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Toi Tuku Iho

An exploration of oranga and mana motuhake through toi

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy in Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

at

The University of Waikato

by

Kahurangi Waititi



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2023

*He kawa te poutu ki uta
He kawa te poutu ki tai
Karia iho i rangi pouri tewa
He tapu koa taku kawa
Ko Tauira-mai-tawhiti
He taku koa taku kawa nei
Ka mapuna uta ka mapuna tai
Tangaroa te ihi rangi te ihi moana
Katu tapa taku kawa
Kawa te waka nei
Whana whana haraitetoki
Haumi e Hui e taiki e-e¹*

¹ Nā Ruatatanoa tēnei kawa (Richards, 2016)

Unuhia te pō, ka rere mai te mārama.

He tohu aroha ki a:

Blythe Huikau Rogers

1958 - 2021

Abstract

This research examines how mahi toi as process, theory, and output can contribute to oranga and mana motuhake for whānau, hapū, and iwi which is explored through the tribal storytelling practices of Te Whānau a Apanui. In this thesis, I argue that kōrero tuku iho is the umbilical link to our ancestors that sustains us with teachings; cultivating a richness and depth of self and connection through story. I demonstrate that the vehicles of sharing are as varied as the stories themselves and are known as “toi” or our creative expressions of kōrero tuku iho.

The key focus of this thesis is to reveal how toi can be used to decolonise and re-indigenise research methodologies and facilitate transformation through praxis. Iwi storytellers were interviewed, sharing that within our toi practices lie a myriad of ways to challenge colonial structures and ideologies, ground us in tīpuna knowledge systems, and provide a space to innovate solutions to the challenges of te ao hurihuri (a changing world). The kaikōrero provided a collective and relational lens that fostered the development of a Toi Tuku Iho methodology. This was processed through a creative output that I created of a digital story that was filmed to reveal how knowledge through stories can become taonga tuku iho. A Toi Tuku Iho methodology is proffered to understand the complex processes of iwi storytelling and reveal the relationality between innovation and what this thesis refers to as the tipuna continuum.

Themes explored in the thesis are an ecosystem of learning through people, place, story, whakapapa and time; how iwi oranga is viewed and contributed to by toi; and how mana motuhake is embraced and enacted through kōrero tuku iho. Furthermore, the application of kaupapa Māori creative practices to this research expands the academic confines of knowledge production to include Indigenous stories and toi. The thesis demonstrates that the research process, potential products, and outcomes, are transformed by using these practices. Storyscapes, timescapes, landscapes and generations past and future merge together, in this research, to facilitate dreams and aspirations for future generations. The collapsing of timescapes is explored through audio-visual digital storytelling, a medium known to manoeuvre time to enhance a story. I seek to amplify the power of tribal storytelling through toi to transform the spaces we occupy both within and outside of our iwi. Mahi toi ignites our creative selves to dream and can activate a belief to explore beyond what we know. I argue that Toi Tuku Iho has the potential to engage communities, on their own terms, in their own ways and for their own means.

Mihimihi: Acknowledgements

Kai aku rahi tēnā koutou,

Maringi noa ngā roimata, tē taea te pupuri e. Nā te horopaki o ēnei pitopito kōrero kua whakaaro nui au ki te hunga kua wehe ki tua o te ārai. Kei reira koutou e ārahi ana, e akiaki hoki ana i ahau i roto i ēnei mahi. Ko tōku tipuna tērā, a Te Manihera, e whakatō ana i roto i awahau ngā kakano o te whakapono, e pīoioi nei i te hinengaro, e whakamanawa nei i te mārohirohi. Ko koe tērā e whakatenatena ana i āu uri ki te kōkiri i ngā mahi i mua i a tātou. Ko tōku Pāpā, a Hone Hikitia te Rangi, e hotu tonu ana te manawa i tō korenga. E kimi tonu ana au i a koe i ngā wā o te pai, me ngā wā o te taumaha. Kei roto koe i ngā korikori me ngā katakata o āu mokopuna - e aho ana. Ko tō aroha e pūpū ake nei, he aroha mau roa. Peka atu ki ō tuāhine, me ō tuakana teina e te Pāpā, me kī, ko ngā pakitara o tō mātou whare ā-whānau. Ka tahuri taku tirohanga ki roto o Whitianga, ki ngā māreikura o te Huikau. E Blythe, kai konei tonu wahau kōrero hei whakamahana i tō iwi. Mai i te taunga o ngā waka ki te riu o Waikato, tēnei te hokinga mahara ki taku Whaea a Ngāhinatūrae Te Uira, kua roa nei e kohimuhimu ana ki a au mō taku tohu kairangi. E te hunga mate, haere, haere, okioki atu rā.

Ki a tātou te hunga ora, papaki ana ngā tai o mihi, ngā tai o aroha, ngā tai o te mauri o ēnei kōrero. Tēnei au ka tū i roto i te korowai o whakaiti me whakapono. Me pēhea te kimi kupu hei whakapuaki i ngā kare ā-roto, ngā kare e kipakipa nei, ngā kare e whanake nei i a awahau i roto i te aroha me te māhaki. Kua akiaki koutou katoa i tēnei purapura o Te Whānau a Apanui. Mō te āpōpō te take.

Ki ngā kaikōrero, me te hunga i whakakipakipa mai i tōku nei hinengaro, i tā koha mai he kōrero rānei hei māunu ki tēnei hīnaki, e kore e mimiti ngā mihi. There has been inspiration in many places for this tuhinga, Parehau, your PhD mahi motivated me to move forward when I had doubts and your mahi continues to inspire me and others. Auntie Blythe, korua ko Koro Danny, who were always generous to share knowledge and tikanga, tēnā kōrua. Uncle Rik, ko koe tērā e whakaohoho ana i te hirikapo. Trying to decipher your knowledge bombs has been an absolute privilege. Ko koe ano tērā Rob, I appreciated our conversations that always push our thinking, challenge us, and ask us to dream. Your passion for your people and for what is beyond is contagious. Whaea Roka the generosity of time and kōrero will not be forgotten. Ki aku kaikōrero, I have quietly moved amongst your brilliance for many years now, like many, absorbing, and

engaging with your expressions that speak to all of us in different ways. E mihi ana ki ngā kapa e rua, we can look to you for inspiration, healing and unequivocal ora. Ki a koe Erueti, kua kaha hāpai koe i ngā kōrero tuku iho a tō tātou waka, a Tauira-mai-tawhiti, tēnā rawa atu koe.

It was Associate Professor Leonie Pihama who not so gently steered me into the direction of a PhD. Her and Professor Linda Smith both guided me by taking me to PhD things when I felt totally inadequate to be there. Thank you both for pushing our thinking, role modelling te tū a te wahine and mentoring us through the murky waters of the academy. Kōkā Linda your thinking, kōrero, wit and grace is always empowering to be around. You were there at the start of my educational journey through kōhanga and kura in the 80's, and now you are here again at the other end of this haerenga. Ngā mihi aroha ki a koe. Dr Lisa Perrott, we too have known each other for a long time, I came into your lecture theatre as a young Māori girl straight out of high school. I fell in love with documentary and animation in your classes. You have always been a safe place for me in the department. Thank you so much. He nui taku aroha mō koutou katoa, ēnei wahine toa, ēnei wahine koi, ēnei wahine e akiaki ana i te hunga e haere ake nei.

Kei aku tino a Joeliee kōrua ko Naomi. He mihi aroha tēnei mai i ngā repo o taku manawa, ki ngā tihi o aku moemoea. I para kōrua i tēnei huarahi i te tuatahi hei ara whai mōku. Your aroha, loyalty, 'hard talks', laughs, cries and knowledge bombs were so necessary to this process. E mihi ana ki ngā awa tere o Raukawa me te tihi tiketike o Taranaki. He aroha mou tonu.

Ki aku hoa haere, e wāwāhi ana i ō koutou ake hua, mei kore ko koutou kua kore au e whakawhiti i tēnei o ngā piriti. The MAI and Te Toi o Matariki post-graduate programmes at the University of Waikato have been instrumental in providing a safe space for me and others on the kairangi journey. Everyone gets the struggle and embraces it together. Much aroha to you all, Pita, Truly, Erana, Rangihurhia, Yvonne, Bonnie, Te Urukeiha, Petera, Haani, Wairehu, Kanauhea, Marcelle, Nikki and Cassie. FMIS staff at Waikato past and present, you have all had an impact on me. E mihi ana kia Kate, Hinerangi and Amanda for final edits.

I have been fortunate enough to be supported by the following karahipi: University of Waikato Doctoral scholarship, Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao FMIS scholarship, WGW Educational Trust Merit Award, the 28th Māori Battalion and Ngarimu VC memorial doctoral scholarship, Ngai Tahu doctoral scholarship, Ngāti Porou educational grant and I would like to especially acknowledge

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga futures programme for helping me through the last year of study. Simply it would not be possible to do this without aua huruhuru ā-manu.

At this time, I am working at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangī. I need to mihi to my kaimahi in the Bachelor of Humanities for their support in the last 6 months of this PhD. I would especially like to thank Kuaō Wawatai for making space and trusting in me to do the mahi and Billie-Jo Pomare for her continued and unwavering tautoko. And the wider Wānanga for supporting my studies.

Ki taku whānau, you are my why. Kua poipoi pēpi, ā, kua whānau pēpi au i roto i ngā tau o te tohu kairangi nei. Kua tipu ake aku tamariki i roto i tēnei āhuetanga. Ko te manako, kua kite rātou ka taea e rātou te eke ki ngā rangi tiketike mehemea ko tērā te hiahia. To our pā harakeke Āio, Hana te Ākau and Mokonuiārangī, and my irāmutu Hone, Rangihokaea, Tauninihi and Te Huimana, I love you to Hawaiki and back. Haimona, Terri and Mum, thank you for participating as film stars and for your on-going role as sounding boards. Mum your support through all of our lives has been the reason we can do what we do. He nui taku aroha ki a koutou, e aku tuarā. Billie, Linda and whānau for normalising achievement in the academy and life, the epitome of hard work and aroha. Te whānau Murray, our hunaonga me aku irāmutu, thank you for your encouragement and helping with the tamariki, especially grateful to Reece and Christine for their constant tautoko.

