious job, yet necessary to be done. Backbreaking work, though planting and harvesting was, nonetheless, I learnt from it.

Beyond our whānau, other Tauranga moana women stood out as role models of proper behaviour within our tikanga framework. Despite the strength of Tauranga moana women, historical descriptions of female roles in publications have been lacking, until the recent writings of Rose Pere (1982, 1994), Makareti Papakura (1986), Ngahuia Te Awekotukutuku (1983, 1991, 2003), Aroha Yates-Smith (1998), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1992a, 1999), Leonie Pihama (1992), Jessica Hutchings (2002), Ani Mikaere (2003), Ngahuia Murphy (2011) to name a few. This thesis adds to the work of contemporary Māori women scholarship which are revealing, of the narrow perception of past writers, especially of non-Māori males regarding Māori females and our contributions to Māori life.[84]

[84] See Aroha Yates-Smith unpublished doctoral study on Maori female atua wahine (1998).

Figure 3.1: Tauranga Moana kuia[85] (Source Ngaiteahi archives)

Rangiwhakaehu Walker, Phyllis Haua and Ruhi Tawa

3.5 Pūrākau (Mythology)

Tikanga also recognizes the procreative power and potential of the feminine essence, portrayed in our cosmologies. Our primordial parents Papatūānuku (Earth mother) and Ranginui (Sky father) may be included in an orator's recitation of his lineage. On the birth of a child the spirit of Hine-te-iwa-iwa (procreation guardian) may be called up in celebration. On the other hand Hine-nui-te-pō (guardian of death) is enjoined to 'receive' and escort those who have passed on, to the spirit world. In the event of death, women are the puna-roimata (wellspring of tears). The following saying tells of tears which have been shed for those who have passed on.

Kua heke te roimata mo koutou kua wehe atu

(*Tears fall for those of you who have passed*)[86]

[85] This photo shows the kuia of Ngaiteahi marae, Hairini. They are the puna-roimata of the marae. Rangiwhakaehu Walker on the left was a participant in the study. She passed on this year 2013.

[86] This example was heard at Turangawaewae on the passing of my own husband in 2011. It was poignant as the theme of mourning and tears connected with the study, while our family was in mourning.

3.6 Te wahine me te toi Māori (Women and craft)

In the sphere of Māori toi, it is the women who produce such taonga as whāriki (traditional mats). Metaphorically these whāriki weave manuhiri and tangata-whenua together[87], with attention to the warp and weft of each party's uniqueness. Piupiu (flax skirts) kete (kits), whītiki (belts) and other flax items is evidence of part of the broader resurgence and revitalization of Māori women and culture.

Other examples that recognize the creative role of women include Ta Apirana's reference to the composition skills of Māori women. Tīmoti Kāretu (1974) and Aroha Yates-Smith (1998) both acknowledge women's role in mourning. Hirini Moko Mead (2003) recognises the tapu nature of our bodies. As women we are recognized by many as verbal artists through our mastery of tribal genre. Among those is the karanga.

3.7 Karanga (Keening)

My experience and observation of the karanga, illustrates Māori women as 'cultural openers' of tribal marae to the Māori world of formality, in their role as kaikaranga (female keeners). The host women karanga (call) the visitors on to the marae or venue. The manuhiri (visitors) respond in kind. Female callers from both host and visitors have the power to determine when to open the cultural doorway[88] as Rovina Maniapoto (2008) a karanga exponent has pointed out, or to delay it. This is female essence and mana at its height.

3.8 Taha marae (Marae activities)

Another key performance for women include/d the practicalities of running an event on a marae or other places. Within our local Ngātihē marae of Maungatapu women control a major part of the operations. For example they prepare Wairakewa our tupuna whare (ancestral house) to accommodate visitors for sleeping, the organization of food to be served, the readying of the wharekai (dining-room) Te Aotakawhaki itself, and the managing of marae funds[89]. My female huānga (relatives) excel at these activities, which do not exclude male. They too are

[8787] They are laid out in ancestral houses when formal situations take place. Culturally there is a special way to lay these whāriki so they 'welcome' manuhiri (visitors).

[88] Refer to Rovina Maniapoto-Anderson's 2005 University course, in School of Maori and Pacific Development's Whītiki o te Kī lecture, on Māori women.

[89] It is in essence the women's komiti (committee) I am referring to.

assigned jobs, usually those heavier, such as preparing meat, and the hāngī. This example shows balance as tasks are shared.

3.9 Tuākana (Older siblings)

Advice regarding older siblings, and the roles they play within the family hierarchy, are also aspects of tikanga, etched into my consciousness. This is in relation to my place as a younger sibling to an older sister[90] who was often seen as a substitute whaea figure[91].

3.10 Wahine me te hītori (Women in history)

In our broader Tauranga stories Māori women are memorialised in the story of Hine Pore (also known as Heni Te Kiri Karamu) who fought alongside her brethren, and was credited with giving water to wounded British soldiers, especially their commanding officer Colonel Booth. This was at the battle of Pukehinahina in April 1864 (DNZB.1990, Volume 1, pp. 460-461). Heni according to Oliver (1990), also portrayed a humane side, a quality possessed by many women.[92]

3.11 Ingoa wahine (Female names)

Women or other activities related to our gender are captured in the naming of wharekai (dining halls) in Tauranga moana. Of interest in the names in the list that follows are examples No. 4 and No. 6 of wharekai names. Whakahinga tupuna wahine (female ancestor) covers both examples. According to Matiu Dickson, a descendant of her father Tapuiti, example 4 shows her as marrying her own uncle, Tamawhariua. Hence her name as the wharekai (dining-hall). In example 6 Whakahinga whakapapa (genealogy) links her to Tapuiti, eponymous ancestor of Hungahungatoroa iwi (people), and son of Te Rangihouhiri, tupuna of NgāiTeRangi of Tauranga. Te Rangihouhiri (m) Tapuiti (m) Whakahinga (f).

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[90] This point will not be discussed in this chapter – suffice to say one's positioning in the family hierarchy and therefore in ritual terms such as karanga is determined by where one fits in terms of age – i.e. younger or older positioning.

[91] This was seen when our parents were absent for various reasons.

[92] Again this is not to say men do not possess a humane side although I have often felt this is the result of a woman carrying a child within her and giving birth – with the maternal instinct to support life always to the Gaston Bachelard has stated that there is no comparison to the bonding of a woman and her offspring - he calls it maternal love.

Table 3.1: List of female names of wharekai (dining-halls). Tauranga Moana Māori District Council (1989)

Hapū (Subtribe)	**Marae (Subtribal place)**		**Ingoa wahine (Female name)**
Ngapotiki	Mangatawa	1	Nga Tuahine
Ngatihe	Maungatapu	2	Te Ao Takawhaki
Ngaitamawhariua	Otawhiwhi	3	Tauwhao
Ngaitamawhariua	Rereatukahia	4	Whakahinga – ka whānau mai a Tamawhariua married his niece.
Ngaitamawhariua	Rangihouhiri	5	Pukai
NgaiTukairangi	Hungahungatoroa	6	Whakahinga daughter of Tapuiti he wahine toa
Ngapotiki	Tahuwhakatiki	7	Tuwairua
NgatiPukenga/Ngapotiki	Te Whetu-o-te-rangi	8	Nga Kuhu o Te Whetu-o-te-rangi. (previous name) now called Te Atairangikaahu.
Whanaua-a-Tauwhao	Rangiwaea	9	Hinewai
Ngai-Tukairangi	Whareroa	10	Kura-i-Monoa
Ngaiteahi	Hairini	11	Urutomo
Ngaitamarawaho	Huria	12	Iwipupu and Ihuparapara (this setting signals two wives – both duly recognised – two entrances to the dining-hall indicate this dual recognition
Ngati Hangarau	Peterehema	13	Te Ohaki – Ngamarama giving of rakau – te putea. Whakamana koha. (documented evidence (TMDC, 1989, p. 18) states: 'she too was rebuilt and today she stands in pride on his right'[93]
Pirirakau	Poututerangi	14	Mapihi-te-rangi
Pirirakau	Paparoa	15	Te Rina
Pirirakau	Tawhitinui	16	Maka
Pirirakau	Tutereinga	17	Hinekura
Ngati Tapu	Waikari	18	Kahuomoeangi

93 C. R. Walker, 2013, M. Dickson, 2013. Matiu Dickson provided the information for Hungahungatoroa marae and its people together with the genealogy. See also Tauranga Maori District Council publication *Aku Taumata Korero – Nga marae me nga iwi o te moana o Tauranga*.

Tikanga aspects of life up to this point have focussed on the role of Tauranga women in iwi life. I discuss my initiation into Waikato tikanga to commence the next section involving tikanga. The focus then turns to tikanga and women in Waikato, where I have lived the major part of my life since marriage[94]. Throughout the section I consider and outline my experiences, observations of the roles of Waikato women in tikanga contexts.

3.12 Te tono a Waikato (Marriage request from Waikato)

Te tono (marriage request) introduced me to Waikato tikanga. It is a formal request for one's hand in marriage. As my future husband and I decided on marriage the tono involved a visit to my whānau by a group of Waikato elders. The group consisted of three kaumātua (elder males) and two rūruhi (elder females) including my prospective hungawai (in-laws) hoa rangatira and his friends. As I stated earlier in the chapter, there are normatives in tikanga. According to the norm whaikōrero (male oratory) opens the discussion. Such rituals took place where a formal response was required from my father and extended whānau, who responded positively. Supported by his brother and other whānau members the tono was completed. I use the following wellknown proverb which in essence indicates the whanau group as the strength to acquire a desired outcome, rather than the tono undertaken by an individual only.

Ko taku toa he toa takitini
Ehara i te toa takitahi[95]
(*My success is from the collective*
And not from the individual)

My recollections are of five core Waikato iwi members, presenting their kaupapa (reason for visit) and the tono request. Three names stand out. They are Paraire Herewini, Ngaehe Herangi, and Korota Pinga. The ruruhi were Maata Richards and Mona Pinga my future hungawai (mother-in-law). Together with my future hoa rangatira and friends they constituted the group. These are important indicators of Waikato tikanga, as I was to realize, years later. Paraire was a leading kaumātua (male elder) at the time (1959-60's). Te Ngaehe was a member of the Kāhui Ariki's

[94] I have lived here for over fifty years and so have observed and practiced many aspects of Waikato tikanga.
[95] An example similar to this was used by the late Kingi Ihaka of Ngapuhi during his years as an orator. This example has been changed to address the issue being considered here.

Herangi family, and Maata Richards, was a rūruhi (woman elder) who supported my future mother-in-law.

3.13 He hoa (Friends)

Friends of my future hoa rangatira (partner) also attended. What is significant in the tono was the role of my husband-to-be. He was not asked for input into the discussion. Protocols were set according to tikanga. It was also settled within the tono and its formalities that we would marry at Tūrangawaewae, Ngāruawāhia. This was my initiation into the world of Waikato.

Presented by my father, and supported by my Tauranga iwi, to my Waikato husband at Tūrangawaewae I was now under the mantle of Waikato tikanga. I honour those of my own whānau who supported me, during my Waikato initiation. More significantly I honour those of Waikato who have departed to tea o wairua, in the following way by recognising their contributions to tikanga initiation.

> Moe mai koutou katoa, ngā rangatira o Waikato, nā koutou ahau i tono, nā koutou i kitea tuatahitia e au te hohonutanga o ngā tikanga a Waikato. Nā konei whai mana ai taku noho i waenganui i a koutou, i roto o Waikato, me te taha hohonu o ngā tikanga o aua wā, i waenganui i a tātou[96]
>
> *(Sleep on all of you illustrious ones, of Waikato, you requested my hand, you illustrated my first links into Waikato traditions, it is through that request that I have culturally been included, in and among Waikato iwi shown through the depth of traditions during those times among our people).*

3.14 He moemoeā (Dream)

Prior to my wedding, which was sanctioned by the tono, I dreamt I was married in black. On discussing this with my future husband he informed his parents, who in turn advised that I should be taken to te tupuna awa o Waikato[97] there to 'whakarite'[98] me through its waters. Words reminiscent of the following were the order of rituals pertaining to the tupuna awa Waikato.

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[96] I did not know what this new tikanga meant, although my husband-to-be educated me in this particular ritual for Waikato iwi. I am shedding tears as I write this because those protocols and rituals taught me in later years the depth and meaning involving our tikanga – and my initiation into Waikato tikanga and its relevance in my future home.

97The river ancestor of Waikato.

98 I use this term because it is one used by the Waikato iwi when one goes to the awa of Waikato for spiritual cleansing or sustenance. Though I was unaware what was taking place I was undergoing the processes of tikanga according to Waikato traditions.

Me haere ki te wai[99]
(*Go to the water*)

This statement was one of protection in this instance, as I would quickly learn later in my married life in Waikato. 'Me haere ki te wai' (*Go to the water*) as I would later learn was fundamental to Waikato tikanga. In this instance it meant that I should be taken to the waters of tupuna awa Waikato and there sprinkled with water, as a form of protection against untoward happenings. With my dream and its possible realities being interpreted as inappropriate behaviour or unknown action by others, I was taken to the awa where karakia with water took place. This Waikato tradition has been etched into my mind as an enduring reality of iwi tikanga.[100] Though obviously ignorant of the reasons for these and other traditions of the iwi during early years in Ngāruawāhia, the significance of tupuna awa Waikato, Taupiri maunga and the Kīngitanga became much clearer as time moved on. These are beliefs and values fundamental to Waikato mana and identity, which I have observed, adopted and practised through living among the iwi.[101]

3.15 Te tiaki (Protection)

In this instance my future hungawai[102] wished to protect me, a rāwaho[103], from what they obviously interpreted as possible negative repercussions prior to, or after our marriage. I was informed later this action was to also protect children I would bear in married life. It was a completely new experience for me, this cultural protection from my husband-to-be, his parents and tupuna awa Waikato. Its waters were a very appropriate introduction to Waikato tribal tikanga, the tupuna awa is a symbol of Waikato strength and identity. That knowledge base belongs to Waikato, but I have been fortunate to have learnt its centrality, through my own personal experiences.

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[99]This type of discussion is commonly heard in Waikato, for various reasons – as Hukiterangi Muru stated in his interview, when one is sick in the family

100 As I had not be raised with such tikanga in my Tauranga hapu and tribes.

101 Waikato iwi are a major tribe of the Tainui confederation of tribes.

102 Hungawai means in-laws.

103 Rāwaho means someone who does not genealogically connect to a tribe in which they live.

3.16 Te taha hunaonga (Daughter-in-law)

Trials and tribulations were a major part of early life within Waikato. This was especially so with my hungawai (mother-in-law) whom I came to respect much later in marriage. As a new person from other tribes, tikanga sets the terms for one's incorporation. Involved in this transformation of my life were new ways[104] within a different tribe, and the Kīngitanga movement.[105].[106] They required my learning and adapting to them so I could support my husband in his ventures within marae life.[107] Support came through wives of his friends who steered and advised me through those early years. I leave these very early experiences of initiation into Waikato tikanga, as I have been incorporated (and I believe accepted) into a way of life I respect.

As a hunaonga (daughter-in-law) I also reflect on a particular tikanga which reflects the depth of the tono. One vivid representation was the question posed by my sister-in-law[108], when I suggested to my husband that we return home to my family in Tauranga. This was due to the personal pressures of adjusting and coping with new ways. On discussing the issue of moving back to Tauranga[109] she asked me, in supportive fashion, who had requested my hand in marriage. In her view elders had carried out the tono. It was a tribal bond, requested by iwi, and that protocols had been carried according to Waikato traditions. To traverse those protocols in her view was to override elders' tikanga, rituals, their mana and integrity. The choice was between tikanga for my personal wellbeing and those of my hoa

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[104] By new ways I mean such things as wearing pants up to the Tūrangawaewae marae where my husband made his work contributions during those early years. This was a sore point involving my mother-in-law.

[105] I note the Kīngitanga movement because my husband was a marae worker like many others of his age throughout our years of marriage. The responsibilities set by Te Puea, were entrenched in their everyday lives, and their generation to carry out the work.

[106] I had heard and read about the Kīngitanga but did not know much more than what I had read.t.

[107] Though I was not in Ngāruawāhia during the Te Puea years her influence permeated the whole of my husband's generation – with the result that hard work and commitment for them was the catch cry of Waikato life.

[108] Te Rongopatutaonga Simeon was the name of my sister-in-law. She has also passed on – moe mai e Te Rongo.

[109] The issue had been discussed with my loving husband in our early years of marriage, to live among my tribe of Tauranga. His wish was to provide for me here in his place. As a male he felt he should be the provider and was there as my pillar of strength.

rangatira[110] (husband) or those of my adopted iwi tikanga. I considered her theories, analysed her reasoning[111] and stayed on. As the saying goes 'the rest is history'[112].

Moe mai e te hungawai whaea. Ahakoa ngā taumahatanga i te tuatahi, i te mutunga i puta te pai nā te kaha aroha, tautoko mai taku hoa rangatira

(Sleep on respected mother-in-law. Though difficult in early years, the end result was cordial, due to the love, and support of my husband)

3.17 Te mana wahine i roto o Waikato (Female power within Waikato)

In Waikato Princess Te Puea Hērangi and the late Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu were women of mana, and leaders of the King movement[113]. Both dedicated their lives to improving the wellbeing of their people. The movement itself was dedicated to the wellbeing of its people. Stories of Te Puea leading by example are legendary.[114]

Te Puea was responsible for the establishment of Tūrangawaewae marae and her work with Tā Apirana Ngata in land development. My late husband's family were examples of people working under her guidance. Health initiatives were also promoted by her, a hospital at Tūrangawaewae being an example. Caring for orphans and the establishment of the Tainui Māori Trust Board in 1946[115] together with Te Pou o Mangatawhiri concert group were ventures she also established. These are few examples of her exemplary contribution to her Waikato iwi.

According to Tūrangawaewae iwi members[116] whose families worked with Te Puea, or during her time as King Korokī's adviser her work ethic was one of practical action. Her drive to activate the vision for her people has been etched into the minds of older Tūrangawaewae members.

Ka mahi au, ka inoi au
Ka moe au, ka inoi anō[117]

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[110] I state here also as in footnote above that my beloved husband was not the problem. Issues revolved around his (adopted) mother.
[111] My husband-to-be had the major say in our decision. My sister-in-law's view is illustrating only the aspects of tikanga I did not see – i.e. the involvement of elders in the tono.
[112] In later years the relationship became much more friendly and cordial.
[113] The King movement arose during the most formative period of colonization of the 19th century.
[114] Refer to *Tōku Tūrangawaewae* book, 2011.
[115] Refer to *Tōku Turangawaewae book*, 2011.
[116] Many Turangawaewae whanau were influenced by the Te Puea years and her leadership. My husband's family was one of those influenced by her.
[117] Cited in *Tōku Tūrangawaewae* book 2011. p.11, Reference H. Muru.

(I work, I pray I sleep, and pray again)

Another catch cry of our amazing tupuna was:

Mahia te mahi (*Do the work)*

By implication one did not question or argue the point, as claimed by many of Tūrangawaewae's descendants.[118] Kāretu (1974) notes Tā Apirana Ngata's view of Te Puea's leadership qualities:

Tuatahi he wahine ia, tuarua he Pōtatau, tuatoru he Māori
(*Firstly she is a woman, secondly descended from Pōtatau, thirdly she is Māori)*

Captured through Ngata's thinking, the recognition of Te Puea, firstly as a woman, secondly as a Pōtatau, thirdly as a Māori, says it all about the feminine and female leadership. Her outstanding qualities are reflected in a section of the waiata called 'Tīmatangia e Te Puea e…[119]According to local Turangawaewae members the following waiata is an acknowledgment of the leadership qualities Te Puea possessed. It tells of those qualities which commenced at Te Pou o Mangatawhiri (Mercer area) and other adjacent tribal lands where iwi development[120] and traditions were the cornerstone of her vision for her people. Many past and present Turangawaewae families farmed in the area – my inlaws and their adopted children[121] being one of those families.

Tīmatangia e Te Puea e…
I te Pou o Mangatawhiri
Ki te waha i ngā iwi ki te waha i te tikanga,
Me te rangimārie e…
(The work was begun by Te Puea
At Te Pou o Mangatawhiri
To uplift the people, to continue the traditions
And peace forthwith)[122]

3.18 Te Arikinui Te Atirangikaahu

Trained by her grand-aunt Princess Te Puea, Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu followed in her footsteps. Te Arikinui was well known for supporting community

[118] Refer to *Toku Turangawaewae*, 2011.
[119] It means 'Begun by Te Puea'
[120] Many families of Waikato were put on farm schemes by Te Puea in the Mercer area.
[121] My husband, Te Rongopatutaonga and Tame Herangi were their whangai children. They were all living in the Mercer area where they farmed Te Puea's land development intiatives.
[122] There are many other verses to this waiata, but this is particular one is a reflection of the awe and status in which Te Puea was held.

initiatives, and particularly the Te Wāhine Toko i te Ora[123] and the Kōhanga Reo movement, of which she was the patroness. She travelled locally, nationally and internationally espousing whanaungatanga (kin relationships) with iwi and other groups throughout the Polynesian world. She was a true diplomat for iwi Maori and for women, illustrating her leaderhip roles, her female nurturing and protective qualities, and her standing as an aristocratic of Waikato and the Maori world.