Ki a koe, e taku makau, a Shem. Me pēnei te kōrero, tai timu, tai pari kai reira koe hei toka Tirikawa mōku. Ko koe tērā e hāpai ana i ahau, e tuku kupu ora ana ki taku hirikapo, e titi ana i te aroha ki taku ngākau. Kei ngā wai o Opuereora, ngā repo o Uretureture me te tihi o Rātahi aku mihi e rere. E owaha ana ngā tini maunga o Te Whānau a Apanui ki ngā wai tere o Tauranga Moana. He aroha e kore e tuki i te kawau.

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini!

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Glossary

Ā kanohi (face)	Kōrero (narrative/to talk/to speak)
Aroha (love)	Kōrero tuku iho (history)
Atua (god)	Koroua (elderly man)
Atua Māori (Māori god)	Korowai (cloak)
Autahi (star constellation)	Kotahitanga (unity/a kaupapa under the banner of kotahitanga)
Haka (performance/war dance)	Kōwhaiwhai (traditional Māori patterns/panels)
Hapū (subtribe)	Kuia (elderly woman)
Harakeke (flax)	Kuku (mussel)
Hau kāinga (those living at home)	Kupu (word/s)
Hawaiki (ancient homeland)	Kura kaupapa (primary school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the Kura Māori (Māori school)
Hekenga (migration)	Kutu (lice)
Hīkoi (walk/journey)	Mahi (work)
Hui (meeting)	Mahi toi (art)
Huruhuru (feathers)	Mahi-ā-ringa (hand actions/to work with hands)
Iho (downwards/umbilical cord)	Mahinga kai (food gathering place)
Ika (fish)	Mahinga toi (artistic expression)
Ingoa (name)	Mana (prestige)
Iwi (tribe)	Mana motuhake (autonomy)
Iwi mātauranga (tribal knowledge)	Mana tangata (human prestige)
Iwi pūkōrero (expert on tribal knowledge)	Mana wahine (female prestige)
Kai (food)	Manaakitanga (hospitality/care)
Kaihaka (performer)	Manu (bird)
Kaikaha (performer)	Manuhiri (visitors)
Kaikaranga (caller)	Māoritanga (Māori culture)
Kaikōrero (speaker/interviewees)	Marae (ancestral meeting space)
Kaimoana (seafood)	Maramataka (Māori lunar calendar)
Kaitito (composer)	Mataora (male facial markings)
Kaiwaiata (singer)	Mātauranga heke iho (intergenerational knowledge passed down)
Kaiwhiwhi (recipient)	Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge)
Kapa haka (Māori cultural group)	Mātauranga-ā-iwi (tribal knowledge)
Kāpata kai (food source)	Maunga (mountain)
Karakia (prayer)	Mauri (life force)
Karanga (welcome call)	medium of instruction)
Karanga tahi (first cousin)	Moana (sea)
Kare ā roto (emotions)	Moenga (bed)
Kaumātua (elder)	Moki (a blue, grey and silver fish)
Kaupapa (topic)	Moko (Māori facial markings)
Kaupapa Māori (Māori centred)	Moko kanohi (traditional facial marking)
Kaupapa rangahau (research topic)	Moko kauae (female chin marking)
Kei konā (over there/that place)	Mokopapa (gathering to receive moko)
Kete (basket)	
Kete kōrero (knowledge repository)	
Kiekie (a thick native vine)	
Kīngitanga (King movement)	
Kōhanga reo (Māori language preschool)	
Kohinga (collection)	

Mokopuna (grandchild)	Tangihanga (a traditional Māori burial practice)
Mōteatea (traditional chant)	Taniwha (mythical being/monster)
Motuhake (independent)	Taonga (gifts)
Ngā atua (deities)	Taonga tuku iho (something handed down)
Ngā kōrero o nehe (knowledge from the past)	Tapu (sacred)
Ngahau (enjoyable/entertaining)	Taringa (ear)
Ngākau (heart)	Te Ao Kikokiko (the physical world)
Oranga (livelihood/wellbeing)	Te ao kōhatu (the old world)
Oriori (lullaby)	Te Ao Māori (the Māori worldview)
Pākehā (New Zealand of European descent)	Te ao wairua (the spiritual realm)
Pākeke (adult/elders)	Te Matatini (National kapa haka competition)
Pātai (question)	Te Pāti Māori (a Māori political party)
Pātere (traditional Māori chant)	Te Reo Māori (the Māori language)
Peha (skin)	Te reo me ona tikanga (the language and its customs)
Pēpi (baby)	Te taha wairua (the spirit world)
Piupiu (traditional Māori flax skirt)	Tika (to be correct/true)
Pōhiri (traditional Māori welcome)	Tikanga (customs/protocols)
Poupou (ridge pole with traditional Māori carvings)	Tino rangatiratanga (self-determination)
Puhoro (traditional Māori markings from the waist to thighs)	Tīpuna (ancestors)
Pūmotomoto (fontanel)	Tohunga (skilled expert/healer)
Pūrākau (Māori stories/narratives)	Tohunga moko (moko expert)
Pūtea (fund/bank account)	Tohunga whao (expert carver)
Rākau (tree/wood)	Toi (art/knowledge/source)
Rangatira (chief)	Toi Māori (Māori art work/knowledge)
Rangatiratanga (the right to exercise authority)	Toi tuku iho (expressions handed down)
Raranga (weave/weaving)	Toki (axe/champion/star)
Raupatu (confiscation)	Tuakana (elder brother of a male, elder sister of a female)
Reo (language)	Tūāpapa (foundation)
Reo Māori (Māori language)	Tuhinga roa (thesis)
Ringatoi (artist)	Tuku iho (passed down)
Ringawhāo (carver/moko artist)	Tukunga iho (teachings passed on)
Rohe (boundary)	Tukutuku (decorative panels/lattice-work)
Rongo (sensory feeling/hearing/smelling)	Tūrangawaewae (standing place)
Roopu (group)	Uhi (chisel)
Tā moko (traditional Māori tattoo)	Uri (descendant)
Taiaha (traditional Māori long wooden weapon)	Wahakura (woven harakeke bassinet for infants)
Taiao (environment)	Wahine (female/woman)
Takutai moana (foreshore and seabed)	Wai (water)
Tamaiti (child)	Waiata (to sing, a song)
Tamariki (children)	Wairua (spirit)
Tāne (male)	Wairuatanga (spirituality)
Tangata whenua (the Indigenous people of Aotearoa)	Waka (canoe/vehicle/ancestral canoe)
	Wānanga (to meet and discuss/tribal knowledge)
	Whaea (mother/aunty)

Whaikōrero (oratory)
Whakaaro (thought/idea)
Whakaheke (to hand down)
Whakairo (carving)
Whakamā (ashamed/shy)
Whakapapa (geneology)
Whakapapa Māori (Māori geneology)
Whakatikatika (to prepare/straighten/to make right)
Whānau (family)
Whānau whenua (family land)
Whanaungatanga (strengthening of relationships)

Whare (house)
Whare tangata (womb/uterus)
Whare wānanga (university/place of higher learning/ancient places of learning)
Whare whakairo (carved house)
Wharekai (dining hall)
Wharenui (ancestral meeting house)
Whāriki (floor mat/the group you receive your moko kanohi with)
Whatu (eye/weave)
Whenua (land)

CHAPTER 1 – E noho ana au i te kei o tōku waka



Figure 1: “E noho ana au i te kei o tōku waka” Composed by Rikirangi Gage and painted by Erena Koopu.

Personal Position

...te whiwhi ki te matauranga he taonga nui whakaharahara, kua ka hei ki, na te Pakeha anake tenei mahi te kura, kaore, na te Maori tonu no tua whakarere mai ra ano, no nga tīpuna tuku iho nei... (T. M. Waititi, 1903).

These are the words written by my Great Grandfather Te Manihera Waititi in his article titled *Te whai ki te mātauranga* published in the newspaper *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* in 1903. Te Manihera was born in 1854 to Haimona and Horiana Waititi in Whangaparāoa on the East Coast of the Bay of Plenty, in our iwi of Te Whānau a Apanui. He is described by tribes of his era and early anthropologists such as Best as a tribal scholar and historian, expert fisherman and gardener, and someone who was committed to teaching and writing about nga tukunga iho (teachings passed on) of his hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) (Richards, 2016; Stirling & Salmond, 2005). While I have always known that my tipuna (ancestor) was a knowledgeable and well-respected man, it has only been during the course of this study that I have engaged with his writings. While

these examples of Te Manihera's early work show his enthusiasm for storytelling, they also show that he understood the importance of the medium of early newspapers as he used it in a powerful way to understand, distribute, and assert his knowledge. He was passionate about the preservation of kōrero tuku iho (stories passed on) of Te Whānau a Apanui. When pondering my position in this research, or when I have wavered on this journey, I have thought of him. This quote came to mind as it speaks to his uri whakaheke (descendants) - to us - to me. He tells us that we should not shy away from thinking that learning and theorising is beyond us and is something that only Pākehā do. He reminds us that we have been in some of the highest places of learning, from the expanse of Hawaiki (ancient homelands) to the depths of the whare wānanga (houses of learning) of our tīpuna. We are meant to be here, to explore, to develop, to feel, and see our way to the solutions we so desire. The idea that learning should be pursued was never removed from our whānau (family). My tipuna transitioned from the Whare Wānanga of old and then debated the introduction of pākeha schooling. They decided they wanted it for their children and so these schools were established often with the help of our tīpuna of the time (it's important to note that not all tīpuna of the time welcomed these new systems). Eventually they sent their children and grandchildren (my father included) out to Māori boarding schools, where rural communities like Te Whānau a Apanui built strong relationships with boarding schools such as Te Aute, Queen Victoria, St Stephens, St Josephs, and Hukarere. My tipuna never ceded that te reo Māori (the Māori language), kōrero tuku iho, tikanga (protocols) or whakapapa (genealogy) should be taken away or replaced in these systems, and this is clear from Te Manihera's writings and the learnings from our many past, and present, tribal teachers.