The following Waikato waiata was composed for Te Arikinui's seventieth birthday, according to Reo Graham. Written by her, Tautau Morgan and Peen Smith in 2001, this is how Reo describes that inspiration, when a meeting was called. He aha he kupu mō te waiata? (*What are some words for the song?).* We had a hui (*meeting*) before the birthday. Mamaarangi[124] according to Reo said 'I've got a tune the one we're singing now'. Everyone finally agreed.

Figure 3.2: Rewi and Reo Graham[125] *(Source Reo Graham)*

[123] The Māori Women's Welfare League.

[124] Mamaarangi Kaihau was also a Tūrangawaewae iwi member, a sister to Hukiterangi Muru (whose family were also pioneers of Tūrangawaewae marae), and also a personal friend.

[125] Reo and Rewi Graham have lived by tupuna awa Waikato. They have been seen the influence of female leaders such Te Puea Herangi and Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaa. The waiata discussed with Reo about Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu is an oral taonga of our great leader's legacy. Both Reo and Rewi were interviewed for this study.

Reo says the lyrics have been changed slightly, but credits the waiata, as belonging to the whānau of Tūrangawaewae. The waiata tells of the status (mana), nurturing, sustaining and gentle qualities (manāki, hūmarie) possessed by Te Arikinui. It also indicates a leader who was heavily involved with people (manaaki i nga iwi katoa) throughout her reign as Kingitanga Ariki. Messages in the waiata also state that the proverbial sayings (whakatauki) of her ancestors are there as guidelines in her work. Concluding the song is a message of support from a higher force (te Atua) to assist her fulfil leadership responsibilities.

Te Atairangikaahu Te Arikinui[126]
Wahine manaaki i nga iwi katoa
Wahine tū matara, wahine humārie
Wahine ataahua, wahine mana e...
Tū mai Te Arikinui me nga whakataukī
I hiritia iho ra e o tūpuna e…
Tū mai i roto i ngā kupu whakaari
Ko te Atua te piringa ka puta ka ora.

[126] Te Arikinui was Te Atairangikaahu's name after she became leader of the Kingitanga movement.

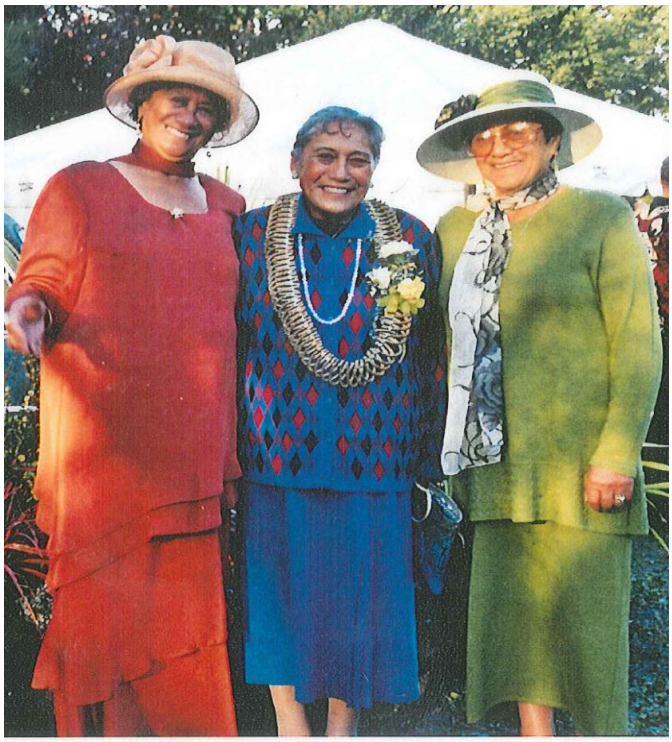

Figure 3.3: Iti Rawiri, Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahui and Noki Haggie of Tainui waka[127]

(Source N Haggie)

Waiata for both Te Puea and Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu portray the feeling by the composers of the leadership, character and the activities each upheld to uphold to progress the role and place of Waikato iwi and the Māori world at large.
Their examples as role-models illustrate the mana of the Māori woman and the feminine with a Waikato, and broader contexts.

3.19 Te taha whenua (Land)

Two other outstanding Waikato women include Tuaiwa Rickard and Nganeko Minhinnick. Both were involved in the movement in the 1970 and 1980's during which the local and national government were held accountable for breaches of the

[127] This trio of Iti Rawiri, Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu and Noki Haggie shows our Waikato leader's common touch, even though she was of the Waikato aristocracy. I have included this photo as both Iti Rawiri and Noki Haggie as women have been heavily involved in Waikato matters. Both were also invoved in this study,

Treaty of Waitangi. In the case of Tuaiwa Rickard[128] it was the demand for the return of her ūkaipō, protesting Whāingaroa[129] iwi land loss, in 1978 (Harris, 2004).

Tuaiwa Rickard joined Whina Cooper of Taitokerau, who led the biggest hīkoi (land march) to the New Zealand Parliament in 2004. The issue was land loss. The issue of land and other losses have become the subject of claims to the Waitangi Tribunal.[130] With many other marchers I also supported the cause as our lands were also taken by raupatu (confiscation).

3.20 Te taha whanga (Harbour)

Nganeko Minhinnick's example of the Maori female mana also established her as a leader. She argued for tribal mana allied to the Manukau Harbour[131]. Carmen Kirkwood of Tainui, added her support to Nganeko's debate, by stating the harbour's importance in terms of food resources. It was a place where seafood was gathered, for particular functions such as the annual Koroneihana (coronation) in Tūrangawaewae in support of the King movement[132].

3.21 Mātauranga (Education)

Another Waikato woman of note is Ngapare Hopa of Ngāti-Wairere and Tūwharetoa, a leader in her own right through higher learning pursuits. As the first Māori scholar (female or male)[133] to graduate from Oxford, England, Ngapare was seen by Ngahuia Te Awekotukutuku as her role model in that field. Ngapare joins Waikato women recognized for their efforts in furthering tribal capacity by recently being awarded national honours through tribal nomination. She claims however, that many other women at grassroots level, such as those in everyday life caring for kaumātua, whānau and children, supporting iwi initiatives on marae and at tangihanga responsibilities should also be recognized for the work they do. Workers as specified by Ngapare have been taken for granted for too long, and do

[128] 1983 saw the return of the Whāingaroa lands where it was used for Tuaiwa Rickard's tribal initiatives.
[129] This is the Maori name for Raglan on the west coast of Te Ika-a-Maui of Aotearoa.
[130] An advisory board only to the New Zealand government. It only has the power to recommend. Some claims have been settled, others are on-going.
[131] Wai 6 – Manukau Harbour claim.
[132] See Wai 6 Manukau Harbour claim for both Nganeko and Carmen's testimonies in relation to this great waterway.
[133] Other Māori have graduated from Oxford since but Ngapare was the first to have this honour.

not get the recognition deserved. They are the 'glue' as she asserts which puts Te Puea's theory of 'mahia te mahi' into practice. Women also hold our tikanga system together. Both male and female as Ngapare says are involved in this work as ringa raupā (calloused hands).

As expressed in the following phrases it highlights male and female workers, ringa raupā, descriptive of the workforce. Responsibilities carried by Waikato women involve similar duties such as those undertaken by my own Tauranga relatives. It is indicative of life centralized through tikanga. It puts into practice the values of manaakitanga and tautoko, fundamentals of our right to live as Māori, and to support and help each other. Our work as women should also be recognised as valued and meaningful. Tasks performed by iwi members are coined through many proverbial expressions.

a) Ringa raupā (Calloused hands)
b) Mā muri ka tika a mua (By the back the front be well served)
c) Mahia te mahi (Do the work)
d) Ko te amorangi ki mua, ko te hāpai ō ki muri. (Chiefs in front, workers at the back)

3.22 Te wahine i roto i te tapu (Women and tapu)

Women and men in tribal life are both affected by tapu. Mead (2003) a Ngāti-Awa elder alludes to tapu as a state of restriction in behaviour, ritual and prayer. It is encouraging that an elder koroua, and a scholar like Mead, highlights this tapu nature of women, and that of men. For example tapu he pointed out, was associated with tohi ceremonies where babies were dedicated to certain atua Māori. For him tapu was also associated with blood, the body, gift giving and death, as well as other aspects of Māori life. Teone Taare Tikao (1939, p.73) a member of the South Island Māori tribes viewed tapu as a custom, which he did not fully understand.

The word tapu itself brings together an interesting configuration of interrelated meanings. Depending on the situation or condition tapu can incorporate the idea of pollution, or, it can be applied to things, conditions, as sacred. Tapu in terms of behaviour determines how you act towards these things. Tikanga demands respect for, and avoidance, for things held tapu.

Menstruation and childbirth represent changing states of being and as such are also tapu spaces. They remove women from the ordinary, to the non-ordinary state. Tikanga imposes rules of behaviour, not only on the part of the women (the bearer) but also on the community at large, including males, in terms of tapu.

The unclean nature of women, in menstruation and childbirth was asserted by Best (1975), Heuer (1972),[134] Jean Smith (1974), and ironically Makareti Papakura (1986, p.119) a wahine rangatira of Te Arawa. They all say, a woman was considered tapu, but also unclean, when menstruating. This state, they claim, when women are about to give birth, or days after delivery, contradicts Yates-Smith's findings and those of Ngahuia Murphy (2011) who both claim woman were always tapu. The perspectives of Best, Heuer and Smith as 'outsiders looking in', is also contradicted by Mead (2003) who claims that women were tapu in menstruation and birth. Negative statements outlining uncleanliness presents an unproven view of women's bodily functions, state and role, when considering tapu.

3.23 Whakarāpopoto (Summary)

Tikanga and women go hand in hand in the Māori world. The evidence I have shown through the examples linked to experiences and observations, voices of Tauranga and Waikato members, male and female, tell stories of women's work, contributions and worth, all contained within the mantle of tikanga. In formal settings where hospitality relies heavily on the leadership, advice and actions of women, in Tauranga and Waikato contexts, they have been to the fore. Aspects denoting hospitality are major roles of women. Such hosting[135] is carried out in the wharekai (dining halls) many with female names, as shown in a Tauranga setting. The concept of manaakitanga (sustaining) and symbolic female nomenclature is metaphorically 'side by side'.

Women's work, whether in everyday life, tending to whānau, and attending to chores for family, or in their formal circuit, further supports my claim of feminine mana. That power translated into practice, illustrates the centrality of the feminine

[134] See Berys Heueur, Māori Women, 1972, p. 44; she speaks of the 'destructive elements associated with the female sex'.
[135] Appropriate hosting of manuhiri (visitors) signals tribal mana and pride.

portrays core values of manaakitanga, (support) whanaungatanga (family ties) and kotahitanga (unity) as a natural way of living and a way of life.

The tikanga linked to women I have illustrated also asserts values relevant to leadership roles, where pushing life's boundaries for the benefit of one's people becomes the aim. This claim relates to women in both Tauranga and Waikato settings. Princess Te Puea, Te Arikinui, Tuaiwa Rickard are outstanding examples of women power.

In hindsight however, there is irony in contributing, supporting, nurturing and recognition. Whether male or female, in the world of reality some iwi members are ignored and not recognized for their work. In my examples the evidence presented has shown that women are to the fore in iwi life. In public life they are those not normally recognized, like many Māori males. Women in many instances are taken for granted.

What is not recognized by a cohort of colonial writers and not displayed in their writings about Māori women's real-life situations finds its response in this practical and metaphoric symbol of hard work.

Tēnā te ringa tango parahia

(This is the hand which pulls out the weeds)[136]

If tikanga is a way of living as Mead (2003) sees it, and women's place is acknowledged more readily, then the study has found its pool of potential.

Ko tāu rourou, ko tāku rourou ka ora te manuhiri[137]

(With your food basket and mine the visitors will be fed)

The above whakatauki indicates that foodbaskets can be shared so that manuhiri (visitors) will be properly hosted.

I now address Chapter Four now, an examination of water in kaihau-waiū and ūkaipō contexts. It further foregrounds water's role related to birth traditions and the more specific birth traditions of embodied waters.

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[136] See *Māori Proverbs*, A.E. Brougham & A.W. Reed, Revised by T.S. Kāretu, (1987 p.118).

[137] I have again used poetic licence and combined the words of others to address the issue I am discussing. I am using this auto-ethnographic approach in relation to my te reo facility.

WĀHANGA TUAWHĀ

(Chapter Four)

Ko au ko te wai, ko te wai ko au[138]
(*I am water, water is of me*)

4.1 He tīmatanga (Introduction)

This chapter's aim focuses on kaihau-waiū, ūkaipō themes. I explore these two themes, because they are set in a framework, albeit broader of the symbolic role and functions of body fluids. I connect these birth concepts within other water bodies, such as the wai rangatira (ancestral waters) of Tauranga and Waikato. Both show nurturing and sustaining qualities and principles reminiscent of our embodied water roles in more specific settings.

The concept kaihau-waiū encompasses birthright and attributes transmitted through breast milk (Mead, 2003, p.361). Ūkaipō refers to a place of nurture, or a place where one is born, or something that was breastfed (Barlow, 1991, p.143). At the level of common sense each concept I claim, is 'maternally ordained' by providing nourishment (Bachelard, 1999, p.143).

I claim that there is a difference between the commonly understood idea of tūrangawaewae (place to stand) and the old, but recently revived idea of 'ūkaipō'. Together with kaihau-waiū definitions, in my view they encompass all the features of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, aroha and kotahitanga, all maternal nurturing and sustenance attributes. Tūrangawaewae can be interpreted as being bounded by masculinity. Bound to a chief's place, to the male stance, where one's feet are bonded to his land. The proverb itself tells of one's Waikato place of belonging, therefore identity.

Ko Ngāruawāhia tōku tūrangawaewae (*Ngāruawāhia is my footstool*)[139]

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[138] This proverb is similar to that used by the Whanganui iwi when informing their relationship with the Whanganui awa. They use the proverb 'Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au (I am the river, the river is me)

[139] This proverb was coined by Kingi Tawhiao during his years as leader of Waikato iwi.

4.2 Ōku hononga (Personal links)

Socially and culturally I am a child of the Tauranga and Rangataua world. I claim these two places define my kaihau-waiū and ūkaipō concepts. This type of declaration is supported by Strang's theory (2004, cited in Dixon, Environmental History of Water, 2007). Strang says that identity connections represent the 'essence of social connection' (2004, p.72). This applies to my Tauranga and Rangataua roots. She further claims that such connections are 'embodied through experience, knowledge, practice' and that they include 'embodied blood' (p.72). which I view as representing whakapapa – bloodties. Whaea Hine Gray (2005) supports these assertions of belonging to certain places. Other evidence of belonging is provided by oral literature.[140]

At a more personal sense, the sea environment where our family lived stirs and conjures up my deepest feelings of belonging. For, like my mother's breast milk, the sea has nurtured me physically and emotionally. I agree with Bachelard (1999, p.118) who speaks of breast milk from our mothers as the fundamental nature of water's 'maternity'. In nurturing and sustaining our whanau physically I recall fishing for flounder, and picking 'tītiko' from these nurturing waters.

He paruparu te kai he rangatira te tangata
(The food is muddied, but tis the food of chiefs)[141]

This pātaka kai also symbolizes the permanency of birthright and identity of our hapū (subtribe) Ngāpōtiki and Ngātihē. In short the sea and its hinterland was our motherscape.

4.3 He wero (Challenge)

In the late nineteenth century Hori Ngatai a local chief of Tauranga expressed these kaihau-waiū and ūkaipō themes, when he declared the sea as his 'tribal garden'. He

[140] See the two waiata one from Tauranga and the other from Waikato indicating where one belongs.
[141] This is a local proverb of the Ngatihe and Ngapotiki hapu of Tauranga. As a delicacy of the bay where families lived the titiko was unique to the area. The proverb was coined because although a delicacy the titiko habitat were the muddied flats of Rangataua. Provision of this food is a sign of great hospitality – in other words the 'food of chiefs'. With water pollution the delicacy has been affected and is uncollectable in the area. The ukaipo concept of nurturing and sustaining families with food is still symbolically applied to both sea and land.

pointed this out to John Ballance, then minister of native affairs of New Zealand, at a meeting in February 1885 (Oliver, 1990, p. 312)[142]:

> I look upon the land below high-water mark as being part of my own garden. My mana (authority)[143] over these places has never been taken away. But now in consequence of the word of the Europeans people have trampled upon our ancient Māori customs.

The sea as 'ūkaipō' had become a source of conflict for Ngatai, as he claimed the inner harbour, had been apportioned to different Tauranga hapū, to sustain them. Hohua Tutangaehe was to make the same claim many years later regarding the sea as his 'pātaka kai'[144]. A number of modern leaders such as Morehu Ngātoko of NgātiRanginui and Kihi Ngātai, of NgaiTeRangi[145] also repeat that claim.[146]

4.4 He huarahi hononga tangata (People links)

The Tauranga waterscape was a means for connecting hapū with each other, thereby maintaining whanaungatanga. Hine Gray sums this up perfectly:

> Water within the Tauranga actually links whānau hapū and iwi because of the makeup of Tauranga moana. When you cross boundaries from one area to another you link with a hapū once you've travelled over that water (P.C.2005).

Whanaungatanga means relationships, upon which hapū could rely for sustenance and nurturing in times of need (Mead, 2003, p.371). Its root word 'whānau' means to be born, but socially it extends to include extended whānau groups. Tikanga decrees that whanaungatanga be exercised to manaaki (care) for whānau (families) in need.

4.5 Pūrākau (Mythology)

These values of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, and aroha originate from our pūrākau, recorded in our oral literature, particular in the stories of the origins of

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[142] See Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One, 1769-1869, 1990.
[143] My insertion – the word mana in this example means authorityship and control. It has many other meanings.
[144] Hohua Tutangaehe referred to this when he was guest speaker at the University of Waikato during the year of Te Reo Maori.
[145] Both these iwi settled with Ngatipukenga, in the Tauranga region.
[146] The Waitangi Tribunal claim alludes to messages such as these claims made by the Tauranga descendants of Hori Ngatai.

humankind. The sea is Hinemoana (female kaitiaki), the sea is also Tangaroa[147] (male kaitiaki) and the land is Papatūānuku, a trio of sustenance providers. Michelet claims the sea waters are the 'primary nourishment of all things' (cited in Bachelard, 1999, p.118).

4.6 Manawa-ā-whenua (From the land)

Yet another concept where land and the sea feature is the concept of manawa-ā-whenua.

'He manawa whenua e kore e mimiti'

It is a term which relates to water flowing from the bosom of Papatūānuku as permanent and 'everlasting, therefore its benefits are unlimited'.[148] Manawa-whenua can be an alternative expression of ūkaipō. All living things need water. A well-known reference to the 'manawa-whenua' concept was coined for a Waikato song, called Tīmatangia e Te Puea:

Ko te wai a Rona[149] he manawa-ā-whenua
E kore e mimiti e….
(*The waters of Rona are from the bosom of the land*
They will never stop flowing)

Manawa-a-whenua also applies to Tauranga waters. Te Hu-o-te-Tuhi[150] is the name, and as a site of hot pools, springs up from Papatūānuku's body, connecting the physical environment to our cosmological world.

Āwhio atu au te tāhuna o Rangataua
Ki te Hu-o-te-Tuhi
Pūahanga o ngā roimata mahana o taku wai ariki
(*I traverse the Rangataua shoreline*
To Te Hu-o-te-Tuhi
Where the warm tears of my chiefly waters spurt)

The potential of these pools to provide unlimited water may be likened to a fertile woman. There is one difference however. A woman ceases to produce after a

[147] Tauranga in this nurturing sense is seen as a provider.
[148] See. (http://www.waikato.ac.nz/rangahau/hemanawawhenua). Retrieved 6.3.2013
[149] It is unclear why the name of Rona is included in this waiata. Rona in Maori mythology is the moon – it has an effect on the tides according to Maori traditions – especially in relation to menstruation – a point raised in the next chapter on birth and embodied waters.
[150] This aquifer is located on the Rangaaua bay parameters, hence the name of Rangataua in this section of the chant.

period of time, whereas Papatūānuku continues unabated. Herein lies her power to replenish, to provide, to 'give' unequalled everlasting resources. As the Māori proverb goes:

He kura tangata e kore e rokohanga, he kura whenua ka rokohanga
(*The treasured possessions of men are intangible, the treasures of the land are tangible)*

4.7 Ngā hono (Ties)

The kaihau-waiū/ūkaipō birthright and nurturing principles, merge environment and people, into a consolidated whole, each there for the other, each looking after the other. Reminders of this permanent relationship and identity[151] are captured in a chant section, belonging to our subtribe Ngāiteahi[152].

[153]Ka tītaha taku haere ki **Poeke**
I reira i tū ai a **Ranginui**, he tipua, he taniwha
Haere tika tonu au ki tātahi
Kia tutuki taku haere ki **Te Urumingi**
Piki ake au i te pā i **Ohau**
Kai atu aku mata i te moana e rere ra ki waho
Ka titiro ki tērā taha ki **Ruatuna** ki **Motu-o-puhi e…**
Kat= tū anō au ki taku marae i **Hairini**
Te tūrangawaewae o **Ngāi Te Ahi**
E kokokia e ara e…
(*I turn and proceed to Poike*
There stands Ranginui, held in awe – a chief
To the seashore I turn, and to Te Urumingi I go
I ascend the cliffs of Ohau
My eyes focused on the ebbing tide
I view Ruatuna and Motu-o-puhi e...
I am now on my ancestral marae Hairini
The home of Ngāi Te Ahi)

Sea and landscape have inspired the composition of many waiata (chants), ranging widely across the human condition. Waiata replenish and sustain our cultural kits of knowledge. They also assist the recharging of cultural and emotional batteries.

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[151] The bolded names are nameplaces where our tupuna of Ngaiteahi of Hairini called their turangawaewae, or ukaipo.

[152] Ngāiteahi is descended from its parent group NgātiRanginui, another tribal group of Tauranga where I come from.

[153] I do not delve into detail about this chant. Rather I have highlighted places which nurtured our ancestors, in the various ways I mention – physically through the land, culturally through inspiration. All link to the birthright of where they were born. We their descendants carry on that privilege and responsibility of keeping those chants alive.

Waiata also ensure that tribal legacies are captured, obligations are fulfilled[154], and tribal prestige is upheld.

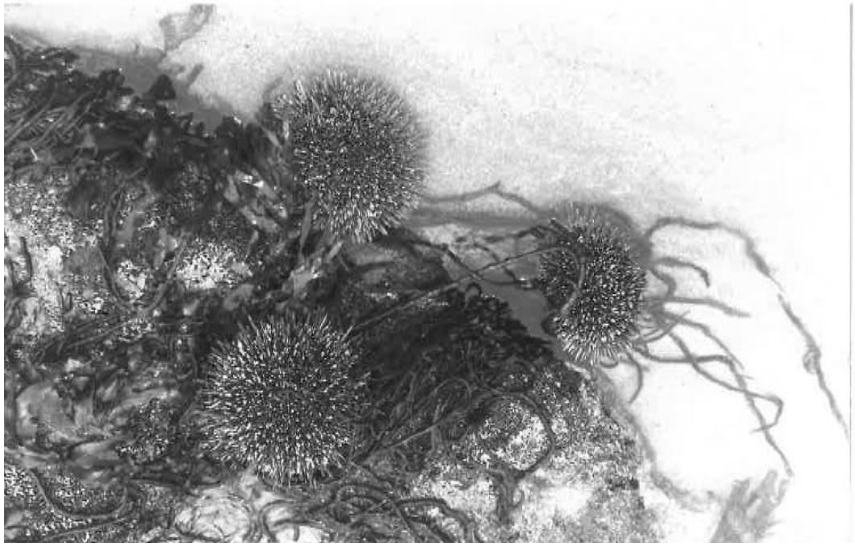

Figure 4.1: Kai from Tauranga Moana (Source N.Dixon)[155]

4.8 Tauranga moana (Tauranga sea people)

The emphasis on birthright and ūkaipō comes to the fore again, when orators personify our Tauranga people as iwi are known as 'Tauranga moana' when visiting tribes outside of tribal territory. They are welcomed as 'Tauranga moana'. The 'moana' links all iwi into one collective. To this day the term still continues to indicate my place of birth and place of nurturing, irrespective of life outside my home boundaries.

[154] By this I mean their retention from which tribal stories, histories, celebrated figures are known.
[155] I include this photo as it illustrates the ukaipo bounty from the Tauranga moana waters. This is the kina – a Maori seafood delicacy.

Figure 4.2: Morehu Ngatoko (tupuna) of Huria Marae with Ngaitamarawaho mokopuna (Source N.Dixon)[156]

The sea and its waters, as Hinemoana, and Tangaroa bring further reality, to our Tauranga tikanga, in mythological terms. This stems from their connections to the story of a baby tohorā (whale). According to Turi Te Kani (1986) an elder of the tribal groups, the baby whale is seen in the Mangatawa[157] Mountain. This is in our Ngāpotiki lands and Rangataua tahuna[158]. In searching for sustenance with its mother, they floundered while feeding. The father whale searched for his family. He too was caught while drinking from the makutu pool and died. The mother whale was transformed into Mangatawa, the baby whale is known as Hikurangi, and the father is Kopukairoa, a mountain ridge along the Rangataua shoreline. This tribal story is an explanation of the milky waters (waiū) which swirl about these maunga (mountain).

4.9 Iwi kē (Other tribal links)

Whakataukī may record a historical event or capture thoughts about everyday or historical issues. They can also contain messages about seeking help. The

[156] This photo is included as it shows Morehu Ngatoko our Ngaitamarawaho kaumātua who lives at Huria Marae. He assisted in the study by providing information about the Ngaitamarawaho haka in this study.

[157] Mangatawa is a maunga, and is also land where Ngapotiki tribal papakāinga (settlement) are situated, The story of the whale refers to the waters below this mountain. In our Ngapotiki subtribe traditions says the mountain is the whale which was stranded by the outgoing tide. The milky waters by its base are reminiscent of mother's milk – waiu - and remind us of that story, and the mythology surrounding it for our Ngapotiki hapu.

[158] This is the Rangataua inlet a body of water in from Mauao maunga (mountain)

following one illustrates this. The message stems from the visit of the Ngāti-Hauā chief Te Waharoa seeking support for his campaign against Te Arawa. According to the Tauranga Moana District Council (1989). Waharoa was a constant visitor to the area to collect seafood. This being his legacy it is as prominent today as in the past.

He paruparu ngā kai, he rangatira ngā tāngata
(The food is muddied, thought offered to chiefly people)

It indicates he visited Rangataua where the tītiko (periwinkle) is found - on its muddied sea flats and are recognized as a delicacy fit for chiefs[159].

4.10 Te hokinga mahara (Reflections)

Tikanga for welcoming guests to hui such as tangihanga call for waiata appropriate for the occasion. Many waiata indicating hapu and tribal identity and belonging are inspired by the sea waters, its moods, sounds and aesthetics. 'Tērā te marama' – there lies the moon – is such a waiata, but I take a section only to highlight placenames and their significance for my Ngatihe hapu.

It evokes the seascape of Rangataua, ukaipo of my hapu and whanau. We have heard the roar of its waters beyond our Maungatapu marae, know specific places touched by spent waters. The name places a) Te Maire and b) Opopoti are such locations. These two places (land and sea) spell home for our Ngatihe iwi.

Ngā tai e haruru nei
I raro i te Maire, i waho Opopoti e.
(*The tides which roar, Are out from Te Maire, and Opopoti)*[160]

Such waiata are cultural songbooks that serve to remind people of where we belong. They reflect further attributes of kaihau–waiū and ūkaipō features, linking birthright gained through 'mother's milk (Mead, p.361) to tribal places and waterways.

4.11 Ngātihangarau iwi (Ngātihangarau tribe)

An interesting point, about the relevance of water to birthright claims is the following Ngātihangarau chant. Composed by Turupa a female tupuna (woman

[159] It is also indication that the most valued traditional foods were fed to chiefs to uphold tribal mana and prestige.
[160] A section of Ngatihe waiata indicating places of belonging and identity.

elder) of Ngatihangarau this waiata was analysed by her mokopuna, Haami Rolleston, who contributed to my earlier research work.[161] The main person in the chant is Kereti, who died at the Pukehinahina[162] battle in April of 1864. His wife when in mourning composed this waiata.

Her composition[163] interprets the sounds of two waterfalls (waihirere) and the falling waters are interpreted as representative of tears. The sounds of the bigger Te Korokoro represent the crying of the iwi (people)[164]. Its sounds according to Haami are more thunderous and loud. The fainter sounds of Otukehu[165] the smaller waterfall are interpreted as the composer's own tears. In this sense the nurturing principles of water are absent. However the symbolic representation of tears is captured. Irrespective of the loss that has occurred, the kaihau-waiū and ūkaipō features still exist through tribal identity as claimed by Ngatihangarau hapu. For it is here that the waterfalls are indicated as part of Ngātihangarau water-based turangawaewae.

Kia whakarongo atu ngā hīrere,
Roto i **Te Korokoro,**
E ahu tō mata ngā tai e haruru
Waho o **Otukehu,**
Ngā wai whakaihi nā ō tūpuna,
(*Let me listen to the waterfall of Korokoro,*
Turn your face to the tides roaring,
Out from Otukehu, the majestic ancestral waters)[166]

The falling tears of Korokoro and Otukehu, cascade down from Ngātihangarau papakāinga (settlement), flowing past Waimapu (the crying waters) where our tupuna maunga Mauao (ancestral mountain caught by daylight) was taken by patupaiarehe (fairy folk) to his final resting place, at the entrance to my ancestral

[161] Haami supplied me with information in 1993. His work has been captured in lectures I have presented. He has always been acknowledged as the informant for those presentations.
[162] Pukehinahina is the Maori name for Gate Pā – a battle site in Tauranga against the colonials of the time, in the 1860's.
[163] Haami Rolleston (1993) cited in M.Ngatoko, K.Ngatai and N.Dixon, 2007 – Unpublished collection of chants of Tauranga.
[164] The sound of the bigger waihirere are stronger than the smaller one – hence the association by Haami to iwi, and then to the composer herself.
[165] These are two waterfalls in Ngātihangarau tribal lands.
[166] My collection of Tauranga waiata collected 2007, 2008 and 2009. Title He toroa no runga Mauao.

waters of Rangataua. All these places are ones of belonging and identity, ukaipo and kaihau-waiu spaces.

Ka hoki nei au ki Maungatapu, ki ngā papaka o Rangataua[167]
(*I return to Maungatapu, to the (symbolic) crabs of Rangataua)*

I now turn to Waikato tikanga and relationships with tupuna awa Waikato.

Waikato e, e ngunguru nei (*Waikato reverberates*)
Waikato te awa, katohia, katohia he wai māu,
Katohia he wai māu, ka eke ki te pūaha
ko Waikato te awa,
He piko, he taniwha, he piko, he taniwha,
Kia tūpato rā kei tahuri koe,
I ngā au kaha o Waikato,
Whakamua tō titiro ki tawhiti rā,
Ko Taupiri te maunga, Pōtatau te tangata,
Te mauri o te motu,
E hoe tō waka ki Ngāruawāhia,
Tūrangawaewae mō te ao katoa,
Te tongi whakamutunga a Matutaera,
Aue hoki aue (R Harrison)[168]

In the context of kaihau-waiū and ūkaipō it is fitting that I introduce this section with a well-known Waikato chant. It is a history of iwi links to tupuna awa Waikato, where historically, villages under independent chiefs were established. Featured also are lnks to Taupiri maunga. The waiata ends with a reminder of Tawhiao's tongi (prophecies) that set down aspects of living and maintaining mana motuhake[169].

My marriage to my Waikato hoa rangatira (husband) and life thereafter oriented me to the tikanga and realities contained in the waiata. In the first instance I had my hungawai (in-laws) and husband to rely on as tutors, mentors and exponents of Waikato tikanga, pertaining to tupuna awa Waikato. Its moods and character they well knew as they and he were all people of the awa. He was a rower. On retirement he turned his interests to the building of kōpapa, for racing on the awa, during the

[167] A line within the waiata sung by some Mataatua tribes 'KA HOKI NEI AU - (I return)
[168] The composer was Rangi Harrison of Ngati-Raukawa who lived in Ngaruawahia.
[169]

annual Waikato regatta on the river. As a fibreglass waka builder using new materials his relationship with te tupuna awa continued. In building both kopapa and larger canoes for iwi throughout the motu their water links with their waters were also recognised. Until he died his interests in the recreational, social and cultural activities on, and by the tupuna awa never abated. I owe and credit many in Waikato for mentorship throughout my marriage. Though I have referred to the tono (marriage request) and marriage ceremony at Tūrangawaewae marae in the previous chapter, I was to experience the most profound Waikato tikanga with te tupuna awa Waikato[170].

Other mentors including rūruhi and kaumātua within Turangawaewae papakāinga, at poukai functions and Koroneihana have since passed on. Their tikanga knowledge requires recognition.

> Moe mai koutou e ōku rangatira o Waikato, nā koutou i tautoko, nōku te waimarie
> (*Sleep on oh illustrious ones of Waikato, you supported me, mine is the honour*)

4.12 Ngā kōrerorero (Discussions)

The following are some generalisations based on the responses I received when discussions regarding tikanga pertaining to the tupuna awa took place. In the first instance it is abundantly clear how significant Waikato awa played in the consciousness of iwi members and their lives. Hukiterangi Muru (2005) captures the significance of te tupuna awa Waikato for he and his family. He tells of incidents when there was sickness in the family. His father would request whanau to go to the awa Waikato where karakia was recited to bring relief to whoever was ill.

> Tetehi, e mauiui ana etehi o matou te whanau, tere tonu taku matua ki te kī mai ki te whanau, me haere tatou ki te wai ki te karakia. Na ka haere atu matou. ko te mea e mauiui ana ka hikina e taku matua i runga i tana tuara – ka haere matou ki te tahatika o te awa o Waikato – no te mea kare e tino matara mai I to matou kaainga – tae atu matou ki reira – ka noho matou ki reira.- ka timata to matou matua ki te karakia i nga karakia

[170] This involved the relationship with te tupuna awa Waikato, te haere ki te wai (going to the water), being sprinkled with water from Waikato awa, and mythology surrounding this great tupuna.

Hukiterangi (2005) then referred to tikanga involving water and its significance for him:

> Ki au nei he maha ngā tikanga kei roto i te wai. He tapu anō tō te wai, he whakanoa anō tō te wai. He maha ngā tikanga e pā ana ki a tātou ki te taha wairua.
> (*To me there are many customs pertaining to water. Water is sacred. Water removes tapu. There are many customs involving spirituality*)

Meto Hopa (2005) also presented his views about water, although set in another frame from that of other iwi members. For Meto, humans were recognised as being of water which deteriorated over time and completely lost when one died. On the other hand, water which came from the land was enduring and permanent. In relation to a statement by King Pōtatau Te Wherowhero when meeting with Governor Grey, this is what Meto claims what the King said:

> Tēnā Kāwana Kerei, he wai hōpuapua, āe ka mimiti, engari he wai, he wai manawa whenua, he wai manawa tuha, tuha e kore mimiti
>
> Nā ko te tikanga o tana korero – i te mea he wai kōpuapua tātou – āe ka mimiti – Engari he wai manawa whenua e kore te Māori e mate, e kore, e kore. Nā e kōrero ana ki ngā wai i pūpū ake i te mana, mana whenua, mana whenua tuhatuha nē. Ko ngā wai i eke mai ai ki ngā maunga, nā e kōrero ana ki ngā awa o tēnā iwi, o tēnā iwi, e maringi nei, e maringi mai nei ki roto i te awa o Waikato. Ko te awa o Waikato ka rere tonu, ka rere tonu, ka rere tonu, e kore rawa e mimiti. Koirā tana kōrero

As Meto explained Tawhiao stated that water linked to humans will dry up, but water that originates from the land will never stop flowing.

Similar sentiments were also captured by Noki Haggie (2013) who told of her children being taught to go the river when venturing to strange places outside of Waikato:

> Ahakoa kei whea koutou e noho ana i roto i te ao kauaka e wareware ko tō koutou tupuna ko te wai rā. Whakarite i a koutou i ā koutou tamariki.
>
> (*Wherever you may live in this world, do not forget your ancestor is the water*)
> Bless yourselves and your children

Te awa Waikato was also a bountiful pātaka kai, providing tuna. Some marae specialized in serving delicacies such as the matamata, pōrohe and flounder.

Carmen Kirkwood alluded to sea foods from the Manukau pātaka kai being gathered for the annual Kīngitanga coronation celebrations held at Tūrangawaewae marae. Their contributions she said were significant in contributing to tribal pride. Wetere Dixon[171] also referred to tupuna awa Waikato as a pātaka kai.

> He hao ika te mahi a taku whānau…he pōrohe me te matamata mai i Hūrae ki te marama o Oketopa. Ia tau, ia tau ka hoe atu māua ko taku whaea mai i Te Paina ki tō mātou kāinga hao ika.
> (*My family were river fishermen/women. Porohe and matamata from July to the month of October. Yearly my mother and I would go to Te Paina to our fishing base*).

Figure 4.3: Wetere Ngamuka Dixon on tupuna awa Waikato[172]
(Source Waikato Times)

Te tupuna awa was a highway to access and connect hapū and settlements along its banks. Historically te tupuna awa was the only highway. When Te Arikinui Te

[171] Wetere Dixon, Undated diaries.
[172] This photo is included for various reasons. My hoa rangatira Wetere was raised by tupuna awa at Te Paina, Mercer. As his diaries state his whanau fished the bounty of the river such as matamata and porohe (whitebait in different stages). This ukaipo concept of physical nurturing and sustenance is also seen in the use of tupuna awa Waikato as a highway of transport and for social gatherings such as the Turangawaewae regatta signalling relationships involving belonging and identity.

Atairangikaahu died in 2006 she was taken by waka to Taupiri maunga. The awa was her highway to her final resting place. As one of many kaikaranga invited to participate, here are words similar to my karanga:

> Whakatau mai ra e Te Arikinui ki tō maunga tapu, ki te moenga o te kahurangi,
> ka oti atu koutou e… Piki atu rā ki tō nui, ki tō rahi, ki ō tūpuna…aue…aue…aue...[173]

When travelling to areas outside of Waikato many iwi members would go to the river to be sprinkled with water. The words often heard were:

> Haere ki te wai (Go to the water)

Tame Pokaia (2005) gave his general views on water and tikanga involving water. Water provided basic needs, an agent of dedication to atua, inspiration for tribal sayings such as proverbs, chants and tongi[174]

> Ko te wai, ko te wai he mea hei whakaora i te tangata.
> Tohi i te tangata, tohi i raro i tetehi o nga mahi. Ka haria ki te wai...Ko te wai i te tangata,
> kei te tangata hoki, ko ana roimata. Enei momo wai kua uru mai i roto i nga tongi – kei roto i nga whakatauki, ka whakatakoto i roto i nga waiata hoki, ki nga korero purakau. Kei roto i nga korero nga atua o te wai.

Te tupuna awa was a recreational resource, and also used for ceremonial purposes. In addition it was a playground for young people where national events such as the Ngāruawāhia Regatta in earlier years, and the Tūrangawaewae Regatta in more modern times were held.

> Waikato e…e ngunguru nei…..au, au, aue hei….
> (*Waikato that reverberates...au, au, aue...hei*)

[173] Here are the words similar to those I used to 'karanga' Te Arikinui to her final resting place. Aroha Yates-Smith and I positioned ourselves halfway up the maunga. Other kaikaranga also positioned themselges on the upward track all paying respects through their karanga (female keening)

[174] This is a Waikato word for a proverb, or historical saying.

Figure 4.4: Waikato kaumātua at St Stephens at waka presentation (Source N.Dixon)[175]

4.13 Whakarāpopoto (Summary)

In summary I have provided evidence related to the tikanga aspects of Tauranga moana waters and those of tupuna awa Waikato. I drew on personal experiences, stories and traditions from both Tauranga and Waikato iwi members who highlighted the nurturing qualities of the tupuna waters within these two rohe (tribal locations). The waterways in both locations were seen as ūkaipō because of the qualities I highlighted. In essence I related their physical and cultural sustenance through iwi tikanga. Irrespective of tensions regarding waters of Aotearoa (New Zealand), these bodies of waters are still seen as cultural nurturers and sustenance providers by iwi.

I used oral literature to bring to bear the physical and symbolic relationships of iwi, to these tupuna waters in these two locations. The waterways of Tauranga and Waikato are central symbols which continue to provide physical, cultural, social and emotional wellbeing for iwi members, irrespective of circumstances in political settings.

[175] This photo is included as it illustrates the social role tupuna awa Waikato fulfils through waka competitions. This visit to St.Stephens was to deliver the waka trophy to them as winners of the waka kopapa racing at Turangawaewae. All those photographed here were supporters or members of the Turangawaewae Regatta and its committee.