I understood how impactful toi (art) was from an early age. I was born into Queen Victoria Māori Girls boarding school as a daughter of the principal there. This boarding school had close connections to Te Tairāwhiti and many girls from home attended this kura (school). Queen Vic was known for many things including kapa haka (performing arts). Their inter-house kapa haka battles at the gala days were community events, where whānau and hapū from all around the motu (regions) would come to help raise money and participate in the festivities. The school travelled across the country and overseas for different hui (meeting) and were often expected to perform wherever they went. I still remember sneaking on stage when I was young to play with the girls piupiu (flax adornment skirts) as they were performing. It was an active beginning to my life as my Pāpā still lived in Te Whānau a Apanui and was busy doing hapū and iwi things, so we bounced between these worlds. Our father was much older than most, he had already started his

kaumātua twilight years when we were born. He was a Major in the 28th Māori Battalion and we travelled with him to many of his hui throughout the motu. This kaupapa (subject) was embedded into our lives from an early age. It also helped develop some understandings of the political injustices that were a part of successive government decision making. Both my parents had full lives that moved us into many different kaupapa, iwi and marae as tamariki - we knew no different. This was also a time of heightened political unrest as Māori became frustrated at the assimilative and oppressive systems that removed our reo and sort to extinguish our knowledge systems, including the education system that some of our tīpuna once had such high hopes for. Kōhanga Reo (language learning nests) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori medium primary school) were established to counter the failings of the system and reconnect mokopuna (grandchildren) to the language of their ancestors that was denied to their parents. We were a part of these emerging initiatives and had early notions of these politics from a young age. And then we moved home, back to Te Whānau a Apanui.

Growing up in Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and within my iwi of Te Whānau a Apanui, there were stories everywhere. Stories of our gods, the taiao (environment), our food, adventures, whakapapa, past deeds of our tīpuna; all shared and remembered through kōrero narratives, pūrākau (stories), waiata (songs), karakia (prayers), and hui (meetings). At the time you don't think much about them; they are spoken and sung of at marae during hui and etched into the bones of our meeting houses. At Kōhanga and kura, we would learn our mōteatea (chants) and do our ritual morning karakia and waiata, usually to a mix of god/s, from 'the' Atua to 'ngā' (the many) atua. When I would get home mum would be talking whakapapa: "this is your cousin because of this connection, this is your tīpuna and this is where they lived and this is what was fascinating about them", all while getting our father's nods of verification or add-ons. Trips along our coastal roads were another opportunity to geographically cover where different whānau lived and how these whānau are connected to us through whakapapa and past experiences. Horse riding and swimming meant we got to explore whenua (land) and waters, further connecting to our taiao. These were normal parts of daily and weekly conversations. At the time they seemed just like something we did, and through young eyes they were even seen at times to be hōhā (bothersome), like "not this again". I didn't give much thought about why we did it or what the bigger purpose of these interactions were. It was a happy, busy upbringing. Kōrerō tuku iho and whakapapa connections ensured I knew why I was here and how I got there. I knew I was a part of the woven line of whakapapa to people and place.

Our lives on the coast were rural and we had to make a 1–2 hour trip into town to get supplies. The difficulty in getting to where we live is also the reason we retained a lot of our tribal whenua, so there is something special about the remoteness of the coast. We are subject to the elements in our coastal haven - when there are bad storms, our roads and rivers can be impassable. When there are power cuts and water issues, we must have some knowledge of fixing these issues ourselves. Being resourceful and the interdependence on wider whānau is an important aspect of living in our iwi. Living like this is necessarily relational and forges a culture rich in story and history.

Knowing your stories and whakapapa like this gives you a sense that you are a thread in a wider tapestry of many vitally connected threads. You have a place and you have purpose. Knowing our stories shows us that our tīpuna were innovative, opportunistic, courageous, knowledgeable people that made generational decisions. They thought about us and they made choices with us in mind. They braved and sailed oceans, they learnt how to grow the best foods and how to use and harvest rongoā (healing remedies). They had advanced places of learning, they traversed the cosmologies, dove the depths of the ocean, climbed and mapped mountains and valleys. They had an intimate knowledge of their environment; they knew its power and they understood their place in it.

Simply, my love of storytelling starts here. It would be later on when the decision was made for me to leave home for boarding school that I realised how important and how powerful our stories are. It was only when I was living outside of the context of whānau, home and iwi that I no longer saw or very rarely heard stories of how amazing our tīpuna were. These stories were replaced however, by a series of other stories, of poor, dumb, lazy Māoris, repeated over and over again. I didn't understand these narratives. Living away from home, the full understanding of what it meant to live in a colonised country dawned on me. Our stories must be told louder than colonial untruths. Our stories must be embedded in the hearts and minds of our tamariki (Children) so that they may innovate and flourish into the realities of their future.

In his research I get to talk about the best parts of ourselves, our tīpuna creativity and our stories. And I am humbled to do so.

Introduction

Storytellers have long been the portals to the past and future for Te Ao Māori (Māori world-view). In a sense they are time travellers that move on a collective continuum of memory, experience, place, and people. These stories allow uri whakaheke (descendants) to dance, move, and engage with them as and when they are needed. This dance between story, practice, and expression is difficult to articulate in words but is an important component to understanding how mahi toi (art making) contributes to oranga (wellness) in an iwi context. This research gives space and platform to some of the artists, explorers, philosophers, storytellers, poets, writers and singers of my tribe Te Whānau a Apanui. It highlights the vital role that toi plays in transmitting not just story and lessons, but markers of cultural identity. It celebrates the keepers and sharers of our stories by acknowledging their pivotal role in connecting our past with our present, and therefore fortifies us with a culturally informed worldview that can be drawn upon for future situations (M. Mita, 2000). Positioned from a Te Ao Māori and a Te Whānau a Apanui tribal world-view, this project asserts kōrerō tuku iho and pūrākau (stories) as central to understanding our Indigenous knowledge systems.

To fully engage with this study, creative practice-led research was undertaken to trial and learn through creating digital stories that expressed tribal stories and experiences to help understand the connection to oranga and mana motuhake (autonomy), a concept that is expanded on later. Whilst creative practice-led research is still relatively recent within the landscape of the academy, it is also an avenue that is full of anticipation for many as a new path to explore ways of thinking about knowledge and research. The investigation of theory and practice is well suited to an iwi and Māori context as these two concepts have existed in our histories for all time. The use of toi to make sense of the world and vice versa is still being used today. It brings our stories to life so that they are not static and gone, but living and contributing to our oranga (well-being). It made sense to explore this as a methodology, but to do this I needed a reflexive approach to move between the ideas and reflections of our kaikōrero (interviewees) and praxis of the digital stories. This is where the Toi Tuku Iho methodology was developed. It considers kōrero and taonga tuku iho (narratives and gifts handed down) from a tribal perspective. Throughout this thesis, I seek to investigate the creative process itself, through and within the exploration of 'creative practice' as a tool and a discipline. Exploring the past and present creative processes of Te Whānau a Apanui in order to inform the construction of my own creative output are important because it grounds

them in a cultural context. An analysis of the literature and interviews will allow me to reflect on the key areas to explore through digital storytelling. This will be discussed further in the methodology. The literature for this rangahau is woven throughout the chapters as it was important for it to move with and contextualise my thinking and the kōrero gifted to me.

This research has two central questions:

How does mahi toi contribute to oranga and mana motuhake in an iwi context?

What does a Toi Tuku Iho methodology look like?

These questions developed out of a deep want to contribute to my communities. They developed from a knowing that our practices hold profound systems to understanding our world, and that these practices have been relatively ignored by Western spaces of learning. Drawing from the richness of our traditions amplifies the voice and position of our storytellers. We have always known that the practice and theorising of toi and through toi contributes to tribal identity. This study is an opportunity to highlight the unequivocal role toi has in contributing to oranga and providing pathways to mana motuhake. The second question is designed to push Western norms of research by centring toi as a tool of inquiry. Designing a methodology that acknowledges our systems of learning is important and is simultaneously ancient and new in practice. Thinking though what a Toi Tuku Iho methodology might look like gives agency to our storytellers and researchers who yearn to use the tools of their ancestors to theorise their reality. The adaption of a creative practice to help answer these questions was a logical and necessary process in this study. A thesis by creative practice was a chosen pathway to answer these questions, with the hope that it helps to create space and prominence for our storytellers, both inside and outside of our iwi boundaries.

Hazel Smith and Roger Dean (2009) herald the inclusion of creative practice within academia as one of the most exciting and revolutionary developments in decades, and purport that therein lies the innovation to challenge and reimagine how students relate to, and understand, knowledge. For these reasons, this approach is entirely appropriate for the intentions of this research, as it acknowledges toi as a centre of knowledge transmission and wellbeing, a position it has always held for Māori. In the following quote, Battiste highlights the essential role of Indigenous ways of understanding the world in the balance of well-being:

Inherent in this approach is the realization that ritual, myth, vision, art, and

learning the art of relationships in particular environments all facilitate the health and wholeness of individuals, families, and communities. (Battiste, 2002, p. 30)

The study positions creative storytellers and what they do as a site, space and platform for Mana Motuhake (self-determination, self-expression) and argues that storytelling is an essential ingredient for robust, healthy, connected, and dynamic communities. This sense of wellbeing was and is purposely eroded by colonisation but can never be extinguished as it lives in the hearts and minds of our people, our tipuna (ancestors) and the vision we have for our mokopuna (descending generations). The healing and empowering potential of creative storytelling and its various vehicles will also be explored in relation to wider discussion of decolonisation.

When I refer to mahi toi, I am referring to the communication platforms our ancestors developed to disseminate knowledge, hold our histories, and to entertain and convey lessons and teachings for use in the many complex contexts. In early communications with my own whānau members, the term 'art' in and of itself was challenged and questioned as a term that is restrictive in definition and can minimise the perceived value of the process, the outputs, and their impact. This is a fascinating conceptual debate that will be expanded upon in the following chapters and a part of this investigation will look at the terminological and ideological restrictions of this term in expressing and conveying the creative platforms from a Te Ao Māori, and a Te Whānau a Apanui, perspective.