In noting the literature in relation to waterways of Tauranga moana sparse information has been written about tikanga linked to waterways from an iwi perspective. Though writings linked to the Tauranga moana iwi have been mainly about land, there has also been an invisibility of works supporting the ūkaipō nature of the broader Tauranga and Rangataua waters which I refer.

In terms of the Waikato tupuna awa, doctoral theses by Marama Muru-Lanning (2010) and Dean Mahuta (2010) are the only significant works, in relation to the political and cultural aspects of this great tupuna awa. Other discrete articles support similar representations to the in-depth work presented by them.

What has been presented in this chapter, adds to the existing literature in relation to the Tauranga and Waikato waters' ūkaipō principles and qualities. With the aid of oral literature and the views of iwi members a cultural view of waterways' sustaining qualities are evident. The chapter has been set within the cultural framework themes of manaaki, tiaki, kaitiaki mo te iwi (sustain, protect, and nurture the iwi).

WĀHANGA TUARIMA

(Chapter Five)

Ngā tai tangata
Nau mai e tama
Kia mihi atu au,
I haramai koe i te kunenga o te tangata[176]
(*Welcome oh son, Let me greet you*
You have indeed come from the origin of mankind)

5.1 He tīmatanga (Introduction)

The purpose of this chapter is to examine, consider and discuss the significance of body substances in procreation and birth. A major focus of this chapter highlights women's roles linked to tikanga[177] through these embodied waters. In essence these body substances 'give birth' to the terms and concepts used for specific and broader cultural and social processes involving Māori life. I indicate here that though there is a major focus on women's roles, evidence involving our male tungāne is also crucial, as they have contributed to procreation. Evidence through their roles as procreative partners, are shown through various avenues, including our oral genre such as haka and other kōrero (words) promoting their manhood.

The term mana wahine[178] is a term, coined to represent birthing and other female roles. I assert it is an appropriate one, because this recognition reverses the often

[176] This section of a lullaby comes from Ngai-Tara of Wairarapa. In Volume Part III, pg.4 it relates the origins of the newborn son, who originated from the realm of procreation.
[177] Tikanga as noted by Mead (2003) involve correct or 'tika' ways of carrying out values, beliefs, behaviour and action according to a set of guidelines determined by iwi groups.
[178] Mana wahine means female centrality, recognition and acknowledgment of roles in Maori life. Mana has many meanings dependent on the situation, purpose and reason for this concept of status. See N. Dixon, Ngā Poupou o NgāiTeRangi, unpublished Masters thesis 1995, for the various meanings of mana from iwi members. I privilege their definitions as they see mana from being Maori, through cultural experiences and way of life honed from age and maturity. The term mana wahine is used by Māori female scholars such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Ngahuia Te Awekotukutuku, Leonie Pihama, Ani Mikaere, Jessica Hutchings, Ngahuia Murphy, Aroha Yates-Smith, Kathie Irwin. The list is growing of women who are now using the term more readily, to illustrate our place as women in our society, and in general.

held view, as promoted by colonial writers,[179] that our roles as women's business, are secondary to those of our male tungāne[180]. In relation to this view held by some in the world outside of Māoridom, it is fair to assume that many tungāne (male) Māori, recognise our roles, not only as the 'voice' which opens the cultural gateway to tribal life, but also as the mothers of generations past, present and the future.

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takimano
(*My strength is not that of an individual only, but that of the collective*)[181]

As tapu and noa[182] are involved in Māori life crises such as birth, I provide some definitions and their roles. This chapter like others, is sourced through personal experiences and observations of, Tauranga and Waikato iwi member views, and oral literature. A review of written works permeates the chapter, where comments will be made on what has been written, or absent about embodied waters in procreation traditions. The concept of tapu is central to rituals surrounding life crises such as birth.

5.2 Tapu (Restriction)

Tapu is a concept enveloping and encompassing the whole gamut of tikanga[183]. It is operative in everyday Māori life[184] and within formal settings[185]. Tapu situations,

[179] These writers are both male and female. E.g. Berys Heuer, who wrote a book on Maori women, Jean Smith who wrote on Tapu restriction.
[180] Tungāne means brothers of sisters. The term is seen in a broader sense within Māoridom. It can mean a male cousin of a female, or a male member of kin-related female members, who are not necessarily biological sisters.
[181] This is a whakataukī that has been often used by many orators. It states that the strength of one is really through the support of many. This fits perfectly with the collective and inclusive cultural ways we involve whānau and others as 'tuara' or backbone, support groups for our work.
[182] Tapu and noa are opposites of each other tapu meaning restricted, or sacred. Noa meaning common or not in a sacred state.
[183] Tikanga means traditions.
[184] For example one can visit urupā or cemeteries where loved ones are buried. Although visiting only to remember or honour them still, a state of tapu is always in place at many Māori urupā. I do not generalize here as I do not know the traditions of all iwi Maori. Of those urupā I have been to when loved ones are buried they are all considered by their iwi to be in a state of tapu.
[185] Within formal settings of course we note that tapu aspects of our Māori world on marae, when formalities take place. I acknowledge my learning from my waka of Mataatua, from Tainui iwi and specifically from my Mataatua tungāne such as Wharehuia Milroy, Hirini Melbourne, Tīmoti Kāretu, and Pou Temara. Steeped in Tūhoe tikanga they taught me the many aspects of tapu. He mihi tēnei ki a koutou ōku tungāne o Mataatua. Elsdon Best also provides aspects of tapu which adds to the definitions sourced from other writers. See *The Maori as he was*, by Elsdon Best, 1952, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand. Pp. 89-92.

according to Tīmoti Kāretu[186] (1974) are when something such as the death of a person is under the mantle of tapu. Of tapu Mason Durie[187] (1994) sees it as 'off limits' or restricted as a basic definition. The tapu concept applies to other processes such as death. Tapu is also encompassed within things of value, e.g. physical treasures, urupā[188] and battle sites. For Barlow[189] (2001) tapu was a state which was sacred, or something, someone 'set apart'. The concept links our human world to that of our atua Māori,[190] from whom tapu's ultimate source originated[191]. An example in relation to embodied waters notes toto[192] as very tapu, irrespective of the situation. Karakia[193] rituals address the tapu nature in procreation and actual birth processes[194]. Its opposite concept, noa, removes the tapu state, through karakia, so normality for an individual, or whānau lives is restored.

5.3 Wai tinana (Embodied waters)

Human procreation involves the body waters of both male and female. They include the substances of waitātea[195], wai kopu[196], toto[197], placental waters of the whare tangata[198], and waiū[199]. Their significance reveals deeply held philosophies about procreation and the nature of life. In mythology these waters symbolically link us as humans, to the world of atua[200], and back to our origins as humans.

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[186] See Tīmoti's *Te Reo Rangatira – Maori Language*, 1974. Kāretu, S.T. by T.S. Kāretu (interestingly his initials S.T. is on the cover, and T.S. is in the insider cover where the publishers are shown. Publishers, Shearer, A.R. Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand).

[187] See *Whaiora Maori Health Development*, Mason Durie. 1994, Oxford, University Press Auckland. See pp.8-13, also pp. 16-19, 23-25, 47, 68, 72.

[188] Means cemeteries

[189] See Barlow, Cleve, *Tikanga Whakaaro, Key Concepts in Maori culture*. Oxford, New Zealand Refrerenc, 2001, pp.125-129) First published 1991, Reprints 1992, 1993, 1994 (with corrections) (1996, 1998, 1999, 2001)

[190] Atua means male and female god and goddess figures.

[191] This statement comes from Maori Marsden – *Te Ao Hurihuri*.

[192] Toto means blood.

[193] Karakia are sacred incantations, either bestowing tapu, or removing it from situations.

[194] As tapu does in mourning and its death traditions, and other life activities and processes involving the rituals of the Māori world.

[195] Male procreative waters – sperm.

[196] Female procreative waters.

[197] Toto means blood.

[198] Wombspace and its placental waters.

[199] Waiū means breast milk. All these waters footnoted are also seen in symbolic terms throughout the chapter.

[200] Atua means god and goddess like figures of the Maori mythological world – the stories are known as purakau – stories making sense of the world. Kaihau-waiū was also a term coined by Hirini Moko Mead (2004) meaning, birthright, attributes gained from the mother's breastmilk, and also property. Source *Tikanga Maori – Living by Maori Values* 2004, p.361 is a definition of Hirini's term.

To commence my evidence linked to embodied waters of birth. I firstly consider menstruation. As this natural body process signals embodied waters, in terms of fertility and the ability to conceive it provides background to the next step in procreation, that of conception and actual pregnancy. Following this I present my own birth experiences. I then explore evidence from Tauranga and Waikato men and women. Oral literature permeates the chapter.

Embodied waters physicality and symbolism are important signposts when considering birth and procreation traditions. Written literature as points of reference will reveal their gaps throughout the chapter. Comments will be made and points raised regarding views held by writers. A chapter summary .completes the information.

5.4 Tōku ake ao hanga tamariki (Procreation and childbirth experiences)

My experiences of procreation and childbirth are vivid. Firstly there is the state where menstruation occurs. Menarche[201] according to Meyer[202] indicates the fertile state of a girl. Her view lends support to Ngahuia Murphy's view when she claims that 'our story is written in our blood'[203]. The ceasing of menstruation signals pregnancy if in an intimate relationship with a male partner. In relation to blood, considered tapu in the Māori world, I do not recall any rituals being performed during my introduction to the menstrual cycle. Rituals were performed for women of rank, as writers such as Best[204] have claimed. My mother and grandmother, who kept intimate issues 'under wraps'[205] so to speak, only indicated that I, like my older sister had reached womanhood. Words indicating that

[201] Another term for the state of menstruation. Refer to Ngahuia Murphy's 2011 Master's thesis titled *Te Awa atua, Te Awa tapu, Te awa wahine*. University of Waikato, Hamilton.
[202] See *Thicker than Water – The Origins of Blood as symbol and ritual*. Melissa L. Meyer. See p. 3. Blood and the reproductive life cycle in relation to menstruation.
[203] See Murphy's M.A. thesis, *Te Awa atua, Te Awa tapu, Te Awa wahie* 2011, University of Waikato, Hamilton, p. 15.
[204] See Best *The Maori as he was* 1952.
[205] I did not think too much about this sensitivity by our parents when such issues came to the fore, when younger. As I matured and started studying tikanga in various situations these questions arose as to why they did not engage, like many other grandparents and parents of the time in discussions. Not that I was too interested to hear them when I reached puberty. This was similarly in the case of tapu and whakapapa which I have since learnt in more mature years were sacrosanct and hardly discussed except among themselves as elders and parents. Whakapapa was definitely not discussed openly in our whānau and immediate family. When we wished to know how we were related to certain people our father especially would say 'Hei ahau māu, he whiuwhiu haere' – Why do you wish to know – so you can broadcast your genealogy to the world. These aspects of my life were definitely in the tapu state for them, I would contend.

menstrual state, such as ‘kua wahine koe’ were the only ritualistic pointers engaged with the new state I had entered.

Colleen Te Arihi (2011) whose tribes are Ngāitamawhariua of Matakana, Tauranga, and Ngātiawa of Whakatāne gave her views on mate wahine, as she called menstruation. Her recollections also state the menarche was not discussed much by her whānau (family).

> What I know in upbringing you didn’t talk about it you know you went away. You didn’t want to be laughed at it wasn’t an open subject within in our whānau and you got by you kinda had to hide them away all these things and even the clean stuff you still hid them. You [206]were still whakamā (shy) to show anything

This reveals insights about a form of silence shown by our whaea figures of the past. Learning took place through sibling discussions. The subject of menstruation appears to have been restricted in these examples. Piritata Kirkwood (2013) of Waikato also revealed her experiences regarding menstruation and the advice given by her mother. Her recollections differ from the earlier examples as she says she was taught by her mother how to address the situation of menstruation when it eventually arose.

> Tekau ōku tau ka kōrero tōku whaea ki ahau kia mōhio, kia tino mārama pai au ki te āhua ka pā ki ahau. Ka heke mai te toto, i tō aroaro kaua e wehi.He tikanga pai tērā, he oranga e pā ana ki a tātou ake te uri wahine. He tikanga tahi e pā ana ki a koe. Ka mutu atu te tupuranga kōtiro, nā ko te tupuranga tamāhine ka pā ki a koe.

Piritata also recalled her mother’s advice about washing her body during her menstrual cycle. She was not to wash in the same tub as her family. At the age of eleven she reached that stage of puberty. Her mother’s advice was that her menstrual cycle was to be completed before she washed in the family bath again.

> Nā ka huri nā kōrero mō te taha horoi i ahau.Whakakīhia he pākete horoi kākahu i te wai mahana puta atu ki waho ki te horoi i a koe. Whiua ngā wai ki te whenua.Korekore rawa atu taku whaea i whakaae kia kaukau au i roto i te tāpu kaukau o te whānau kia mutu rawa te heke o te toto. Tekau mā tahi aku tau ka eke au ki te tamāhinetanga. Nā māmā noa iho ki te tiaki i ahau ake. I te wa i tīmata taku mate wahine i runga i te akoranga o taku whaea.

[206] My insertion – whakamā means shyness.

A further example of our links to Papatūānuku is indicated in the advice given by her mother that the waters Piritata bathed in were to be taken out and placed in the whenua. In real terms these waters were reunited with Papatūānuku as central mother figure again receiving female waters.

5.5 Te taha hapū (Procreation)

I continue this section through an acknowledgment of the role of our male brothers and partners in procreation. As I have stated, although the thesis projects a major feminine slant, I recognise their roles. The privilege or responsibility, and the role of our male partners are at their height when procreation takes place. It is stated by many that their manhood is realised when they have procreated and become fathers. As the late Hirini Melbourne an expert in waiata (songs) and taonga pūoro (ancient Māori musical instruments, Hirini) stated, male were expected to produce issue to keep their whakapapa (genealogy) alive, and to carry tribal responsibilities. Wharehuia Milroy, a tohunga of whaikōrero (male oratory) and tikanga Māori (Māori traditions) has also stated similar sentiments, that without issue, a male is deemed one whose manhood has not been realised. To procreate in life are the most natural roles of both male and female. A family without issue, according to both these tohunga of tikanga, is called a 'whare ngaro'[207]. I acknowledge Hirini's knowledge that he passed on to us as students.

Nō reira moe mai Hirini, nāu ēnei kōrero kua mau i a au,
Nāu te kōrero, nōku te whiwhi
(*Sleep on Hirini, yours was the knowledge, I have retained it*)

5.6 Te 'whare tangata' (House of humans)

In human physiological terms "whare tangata" means 'the house of humans' as defined by Hirini Moko Mead (2003) and Pareaute Herangi-Panapa (1998) who notes it as house of humans. It defines our embodied watery sac from which babies were conceived, are nurtured within their mother's body. It is a 'water home' where all the 'home comforts' are provided, most succinctly called a 'whare tangata.' In essence it is that which the above writers Pareaute Herangi-Panapa (1998), Hirini

[207] This aspect of life regarding the male were taught to us by our Tūhoe lecturers, who were very knowledgeable in their many fields of endeavour. Moe mai Hirini nāu ka kitea he māramatanga i ngā take maha o tō tātou ao Maori.

Moko Mead (2003), and Aroha Yates-Smith (1998), F. Hanson (1982), Ngahuia Murphy (2011) all allude to, a house to nurture, to sustain, to shelter humankind.

After conception and the implantation of the seed of life, within the 'whare tangata', the unborn child is nurtured and protected throughout its temporary watery physical home (whare tangata)with sustenance from the mother's wombspace. Jules Michelet (1893-1899) in Bachelard (1999) puts this physiological reality appropriately, in metaphoric and symbolic terms:

> Beloved common mother, we are one, I come from you and return to you.

As is generally known this cultural home provides the overall sustenance required by a baby to survive because it relies on the water within as it's sustenance for her or he to survive and to eventually be able born without any difficulties.

In essence and real terms it is like a house, a biological and symbolic one, where the support, caring and survival become its responsibilities. The mother's womb as "whare tangata" derives mana from one of the most important roles in her life, the procreation of children. For the woman, te 'whare tangata' (womb) when menstruation arrives is always in a state of flux, being biologically conditioned, when in an intimate relationship, to receive her partner's waitātea (sperm). When she conceives, its importance is seen as central to her partner, family and broader tribal group, and its members. This view has been acknowledged by Makereti Papakura (1986, p.112):

> When a marriage took place in the old days one of the most important thing in the minds of the couple was the children they would have. The Māori was anxious to have children, as many as they could have. Whether boys or girls, they were all welcomed, no matter to what class they belonged.

In expressing this view, Makereti thereby involves the role of the woman in the procreation process as important. The husband, as a party to the creation of uri whakaheke, is also central and as Best claims he possesses the seed of life (1929, cited in Mead, 2003). Best's opinion collides with that of Matiu Dickson (2013) who claims the woman holds the seed, called the ira tangata.

Best has also omitted to acknowledge the role of the woman, in her procreative contribution, through her waters of conception. The acknowledgment of the womb as the 'nurturing bed' of the child, in my view is a paternalistic one, of a subservient female, whose kopu[208] and hence her ‘whare tangata’ when stated in such terms, is a symbolic ‘bed’ only. Mead (2003, p.291) states when conception was difficult for couples, tohunga would be asked to impregnate the women with seed. It was known as whakato tamariki (to implant seed). The women’s procreative instincts were called upon, by awakening her own power to conceive. Adoption as Mead (2003) claimed was another means to help conception, as the practice was seen to arouse the procreative instincts of the woman.

5.7 Tōku taha whānau tamariki (My birth experiences)

The conception of our children saw the 'mixing' of two streams of procreative waters literally and symbolically. From this pool of creative potential many tributaries of tribal links – whakapapa - to various kin groups come into play and create avenues where offspring would be linked to the bloodlines of both mother, father and past ancestors. For example, procreation and eventual birth in my immediate whānau forged whakapapa links for our biological children, to Tauranga, Te Arawa, Waikato, Maniapoto, and Ngāpuhi tribal groups. The role of these embodied waters determined for us in a social sense, the deep-held philosophies and social constructs, our tikanga place on us as iwi members, when conception, pregnancy and actual birth takes place.

5.8 Te whānau ake (Actual birth)

I cast my mind back to the birth of my children, especially my first child. I recall memories of those birth processes being played out, natural, biologically set to the body rhythms, physically draining, but the end outcome satisfying, in giving life to uri whakaheke (generations) of the future.

My first child was born in Kirikiriroa, and hungawai, especially my mother-in-law was excited at the birth of her first blood-related granddaughter. My 'waters' broke as I was exercising my body. I vaguely remember the message in her words indicating I needed to be safely delivered of her mokopuna my first baby. When

[208] Womb.

this natural process took place, arrangements were made to request a Tūrangawaewae rūruhi to support me in this time of anxiety, should contractions continue. Though our Ari Herangi of Tūrangawaewae arrived for support, she suggested I should go to hospital, where proper medical requirements were available. Te Ari's suggestion was so appropriate, because she informed us, one of her eyes was weak. It was much safer to go to the nursing home. Her words made common sense, even though she was able to midwife my condition should it be required. I duly arrived at hospital. The stages of labour were unprolonged, and approximately two hours later our first daughter was born. My hoa rangatira (husband) duly arriving while I was in labour.

Recollections of the whenua (placental sac), bring to bear its bloodied appearance. As I was a young woman at the time, there was little difficulty in my child being born, and the expelling of my child's whenua, her watery home. I concluded in later years that my youth was responsible for the ease of my first birth. I considered my next three experiences were more difficult. The whenua of our children have all been buried back in Papatūānuku's wombspace. As we lived next to my in-laws, our first child was greeted with karakia and ceremony. I have stated earlier she was the first blood-related grandchild for my mother-in-law as she never had children of her own[209].

5.9 He tikanga anō (Other traditions)

As the following is a birth tikanga (tradition) my mother practised, I include it as further information for readers to consider. When my second child[210] was born my mother visited. She took our new-born son outside, and turned his body, with his head cupped in her hands to the four winds.

Ki ngā hau e whā (*To the four winds)*

My teina (younger sister) and I were unaware why this tradition was practiced. In discussions with our tuakana (older sister), she claimed our mother performed this so the baby would not cry. As our tuakana was the first daughter of our family, she was privileged with much more information than we were as younger siblings.

[209] My husband and his foster brother and sister were all adopted.
[210] She also visited during my first child.

Though she received this knowledge from our mother, her recollections were that information was still sparse, as very little was said about birth traditions. That learning came from observations in most instances.

I also reflect with sadness, that my own whaea (mother) and whānau would be unavailable to support me, in this female time of need[211]. Needless to say the support system I craved for, were those of my own family and mother. For besides one's partner, one's family and mother are those, in which a special bond continues to flow especially during childbirth. A mother's bond is eternal and enduring. A mother-daughter relationship during women's business such as pregnancy, lies within those maternal experiences and representations, as the nurturing and protective principles of our mothers are recalled. As Bachelard (1999) declares the one love that never ever leaves the individual is the inexhaustible force, and love of a mother.

> And this part of us, of our conscious memories, is always and everywhere, a product of our childhood loves, of these loves which in the very beginning, went out only to the one who was our source of shelter, our source of food, who was our mother…our nurse (p.116)

Pua Taikato (2013) another whaea (mother) from Tauranga in relaying her birth experiences, provided revealing aspects of love for her children. In relation to the body fluids of her whare tangata she recalls her second pregnancy was normal however her placental waters broke and she wondered if she was passing water as this feeling was not experienced during her first pregnancy.

> I was feeling the warmth of the waters running. Those warm waters were when I had Amaru.

Duly her second child was born. Pua also revealed another side to pregnancy, that of miscarriage and a sense of loss, for, who would have been her youngest child. As she was suffering from the effects of what doctors interpreted as a miscarriage, she was admitted to hospital. While there her miscarried baby came away 'the whole lot' as she said. She was really affected by this and eventual loss, as she

[211] I lived with my husband in Ngāruawāhia and they lived in Tauranga. My mother did visit me though when I went to hospital.

was only twelve weeks pregnant. The nurse at the hospital informed her she had been saying many things about her baby. As Pua stated:

> It just came away – the whole lot. It really affected me. I was really affected as it was a life that was lost. My friend in Auckland had a child at the same time I miscarried. I still have a soft spot for her baby. Those feelings of loss are stronger.

No doubt Pua felt the loss of her miscarried child. Irrespective of whether a child is born, or miscarried, the love of a mother for her offspring, carried within her body for a period of time never ceases. In time that loss can or may be replaced as the following proverb states:

> Mate atu he tētēkura, Ara mai he tētēkura
>
> (When one dies another takes its place)

Matiu Dickson of NgāiTukairangi, Tauranga also gave his views on the birth of children and the seed which he states comes from the woman (2013). [212] He also maintains that as battles take place (for women and land) they are the reason battles are fought. Women and children are hidden in the bush, and men are left to fight the battles. The men may die, but the women have the female essence, so the tribes continue to survive. That is the reason for the name Pirirakau.

> Mō te Ao o te wahine tēnei take ko ngā wāhine ngā putake o te iwi, kei a rātou te kakano o te iwi ehara kei ngā tāne. Koia rā te take i te wā o te pakanga, ko ngā wāhine me ngā tamariki ka huna ki te ngahere ka waiho te whawhai ki ngā mea tāne. Ka mate ngā tāne, engari kei a rātou wahine te ira o te iwi, heoi ka ora tonu te iwi. Nō reira te ingoa o Te Pirirakau.

Matiu gave further information about his knowledge of childbirth. It is an enlightening view as it comes from a male, who himself, has children and mokopuna (grandchild). He speaks of the tapu associated with the blood, when a child was born at Matapihi[213]. Matui also tells of a puna (pool) in his home papakāinga (settlement) of Matapihi where women who have just delivered go to wash. What is interesting in Matiu's insights are the role of men. He notes that Turiri Rikihana (a kaumātua I knew as a young girl) was able to perform delivery

[212] Matiu answered questions I discussed with him – they are written answers in Te Reo Māori
[213] His home territory.

duties when babies were ready to arrive. Matiu claimed that each whānau had their own puna for birth and drinking purposes.

> He whānau te pēpi ki waho o te whare i te kōhanga, he tapu nō te mea ka maringi te toto. Ka whānau te pēpi ka ora nō reira ka 'Tihei mauriora'. Mehemea ka mate te pēpi kāre e tika ana te Tihei mauri mate, ki runga i te marae. Nā Hohua Tutengaehe tēnei korero ki a au.
>
> He puna kei Matapihi ko te wāhi horoi mō ngā wāhine kātahi ka whānau pēpi. Ko te ingoa o te whenua ko Maniwahine, tata tonu ki tō mātou kaainga. Ko Turiri Rikihana te tangata matatau ki te whānau pēpi i Matapihi i tōna wā i reira ko ngā tāne te āwhina atu i a rātou hoa wahine.
>
> Kei ia whānau tō rātou puna wai i te taha o Waipu, tētehi mō te horoi, tētehi atu mō te inu. Ko ērā o te Mahiwahine kāre mātou ngā tamariki e haere ki reira he tapu.

Waikato women also spelt out their childbirth experiences and stories. Piritata Kirkwood (2013) recalls it this way as she related childbirth to the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

> Tētehi whakapono nāku ake i whakaaro, i te wā i wehea a Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku, e ā rāua tamariki, tērā ki a 'hau te whakamamae (pain in labour)[214] e pā ana ki a tātou te wahine. Ko te wai e heke ana ko te toto.

An interesting term used by Piritata was 'te ao mārama'. This is when the child is actually born into the world 'of light' she notes. From her own experiences she found the need to drink plenty of water to support her growing child within. This was the advice she received from her whaea (mother).

> Ka hoki anō ki ngā kōrero o te wai. Mehe kāore te whaea e kaha ana ki te inu wai, ā te kai tika hoki, e kore te tinana o te whaea, e noho ora, pakari rānei, e kore te pēpe, i roto o te kopu o tōna nei whaea e tupu tika.

Noki Haggie (2013) and her daughter Nora Gagie (2013) allowed insights into their birth experiences to be recorded for the study. In relation to the tapu of blood and its significance Noki had this to say:

> Mōhiotia ana te tino tapu o te toto, ka kore hoki te toto ka kore tātou katoa.

[214] This is my emphasis. Whakamamae means to have pain when in labour. Piritata agrees it means the same in Waikato dialect. My dialect is that of NgātiRanginui and Mataatua, in Tauranga.

Her views on our body waters of birth were also interesting aspects of the way she perceived them. For Noki without water within the body, a woman could become ill or die, and so could her child. The breaking of the waters, signals the child's readiness to be born.

> Mā te pakaru mai o te wai o te whaea, hei whakamāmā tānei tana putanga mai ki te ao nei. Me kāore he wai, ētehi wā, he mate tō te whaea me tana pēpe.Nō reira tēnei tohu o te wai, e haere pakaru mai ai, i mua te whanaungatanga o te pēpe.

Nora Gagie in discussing her birth experiences with the waters of procreation, said she felt happy when she conceived and also when she gave birth, because she had created a child. When suggested that our embodied waters of procreation were central to the birth of any children she said she had not thought of it entirely in that sense. Nora did reveal that when one of her children was born her mother Noki said to her:

> That's my mokopuna (*grandchild*)

And so a grandchild was born. This is the result of our embodied waters and the various channels of engagement we as parents create when we have relationships with our partners. Our embodied waters determine our whakapapa and the path of our cultural lives.

I now consider our mythologies in relation to procreation.

5.10 Te taha pūrākau (Storied creations)

Procreation roles can be seen as central pools of potentiality descended from the atua world, both male and female. Noted are Papatuanuku, Hineahuone, and our ira tangata from us as women.[215] This creative potential and creative energy continues unabated. For example Douglas Sinclair (1977) in taonga-a-waha (Māori oral arts) declares that it is only women and land (also read Papatūānuku) which have the ability to procreate. Although I differ slightly from his view and note that males also contribute to procreation, and their waters are therefore

[215] See Yates-Smith doctoral thesis, 1998 Hine e hine, Rediscovering the feminine in Maori spirituality.

important it is obvious he refers to the similar roles enacted by women and land. Both are providers and creators. Women with offspring, and land with resources.

He wahine he whenua ka ora te tangata.
(Through women and land people survive)

Both the examples given by Sinclair, illustrate this principle of creation in both. Firstly without male waitātea, the female is unable to procreate. Secondly without the fertilising rains of Ranginui, gestation and germination of seed will not eventuate. These procreative forces are illustrated through embodied waters in microcosm and macrocosm both have potentiality and creative energy. This creative and procreative energy in the metaphysical world is also informed by Cleve Barlow (2001, pp.11-12) through other avenues. He states the creation of the universe was activated through atua. From chaos, to eons of darkness, the power of Io-matua-kore (Io-the parentless one) asserted itself. From this darkness light was emitted. Darkness, light, and creative energy evolved, whereby Ranginui and Papatūānuku came into form.

Other avenues where creative male and female balance is maintained are shown in the following tauparapara. Here sky and earth in physical form, are requested to be united as entities, into a consolidate potential of energy. The complementary roles are illustrated in the physical form of the land and the potential of Ranginui. Normally the metaphysical balance is often signalled in whaikōrero (male oratory) by naming the atua Ranginui and Papatūānuku. They link and connect the world of atua, to our human. Although signalling a different configuration of complementary roles, both are central figures of balance and harmony within traditional Māori philosophies of creation. From these profound references to origins, associations to the ira atua and ira tangata (the procreative force of humans) becomes the end result of this male and female partnership. Following our station in life, those connections to our mythologies and atua present themselves again when we pass on, and move back into our whare tangata, to the womb of Papatūānuku.

Tuiā te rangi e tū nei, tuia te papa e hora nei,
Tuia te here tangata,
Ka rongo te pō, ka rongo ao,

Tīhei mauri ora
(Unite the sky above, Unite the earth below, Unite the people,
The night hears, the world hears)[216]

Though the story of procreation in Māori mythology is generally known, a brief description of atua roles is given here, so the procreative processes are seen. Tāne as the sibling of Ranginui and Papatūānuku was the assertive male figure in procreation mythology. Tāne-te waiora means Tāne of the living waters, or life-giving waters. In searching for the ira tangata (human element), and te uha (female element), through his eventual mating with Hine-ahu-one, (the earth formed maiden), we as humans are given the attributes and licence to procreate. In asserting the feminine, Aroha Yates-Smith (1998) states that recognition of female mana (power) eventuated because of the ability to procreate and produce life.

This story of male and female's role in procreation, from our mythologies, also foregrounds our roles as women. I contend that our mythologies of creation and procreation illustrate male and female complementarity, providing the balance that scholars such as Ani Mikaere, Aroha Yates-Smith, Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, and others have promoted for so long. Our stories of male and female atua, from Ranginui and Papatūānuku, to Tāne-te-waiora and Hine-ahu-one, to we as human male and female, thereby defies the logic that females were secondary to males. Further examples of these complementary roles are heard in male oratory on our marae (formal courtyards). Night and day calls, its abstract form, the unknown (pō), and the known (ao, or ao mārama) present themselves. Rangi stands poised, Papatūānuku lies below. Taking the previous tauparapara again I interpret it through another angle

Karanga te pō karanga te ao, Ko Rangi e tū iho nei, ko Papa e takoto nei[217]
(Night calls, day calls, Rangi stands poised, Papa lies below).

In complementary forces, both night and day appear together, as significant figures, in this section of male whaikōrero. Ranginui and Papatūānuku also appear as a partnered pair. Te pō, in Māori oral literature is seen as *the unknown, the beyond, the unseen*. Te ao as its opposing, but complementary force is recognised as *the*

[216] See Te Puni Kōkiri Effective Governance, p.4 Website:
[217] See Te Puni Kōkiri website and 'He Hinatore ki te ao Maori' – A glimpse into the Māori world. In 'Effective Governance' these words of welcome appear.

known, the seen. Te ao mārama is the *world of light*, where clarity is acquired. Te ao tūroa is another term for the enduring world of light.

5.11 He haka (Male war dance)

Male significance in terms of their role as creative energy is captured in our NgātiRanginui haka 'I te ngaro, i te ngaro' (*We were lost, we were lost*). It adds another dimension to the role of male, which I interpret as potential in procreative terms. The haka firstly highlights the invisibility of our NgātiRanginui iwi of Tauranga. They 'roar' (ngunguru) to be known as a viable iwi force.[218]

As NgātiRanginui people, friction with NgaiTeRangi[219], and the colonial land grab and confiscation diminished the mana of the tribe (2007). This invisibility caused anxiety among iwi leaders, as the tribe was seen as of little consequence because of this despair. Like our Waikato whanaunga, whose lands were also confiscated, time was required to again rise from the ashes of despondency. When a tribe, or hapū loses its force, or is considered secondary to others, male mana is depleted, as they are the recognised leaders of most tribal groups. In this instance Ranginui's mana was affected because of that invisibility (I te ngaro – not seen). The tribal house of NgātiRanginui calls for action (Ka tataki ma te whare o ngā ture).[220] In spite of near decimation Ngaitamarawaho still welcomes its visitors from different directions (Haramai tonu ngā iwi…..i te puehutanga mai o te uru). They are welcomed at Huria where the tribe is showered with friendship where Ranginui mana resides[221] (A whakarauri mai…….te ika a Ranginui). The final line is indicative of tribal mana. In procreative terms male masculinity, manhoodliness and identity has also been retained. This is signalled in the line 'he tangata, he atua, he tangata he atua. Kaumātua are uncertain of who composed this haka[222].

[218] The invisibility was caused because of different issues – e.g. the tensions between NgatiRanginui as tangata whenua, and Ngai Te Rangi from Mataatua, plus land confiscation.
[219] From Mataatua waka, and who have eventually settled in Tauranga.
[220] There is further inference here that colonial rules and laws (whare o te ture) in relation to confiscation have also affected the Ngaitamarawaho and its parent iwi NgatiRanginui. 'Te whare ture' (literally the house of rules) adds this angle.
[221] The name of the ancestral meeting house is Tamateapokaiwhenua the eponymous ancestor of NgatiRanginui. His son was Ranginui hence the tribal name.
[222] A haka is a war dance.

NgatiRanginui and its hapu Ngaitamarawaho is now a visible force in the Tauranga tribal parameters, and its voice is heard throughout the motu[223]. Its leadership, pride, identity and heritage have been restored.

I te ngaro, i te ngaro Ranginui,

Ka kitea ke ka kitea, ka kitea,

I te ngaro, i te ngaro Ranginui, ka kitea, ka kitea, ka kitea.

Rangiui e ngunguru nei….Au, Au aue ha; Aha ha,

Ka tataki mai te whare o ngā ture,

Ka whiria, Aue, Aue, Aue.

Ringa i torona ki waho hoki mai,

Haramai tonu ngā iwi,

Runga i te upoko hau, I te pā marangai,

I te puehutanga mai o te uru,

Aha! Ha!

A whakarauri ki Huria, Ki te whare e te manuhiri,

Uhia mai, Uhia mai ra ki te rau o te aroha,

Ki te unahi o te ika a Ranginui,

E tū ake nei, he atua,

Ā he tangata, he atua, he tangata atua,

Aue i aue, Kss aue (Ngāitamarawaho Waiata)

In procreative terms both male and female waters of conception i.e. waitātea (sperm) and wai kopu (female procreative waters) possess enduring and never-ending potentiality, because collectively they 'never dry out'. By this I assert that, in there will always be procreative relationships where male and female are concerned. Collectively they continue the process of populating the tribal world. As individuals however, both male and female, in time, cease to procreate as

[223] For example at the yearly Kingitanga Coronation celebration it has its own speaking rights – a sign that it has its own mauri (life force).

individuals. Both become a spent force. The next generation continue the process. The following whakataukī is an apt one for this female and male state of being.

Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi
(*When the old are spent, the young continue*)
(Kāretu 1974)

Procreation also brings about the many variables that Mother Nature[224] provides. I see this in the dynamism of the birth and its embodied waters. The embodied waters' qualities are their ability to produce the many variables through conception. By this I mean the physical gene pool of male and female produce offspring who are perfect, who may have the defects Nature instil, who may produce more than one child (twins), or who may end the conception through miscarriage. These examples are non-exhaustive but they highlight the dynamism of Nature's embodied waters in producing the normal child, or the unexpected variable/s at times. Therein lays its power to create its own wonders, through procreation.

The final example I present notes further balance and harmony within procreation spaces. I have taken a section of a well-known section of tauparapara (introductory statements) when males are involved in whaikōrero (oratory).

Ko Rangi e tū iho nei, Ko Papa e takoto nei

When considered in procreative terms the literal meaning comes to the fore. As Rangi is poised, and Papatūānuku lies there, the imagination is left to ponder the consequences these words, convey. Furthermore the imagery portrays the ongoing ability of male and female to be partners like Ranginui and Papatūānuku in metaphysical, visual and procreative terms. Writers such as Elsdon Best (1952), Aroha Yates-Smith (1998), Jessica Hutchings (2002) and Ngahuia Murphy (2011) as examples, have all claimed we originate from both male and female atua. As a more succinct application of balance and harmony this image clarifies the role of male and female, in partnership and procreative terms.

The following section of a haka (male war dance), like that noted in the earlier Ngaitamarawaho example captures this theory of both male and female inclusion as powerful forces of procreation. Though a masculine component of the

[224] Of interest in this term is the gender term 'Mother Nature' – the female essence

performing arts, the haka references to mythology and humans, connect us as atua and human forces. Furthermore the words below state a force, a superfigure, and the human presence are all overarching and powerful. Through examining the literal meaning of these words, cultural interpretations show male representation of the virile male, illustrating challenging and unbridled atua (godlike) and human male power[225].

He tipua, he atua, he tangata
(*It is a force, it is a superfigure, it is human*)

5.12 Ngā tuhinga (Literature)

Written literature and ethnographic representations, linked to the issue of menstruation, to conception, and to birth are all a part of the realm of procreation. Ngahuia Murphy (2011), Yates-Smith (1998), Bishop (1999), Irwin (1992a and 1992b) Pihama (2001), Smith, L.T. (1999, 2006), Te Awekotukutuku (1991) have challenged the literature written about the feminine in Māori life. They have concluded that we have been suppressed through the male non-Māori patriarchal view of past writers. They have also shown that through research, by us as scholars, worldviews which tell our stories as they are, assist in displacing writers who promote male dominance. We draw upon our own interpretations and ways of knowing.

Mary Douglas in interpreting information, from a distanced 'other', about societies they knew little about in Douglas's words (1970, p.303 cited in J. Smith 1974, p.5) makes perfect sense, and very telling of research done by those who were not aware of the more specific dynamics and networks, or traditions of communities being studied.

> It should never again be permissible to provide an analysis of interlocking categories of thought which has no demonstrable relation to the social life of the people who think in these terms.[226]

[225] What also is the symol of manhood, assertiveness and male mana. It is the male organ denoting male dominance in protecting one's domain, tribe and people. In physical, cultural and symbolic terms it is a force to be acknowledged, within that of the female element.
[226] See references in previous paragraph to this statement.

5.13 Te rerenga o ngā awa (The flowing of our waters)

In retracing the responsibilities of our waters of procreation many points are made. Firstly menstrual blood signalled fertility and a readiness to conceive, through the temporary ceasing of the menstrual cycle. Secondly the procreative waters of male and female played their part in bringing to bear conception. Waitātea and wai kopu became partnered ira (genes) in that process. Thirdly our procreative waters contained the physical kakano and the ira tangata of ourselves as parents[227]. Fourthly the symbolism in those waters of procreation reach back into time[228]. Therefore links are forged which we may not know about. Though we are our children's parents, the age-old ancestral ira tangata, have determined the cultural lives of our children. The embodied waters of procreation have determined where we belong, our identity, kinship groups, and whakapapa (genealogies).

5.14 He tohu mo te ao kei mua (Future signposts)

I outlined these experiences involving embodied waters as they are signposts, recalling the role of men and women in birth traditions, but also the centrality of these embodied waters as influential indicators of our lives as women and as iwi Māori. In a physical sense they are legacies of the mind, heart and spirit. The interlinking of embodied water such as waitātea, wai kopu, whare tangata, and waiū are irreplaceable aspects of our lives, and our origins. Furthermore it is the fulfilment of life for both male and female, in being parents, and bringing life into the world. The embodied waters of procreation have lead our lives, and those of our descendants in many directions, creating interesting connections and liaisons. All are physically galvanised through our embodied waters 'ngā tai tangata' the human waters of procreation.

5.15 Whakarāpopoto (Summary)

In retrospect, from conception to waiū our body fluids of birth, I have spelled out the journey of procreation in physical and symbolic terms. The role of blood was seen through menstruation processes. Procreation and the effects of our embodied waters, were also to the fore in the various examples given, in either physical or

[227] In Maori society the genes of past tupuna are also acknowledged as being present, not biologically, but culturally.
[228] Those times are to ancestors.

symbolic form. In a broader sense these waters of procreation and birth traditions bring to bear the procreative contributions our tupuna, parents instilled in our roles as ira tangata, and the template by Nature to procreate. In Māori society tupuna and parents have always been pivotal to our existence as they are recalled constantly in our whakapapa. They are our ira (gene) base, they have configured our bloodlines and bloodties. These effects of our waters of birth, will continue through offspring, born in the future. In essence these wai tinana of toto, waitātea, wai kopu, whare tangata, waiū, are literally contained with our female wombspace. Symbolically with waitātea (sperm) they are all waiora - the waters of life. All are encompassed in our mythologies of creation. All are contained in Nature's plan and our responsibility as humans to procreate.