A range of storytelling platforms will be considered through creative methods and technologies such as writing, composing, whakairo (carving), raranga (weaving), waiata, tā moko (traditional tattoo), art, moving image, and much more. Importantly, an approach that is informed from a Te Whānau a Apanui perspective will be used through digital storytelling. This will be an opportunity to participate in the creative retelling of our 'kōrero tuku iho' and contribute to the many expressions and spaces of reimagining. An analysis of how we have preserved mātauranga (knowledge) and asserted mana motuhake through our various storytelling tools and processes in the past and in the present day will raise insights into why these modes of communication are so important. Mana motuhake both resists colonial oppression and empowers a link of knowledge and knowing that has always existed through a "tua whakarere, mai rā anō" (generational descent of knowing/knowledge) approach. Therefore, I have taken a wider contextual analysis of how we can develop storytelling through digital platforms, and by using methods derived from our own epistemologies, approaches, and contexts.

Te Whānau a Apanui

Te Whānau a Apanui is coastal and stretches between 13 hapū within our iwi from Hāwai to Pōtaka. Comparatively to other iwi, Te Whānau a Apanui has a small population that in 2018 was estimated to be 16,689 (Te Whata, 2019), with most uri living outside of our tribal geographic boundaries. There are three schools and five Kōhanga Reo within the iwi today. The geographical expanse of Te Whānau a Apanui is serviced by Te Rūnanga o Te Whānau and one health clinic. The foothills of the Raukūmara ranges bind us to the fertile coastal strip of lands and rivers that are rich in the resources that sustained our people for over 800 years (Tāwhai, 2013). Some of the waka (ancestral canoe) we strongly connect with through whakapapa ties are Horouta, Mataatua, and Te Arawa. Tauira-mai-tawhiti is also one of our founding waka, captained by Poumātangatanga. He arrived upon our shores with a kete (basket) full of stories from Te Moananui-a-Kiwa and our ancestral homeland of Hawaiki. As our kaikōrero mātanga, kaitito (composer) and poet, Wiremu Tāwhai (2013) attests: “Close and intimate dependence on the environment has provided their [tribal] scientists with centuries of opportunities to diligently study, examine and evolve specific bodies of knowledge to ensure their survival here” (p.3). The main religions in the rohe (boundaries) are Ringatū, Catholic and Anglican. However, dualities have always existed where religion is concerned and ngā atua Māori are considered and incorporated still in our understandings as is depicted in our kōrero tuku iho.

Te Whānau a Apanui retains much of its ancestral whenua and as a result has preserved many of its historical and traditional stories which are repeated and passed through different modalities such as pūrākau, waiata, karakia (prayers), landscapes (whenua/wāhi), hikoi (to journey), kōrero, haka, mahinga kai (cultivating/harvesting food), tikanga, and mahi toi. Te Whānau a Apanui’s geographic isolation on the East Coast of the Bay of Plenty and the coastal hilly landscape meant that our tribal lands were not so desirable to Pākehā (un)settlers. In the 2013 Te Kupenga report on the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of Māori, the markers for cultural participation and reo Māori proficiency showed that Te Whānau a Apanui were much higher than the general Māori population in these areas (Stats NZ, 2014). This would suggest that Te Whānau a Apanui, has had a greater opportunity to engage and maintain their cultural practices, despite economic indicators telling a different story. Although the majority of iwi land was retained, Te Whānau a Apanui, has a high deprivation rate within Aotearoa. Other factors have influenced this such as World War II, urbanisation, government legislation, lack of educational and employment

opportunities - which are all manifestations of colonisation and mechanisms to sustain oppression. However, these socio-economic factors do not define us. Tohunga and pūkōrero (tribal knowledge expert) o Te Whānau a Apanui, Danny Poihipi sums up the richness of living in Te Whānau a Apanui:

Nāi te mea, ki rō ngahere. Kāore he wāhi mōu te hoko tiakarete, te hoko rare. Ka noho koe ki te takiwā pēnei te tawhiti ki te taone, kāore e whiwhi koe i wērā. Anei, ō pātaka. Ko tō moana, ko tō whenua, ko ō kōawaawa. Nā te mea he ika kei konei, he tuna kei kōna. He oranga mo te whānau katoa. Kei ō pātaka kai, kei ō kōawaawa. (Kamo, 2015)

The conveniences of town are not in Te Whānau a Apanui, what is here is the whenua, moana (ocean) and awa that can nourish and sustain you in more ways than one - these are our riches. Despite the effects of colonisation, our isolation and ancestral tools have contributed to intergenerational knowledge transmission, as this research will show.

Audio-visual Digital Storytelling

The interest in using digital storytelling for me, is its ability to catch and share a moment, to craft a story through sound, words, moving images, people, and place that connects to a deeper idea. While digital storytelling can canvas many components, this research is looking specifically at audio-visual storytelling. The audio-visual elements can be moved and manipulated to stretch and loop concepts of time. When I refer to digital stories in this research, I am referring to how they have been used specifically as an audio-visual mode of storytelling. Video and digital storytelling supports an experimental and reflexive approach to research (Jewitt, 2012). This is embraced throughout the study and offers a more Indigenous pathway to steer towards. Digital storytelling and video have followed the research path of ethnography and film as a viable research method (E. B. Walker & Boyer, 2018). While in the past photos and film have been used as a tool for collecting data, digital storytelling is now being recognised as a powerful means to share research findings. There are several branches of research that utilise video including participatory video and videography (Basil, 2011; A. M. Harris, 2016; Jewitt, 2012). While these approaches can work variably in a Māori or Indigenous context due to their ability to capture moving image, sound, story, and narrative, they have developed within a Western paradigm. It is important for this research that they sit within a Te Ao Māori and iwi standpoint both in practice and in theory. This

research proposes that Kaupapa Māori processes are used to think about, construct, and analyse the platform of digital storytelling. It does this by taking into consideration the importance of the kōrero gifted to this research by iwi storytellers. And in turn it allows more access to the research through a digestible and interesting medium so that mahi toi can connect to the people it is about, and who have participated in it.

A strength of audio-visual storytelling lies in its ability to combine visual and audio elements to help express moments passing. Audio-visual storytelling has the ability to embrace our kōrero tuku iho and add sensory and time lapsing components to how we might view a story. Technology inevitably changes the modes in which we express our stories, yet this does not mean we lose connection to the tipuna sources of these iwi and hapū narratives. Candice Hopkins (2006) a first nations writer, curator, and storyteller discusses the perceived friction between traditional storytelling and digital storytelling:

Storytellers in indigenous communities are continually embracing new material and technologies, including video and digital media. I would suggest that this shift does not threaten storytelling traditions in these communities but is merely a continuation of what aboriginal people have been doing from time immemorial: making things our own. (p. 342)

The relationship between kōrero tuku iho and new ways of storytelling is elaborated on in the coming chapters. However, it is important to note digital storytelling has carved a place in Indigenous communities. The timelines, people, events, and experiences our tipuna have passed down through kōrero tuku iho are able to be expressed visually and through sounds adding to the complex layers of time. As Hopkins intonates, the adaption of tools and technologies is something Indigenous people have always done and will continue to do so as a response to our various contexts and needs. It is also an acknowledgement of the innovation of our tipuna who sort to expand their own thinking and realities through new technologies and methods.

An example of how powerful video can be is expressed by internationally celebrated Māori pioneering filmmaker Merata Mita. She highlighted how influential a camera could be in her early teaching years at Kawerau High School and her first use of a camera as a teaching and communicative tool. At the time, Kawerau High School had a high Māori and Pacific student population. Mita was given the children described by the wider teaching staff as “unteachable,

socially maladjusted, surly unco-operative” (M. Mita, 2019, p. 108). Merata Mita was critical of the school system and curriculum and its inability to create an environment of safety, growth, and learning for Māori children. She resorted to methods of teaching that challenged these systems, including the use of cameras:

I heard about a second-hand Super 8 camera and bought it with my own money. The school regarded that as being way out, even silly. They couldn't equate that kind of technology with learning or with what they called dumb kids. But the Super 8 added another dimension to the kids' work. Instead of writing an essay, they had to write a script, act it out, film it, edit it. I paid for the film to be developed. It was the only way to get it done. By then I'd acquired a reputation for being somewhat unorthodox. I wasn't really. I was simply trying to make a system work that was failing those kids. (Mita, 2019, p. 109)

This highlights a critical argument around the effectiveness of video as a tool for connecting, communicating, teaching, and storytelling in a Māori context. This is where one of New Zealand's most celebrated filmmakers began to use a camera - and how fitting that it was used to connect with Māori and Pacific students and dismantle Western school systems that were never intended for Māori students to succeed. This story also shows us how effective video can be when used outside of a formal film context and in a community. The power of video to express stories for those that feel voiceless is an important aspect here. It also shows that video as a method very much has a place in our Māori communities as it connects to our origins as storytellers.

The audio-visual platforms for Māori and iwi have proved it is important and it can connect with rangatahi, wider communities, and international audiences. Te Matatini National Kapa Haka festival is now live streamed and captured on demand, which means people can go into the website and review their favourite kapa and items. In 2023 over 1.8 million viewers tuned into the Te Matatini festival. Nevak Rogers, TVNZ's deputy for local and commissioning contact, said that it was the biggest week for the platform to date, stating “These are significant audience numbers. They tell us that Te Matatini resonated strongly with viewers across Aotearoa” (Sowman-Lund, 2023). Renditions of kapa haka groups and items that have been seared into the hearts of people over the decades are now available on You Tube and Spotify. Te Whānau a Apanui creatives such as Rob Ruha, Maisey Rika and Troy Kingi, who have a Apanui kapa haka background, have also been celebrated through digital platforms. In 2021, Rob Ruha and rangatahi choir, Ka Hao,

released a song called 35, a homage to the road that travels through Te Tairāwhiti. It celebrated the beauty of Te Tairāwhiti and celebrated the people from there, further instilling iwi pride. The song went viral, with over 12 million views on Tiktok, a number one spot on the Aotearoa charts, and many dance renditions across the platform (Blank, 2022). These examples show that audio-visual digital media has a place for Māori and iwi storytelling. We are already using it to tell our stories and connect with wider audiences.

Māori representation on screen

Māori have always sought to develop film and video work from a Te Ao Māori perspective. Merata Mita has had an important influence on Māori working in all facets of the screen industry. One of the people she mentored included our own, Grammy-winning producer from the hapū of Pararaki, Tweedie Waititi. She highlights that despite her international success, she works from a Te Ao Māori storytelling platform. This highlights how our methods and strategies through storytelling can reach beyond our tribal boundaries. Despite her accolades, Tweedie centres rangatahi as a key reason for doing what she does:

If anyone knows me I am about the next generation. For me it's about our kids believing in our tipuna's method of storytelling. Me kua tātou e haere te whaiwhai pihau. It was Aotearoa that got that Emmy, not New York, not Hollywood. You know, so the message really is for our tamariki (children) to believe in our own stories. Ū ki to ao Māori. (Berryman & Te Rangi, 2022)

Tweedie's involvement in various projects in the film industry may signal that, while representation has been an issue in the past there is a shift and a celebration of te reo Māori, Māori stories and Māori methods of storytelling happening. And Tweedie is right in the middle of it, having produced the reo Māori versions of Disney movies that our children happily engage with as they never have before.

The history of Māori representation through moving image has been fraught with difficulties, but has been challenged by pioneer filmmakers and critical theorists such as Merata Mita and Barry Barclay (H. Mita, 2018; Murray, 2008). Initially, when thinking about how to position the creative stories, I had film in mind as an explorative tool. However, after much research, digital storytelling became a more appropriate mode and terminology to use in order to explore my stories through an audio/visual lens as there was less emphasis on film theory and conventions and more

emphasis on video as a research tool (L. C. Smith, 2012; E. B. Walker & Boyer, 2018). Digital storytelling has also allowed me to engage more intimately with my whānau, whenua, and moana as there is less focus on film conventions and more alignment with capturing the moment, the people and the story, and the intimacies of the occasion and environment. While this research focuses on digital storytelling as a research tool, it is important to give an overview of how Māori representation through moving image has impacted storytelling and stereotypes within Māori communities to help further understand the importance of video in a research context.

The construction of alternative methods and methodologies of filming Māori are not at all a new concept. These Māori and Indigenous ways of speaking through film have grown from our own rich history of storytelling traditions and knowledge dissemination conventions. Pioneering filmmaker Barry Barclay also talks about creating a category called 4th Cinema or Indigenous Cinema (Murray, 2008). This category sits outside of the orthodox First, Second, and Third cinema structures of American, Art House, and Third world Cinema. It is important to note that these categories have been developed and theorised from a Eurocentric view of the world and in of themselves are illustrations of the Western power to define. Often in these categories, Indigenous people find themselves as subjects of inquiry, reproduced notions of how we are perceived by the dominated culture, romanticised, and/or demonised. Barclay shifts this power and claims space to define a category that centres Indigenous knowledge, essentially creating a space, albeit a theoretical one, to explore our realities and our notions, creating and sharing meaning. He suggests that Fourth Cinema has to do with the conceptual theory of “interiority” and “exteriority”, as highlighted by Arts Academic, Dr Rangihiroa Panoho (Barclay, 1990). This pertains to how the external conditions of a film contribute to the “interiority” or inner essence of a film, the space that connects to the audience.

The contribution of the mass media to the oppressing and stereotyping of marginalised and Indigenous people all over the world is well known. Changing these narratives means to give critical thought as to how the media has come to control the wider story of Māori and Indigenous peoples in Aotearoa, and around the world. The dominant role media has in developing perspectives sits in the domain of politics of representation. The key issues surrounding Indigenous people and representation are highlighted here by Cottle:

The media occupy a key site and perform a crucial role in the public representation of unequal social relations and the play of cultural power. It is in

and through representations, for example, that members of the media audience are variously invited to construct a sense of who 'we' are in relation to who 'we' are not, whether as 'us' and 'them', 'insider' and 'outsider', 'colonizer' and 'colonized', 'citizen' and 'foreigner', 'normal' and 'deviant', 'friend' and 'foe', the 'west' and 'the rest'. By such meanings the social interests mobilized across society are marked out from each other, differentiated and often rendered vulnerable to discrimination. At the same time, however, the media can also serve to affirm social and cultural diversity and moreover, provide crucial spaces in and through which imposed identities or the interests of others can be resisted, challenged and changed. Today the media landscape is fast changing. (Cottle, 2000, p. 2)

Cottle highlights that in the past, one of the roles of the media has been in forming the demarcation of ethnicity and race within wider society, which in turn leads to the construction of stereotypes. The rise of Māori in mainstream media signal a shift in how the media might portray Māori. Despite the rise in representation, Māori are still met with resistance and disdain when they step beyond the confines of Māori TV, such as the news anchor Oriini Kaipara who wears a traditional moko, and Te Rauhiringa Brown who uses Māori words while delivering the weather forecast discovered (NZ Herald, 2023). These wahine push social norms just by being themselves on a national channel in prime time. Although celebrated by many they are subjected to heated abuse by being themselves and in turn challenging negative stereotypes. Despite the media's capacity for proliferating negative representations of minorities, Cottle stresses that media platforms are important spaces to challenge the status quo, and to bring issues of ethnicity and inequality to light. For the purposes of this research, these aspects of representation are to be discussed and traversed for the purposes of promoting spaces for decolonisation to occur. Hokowhitu (2008) expands on this seemingly contradictory function of the media as both a tool of marginalisation and an instrument of decolonisation, by stressing that the relationship is more complex than this binary allows. The historic and contemporary issues of marginalisation which the media imposes on Indigenous communities is an important reason for using the medium of digital storytelling. In highlighting this, it is also important to stress that while the solutions are being sought in the media landscape, they are from a Te Ao Māori epistemology.

Brendan Hokowhitu (2013) and Jo Smith (2016) debate whether the very tools used to marginalise and oppress Indigenous people can be used to decolonise, inspire, and uplift. Can

tools that have been historically used to create Māori stereotypes and externalised views still be used to explore Māori realities in an uplifting and meaningful way? In 2007 my own research explored the application of Kaupapa Māori processes to documentary film. On the basis of this research, I conclude that it is possible if we base our methodologies on Māori epistemologies and worldviews. The research argued that there are alternative ways in which filming can be conducted by considering processes that already exist within Māori practices and philosophies. The application of Kaupapa Māori processes to film was considered through the use of Marae protocol, with a particular focus on the pōhiri (welcoming ceremony) as a model to apply filming conventions. The application of these concepts was supported by creative practice-led research (K. R. Waititi, 2007). The use of Kaupapa Māori frameworks and the way in which we capture and relate to our participants influences the film. The findings also called for an ethical approach that considered responsibility, time, ako, and the ethics of power when filming in a Māori context. These elements can be secondary in mainstream media and certainly in the production of film. Moewaka Barnes (2011) furthers this research by coining the term Kaupapa Māori Film Theory as an approach to analyse and develop Māori film. Kaupapa Māori Film Theory seeks to “validate and affirm indigenous experiences and identity in a cinematic context, involving both a textual analysis and a processual approach” (Moewaka Barnes, 2011, p. 145). It is an approach that considers Māori voice (or the lack thereof), Māori worldviews, relationships, accountability, and resistance through film. This notion is explored and expanded on throughout this research.

Chapter Overview

Chapter 2 - Methodology/Method

This chapter considers the methodology and processes used to understand the importance of mahi toi in an iwi and hapū context. It seeks to explain how the process of toi contributes to the oranga of people and does this by developing a Toi Tuku Iho methodology. This methodology combines the continuum of kōrero tuku iho and the processes used to manifest these stories into a mode of toi that support a Māori and iwi worldview. Kaupapa Māori theory is used as a foundation from which to develop the concept of a Toi Tuku Iho methodology which is also related and an extension of Pūrākau methodology. The story work element of this methodology is undeniable but in order to delve deeper into the praxis of toi, it was important to consider an extension of pūrākau to include the practice, and to ensure that it could encapsulate the multi-

disciplinary fields on my kaikōrero. This chapter outlines how the methodology of creative practice framed my research.

Chapter 3 – Ecosystem and Relationships

An interwoven web of relationships is important for the wellbeing of Māori. This chapter outlines the connection between ancestral and present-day relationships, and the role toi plays in solidifying these connections. Mahi toi in a tribal storyteller's context can be as much about collective storytelling as it is about individual expression. How uri whakaheke collect tribal stories and experiences will be looked at from the perspective of an ecosystem of learning, discussed by Te Whānau a Apanui tohunga and leader Rikirangi Gage. Learning experiences are relational when it comes to kōrero tuku iho, but are also strongly influenced by ecological learning, which is about gaining knowledge from the environment that you move in. A te ao Māori view on relationships extends to include environment and metaphysical connections of wairua (spirit) and mauri (life force). This chapter asserts that learning and producing knowledge through kōrero and taonga tuku iho is more complex than a linear descent of knowledge. It is relational and embodies a collective element that sustains identity and therefore oranga in a tribal context.

Chapter 4 - Oranga

Te Whānau a Apanui have long theorised our pūrākau and kōrero tuku iho using mechanisms of toi and waiata. These have ensured the continuation of our ancestors' histories, teachings, and experiences. This chapter explores the connection between kōrero tuku iho, mahi toi, and collective and individual well-being. The deep connection our artists have with the praxis of what they do is discussed and analysed. Oranga is perceived in several ways, including a connection to people through story, whakapapa, and events but also deeply entwined to place and environment. We investigate the devaluing of the arts and the efforts that many of our storytellers make to move our pūrākau through to address challenges for uri of today. This chapter maintains that toi, both the practice and process, and the production is fundamentally important to iwi, hapū, whānau and individual well-being.

Chapter 5 - Mana Motuhake

Mana motuhake is an important concept to unpack as it centres a Māori approach to understanding the world and enacting it. Mana motuhake is the unique place from which tribal storytellers stand, whilst sharing and reimagining kōrero tuku iho. This chapter looks at some of the iwi discussion around Mana motuhake from a tribal storyteller's perspective. Mana motuhake counters colonial assertions and can also provide an introspective standpoint from where identity is enacted and connected to the wider cultural continuum. The varying ways and contexts Mana motuhake is expressed has been discussed and connected to the importance of kōrero tuku iho. This chapter looks at how iwi storytellers express Mana motuhake through the various platforms of toi and why this is important to cultural identity and oranga.