Those roles are captured in fundamental philosophies espoused in the Māori concepts of whanaungatanga (kinship ties) kotahitanga (uniting) whakaruruhau (sheltering) and manaakitanga (support). Women are involved in all of these responsibilities through the procreative process of nurturing.

These pan out as social conditions activated in real life, eloquently captured in words by a revered wahine Māori Dame Mira Szasy. From Parengarenga, Te Hapua in the northern Māori tribal precincts Mira claims that to know your roots, is to know and love yourself. To know oneself, is to know how one came about, what influenced that belonging, how it was activated. The embodied waters of birth were central streams of potential in relation to the question posed.

> To know your culture is to know your identity and in turn to know your identity helps to accept yourself and to be able to say to yourself, "I know who I am, I respect who I am, and this person who is me is good"

WĀHANGA TUAONO

(Chapter Six)

Te wai aroha, te wai whakatau
Moe mai rā koutou te hunga wairua,
koutou katoa kua huri nei ki te wā kāinga.
Kāore koutou e hoki mai, engari ko mātou ka whai atu i a koutou,
Kia moe koutou te moenga kahurangi e…[229]

6.1 He tīmatanga (Introduction)

The focus of this chapter on roimata and hupe, the waters and tohu (symbols) of pain and loss brings back memories and images of loved ones who have passed on. Addressing this chapter is appropriate therapy for my wairua (spirit), as I lost my hoa rangatira in October 2011. Working through the loss of a partner in life, has been an experience, with its own will and life. As I am a more mature woman a whaea, and of kuia age (elder woman) a relationship for over a half-century, marks the pain of separation. In moving on there are positive aspects of life to fill the void. Mokopuna take centre stage, their dreams and their plans for the future are listened to, discussed and avenues to realise those moemoeā explored.

Tūngia te ururua kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke
(Set the overgrown bush alight and the new flax shoots will spring up)[230]

As whānau who have lost their partners, and loved ones, it has been said by many, that one never knows what loss is until those they love[231] pass on, such as one's hoa rangatira, a whānau member, or one who has influenced people's lives. My mind immediately reflects on my hoa rangatira (husband) who passed away in 2011.

> Nō reira e taku hoa rangatira Wetere, moe mai i runga o Taupiri, i te taha o tō tupuna awa o Waikato, i waenganui i ngā tūpuna o tēnei o ō tātou waka rangatira, oti atu. Tiakina mai mātou tō whānau. Kua tau atu koe ki te wā kāinga, Ki te kāinga tūturu mō te tangata. Ā tōna waka whai atu ai mātou i a koutou Ā te wā ka tutaki anā tāua. Paimārire

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[229] I use my own thoughts and words to commence the section with this whakatau.
[230] See Maori Proverbs. 1987, Brougham A.E. and Reed, A.W. Reed Methuen Revised by T.S. Kāretu. See p. 67 entitled New Start.
[231] For many it could be other family members, or those people who have had an influence on their lives.

(*Rest on Taupiri my beloved Wetere, by your river of Waikato, with your ancestors of our waka. Rest. Protect us your family. You are now at 'home'. The final home for humans. In time we will follow you all. In time you and I will meet again Paimārire*)

This final section of my work follows the same pattern as the last chapter where my experiences and the stories of Tauranga and Waikato members find their own meanings, in mourning, through passing on in life. I write this in a style which is comforting, real and reconnects to me to times when tears were shed. Therapeutic and yet ironic. Many 'shades' of tears.

6.2 He whakaaro (Thoughts)

The therapeutic benefits of shedding tears are important. Important in that they are emotional release to address life joys, crises, trials and tribulations. As I continue this chapter I intermittently shed tears. Tears of laughter, tears of joy, tears of sorrow, tears of sadness. Visual reminders of times past trigger many memories and tears well up. Tears were given by our creator to be released, to relieve pressure of the mind, heart and soul. The following composition I have coined echoes such thoughts. It highlights the need to release tears, so one's spirit (wairua), hinengaro (mind), tinana (body) is eased somewhat.

Tukuna te roimata kia rere, kia māmā ai tō wairua, tō hinegangaro, tō tinana[232]
(Let the tears fall so your spirit is eased, so is your mind, and your body)

6.3 Tōku ūkaipō (My motherscape)

Late last year in 2012, I travelled to Tauranga, my ūkaipō home. I visit the whānau urupā regularly when I return home[233]. It has a compulsory 'stop sign' for me. Those visits recharge cultural batteries; they maintain connections to tupuna and whānau who were toka tū moana (pillars of strength) and whakaruruhau (shelterers) in my life. As our tikanga tells me they are still with us. I reconnect with that taha wairua (spiritual base) to appease the mind. I shed soft[234] tears for our beloved grandparents. For others who have returned to 'te wa kainga'. I recite the Rātana

[232]I have used my own words here.
[233] Home here is an interesting term. There is one's ukaipo (nurturing place, where one was born) then there is that where one lives as they mature and leave their place of birth.
[234] I call these tears soft as they are those of remembrance. Unlike the tears of intense when death of loved ones occur.

karakia, and feel the wairua presence of tūpuna and those spiritual forces around, even though they lie there before me. It is a prayer I have never forgotten, recited by our father as children. It is also sung as a hymn by our Rātana people of Tauranga.

> Korōria hareruia, A Ihoa o ngā mano, Ko te Kāhui Ariki wairua, Mā te mangai hei tautoko mai. Te Arepa, Te Omeka, tautokohia mai te rōpū. Piriwiritua, Hamuera, ka puta ka ora e…[235]

Home is a place where the heart, as Bachelard (1999)[236] declares, that place one never forgets. It is in those spaces of familiarity, where the one fundamental feeling (p.116) of belonging resurfaces. To love such a place 'compensates for a painful absence' (Bachelard, p.116). The urupā is a reminder of that compensation through its spiritual qualities, and the peace within. It is so, of our urupā, and within her, of those who never abandon.

> Hoki wairua mai koutou, ōku mātua tūpuna o Ngaiteahi…e….hoki wairua mai
> Ahakoa kua wehe noa atu, ka heke anō te roimata
> *(Come back in spirit my ancestors of Ngaiteahi, come back in spirit. Although many of you departed years ago, the tears still gently fall)*

Our urupā is also the permanent resting place of those influential female role models I spoke about in Chapter Three. I inform them about our lives in Ngāruawāhia, the happenings among our whānau in the Waikato. I inform tupuna and whānau resting there of this study, as I need their strength to complete. I also tell them about my dreams for whānau members. I have visited our urupā, in Tauranga, throughout my life in Waikato. I need to continue to reconnect.

6.4 Kua wehe atu koutou (You have departed)

I have experienced many moments where tears have fallen, throughout my life-time. The first loss was that of my beloved grandmother who lived with us. Her departure happened during those formative years of my life. For whānau (family) her presence was one of maternity in nature, and of knowledge, through life realities and experience.

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[235] This hymn was checked with Hinerongo Walker who is of the Ratana faith.
[236] See Page 116. Gaston Bachelard. 1999, Water and Dreams Essay on the Imagination of Matter.

Further links to the shedding of tears in mourning, well up again as recollections of my mother's tangi return. I contend it a significant memory for our whānau in Tauranga, and those in Waikato, because our mother attended the final Tūrangawaewae fundraising event for the Kimiora complex. The year was 1978[237]. After she felt sick[238], at her request we[239] took her back to Tauranga. On reaching Kaimai summit[240] she said words[241] to this effect.

Kua tata tae atu tatou ki te kāinga. (*We are nearly home*)
[242]

She died shortly[243] after we arrived home in Tauranga. I was pleased we were able to fulfil her wish to go home, but also shattered that she should pass on after visiting us in Ngāruawāhia. In her determination to 'hang on' until we arrived back to our ūkaipō. Maungatapu, it is a poignant reminder of spiritual willpower. The will to complete a vision to 'get home' to familiarity, to one's place of belongin, and to family never fades.

Our Tūhoe relations of our Mataatua waka have a saying defining connections with one's ūkaipō. When one is close to death, or wishes to return to that nurturing motherscape, the longing becomes urgent. For Tūhoe that longing to be home within one's ūkaipō[244] is obviously strengthened by the Tūhoe Ahurei, [245]and the will to connect with whānau, with one's iwi, and one's place of belonging, of being a part of a broader collective. Embodied within these places are those nurturing principles and qualities our kaihau-waiū[246] retains, as the overarching maternal motherscape irrespective of circumstance, time, place or setting.

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[237] I do not recall the actual date as it was 38 years ago.
[238] We did not realize she was that sick, as we had called the doctor that morning and I do not recall him alerting us to a state of sickness where she was to die the next day.
[239] My hoa rangatira and I took her home.
[240] My hoa rangatira and I took her home.
[241] These were not the actual words as I do not recall them. These are words with similar messages to those she said.
[242] This statement is similar to that said by my mother. As a native speaker of te reo she made that point of seeing her beloved ukaipo – Tauranga.
[243] By shortly I mean this about two hours after we arrived home at Maungatapu, Tauranga.
[244] Ūkaipō is a concept of one's place of birth, where all the nurturing sustenance and support is found. The philosophical depth of ūkaipō as shown in Chapter Three and Four illustrate one's deeply felt ties with one's nurturer, not only in physical terms, but also in cultural social and spiritual aspects.
[245] A festival celebrating the Tūhoetanga of iwi members.
[246] Hirini Moko Mead's term p. 361 in his book on *Tikanga Maori, Living by Maori Values* 2003.

He matemate ā-one (*Longing for one's home soil*)[247]

I discuss further, and symbolically recall the tears that fell when our mother passed away. As puna-roimata (female tear-bearers) with our pools of emotion, our tears flowed for many reasons as I shall illustrate.

Ko ngā wāhine te puna-roimata hei whakamama
(Women are the wellspring of tears to ease pain)

When my father who, for this one instance, did not accompany our mother to Tūrangawaewae, eventually returned after watching our local Rangataua team play football[248] she had passed on. Our father never forgave himself for his actions in not accompanying her to Tūrangawaewae, and in not returning when sent for at our local marae. During and after we farewelled our mother, he searched for reasons for her demise, as many people of his generation did. It was a tohu (sign)[249] he should have accompanied her to the Waikato. That unnecessary feeling of guilt, we as whānau believe, affected him for the rest of his life. He died two years later. Our Ngātihē waiata captures what I believe were his thoughts, as I recall those events about loss, about tears, and about those life crises we faced during that tangihanga, as whānau.

Ngā ia o taiheke, i waho o Whareroa,
Mā Taiaho koe e kukume ki te whare rā.
Ki roto i a Rauru Ka hoki mai ki ahau nā
Hoki mai e te tau,
Ka moe tāua e, Ki roto i a Te Hono
(*On the currents of the outgoing tide, Beyond Whareroa,*
Taiaho will draw you to the house,
Within Rauru Then return to me,
Come back my love,
Let us two rest, Within Te Hono.) (Ngātihē Waiata)

Though tears are not mentioned in this waiata the imagery of the currents out from our papakāinga (settlements) of Maungatapu, and Whareroa, are the broad

[247] The longing for one's place of belonging. Where one was nurtured, nourished by all those things people and environment around. For Tūhoe iwi we are told it is Hinepukohurangi, it is Waikaremoana, it is Tūhoe-pōtiki, it is Maungapōhatu, it is the wellknown haka Te Pūru. Learnt these aspects of Tuūhoe history from Hirini Melbourne, Wharehuia Milroy and Tīmoti Kāretu.
[248] This was apart from marae life he was very much a part of.
[249] We as a family believe he felt

symbolism of tears. For those waters evoke memories and relationships, they stir up the emotions for those who have passed on, who identified with our moana of Rangataua, Opopti and the broader Tauranga surroundings. Our mother was such a person.

To those who also belonged to the papakāinga of Whareroa, of Taiaho[250] and his connections to Maungatapu, where her tangi (mourning ceremony) was held, of Rauru-ki-tahi (the old ancestral tupuna whare (ancestral house) of Whareroa)[251] and of Te Hono, another ancestral house named in the waiata, the words are reminders of links to place, people and are therapy for pain.

The family of Taiaho in the chant, for example, better known as Hori Ngatai came from Ngātihē, the hapū who, with our whānau, belong to the marae of Maungatapu. The Ngatai name is well-known in local circles within the rohe (tribal territory), and is one which links with many Tauranga moana tribal groups, and its histories. Specifically Taiaho has whakapapa[252] links with our Maungatapu marae, with Whareroa marae, and is synonymous with our Rangataua background.

6.5 I tautoko mai a Waikato (Waikato support)

The reason for a sense of guilt. A large contingent from Waikato came to our mother's tangi[253] at Maungatapu. Unfortunately[254] an undesirable incident took place when she was lying in state. Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu[255], accompanied by Whatumoana Paki and her loyal kaumātua arrived at the tangi. As a whānau we were honoured, for her proposed whakaeke[256] onto our marae. We as whanau believed they came because our parents supported the Waikato cause, the Kīngitanga, and functions such as Koroneihana and Poukai.

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[250] Taiaho in the waiata is the name of an ancestor called Hori Ngatai. He had links to where our mother lay in state during her tangihanga. This waiata was constantly sung then.
[251] This information was given by Kihi Ngatai when he gave a history of Whareroa at an iwi hui in the mid 1990s.
[252] Whakapapa means genealogy.
[253] Waikato also came to our father's tangi, led by Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu when he died two years later.
[254] According to our whanau views.
[255] Te Arikinui as mentioned in an earlier chapter was the Kingitanga leader. Her husband was Whatumoana Paki.
[256] Whakaeke means to enter the marae. Note I use the word proposed.

When Waikato with other manuhiri arrived for the tangi they encountered a long wait while Te Arawa speakers were on the marae ātea. Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu had to leave as other engagements had been arranged for her. After a lengthy wait, with other iwi, Waikato were eventually welcomed on to the Maungatapu marae.

6.6 He aha i kōrerohia ai e au (Why do I discuss these issues?)

I have recalled these stories from within my iwi of Tauranga, regarding tangihanga and mourning, because tikanga circumstances spelt many things for our whānau, when such situations as that which happened to Te Atarangikaahu took place. It affected our whānau, and it also affected me, as the wife of my Waikato hoa rangatira. I have reflected on the tangi also because many tears were shed for many reasons. I highlight those reasons. Of interest here are the reasons for our whānau tears, especially our immediate whānau.

Tika ways as Mead (2003) refers to, come into play in such situations. The situation evoked emotions for many reasons. In recalling examples of the shedding of tears at tangihanga, our mother's situation realised another set of dynamics. Many tangi follow a set pattern and are considered normative, as I have pointed out in Chapter Three

6.7 He aha i tino heke ai te roimata i tērā rā (Why did tears fall on that day?)

Why did our tears fall so profusely that day? They were tears for my mother who had passed on. They were tears for visitors who had shown their respect. They were tears for my father who felt that guilt, as our mother had just returned from Tūrangawaewae. They were tears for Waikato iwi who had supported my whānau, by taking the time to attend. They were my tears again for Waikato iwi, with whom I have had support for a lengthy period of time since marriage. They were tears for Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu who could not be welcomed on to my marae, because she had to leave. Those tears were for many manuhiri and our Waikato iwi, as it was their first visit to my[257] home marae. They were tears for our extended

[257] I say 'my' because it became a personal issue for me. My husband supported me throughout what I with others of whānau felt was an ordeal.

whānau, who were in a state of whakamā. They were tears for our kaumātua, who did not see a situation in which tikanga, could be suspended or changed. They were tears for them again, as their mana appeared to have been compromised. They were tears for the tangata whenua, whose mana was being questioned by many locals, who assessed the situation, then, and later. They were tears, as local mana could have been elevated, had some compromise been exercised for those many manuhiri, and Waikato who waited for so long. They were tears because mana, manaakitanga, aroha ki te tangata, manaakitia te mate, te whānau pani was constant, but manaakitia te manuhiri, appeared to be short-circuited by our hapū, in this instance. As Tīmoti Kāretu expresses (1974) one should always be hosting visitors in the most appropriate manner possible.

Ki ō tātou tīpuna he mea nui tērā, te manaaki i te manuhiri.
Ki te kore hoki e manaakitia, e kore koe e whiwhi manuhiri i muri atu
(To our ancestors to host visitors appropriately was a major aim, if one did not host well, visitors could very well not return in future)

Tīmoti's words spell true when considering the lengthy wait by manuhiri groups who would eventually be called on to the marae. As I have stated throughout the chapters some tikanga are normative, in that they are constantly fixed. Other tikanga change and evolve, or may be amended, to suit the needs of the day, occasion, people or time. This was the question raised by our mother's eldest brother, at the conclusion of the tangi.

6.8 Te tango whakamā (Remove embarrassment)

Our mother's eldest brother immediately called a hui when the tangihanga concluded. He had felt the embarrassment of disrespect, that many manuhiri, including Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu had encountered (in his view) through this long wait[258]. In Te Arikinui's situation, being unable to pay her respects on to the marae proper was seen by Pehiriri Reweti[259] as the height of whakamā (embarrassment).

Waiho mā te whakamā hei patu (*Let them be subdued by shame*)[260]

[258] The wait was close to three to three and a half-hours or more.
[259] Our mother's eldest brother who was the tuakana (senior) sibling in the greatest sense of the word. He carried his responsibilities through asserting that senior role.
[260] A Ngati-Awa proverb for Te Tahi-o-te-rangi who was deceived by his own people. See Maori proverbs Brougham and Reed,1987, (rev. Karetu, T.S.) pg.92.

Unable to pay her respects as a woman, and as a wahine rangatira, to our mother, by being formally called onto the marae, Te Atairangikaahu's situation elevated itself at whānau level. As tuakana (eldest) of the whānau he was uncontained in his anger.

Our Maungatapu, Hairini and Huria relatives were called to his home at Hairini, where he vented his hurt that such an outcome by our hapū and whānau could happen during his sister's tangi. No questions were asked at the hui, as he demanded our hapū go and apologise to Te Arikinui in person.

Me haere kanohi ki te kanohi (*We must go and meet face to face)*[261]

In due course our extended whānau came to Tūrangawaewae, to apologise for what was felt, were embarrassing actions of our people.[262] Whether it was an issue which demanded such a response was raised later at a whānau hui, which I did not attend. Whether it should have been left within the whānau, was also a moot point. Whether tikanga which could have been suspended, for certain situations was another issue. The points I raise here are related to the shedding of tears

This example has been highlighted because there was personal involvement – whanau involvement. Extended whānau and hapū in broad terms, were also a part of this cultural scene. The situation took place on our marae of Maungatapu. It involved many manuhiri rongonui[263]. All manuhiri are rongonui in my view.

Should a likely situation present itself again, what are tikanga regarding processes for manuhiri in such contexts? What are tikanga regarding rangatira, who arrive to mourn, but have busy lives and can only spare so much time? What are the tikanga involving lengthy whaikōrero, when many other manuhiri are waiting lengthy periods of time, as we have seen in many instances? I am very aware also that iwi and hapū will speak for themselves. I do not propose to interfere in their tikanga,

[261] This is a wellknown saying in Maoridom where one should be seen in person when discussing issues of importance to iwi.
[262] His view was that the speakers from the tangata whenua (local people) should have asserted their mana after the prevailing speaker had finished his whaikōrero, to allow Te Arikinui to be called on to the marae. She and Whatumoana Paki went to their engagement, and Waikato kaumātua and contingent stayed on to complete the rituals. Kia ora rawa atu te iwi o Waikato.
[263] Rongonui means important.

as it is their perogative, how tikanga are addressed on their marae. I raise the issue as it affected our hapū, our marae, and our whānau.

I also pose this question as I have observed on our marae at Maungatapu, that tikanga are suspended for well-known Pākehā? I speak out because this is my marae, our marae. Is it right that tikanga be suspended temporarily to accommodate others such as non-Māori, but we as iwi members, are not accorded the same treatment? We suffer the consequences of our own decisions in that sense. Who is given precedence and who waits like everyone else? Is it tika, is it right to give anyone precedence? Is it tika to give non-Māori precedence? It is a reminder of what took place in Waitangi when Prime Minister Helen Clarke was given speaking rights, yet as Titewhai Harawira pointed out, Māori women are not given the same treatment. Where are our male leaders on this issue?

We all realise as iwi members that hapū and iwi engage with their tikanga, as they view it. Their decisions on tikanga, are of their own volition, but reflection is telling in hindsight. Examples abound of tikanga being applied differently in many circumstances. Tikanga evolves. It changes to meet the needs of its constituent group. It involves people who activate tikanga. Tikanga, like language, as Reyhner refers (1996 cited in Cantoni, p.4) is cultural knowledge. Like language also, tikanga, 'are joint creative productions, that each generation adds to' (p. 4).