Chapter 6 - Digital Stories

This chapter pulls together the key learnings from chapter 3, 4, and 5 that have informed the creative digital story, *Mana Mokopuna*. The concepts discussed and theorised with the kaikōrero provided the theoretical grounding to develop and produce this digital story. This is a necessary process from a tribal storyteller perspective, where wānanga (discussions) and ideas are pondered, broken down, connected with other stories, and then reconstructed to build more mechanisms that speak from a pūrākau perspective. The digital story is deeply connected to land and the importance of kōrero tuku iho as a mechanism for identity, oranga, and mana motuhake. The connection between key themes in the interviews and how the digital video was thought through, filmed, and edited are explored. These processes also inform the Toi Tuku Iho methodology discussed earlier by analysing the praxis of the research. This chapter, therefore, expresses how the themes of the interviews are further analysed and amplified through the digital story being told.

Thoughts on reading this thesis

This research was conducted in several stages and required reflexiveness to move and shape itself as findings became known. The creative component which accompanies this thesis has several key areas to its development and, therefore, it is critical that Chapters 3 - 6 which outline this creative journey are engaged with and understood before viewing the digital story, *Mana*

Mokopuna. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 contextualise the digital story and are born of information gathered from interviews with tribal storytellers. The theory is developed and seen through a collective and relational lens and subsequently lead to the development of a Toi Tuku Iho methodology. Lastly, Chapter 6 discusses the praxis of applying the carefully identified themes to the construction and filming of the digital story. Key learnings and reflections from this creative stage of the research are also shared in Chapter 6.

Te Ao Māori

It is important to understand that Te Ao Māori does not have one homogenised view on the world. This also goes for iwi and hapū. In saying this, we can and do share particular cultural markers that interweave a shared perspective. These markers are usually connected to specific environmental aspects that shape a way of life. For Te Whānau a Apanui, we are coastal people and this influences how we understand our place in the world (this will be expanded on in the coming chapter). Our worldview is also impressed by whakapapa. Whakapapa is not just about genealogy. It is an interwoven tapestry of experiences, exchanges and stories held within our whakapapa. Therefore whakapapa, as are our stories, are living and breathing. They move, grow and develop with their people. Te Whānau a Apanui are a hapū based iwi, where hapū have mana over a particular area. Because we are coastal, our hapū also identify themselves with particular environmental markers such as ika (fish) that are tied into historical kōrero tuku iho; for example the hapū of Kauaetangohia and the Moki, Hikarukutai and the Kahawai. Therefore, while this study might discuss a Te Whānau a Apanui view, it does not and cannot encapsulate this in its entirety and doesn't wish to. It might have been more authentic to do a hapū based study, but the bringing together of voices throughout the iwi provided a rich analysis and wānanga that have contributed greatly to further understanding the impact of toi on our communities. I am greatly indebted to our kaikōrero, who shared their invaluable insights and perspectives.

Te Reo Māori

Te Reo Māori, the Māori language, is an important aspect of understanding our way of life and how we view and make sense of the world. The impacts of colonisation on Te Reo Māori is undisputed (Hohepa et al., 1992; Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011; Reedy, 2000). Māori have forged through many challenges to establish our own spaces to protect Te Reo Māori and to ensure our tamariki can be equipped with it if we so chose; these include Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori

which were language initiatives (R. Higgins et al., 2017; Hohepa et al., 1992; Tocker, 2015). Challenges are on-going to retain our language in a world where capitalism reigns, but we are seeing movement and improvement of the uptake of Te Reo Māori in homes. While statistics show an increase in Māori learning and engaging with Te Reo Māori (Stats NZ, 2022), most of us do not speak Māori. Therefore, this research has been written in the English language in order for our own to be able to engage with it. There have been many times during this study that I wished I had written in Māori as I believe te reo has a more poetic understanding of relationships and the environment which were key themes throughout the research.

Puna kōrero

I have chosen to introduce the kaikōrero at first using their full names and then after their first names. Using last names to describe them as academic writing might prescribe felt distant and cold. As an insider researcher calling them by their first name felt more in tune with the nature of the thesis. Authors that I don't have a personal connection with I have referred to them usually by their surname.

The use of international authors and authors outside of Te Whānau a Apanui, outline an understanding that we have always had in our hekenga kōrero which is that outside perspective is important to look at a situation from different angles. This is highlighted through the story that tells of the time when our ancestor Apanui Ringamutu was directed to Tauranga Moana to seek help to defeat Hikawera of Ngāti Porou. There he sat with Kinomoerua who discussed metaphoric war strategies using the taiao – the toka (rock) Tirikawa and the kawau (shag). A whakatauākī that has come from that is “ka ngaro, ka ngaro, ka ea, ka ea te toka o Tirikawa” (Gage et al., 2019, p. 77). Apanui Ringamutu returned and was victorious. This reminds us that seeking knowledge outside of what we know can be valuable and broaden our perspective on what is in front of us.

CHAPTER 2: He karere Taurira ka hiki i te ara e



Figure 2: Te Whatianga wharekai, Kauaetangohia. Taurira-mai-tawhiti Ringatoi: Cliff Whiting. Personal image.

Methodology

Kaupapa Rangahau

This chapter considers the development of a Toi Tuku Iho methodology as a means to understand the complex knowledge exchange involved in mahinga toi (artistic expressions) by tribal artists. It aims to establish a framework that illustrates the intimate nature of learning, theorising, and disseminating, through storytelling mechanisms that have been in use for centuries, and have sustained Indigenous worldviews and identity despite the onslaught of colonisation (J. Lee, 2005; Tāwhai, 2013). It is rooted in a relational view of knowledge and time and is deeply embedded in place. The themes collected through the interviews from our tribal storytellers revealed significant threads of process and consciousness that became the genesis of this methodology. It was further supported by Kaupapa Māori and Pūrākau scholarship as a whare (house) from which the ideas were supported and fertilised.

However, the interviews and literature alone did not clarify how this might be implemented and applied. Therefore, applying these understandings to my own creative storytelling practice developed and refined a deeper sense of how these ideas could tangibly come to fruition. It also centralises the significance of place and tacit knowledge within the process. This methodology

stems from the reflexivity that the creative process and practice allowed. The creative process allowed a heart and wairua exploration, which was pulled from filming in a place of significance with the most important people in my life. The creative video forced me to consider deeper places of knowing, I rewatched the digital story and still moments were new to me. I connect this to the words of Rikirangi Gage; tohunga, kaitito, pou mo te hāhi Ringatū and Te Whānau a Apanui leader, when he talked about moving kaupapa through waiata:

You're not dealing with information, you're not dealing with data. You're moving in wisdom, that activates consciousness that activates the mind and the heart, to do things that way. (personal communication, April 21, 2021)

The creative process was a tangible experience that engaged the 'collective sensory'. I found that the digital stories were very intimate to me but moved from a collective storytelling space. They were expression of collective knowing but from my own viewpoint, from my own interpretation of how these felt, sounded, and smelt to me. This sensory experience is profoundly connected to the environment and the ecologies of knowledge that connect to our tipuna. These ideas of environment and knowledge are expanded on in Chapter 6.

A Toi Tuku Iho methodology holds space for our traditional arts to occupy and communicate. It also breathes capacity into the potential of new memory mechanisms and technologies to grow as uri whakaheke explore the potentiality of new platforms. A Toi Tuku Iho methodology is centred in place but at the same time place, can be conceptualised and dreamed of by uri whakaheke who live away, or have been severed from their tūrangawaewae (place to stand). Some may only have the work of the tribal artists and composers to draw connection to their stories, and therefore their home and place. And so we dream, we sing, we write, we draw, we paint, we film, we weave, and we carve – to, and of, the land and waters that we feel deeply within our whakapapa, within our bones. The idea to develop a methodology while researching required a reflexive approach.

This research is formed and based around understanding the process of kōrero tuku iho as it is understood from a Te Whānau a Apanui worldview, therefore a methodology that understands the foundational role kōrero tuku iho play in iwi, hapū, and whānau identity and oranga was needed. Pūrākau methodology asserts that through our stories lie pathways of deep inquiry and centres Māori epistemology, ontology, and worldviews in its research approach (J. Lee, 2009). Pūrākau methodology is reflexive enough to expand into the sphere of mahi toi and gives the

theoretical grounding to do so. While this kaupapa rangahau (research) has moved through Kaupapa Māori theory, its purpose has been to find a methodology that speaks to the extension of the creative construction of toi and of knowledge produced through creation. This chapter argues that Toi Tuku Iho - as a sensory and creative process - helps to understand how we move kaupapa through time and space and into te ao marama (the world of light), so that knowledge is brought to life, reintroduced, reshaped and reimagined. Toi Tuku Iho is, therefore, process, construction, and manifestation, carrying ancient knowledge and making it tangible for present-day uri whakaheke to make meaning from.

There are two points of inquiry in this research; the first are the interviews from the storytellers of Te Whānau a Apanui, and the second is the development of the creative videos. For the purposes of this research, giving space and voice to our own artists and storytellers is important to the authenticity of this research. The interviews explored how mahi toi contributes to oranga and mana motuhake within our iwi, and the creative video looked at the epistemological development of the creative video based on the themes collected from the whānau interviewed and wider Te Whānau a Apanui scholars. Reflections from the interviews and my own knowledge of place established the idea of the creative video. These two areas of inquiry weave knowledge collection, investigation, reflection, and wānanga. The approach to the research moved between collecting and reflecting; therefore, requiring several reflexive methods that could adjust to the research as needed, and as findings made themselves known.

Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa Māori Theory has been necessarily developed over the last three decades to forge space for Māori worldviews within research and the academy. Leonie Pihama describes Kaupapa Māori as 'deep ancestral knowledge' that derives from tipuna and place (Pihama, 2016, p. 101). Expanding on this, Pihama (2016) adds:

As a cultural construction, the term 'kaupapa Māori' has become one that is utilised to describe a range of initiatives that include the inclusion of tikanga and te reo Māori along with key cultural principles within the theory and practice of Māori researchers. (p. 104)

Kaupapa Māori Theory is a theoretical approach that considers Māori philosophies and strategies. This theory derives from the need for Māori to express, theorise, and explore their own realities in a way that supports and benefits Māori communities. Kaupapa Māori research is developed from a Māori epistemology and considers Māori-centred philosophies, frameworks, and practices. It has also been described as research by Māori, for Māori, and with Māori (Powick, 2003). It has foundations in a political context and is concerned with Tino Rangātiratanga (self-determination) and the Te Tiriti o Waitangi (cited in Lee, 2009, Nepe, 1991; Smith, 1997). Despite the political context, Linda Tuhiwai Smith asserts that Kaupapa Māori moves far beyond being a responsive model or approach to colonisation:

There is more to kaupapa Māori than our history under colonialism or our desires to restore rangātiratanga. We have a different epistemological tradition that frames the way we see the world, the way we organise the world, the way we organise ourselves in it, the questions we ask, and the solutions we seek. (Smith, 2000, p.230)

This is further corroborated by Seed-Pihama (2017) who asserts that even if colonisation had not happened, Kaupapa Māori would still be something that we did as Indigenous people. When considering Kaupapa Māori for myself there is a direct connection to our tīpuna. It makes me ask questions related to understanding the workings and teachings of our tipuna. This train of thought leads to discussions about how we use the tools passed down to us to continue the 'tukunga iho' processes of our tīpuna through old and new forms of technology. This positioning and questioning will assist in the development of a video philosophy that considers storytelling methods and techniques that have grown from our epistemologies and navigates our metaphysical (Nepe, 1991).

In its capacity to encapsulate Māori understandings of the world, Kaupapa Māori can be expressed and articulated in multiple ways. Kaupapa Māori is necessarily deep enough to platform nuanced iwi, hapū, and whānau understandings. It must flex and stretch to consider the autonomy of iwi and hapū perspectives and how they have uniquely come to view the world. Māori are made up of iwi and then autonomous hapū and whānau. Many other research perspectives have considered the viewpoint of their particular iwi or hapū including Mahuika (2012), Doherty (2010), and Richards (2016) to name a few. From a Māori and Indigenous perspective it is even

considered good practice or common place to acknowledge the uniqueness of an iwi or hapū (Kovach, 2010). In his thesis, Wiremu Doherty (2010) discusses the concept of mātauranga-ā-iwi. Doherty argues that Kaupapa Māori theory makes political space to validate Māori ways of knowing and being, but asserts that mātauranga-ā-iwi needs to be considered to get a deeper and clearer understanding of important transformative elements within the more generic concept of Kaupapa Māori theory:

Mātauranga-ā-iwi is tribal knowledge. Tribal knowledge is defined as the relationship between the tribe and its land base. Mātauranga-ā-iwi is knowledge specific to an iwi and its rohe. It is the exchange between the rohe and the iwi that provides the context for mātauranga-a-iwi. As the iwi engages with and describes its environment, the basis for mātauranga-ā-iwi is established. The application of the principles and values in mātauranga Māori occurs, though each iwi has its own particular process that links their particular rohe and people together. (Doherty, 2010, p. 73)

Moving deeper though Kaupapa Māori theory enables us to connect with knowledge and how that knowledge was formed by considering our own particular iwi perspective derived from its own unique landscapes and relationships. Filmmaker and scholar Jani Wilson (2016), contends that when researching in a particular rohe hapū and whānau, tikanga should be adhered to. Kaupapa Māori theory is an important concept to understand when working with Māori communities. I believe it encapsulates other deeper and nuanced expressions of being Māori such as iwi, hapū and whānau knowledge and experiences. As asserted by Doherty, mātauranga-ā-iwi is connected to land base, meaning that the ontology of the iwi is understood from its physical positioning and environment, and its relationships to each other and other iwi. This research supports this position by also considering the environmental influences the processes of *tuku iho* and *mahi toi* that contribute to iwi, hapū, and whānau *mana motuhake* and *oranga*.

This thesis looks at a *Toi Tuku Iho* creative process which is explored through the development of digital storytelling. Using this method, I explore how we share these paths of knowing through creative vehicles including *pūrākau*, *waiata*, *mōteatea*, *karanga* (female call), *whaikōrero* (speech making), *raranga*, *mahi toi*, *whakairo*, and contemporary technologies. Te Whānau ā Apanui kaumātua, historian, teacher, actor, poet, and scholar Wiremu Tāwhai describes these vehicles

as ‘memory devices’:

Our grandparents and parents developed this facility to a very high degree, using ancient mythology, stories, personalities from history, old songs, proverbs and practical demonstrations – all to encourage and foster the retention of the experience. (Tāwhai, 2013, p. xii).

This kōrero shows the inter-generational importance placed within these platforms of recalling and engagement. These methods of knowledge dissemination are the window into the Māori worldview, a way of making sense of the world. They can show the complexities of our belief systems (L. T. Smith, 2012) and the depths of our knowledge stores.

These vehicles of dissemination hold our mātauranga and whakapapa, and all have a theoretical underpinning that our tīpuna developed, critiqued, and philosophised. Leonie Pihama elucidates the importance of these elements in the consideration of Kaupapa Māori research:

tino rangatiratanga, whānau, whakapapa, taonga tuku iho, te reo, tikanga are all elements that are critical to the research approach. In that each of these elements is directly linked to developing research that is transformative for our whānau, hapu and iwi. (Pihama, 2016, p. 108)

These components provide the foundations and lens to view, develop, and understand Māori epistemologies. They are a gateway into our tīpuna’s way of understanding the world and offer a pathway forward to conceptualise the world that counters colonial assertions and honours our own cultural paradigms (Mikaere, 2003; Murphy, 2016).

While a Kaupapa Māori approach will provide a tūāpapa (foundation) for this research, there will be methodological peka (branches) that develop from this theory that acknowledges and emphasises a mahi toi and tuku iho approach. The tuku iho approach to research has been embraced by some of our recent Apanui scholars including; Hoani Waititi, Roka Paora, Wiremu Tawhai and Parehau Richards, as a natural extension of acknowledged exploration from iwi storytellers and historians. This research follows this pathway and these tribal storytellers to further examine a Te Whānau a Apanui understanding of the place of toi within our hearts and minds.

Pūrākau

Reclamation of pūrākau as methodology has roots in the wider movement of Indigenous people seeking to decolonise methodologies (J. Lee, 2009; L. T. Smith, 2012). Pūrākau has been with Māori as far back as our collective memories take us as depicted in our cosmological creation stories. They are not relegated to merely myth and legend (J. Lee, 2005), but cover the expanse of our kōrero tuku iho, our narratives and stories brought forth from our worldview, histories, and experiences. The foremost author on pūrākau as pedagogy is Jenny Lee (2008) who wrote her thesis titled *Ako: Pūrākau of Māori teachers in secondary schools*, which looked at the potential of pūrākau to expand stories of ako as a pedagogy (J. Lee, 2009). Lee's work incorporates much inspiration from world renowned Indigenous scholar Jo-ann Archibald's thinking and scholarship, who developed the term "Indigenous storywork" to speak to the storytellers, researchers, and educationalists who needed a doorway to incorporate their own Indigenous stories into the academy as foundational for their research (Archibald, 2008). Archibald's extensive work looked at developing frameworks, methodologies and pedagogies based on how Indigenous people make meaning from their stories and apply them to their lived and metaphysical experiences (Archibald Xie et al., 2019).

The nature of this research embraces pūrākau as a foundation, as it is based on how our narratives and histories of our iwi of Te Whānau a Apanui have informed our expressions of retelling and reimagining. Tāmāti Waaka (2016), from the hapū of Rūtaia, attests that pūrākau are not relics of the past but rather embodiments of our ancestors, and are told and expressed to connect to people in the present day:

Otirā, ki te pūrākau te tangata, kei te whakaora koe i ō tīpuna, kāore koe i te kōrero mō ngā wā o mua, engari i te whakaohooho i te hinengaro ki ngā mahi a ngā tīpuna, ā, ko te kāinga o ngā tīpuna, kei tua o te wharau, ā he wāhi ora tērā.
(p. 3)

This interpretation suggests that engaging and retelling pūrākau are living processes that spark curiosity and wonder so that they may live on to the next storyteller. The term kōrero tuku iho will be used interchangeably with pūrākau as this is what this particular type of kōrero is known as in our iwi, and is a term used widely by Te Whānau a Apanui scholars and those I have interviewed

throughout the research (Nepia, 1972b; Richards, 2016; Tāwhai, 2013). Pūrākau has long been a pedagogical practice in Te Whānau a Apanui. Examples of this are the writings by Hoani Waititi and Roka Paora, both passionate educators and experts in te reo o Te Whānau a Apanui. Hoani Waititi was well known for the *Te Rangatahi* series created in the 1960's, books that taught the Māori language (H. R. Waititi, 1992, 1993, 1995). Between them they produced many teaching resources using characters to play out daily situations in their communities; the application of tikanga and experiences in the taiao within Te Whānau a Apanui (Mariu, 2021; Richards, 2016). While we have ancient pedagogical uses for our pūrākau and kōrero tuku iho, these examples show how pūrākau as a teaching tool was adapted into writing which was another creative means of expression and education. Kōrero and taonga tuku iho have always been teaching mechanism for Te Whānau a Apanui despite the evolving platforms we may use.

Some researchers extend pūrākau as a methodology to include conversations or exchanges that don't necessarily denote mātauranga and kōrero that have come from tipuna repositories (Ware et al., 2018; Wirihana, 2012). I assert that kōrero tuku iho is a more appropriate term for this research as the premise looks at how kōrero tuku iho from our ancestors speaks to us through the platforms of our iwi storytellers. In saying this, the body of work that has developed from Pūrākau and Indigenous storywork still provides a base from which to develop and understand how to approach research, creation, and reflection and how these three tenets might relate or speak to each other.

The nature of this research required a responsive approach to developing knowledge. Television producer, director, and academic scholar Robert Pouwhare, discusses how pūrākau as methodology can flex into other spheres of practice such as mahi toi:

The development of Pūrākau methodology as a unique indigenous research model owes much to the receptiveness of Artistic practice-led research to indigenous theory and practice. Equally as significant is that this receptiveness opens a portal within the Academy that respects and values how we, as indigenous people, see and experience the world as it is a very different reality. (Pouwhare & McNeill, 2018, p. 265)

The way the research was planned was to gather key themes that flowed from the interviews, analyse them, engage with them, feel them, and then decide how I might express these ideas

through video, but more importantly through the conduit of whenua, moana, mokopuna, whakapapa, and wānanga. Embedding the whakaaro (ideas/thoughts) from the kōrero into practice required a reflexive approach that considered, and could move through, complex philosophies of mana whenua and kōrero tuku iho, and then intimate processes of whānau and mokopuna wānanga, all while holding space for the nuanced, iwi – specific, worldview. It is pūrākau from which these points of being can be explored because it is pūrākau that creates the lens from which they are viewed.