6.9 He tauira noa (An example)

The above is one example only, of the variables that present themselves in tikanga settings, and more appropriately for this chapter, at tangihanga. Roimata and hupe in this instance, highlight they are not shed only, for the passing of a loved one. As I have highlighted they are shed in some instances, for other reasons. Such was the case here. Those reasons I have alluded to, portray people relationships which trigger different emotions according to the setting, the context, iwi links, leadership dynamics, whānau pride and mana (or loss of it). The reverse of the cultural button, is despair, and pain through behaviour, actions and responsibilities as iwi members. As Metge (1976, p. 62) says:

> Maoris (sic) contrast the right (tika) way of doing things with the wrong (he) way. Literally tika means straight, direct, keeping a straight course. Being tika involves keeping to the prescribed path.

Being **hē** on the other hand, involves departing from the prescribed path, just as to err in English means to go astray. Departure from the 'tika' or right way either results from, or causes confusion and perplexity, so that hē also means perplexed, or at a loss. I now turn to other views and a angles associated with roimata and pain.

Matiu Dickson a Ngaitukairangi son of Tauranga shared his views (2013). As Matiu is heavily involved in tikanga aspects of our Tauranga iwi it is revealing firstly to hear male thoughts, and secondly his observations of our koroua (elder males) wailing, 'ka tangi apakura.'

> Ko ngā roimata ka māpuna mai a runga i te tino aroha o te tangata wahine mai, tāne mai. I rongo ahau ki ētehi o ngā koroua ka tangi apakura, pērā i ngā kuia, nō reira he wai ka heke, kia māmā te ngākau, kia māmā anō te haerenga o te wairua, o te tūpāpaku.

The intersecting views of iwi members such as Matiu are factual, but also give ideas about the way we address death, its ceremonies and tikanga. He points out that, for whānau the wairua of loved ones and their peaceful departure, are soothing when dealing with pain. He raises the issue of koha, as the symbolism of tears, similar to that seen in a Waikato context (and possibly other tribal areas).

The crying and the 'hearing' by the tūpāpaku of one's wailing is indicative of the nature of taha wairua. It is an interesting angle to consider, in relation to crying, especially when Matiu says the tūpāpaku needs to 'hear' the 'crying'. 'Me rongo atu te auē o te tangi, e te tūpāpaku.' (The deceased should hear the pain of the crying). If the tūpāpaku is 'hearing' he/she must be 'listening,' to what is taking place. These tikanga signposts where tūpāpaku hear, listen and know are belief systems in action, and resonating in the mind of iwi members. Also illustrative of today's world, Matiu contends, there are different ways people shed tears. He notes 'he pērā i ngā kuia o mua, he rerekēināianei' therefore one can assume he is referring to women who cry differently today as her refers to 'kuia' (female elders).

> Nā te aroha ki te tūpāpaku me tana whānau ka pūpū mai te roimata me te hupe o te tangata. He koha, he utu mō te pōuri o te ngākau. Ko te tikanga me rongo atu te auē o te tangi, e te tūpāpaku kia mōhio mai, kei te mōteatea tōna iwi ki a ia. I te wa ka mate koe, ko te rongo ki te taringa te mea

> whakamutunga o te tinana. Nō reira me tangi hotuhotu, pērā i ngā kuia o mua, he rerekē ināianei.

I leave our Tauranga examples of personal involvement and observation, and switch to my experiences in a Waikato setting. The dynamic Māori world is always in a state of flux. It has its guidelines and rules, as Hirini Moko Mead states (2003).

6.10 Taupiri maunga (Taupiri mountain)

I have just returned from Taupiri maunga (mountain) where, with whānau we celebrated and honoured the passing of my sister-in-law Te Rongopātutanga Simeon one year ago today. I, with others shed tears. The gentle tears of remembrance. The joyous tears reliving the humour and lighter moments of the past. Tears of sadness, that those situations with her will be no more.

Walking among whānau on Taupiri, one recalls where the meek, and the mighty have been laid to rest. Where Waikato leaders, the young and old, the workers, now grace Taupiri with their presence. People, maunga and tears have merged into a united whole, physically and symbolically.

> Kei kona koutou, a nunui, a roroa, te iti me te rahi[264]
> *(You are all there, the meek and the mighty*)

The hura kōhatu maumaharatanga (unveiling plaque of remembrance) is a fitting tribute to a memory, and a pertinent situation, as I continue this chapter. In passing away five months after my hoa rangatira, Te Rongo's situation is poignant. Raised as brother and sister, their lives indicated milestones of life, under Te Puea Hērangi, and other kaumātua who have all passed on.

As I stated in an earlier chapter Te Rongopatutaonga as a sister-in-law, was the person who reminded me, of the Waikato tono (marriage request)[265] when life was challenging during early years of married life. She reminded me to recall who had

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[264] A statement recognising where loved ones lie.

[265] It was a time as I have stated in an earlier chapter when I asked my husbnd for us as a married couple to live in Tauranga as issues were challenging with his mother. I also state that my mother-in-law was also happy to see the birth of her first blood-related grandchild. In later years my relationship with my mother-in-law was much more relaxed and cordial. I point this out as my beloved husband was not the problem. It may well have been partly my fault as a young strong-headed woman. It would also be of interest to relate this previous comment to the influence of our aunties as I pointed out in Chapter Three. Their influence on our lives as female members of the whānau was powerful.

requested my hand in marriage. They were her tupuna, and relatives,[266] iwi members of Waikato. To ignore the ceremony of the tono could be interpreted as disrespect. I have survived through your advice and tohutohu[267] e Rongo. Those tupuna involved in the tono rest on Taupiri maunga. We have honoured you all today by sharing family loss, with your uri whakaheke (descendants) and our extended whānau (family). In commemorating your year of passing Te Rongopātutaonga we shed tears.

> Nō reira Te Rongopatutaonga, Nāu ahau i āwhina i te wā taumaha te haere. Nō reira e te rangatira, moe mai i te taha o tō tungāne, o ō mātua tūpuna, kua wehe atu ki te pō Paimārire [268]

I now consider various other aspects of roimata and hupe within general settings, within a Waikato context, and within whaikōrero delivered by a tohunga of the Māori world. Through these avenues, our oral literature and waiata signal the various ways in which roimata and hupe are highlighted.

Firstly a Waikato iwi member Piritata Kirkwood (2013) of Tūrangawaewae provided insights into roimata and what they mean to her. They all relate to feelings about tears.

> Ko ngā whakaaro e pā ana ki ahau nei, e pūpū ana, mai i tōku nei whatumanawa mō ngā āhuatanga.
>
> Te koakoa, te aroha, mamae, taimahatanga, āwangawanga, pupuri kino, tuku kino, te taunga o te rangimārie, te ohoreretanga o te āhuatanga, ngā āhuatanga hou ka pā ki a koe.[269]

Piritata then related her experiences about roimata and tangihanga, referring to the way Waikato rūruhi (elder women) shed tears through the term ‘tangi kōrero’ (crying and speaking). She also comments on men’s roles as orators and encompassing references to loved ones who have passed on. Further to that Piritata see our atua Māori such as Ranginui and Papatuanuku as relative to the shedding of

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[266] One was her biological father Te Ngaehe Herangi. His wife was Te Ari Herangi who as recalled in Chapter Four was asked to come and support me when my birth waters broke and it was thought that my baby would have to be delivered at home.
[267] Points of caution.
[268] I pay my respects in words I believe are appropriate for past advice and friendship
[269] Tears well when joy, pain pressure and anxiety are present. Negative thoughts should be ignored. Peace should come forth.

roimata because of their siblings' act in separating them. The notion of karakia (prayer) in her view is also recognised, as is Jesus Christ (Ihu Karaiti)

> I rongo ahau i ngā wā katoa, ngā rūruhi karanga, e tangi kōrero ana, (te heke o ngā roimata), mō taua mate, ki te whakatau mai, i te tūpāpaku, i tōna nei marae, whare tupuna. Ko ngā mea tāne ki te mihi, i ngā tikanga kōrero, e pā ana ki tōna nei whānau, ā mātua, tūpuna, whanaunga rānei, kua wehe atu ki te pō. Ko ngā wāhine anō, ki te whakamana i aua mihi.
>
> Kei roto anō ngā atua i te taha ki te roimata. E tūturu pono ana au, i ahu mai, ngā kaupapa nei i te wehenga o Rangi rāua ko Papatūānuku, me ā rāua tamariki hoki. Kāore i te whakahē ki ngā karakia….me Ihu Karaiti.

Another Waikato iwi member Noki Haggie (2013) shared her thoughts about roimata when she lost her husband. Her grief was at its height when he passed on. Like Piritata Noki also noted the way Waikato women approached mourning and grief. They call, speak and shed tears to highlight pain and love. Furthermore it is we as women, in Noki's view who carry the pain for our families.

> Ki au te matenga o Pinga ka noho au ko au anake, Tangi whakamomori me tōku auē i te mamae. Ki ētehi wahine haere ai me te karanga, tangi kōrero, tangi aroha.
>
> Tātou te iwi wahine, ko ngā whaea, ngā tūpuna, ko tātou ngā mea e hari i ngā toimaha i runga i a tātou o te whānau.

6.11 He roimata, he koha (Tears, and koha as tears)

When manuhiri pay their respects to loved ones, on various occasions within many marae around the motu (country) including Tūrangawaewae and other Waikato marae, roimata and hupe are referred to in many ways.

At a recent tangihanga held in Whāingaroa (2012) references were made to roimata being symbolically 'wrapped' up through aroha. It is sad within such a situation, but is also an excellent example of the configuration of words and imagery according to the way a kaikōrero presents his message of condolence. In this instance love is used as a link to roimata and hupe, when all are symbolically 'wrapped' together so the pain and sorrow is eased[270].

[270] Nick Tuwhangai of Kāwhia used these words when he was eulogizing Hinerangi Deller when she passed away this year 2013.

Tukua te aroha hei tākai mō te roimata me te hupe[271]
(Let love symbolically envelop tears and nose mucus)

Other statements made by kaikaranga also explore new images and ways to illustrate the way tears and hupe continue their symbolic roles in mourning. Roimata and hupe are 'delivered' in different ways. Here are some examples:[272]

a) Kua hari mai mātou i te taonga o te aroha, te roimata me te hupe *(The symbol of love, tears and nose-mucus have been brought before you)*

b) Kua tae mai mātou ki te whāriki i te roimata me te hupe *(We have arrived to lay down our tears and nose-mucus)*

c) Kua haria mai a Roimata a Rupe ki mua i a koutou kua pania nei ki te mate (*We have brought Roimata and Hupe, before you, who have been' smeared' by death.*

(a) and (b) examples are generally heard when iwi mourn. It informs the iwi that tears and nose-mucus have been 'brought', 'laid down' before the loved one and his/her whānau (family). In other words the tears are before them, in physical and emotional form. (c) Creates interest as its use in karanga (female keening) or whaikōrero (oratory) personifies Tears and Nose-mucus. They have 'come together' as symbols with the people. Like people they are spoken about in that sense, as if they were human. This personified combination together with the 'smearing' by death of whānau, renders death as undesirable.

The laying down of the koha, is referred to in some instances, as roimata. It is a Waikato tikanga which is unique to the iwi, as our own Tauranga iwi do not 'karanga' the koha. Kaikaranga extoll their messages, when formally 'calling' taonga, such as koha in fashion, similar to this:

a) Tēnā ra koutou e hora nei i te roimata, ki runga i te papa e takoto nei e… tēnā rā koutou

b) Tēnā rā koutou e hora nei i te roimata, me te aroha ki runga i te paepae o Aituā e…tēnā koutou

c) Tēnā rā koutou kua kawe mai nei i te aroha me te roimata, ki mua i te karanga maha e…tēnā koutou

[271] References to this 'wrapping' of tears within the concept of love is a significant use of cultural motifs to relay the orators message. Nick Tuwhangai of Kawhia was the orator at the tangi of Hinerangi Deller the mother of a friend and her family.

[272] These examples have been given, with other more general examples to students I have taught over the years, in my Tikanga courses at the University of Waikato, Hamilton, dating from 1985 to 2010.

d) Tēnā rā koutou me ō koutou whakaaro rangatira e….kua takoto nei te roimata e e….tēnā koutou.

They are examples only of the repertoire of roimata-related responses to the laying down of koha. As well as shedding physical tears, when manuhiri pay respects to loved ones, the koha become the symbolism of more 'tears,' from the visiting manuhiri, and are referred to in that way. To extend the symbolism of roimata, as a sign of aroha and manaakitanga, the koha as 'tears' illustrate the sharing of the financial burden. As is generally known, koha of the past (and still seen in some instances today), consisted of food. The koha concept therefore acts as a support system for whanau when required. Those 'tears' of support, in the form of koha are reciprocated, when whānau pani (bereaved) visit other tangihanga (mourning ceremonies) in their times of grief. The 'tears' as koha, are also returned, again to support.

There are wonderful ironies here in relation to the koha. In tikanga order within Waikato the rituals are: (a) Males put the koha down after whaikōrero, (b) Women then call the koha, as symbolic aroha, or tears, (c) Our menfolk then pick the koha up. Furthermore, on the marae ātea the koha is put on the ground 'ki runga i a Papatūānuku' (on Papatūānuku's bosom). Formal removal of the koha (tears and aroha), when tangihanga takes place is sanctioned, when a female kaikaranga 'accepts' it, on behalf of tangata whenua. On the marae ātea, women's roles are therefore central, as formality is still in play, when she 'accepts' the koha (or the tears, and aroha) for the collective. Dual roles are in action here. Both men and women are involved.

The situation regarding the koha within Waikato marae is similar, within tūpuna whare (ancestral meeting houses). What is of interest here is the setting? Within the tupuna whare words such as 'whāriki' have been used to 'accept' the koha,

Tēnā rā koutou kua whāriki nei i tēnei taonga o te aroha e…te roimata.
(*Greetings to you all who lay down this gift of love – tears*)

Though koha may be referred to as 'taonga o te aroha' (gift of love) the embedded meanings, are consistent with tears, which during tangihanga are enduring symbols

of loss. Pain and loss walk together at tangihanga with the koha seen as forms of aroha (love) and manaaki (support).

In further referencing the symbolism of roimata and hupe within the tupuna whare, (ancestral meeting house) they have been shed constantly over time. Where do the tears go? In exploring angles for this question the taonga produced by our women gives further impetus for the links to women as puna-roimata, and as whāriki and korowai weavers regarding roimata connections.

Women weave whāriki (floor mats), women weave korowai, like the whenua which was sodden with rain, in Hūnaara's eulogy which follows to Tuini, the whāriki in the tupuna whare (ancestral house) and the korowai (ceremonial cloaks) play their part in the grief process. The whāriki provide links to women weavers, who have crafted them. They are legacies of their skill, producing taonga to address life's events such as mourning. For example the korowai, spread across the waka wairua (coffins) of our loved ones, are physically and symbolically 'soaked' or sodden in many instances with tears, as women meet, and mourn by the coffin.

These examples of women in mourning situations provide another angle to context, through the combination of weaving skills, women's roles and their application in physical and a cultural sense, to the tangihanga.

These physical and cultural applications of the women's role related to tears, have been retained in the karanga, whāriki, korowai, and the koha acceptance, similar duties in a marae ātea situation. The whāriki are stored at the end of the tangi awaiting the passing of more loved ones. Korowai also receive the same treatment at the end of the tangihanga as whānau take them home or return them to owners. These taonga are blessed through karakia removing the tapu aspects associated with their use[273]. Our taonga are then returned to await their duties for the next tangihanga. All are contained within a concentrated whole, to support and offset the emotions of loss and pain.

[273] This is now performed at Turangawaewae marae where these taonga are blessed before returning them to their owners. I am uncertain if these rituals are conducted elsewhere. They are not performed on our Maungatapu and Hairini marae in Tauranga.

6.12 He poroporoaki (Farewell tribute)

Māori orators use symbolic references constantly when farewelling the dead. If an oration takes place during rain for example, or when clouds and other water phenomena present themselves at appropriate times, this provides embellishment when speaking to the dead. Orators create symbolic references to roimata and hupe. This astute 'reading' of the natural environment when kaikōrero (orators) deliver speeches, cleverly highlights their attention, to the situation in which eulogies are set. In many instances the rain and clouds are references for their 'sources' for oratory. They are referred to by the more experienced speakers, and in rare instances, the novice, to address final separation, through death.

He poroporoaki (A eulogy)

I now spiritually ask Hunaara Tangahaere[274] as a tohunga of whaikōrero for his blessing in allowing his eulogy to Tuini Ngawai to be illustrated. I acknowledge him in the following way noting the use of his words to highlight the merging of tears and environment.

> Nō reira e te rangatira kua tikina atu ō kōrero ātaahua, hei whakaatu i tō mana, tō mātauranga ki te whakatakoto kōrero. Nōu te mātauranga, hei whakaahua i ō mōhiotanga, hei tauira, hei pupuri mā ngā uri whakaheke.

His eulogy is poignant in terms of roimata. This was shown by the poroporoaki delivered by him[275] during the death of the well-known composer Tuini Ngawai of Ngāti Porou. Although tears as in any tangihanga ceremony are shed, references to roimata were cleverly captured by Hunaara. The words were configured and combined by him through references to the condition and state of the day, providing perfect material to farewell our[276] loved tupuna who had passed on.

Hunaara's farewell eulogy (Mahuta, 1981, pp.16-24) refers to various water states (p.17), being cleverly juxtaposed by him. He combines the obvious such as tears

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[275] E te tupuna Hunaara moe mai i te moengaroa. Ko ō kōrero mō tērā o ō whanaunga a Tuini Ngāwai i kōrerotia e koe i tōna matenga kua tikina atu i konei hei whakaahua i ō mātauranga, ō mōhiotanga, ō pūmanawa mō te taha ki te whaikorero me te roimata. I tikina atu nā te mea e kore e kitea ērā momo tāngata pērā i a koe i tēnei ao o nāianei. He mihi anō hoki ki tērā tangata rongonui o Tainui a Te Kotahi Mahuta – nāna i tiki atu a koutou kōrero mihi ki te mate nā kua puta i roto i tana pukapuka *Whaikorero – Maori ceremonials for the dead*. 1981

[276] I use the word our – because in Maori eulogies – the Maori world culturally acknowledge all who pass on.

with the effects of the rain, which, as Mahuta explained was pouring during Tuini Ngawai's lying-in-state.

As noted in my explanations elsewhere combinations of various water messages such as tears and rain 'the symbolic tears of Ranginui' are used at tangi. Or references are made to the 'crying of the seas' which abound in the creative statements within whaikōrero, and waiata.

In this instance tears were shed, and were symbolically combined with rainwater to complete the imagery of desolation and despair in the loss of Tuini Ngawai. Here reference to tears were interspersed with external water states, a clever manipulation by Hunaara, to show grief through tears with and the sodden state of the ground. He referred to the situation in te reo Māori as the 'land being wet' and bereft.

Because the weather had been raining heavily, at Tuini's tangihanga, according to Te Kotahi Mahuta (1981) it was stimuli and perfect accompaniment for the natural motif of tears. Tears are always shed by people irrespective of time, state or lengths to a loved one.

It is a surprise however for one so eloquent in delivering oratory that Hunaara did not refer to the rain as the 'tears of Ranginui'. Rain is a constant motif of tears, connecting such a situation, with the metaphysical world and Ranginui the sky father at tangihanga. There is little doubt he was aware of this cultural symbol of falling rain, but obviously chose to convey his feelings with the sodden whenua, that he was standing on. This raises another interesting aspect of physical, visual and aural stimuli, for kaikaranga and kaikōrero. The following statement by Hunaara gives an example of the multiple representations of embodied and external water during the tangihanga. It also shows his great skill as an orator.

Kua paru te whenua, Kua mākū te whenua
Kua haukū a waho me roto nei. Mākū ana i te mamae, i te roimata
(The ground is muddied. The ground is sodden. It is damp outside and within.
We are drenched with sorrow and with tears)

The mark of his whaikōrero at its height, is one of great skill and of deep insights of tikanga and the settings of which whaikōrero can be delivered. The use of body

waters as in tears, and water of the environment, by Hunaara, and noted by Mahuta (p.22) highlight nature and human physicality (tears) whenua, and its ‘sodden’ state all combining to provide allusion, imagery which create gems of our oral literature.

Hunaara stated that many people had attended the funeral of Tuini Ngawai churning up the ground to a sodden state. This further combination of physical wetness in two areas as mentioned above, further images the emotional state of the iwi. The two states of wetness give the symbolic meaning of tears, depth and connectivity with all around, with relationships between people, landscape, the spiritual, metaphyhsical and physical world in which the situation was being held.

The references to the statement ‘‘kua haukū a waho me roto nei’ also exudes a further layer of meaning. Whether a waho, means the people who are not present, or whether Hunaara is referring to the pain of the sorrowing heart of the people, that is, of the collective speaks volumes of his skill. All his messages fit cultural interpretations

I add this theory to Mahuta’s analysis, as the words ‘waho’ (outside) me ‘roto’ (inside) can suggest such messages relevant to absent friends. If people wished to, but were unable to attend the tangihanga, they would nevertheless be ‘weeping’ for this loss. A-waho could convey that interpretation and meaning.

Although the ‘wetness’ of tears for those absent were not seen, the Māori mind takes it for granted, that they are present in spirit, or that they are weeping. This eulogy and the situation is a perfect example of the physicality of tears and the environment of the Māori world combining to create appropriate statements to loved ones.

These types of eulogies are consistent with skilled Māori orators such as Hunaara who may ‘take in’ the situation, juxtaposing its functions and visuality with symbolism, to ‘fit’ the occasion.

The above example is one such rendition where the multi-layered range of embodied and external water meanings, give rise to realities and symbolism riding hand-in-hand. All become 'raw' but readily available archival material for kaikaranga and kaikōrero experts to use and manipulate in real life situations.

I purposely chose the avenues above to source the information as a means to 'hear the voices' of experience, of realities, of expertise such as that of Hunaara, all conveying thoughts which engage with roimata in different ways. As an appendix I submit two waiata one from Tauranga and one from Waikato to complete the chapter to show links to place and their role in rituals and other situations. Explanations are given in the waiata relevant to our embodied waters of pain and sorrow.

Though our relationships with our mythology have not been a major focus in this chapter, they are relevant to tikanga. However they have been targeted in many other studies in relation to the crying of Ranginui, and the separation from Papatūānuku. In the main, evidence has been sourced from experiences, observations, fieldwork, oral arts such as whaikorero, and views of iwi members. Waiata applicable to this chapter, gives further substance to the tears when one mourns.

6.13 Whakarāpopoto (Summary)

In the above chapter I have explored the centrality of tears through my experiences and those of Waikato iwi members. I have also provided examples related to roimata and hupe, through capturing the words of various kaikaranga and speakers in different situations. The messages are similar but the imagery portrayed in state, situation, time, place differ slightly. In assessing what has resulted in this exploration of tikanga these aspects are evident.

Firstly, roimata was shed openly in the past, with hupe was shed without any inhibitions about the nature of one's appearance. As Matiu claimed the way people cry has changed from the present unlike that of the past. This is especially with kuia (elder women). Perhaps this is the reason why hupe, is only mentioned as a symbol and not illustrated in practise today. In discussions with whānau and kaumātua who contributed to this study very few spoke of hupe. Roimata was a discussion point which raised interest and portrayed different realities of roimata and hupe.

Secondly, tears can be shed for various reasons, in situations where tikanga is maintained irrespective of the setting and context. Other than unexpected

happenings tears are shed, in the main by women, although elderly men are known to have shed them.

Thirdly, the mere sight of loved ones now passed on, evoke tears of pain and sorrow. Tūpāpaku 'hearing' was interesting which spells out caution. They wish to 'hear' what is being undertaken in poroporoaki (farewell) to them. It highlights the prominent belief that though a whānau member has passed on, they are spiritually still with us, or are called on to 'return in spirit'.

Fourthly, in considering Hunaara's compelling whaikōrero, the environment, in natural, social, physical and emotional contexts were used to perfection by gifted speakers such as our tupuna of Te Tairāwhiti to expound his views on loss and separation. By combining all the available 'raw material' (ngā tohu) he observed physically before him, such as the sodden whenua, reminiscent of the crying of Ranginui, and its soaking with Papatūānuku those types of whaikōrero become the gems of the Māori world. They also continue to highlight the partnership between men and women in the world of ritual ceremony and tikanga.

Tikanga in this chapter has been viewed through our cultural lens involving roimata and hupe. The information fills the gaps in relation to tikanga Māori, and adds to our knowledge configured through our own ways of knowing.

TE WHAKAMUTUNGA

(CONCLUSION)

Ka hoki nei au ki tōku ūkaipō
Kei Tauranga ko Ngāpōtiki
Ko NgātiRanginui
Ko ngā papaka o Rangataua
Mai i Whareroa ki Maungatapu
Puta noa ki te Rereatukāhia
Tauranga moana, Tauranga tangata…[277]

7.1 Whāinga me tōna mana (Aim and thesis relevance)

This thesis set out to examine aspects of tikanga that related to the beliefs, processes, rituals, and practices of human procreation and death. The thesis framed an understanding of these aspects of tikanga (traditions), through the concept of human embodied waters. I sought to conduct a more focused examination of the meanings these waters portray through the tikanga involving procreation and death. In my view a deeper understanding of the tikanga of embodied waters in these specific practices helps inform wider understandings about the role, value, function and meanings that water plays in tikanga more generally.

My study specifically considered tikanga in procreation and death contexts. I have demonstrated and argued, that these tikanga are central catalysts in reconnecting, recovering, reliving and regenerating the realities and symbolism of our world, with their cultural, emotional, social and physical representations of belonging, identity, nurturing and sustenance. More specifically I have shown how the nurturing and sustenance principles allied to these waters bring into the tikanga framework central concepts of whanaungatanga, kotahitanga, manakitanga and aroha (familial ties, unity, support and aroha).

The tikanga of water, in this case of embodied waters, is a powerful concept that connects a wide range of tikanga that is still practiced today. This thesis focused more on those waters or body fluids that sustain human life, such as blood,

[277] The words are linked to the chant "Ka hoki nei au ki te tairāwhiti' for Mataatua waka, claimed to be composed by Peter Awatere. Our Rangataua tāhuna (seascape) is include in the chant.

menstrual blood, breast milk, semen, hupe. The human body, and human life is predominantly water and it makes sense that a philosophy or tikanga of life is informed by concepts around waters or fluids. The thesis enabled me to work with some of these complex ideas. My research has also illustrated the mana of wahine Māori, and the role of women in the practice of tikanga. Embodied waters as the catalyst to highlight this mana were portrayed in stories, experiences and oral literature in Tauranga and Waikato contexts. I have used my own experiences as a woman and drawn on other expert voices to offset the gaps in the literature about the significant role that women play in tikanga. Most of the literature about tikanga has been written by men, initially Pākehā males and then Māori males. For many reasons men would not be allowed into the worlds in which women perform roles as guardians of tikanga and yet women are present in the exercise of tikanga in daily life. Tikanga is not meant to be a secret, it is a way of being and living as a Māori.

I am considered a kuia in my kaihau-waiū of Tauranga moana. Because of my advanced years, my whānau roles as mother and a grandmother, my experience as a teacher at secondary and tertiary level and a published scholar, I am assumed to have an authoritative voice in my community. As I have matured in age and experience I climbed that ladder of involvement, in iwi and marae affairs from kai-āwhina to kaikaranga and sage. Many of my experiences at home have evolved in my being asked (and often expected) to perform senior roles in leading groups at hui, teaching younger people appropriate tikanga when they are otherwise unsure of how to behaviour and undertake tasks which are required to progress their lives. I have been involved in the te reo Māori aspects responding to requests for translations and interpreting for dignitaries, at national and local level.

I have served my cultural and social apprenticeship as I have matured. Much of the work behind the scenes of tribal hui is unrecorded. In most instances, the work of women before an event and behind the scenes goes unseen and therefore is often unrecognised. Marae committees, marae work (sweeping, preparing food, doing the laundry) is usually women's work. Men can often take the credit of the hard work of their womenfolk. Although there is an acknowledgement in the oft

expressed statement "Mā muri ka tika a mua"[278] women's unacknowledged hard work is also a reason for my desire to re-balance the gender roles in tikanga. Hopefully my work will contribute to the education about tikanga of younger Māori, so that they will be able and willing to observe appropriate behaviours and action when required.

To live as Māori present and future generations must know tikanga, in order to live their lives with pride and according to the customs and beliefs of their tupuna. I was raised in a Māori community where everything was regulated by behaviour norms, which I later realised were our tikanga. As children, we did not question what was expected of us but if we transgressed what our elders considered to be proper behaviour, we were chastised and reminded that there were appropriate ways of doing things. This was tikanga, the way we lived, what we did, how we approached relationships with others were all governed by our traditions.

When I left Tauranga to live and work in the city, I faced real contrasts between what we did at home and what Pākehā did in their world. It was not until I encountered other iwi (in my case, that of my future husband's Waikato iwi), that I became aware that their way of doing things often differed from what I was used to, i.e. they had different tikanga.

When I married and came to live in my husband's ūkaipō, and assumed new roles as wife and mother, but also one from another iwi and a hunaonga (daughter-in-law). I realised that the iwi of Waikato were driven by a different set of rules/tikanga from our own in Tauranga.

My life experiences made me realise that the voices of women were often silenced or ignored in the vision of orators, male scholars and in the literature they generated. Although I started with water in the environment (te taiao), I soon realised that I wanted to explore tikanga o ngā wai (water traditions) so I switched focus from external bodies of water to investigate the waters internal to the body. Little has been written and recorded on women in tikanga, especially as they affected women

[278] By those at the back will the front be honoured. Meaning the workforce and the support given to provide hospitality for manuhiri (guests) so the iwi as a whole are honoured.

and their roles in procreation and death. That led me to focus on the embodied waters.

Because a group of my whaiāipo whānau (husband's family) came from Waikato to Tauranga to ask for me as a wife, it was a regular practice in those days to ensure that both whānau agreed. The tono formalised the agreement, and the bond between our respective families would be binding. Any future children of the marriage would be bound to both iwi.

Nowadays however tono ceremonies are rare, or at best informal recognition after the fact. Both my husband and I regret its passing and we hoped that the re-instatement of tono and other tikanga, between whānau would be revived to ensure the greater stability of relationships, if only for the sake of the children.

7.2 Reflection from the methodology

My research used a kaupapa Māori framework which included semi-structured interviews and discussions that took place over extended periods of time. I observed, listened and took notes at many hui to the words and intentions of kaikaranga and kaikōrero. A Kaupapa Māori approach has helped to open the door for me to think about my research. It has provided different ways of getting information, for example, through the process of korero. These methods are essentially Māori and were conducted mostly in Te Reo Māori. The process of korero flowed naturally and without much intervention or direction from me. This is partly because they found the questions about water very interesting and they became fully engaged. On reflection the methodology provided a different approach that enabled my participants to be quite natural.

I read widely the historical accounts by Pākehā males about Māori customs. As in earlier research where I collected extensive oral and written record of waiata from Tauranga moana, these proved to be a rich source of tikanga. However in both lots of material there was a gender imbalance evident, despite many of the waiata having been written by women. This added to my determination to help to reverse the relative invisibility of women for future generations.

7.3 Wai (water)

Wai to Māori has a myriad of meanings. Generally it covers naturally occuring fluids. There are hundreds of place names which incorporate wai and refer to bodies of water. The different uses of wai to Māori are both specific and generic. This thesis concentrated on a dimension of wai that has remained unexplored until now. Embodied waters, are universal to living beings, and this study of human body fluids opens a door to the study of other types of wai yet to be researched.

7.4 Ngā kitenga (Key insights)

1. I have argued that Te Reo is an important vehicle for understanding tikanga. I have shown through the use of Te Reo the inter-related concepts that form the philosophical basis of tikanga. References in the literature, in whakatauākī, mōteatea, and through my participants' interviews all demonstrate that tikanga is based on a world view which is expressed through te reo. The meanings of tikanga are to be found in te reo.

2. I have shown that women's roles and place within Māori society is evidenced through many avenues. For example, in the Tauranga setting the impact of women on marae are revealing as they are the major work force carrying out duties and responsibilities to ensure manuhiri (visitors) are hosted in appropriate or tika ways. In both Tauranga and Waikato settings women have been prominent as leaders and workers. The examples in a Waikato context highlight the leadership qualities of women such as Princess Te Puea Herangi, Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu, Eva Rickard and others who attend to the 'grassroots' of every, and formal life of our communities.

In a Tauranga context the majority of ancestral dining halls have been named after women. Therefore their mana is visible in both physical and symbolic representations. The nurturing qualities at broad level were also illustrated through the Tauranga waters and te tupuna awa Waikato. Their sustaining qualities and nurturing features through providing the iwi with food and inspiration for our oral literature shows their maternally ordained nature. These two waterways like our women sustained and provided for iwi members.

In more specific setting our birth and mourning traditions highlighted the role of waters during procreation and birth. Again the nurturing qualities shone through in more specific terms. Mourning and the shedding of tears also enable our embodied waters to continue the role they are noted for aroha, manaaki, āwhina, and tiaki (love, support, advise and look after), like women. The focus on embodied waters and their representations to bring the role of the feminine into the foreground has been elevated through the evidence I have provided.

3. Water has sustaining qualities and nurturing features, in a physical sense and in a symbolic sense. Water has deep symbolic and spiritual meanings. Waters nurtured peoples' emotions and sustained their well-being. There is a relationship between actual waterways and these symbolic waterways. This is exemplified in concepts such as ūkaipō, the place of birth and nurturing, the nurturing place of identity.

Throughout the thesis I have referred to the various forms that embodied waters take, such as through roimata and hupe. In chapter four, for example I explored the centrality of roimata/tears through my experiences and those of Waikato iwi members. I also provided examples related to roimata and hupe, through capturing the words of various kaikaranga and speakers in different situations. The messages are similar but the imagery portrayed in state, situation, time, place differ slightly. Firstly, roimata was shed openly in the past and, together with hupe, was shed without any inhibitions about the nature of one's emotion. Secondly, roimata was shed for various reasons, in situations where tikanga is maintained irrespective of the setting and context. Other than unexpected happenings tears are shed, in the main by women, although elderly men are known to have shed tears. Thirdly, the mere sight of loved ones now passed on, evoked tears of pain and sorrow.

4. While I have argued that Te Reo is an important vehicle to understand tikanga, the reo is also a rich body of knowledge. I have provided many examples of expressions that capture a deep range of terminology for water, waterways such as waiū, roimata, ūkaipō, kaihau-waiū, whare tangata, waitātea and so forth.

> This vocabulary represents a world view steeped in an understanding of water in its broadest conceptual sense. This may resonate with our voyaging traditions across the largest of body of water on earth, Te Moana nui a Kiwa, the Pacific Ocean. In other words, we are a people who know water, for whom water is natural and connected to our identity.

7.5 He rangahau mō te wā (Future research)

The topic of water is so broad that it opens up wide possibilities for future research. While there is considerable focus on water rights at the moment I would suggest that the unique world view and tikanga of Māori people in relation to water is still relatively unknown. As an example there is a huge opportunity to explore water in other rituals and ceremonies that were not covered in this thesis. There is further work to be done in the relationship between water and emotions, water and values, water and relationships, water and spirituality, water and health. I covered only two iwi contexts in my research and in relation to two specific areas where tikanga works. There is enormous scope to document tikanga of procreation and death across all hapū and iwi levels.

7.6 Ngā whāititanga o te rangahau (Limitations of the research)

There is much this study could have been. When I started my research the topic was broad and felt hard to pin down. As I progressed through my research I honed down the focus of the study to the domains of procreation and death and the iwi contexts of Tauranga and Waikato. Even then I have not covered all the aspects of birth and death. The research draws heavily on my own experiences which are situated in a specific time and iwi context. Younger researchers may understand tikanga through different eyes, different sets of identities and educational experiences. I believe I was steeped in tikanga at a time when that was available and normal. The reality now is that most Māori live in urbanised contexts away from their hapū and iwi. Their experience of tikanga is very different from my own. Little is known even of contemporary young peoples' understanding of tikanga. I have taught aspects of tikanga for decades and there is a hunger by young people to seek out a way to live as Māori according to tikanga Māori. My own research makes a small contribution to that aspiration. Much more research is needed to capture what we have and to educate the new generations to come.

7.7 He whakaaro (Personal comment)

The study has been a long journey, rewarding, but also a commitment to provide the appropriate information to support my argument. I have pondered over methodologies and I believe the approach I have taken focussing in a major way on Kaupapa Māori frameworks has enabled me to complete this study, so a Māori audience and a broader national and internal audience can gauge its worth from lived experiences and from the way we as Māori wish to live our lives according to our tikanga.

He wahine he whenua ka ora te tangata
Engari he wahine, he whenua ka mate te tangata
(Through women and land people survive
Through women and land people also die)
Kia ora

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Appendix I

Waiata One

A NgaiTeRangi waiata of mourning [279]

E whai e ruku ra, te matua o Ruhi
Kua ngaro nei koe i o marae maha noa
O iwi enei e tangi aurere nei
Me pehea ra i te mamae
I te ao i te po, i te tai whati nui
Hakiri ana mai to reo aroha e
Me kapokau atu au i te rehu o te tai
E peua mai nei ki ahau.

Waiata Two

A Waikato waiata of belonging and identity – also sun during mourning and other hui (functions)[280]

Katohia he wai māu
Ka eke ki Te Puaha
Ko Waikato te awa
He piko he taniwha
He piko he taniwha

Kia tupato ra
Kei tahuri koe
I ngā au kaha o Waikato
Whakamau tō titiro
Ko Taupiri te maunga
Potatau te tangata
Te mauri o te motu…e
E hoe tō waka ki Ngaruawahia
Tūrangawaewae mo te ao katoa
Te tongi whakamutunga
A Matutaera aue hoki aue…..

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[279] Chant One belongs to Ngapotiki and Ngatihe of Tauranga. It uses a melancholy voice in mourning for the dead. The chant I have been told was composed by my father, Tommy Makarauri (his cousin) and Tatai Blake (a female relative). The Tauranga example requires revisiting as it is not generally known.

[280] Chant Two belongs to Waikato. It supports the notion of identity and belonging, It draws inspiration from the relationship of the environment to iwi living with their paramaters. Both include significant land and water symbols to elicit points. Waikato with its Taupiri maunga and tupuna awa Waikato signal identity markers when farewelling the dead.. The patere (geographical chant) was progressively heard at various hui especially at secondary school functions. Now it is a standard chant performed by younger and older iwi members of Waikato to illustrate belonging and identity.

Both merge, land, sea and symbols with its people to create a united whole to the background of the waiata.

Appendix II

Iwi study participants

Name	Tribe	Method	Place	Date
1. Adams, Tui #	Maniapoto	Interview/Discussion	Hamilton	2005
2. Airihi, Collen	Ngatiawa	Discussion	Tauranga	2008
3. Dickson, Matiu	NgaiTeRangi	Written contribution	Hamilton	2013
4. Dixon, Wetere #	Waikato	Discussion/Diary	Ngaruawahia	2005/12
5. Gagie, Nora	Waikato	Discussion only	Ngaruawahia	2013
6. Gray, Hinerua	NgātiHe	Interview/Discussion	Tauranga	2005/06
7. Graham, Reo	Waikato	" "	Ngaruawahia	2005/13
8. Graham, Rewi #	Waikato	" X	Ngaruawahia	2005
9. Haggie Noki	Waikato	Int/Dis/and written	Ngaruawahia	2005/12
10. Hopa, Meto	NgatiHikairo	" "	Hamilton	2005
11. Katipa, Motu	Waikato	" "	Ngaruawahia	2005
12. Kawe, Iria	Ngaiteahi	" "	Tauranga	2005
13. Kirkwood, Piritata	Waikato	Written	Ngaruawahia	2012/13
14. Maniapoto-Anderson	Maniapoto	Seminar presentation	Hamilton[281]	2008
15.Muru, Hukiterangi	Waikato	" "	Hamilton	2005/12
16.Ngatai, Kihi	NgaiTeRangi	Discussion only	Tauranga	2007
17.Ngatoko, Morehu	NgatiRanginui	Discussion only	Tauranga	2007
18.Pokaia, Tame	Waikato	" "	Hamilton	2005
19. Pompey, Toko	Waikato	Written contribution	Ngaruawahia	2008
20. Roa, Tame	Maniapoto	Discussion only	Hamilton	2008
21. Rawiri, Iti #	Waikato	" X	Ngaruawahia	2005
22. Taikato, Pua	Ngaitukairangi	" "	Tauranga	2013
23. Taikato, Tai	NgatiheWhānau	archives	(Tauranga)	2006
24. Temara, Pou	Tuhoe	Discussion only	Hamilton	2012
25. Walker, Rangiwhakaehu	Ngaiteahi	" "	Tauranga	2005
26. Walker, Hinerongo	NgatiHe	" "	Tauranga	2005/09

X No follow up discussion

Kei te ao wairua (passed on)

[281] University of Waikato, Hamilton

Appendix III

Ethics Approval