Tuku Iho

Kōrero or taonga tuku iho is a concept well known within Te Ao Māori and indeed Te Whānau a Apanui. Kōrero/taonga tuku iho conveys the dissemination of knowledge from generation to generation. In her doctoral thesis, Parehau Richards (2016), a Te Whānau a Apanui scholar who descends from a whakapapa line of researchers, highlights how important this notion is to mātauranga-ā-iwi. The idea of ‘tuku’ or ‘tukunga’ refers to taonga and kōrero transferred, passed, given, or released between people, and can include whānau, hapū, and iwi. Here, Parehau explains the connection of the word iho and tukunga:

The addition of the word ‘iho’ to ‘tukunga’ is significant because it has a number of relevant meanings to the transfer of language and knowledge ... Denoting a downward direction, tukunga iho refers to passing down or transferring from one generation to the next. Iho is also the Māori word for umbilical cord that physically joins an unborn child to the whenua (placenta) of its mother during pregnancy. (Richards, 2016, p. 23).

As highlighted here, ‘iho’ can indicate a downward direction and is often associated with the passing of mātauranga from generation to generation, i.e tipuna to mokopuna. It is also a word that expresses a concept of time, a moment of connection between past and present. The meaning that is of interest here is the notion of an umbilical cord. The connection between a mother and child who is growing in the whare tangata (womb) and being nourished by the link of the ‘iho’ is important to consider from our tipuna perspective. The idea of kōrero tuku iho, suggests how our tipuna viewed this particular type of passing of knowledge in that both process and content should be nourishing and sustaining for uri whakaheke. Moorefield (2021) provides

multiple meanings of the kupu (word) 'iho', extending this interpretation to include heart, essence, inner core, and essential quality.

Kōrero tuku iho serves to connect past accounts with uri whakaheke in a way that is meaningful to them in their context and world. Ngāti Porou historian and scholar Nepia Mahuika makes the point that kōrero tuku iho is not just a historical account but are living experiences that connect to the present for uri whakaheke:

oral history for our people was always seen to be recurring in the present, thus traditions were not viewed as something beyond the lifetime of a person, but inextricably connected to their contemporary worlds. The manipulation and regurgitation of our kōrero tuku iho was seen as an entirely acceptable way to envision the form and process of oral history and tradition. Indeed, Derek Lardelli, one of our carvers and artists, found little difficulty with the fact that our oral traditions had 'been tampered with' or 'played with' across generations. (Mahuika, 2012, pp. 126–127)

This would also suggest that the kōrero sometimes moves and is moulded to the situation and place it finds itself in. Tohunga ringawhāo (expert carver and tattooist), Derek Lardelli, further highlights that this is a necessary element to ensure the survival of these histories and retellings and is a normal process for those deeply rooted in their own culture (as cited in Mahuika, 2012). Mahuika discusses a deep connection with oral history and the importance of place with particular emphasis on marae as a conduit for kōrero tuku iho and tangible objects of our tīpuna. The aesthetics of the marae, the carvings, the kōwhaiwhai (patterned panels), the tīpuna photos, in some more contemporary instances the paintings and sculptures, all contribute and interweave with kōrero tuku iho. This becomes a living relationship where "Kōrero tuku iho as the living world' operates on the notion that orality is not a static or fossilised phenomenon, but dynamic and evolving in form." (Mahuika, 2012, p. 135). The introduction of 'toi' into this conversation could then suggest that our ringatoi (artists) and katito (composers) operate as a conduit between kōrero tuku iho and the tangibility of taonga tuku iho. At times, kōrero and taonga tuku iho are used interchangeably given the context. Our tīpuna narratives, accounts, and experiences flow into different forms to produce meaning for the contemporary world we as uri whakatipu live in.

Method - Ki te ao Mārama

Praxis and Reflexivity

Sheilagh Walker (1996) a Kaupapa Māori academic, asserts that Kaupapa Māori theory is bound to a practice or action. Walker (1996) goes on to say:

I suggest that Māori do not need Theory (in the European-philosophical sense), in order to live. Despite the fact that I have labelled Kaupapa Māori as a Theory; it is also a praxis. Our Theory is praxis. Kaupapa Māori Theory does not subsume itself within European philosophical hegemonies that posit the supremacy of the written word over the spoken.

This is also supported by Graham Smith (1997) who describes kaupapa Māori theory as a transformative praxis. Smith (1997) goes on to say that “the very dynamic of the concept of praxis itself, that is of kaupapa Māori continuously being made and re-made within a critical cycle of reflection and reaction” (p. 26). This is applicable to this research as the creative practice has been informed, shaped and then reflected upon in several cycles to more deeply understand how theory and practice contribute to each other. This line of thinking supports a practice-led approach that is reflexive to the findings that reveal themselves throughout the research. Reflexive research is understood by Attia and Edge (2017) as a process where the researcher adjusts their practice to the environment that they are operating in, with a particular focus on mutual reshaping between the researcher and the research. It also centres the researcher as learner and “emphasise[s] the importance of the researcher consciously stepping back from action in order to theorise what is taking place” (Attia & Edge, 2017, p. 33). This reflexive approach explores how the audio-visual platforms can be understood through the lens of pūrākau and the wider Indigenous concept of storywork (Archibald, 2008).

A reflexive approach features in many stages of this research, including the development of an approach that aligns with what was at the heart of the storytellers kōrero and what made sense to me as someone who has grown up at home. Therefore, developing an approach where the intangible and the tangible meet was one aspect of this research. Toi Tuku Iho as methodology has developed out of my discussions, reflections, and theories from the storytelling practitioners

of Te Whānau a Apanui. These kohanga (collections) were then applied to my own creative work through video, which is the basis of this section of the chapter. Kovach (2010) a world-renowned Indigenous scholar, discusses methodologies that develop from a specific tribal culture:

Being Cree, I have an understanding of its epistemological premise and subsequent methods and protocols. A common response has been to ask how a researcher can privilege a specific tribal epistemology and still have meaning for other Indigenous cultures beyond that specific tribe... The unique aspect of our tribal cultures are held in esteem because they emerge from those ancestral interrelationships found in place. Our affiliations must be acknowledged - it is about identity and respect. (p. 37)

This assertion supports an approach informed from my own tribal background and by iwi practitioners. The role of mahi toi in this research is foundational - it is subject and context (interviews) as well as method and theory (creative digital story). It has taken me some time to unpack just how insightful the creation process would be for me as a researcher, and how I might reflect on my work. I knew that when I started a PhD by creative practice there would be an element of it that did not reveal itself until closer to the end, as I believed the interviews were the important first step. These moving parts pushed me in and out of practice, kōrero, and reflection, as is the reflexiveness of the research.

The reflexivity explored in the research has also been used and mobilised by Jason De Santolo, an Indigenous Garrwa and Barunggam man, who is a researcher and creative producer from Te Whenua Moemoea (Australia). In his thesis titled *Towards understanding the renewal of ancient song traditions through Garrwa video: an Indigenous story research study* he explores revitalising ancient song through the medium of video, he writes:

This project was necessarily fluid and organic and after being practice driven has offered deep insights into Indigenous video practice. These findings are embedded in action and meaning making beyond the desktop and as such, the project extends beyond purely conceptual findings. Transformation takes place through our relationships in the real world. So it makes sense, that at a fundamental level it is about reasserting the truth of our power through our own story. (De Santolo, 2018, p. 37)

The notion of relationships in this research is important and is connected to the “necessarily fluid” practice highlighted by De Santolo that was required to understand how we engage with knowledge, and how we might then move into a creative space within which others can engage. Therefore, this research is concerned with how kōrero moves from story to the tangible sensory world, through our relationary lens. De Santolo also speaks to the potential for transformation and the adaptation needed to welcome new learnings and the unexpected. Reflexivity in this research is therefore necessary to reveal ngā kura huna, or the knowledge lying dormant.

Propelling Pūrākau methodology into practice-led artistic inquiry promises exciting new pathways to understand and express our knowledge systems in the academy. It opens doors to explore our way of knowing in a much more authentic way than we have previously been afforded. It allows us to express what is in the deepest lakes of our cultural hearts, where all senses can be brought to the fore to aid the accounts of our realities. Exploring through praxis has given me an opportunity to engage with the notions and ideas of my kaikōrero, who discuss both the theory of what they do and the process and practice of what they do. The importance of heuristic processes was highlighted in many of the kaikōrero, emphasising that it was a part of their learning and was a part of how their toi contributed back to their communities. Therefore, this methodology considers heuristic inquiry as an important feature in how I interpreted, approached, and presented the creative video.

Toi Tuku Iho - Practice-based inquiry

The use of toi in Te Ao Māori as a tool or method of inquiry is ancient. The use of toi as a theoretical and practice-based method of inquiry in the academy is much less substantiated, or even accepted, as a valid form of knowing. Despite these colonial views, this research asserts that toi as a method of inquiry is an important access point to further understanding mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-ā-iwi. A Toi Tuku Iho methodology has the potential to delve into deep spaces of understanding and enlightenment through theory and praxis. The rigours of pulling out the threads by articulating something whose premise is to communicate without words is the dilemma. Whatu and raranga (weaving) expert and scholar Hinekura Smith (2019), in her creative practice-led thesis, discusses why explaining the relationship between the theory and the experiences of wāhine (women) and the embodiment of that knowledge through whatu, was so challenging. Here she shares some of her insights:

I learnt that developing theory from the practice-based art of whatu is necessarily difficult. To explain and capture the embodied, tactile, and tangible relationship between the artistic practice of whatu and Māori women in a linear written research project is to attempt the impossible. The transformative nature of this research occurred in its fullest sense during our weaving time, when the women sat and talked, wove and shared stories, connected and related, presented their completed cloaks and cried as they described the feeling of seeing it worn by their grandchild... I recognized the impossibility of trying to capture and write about an embodied artistic practice as methodology as I simultaneously understood the importance of engaging with this impossibility to push the boundaries of how research can be conducted. (p. 22-23)

What is evident is that a mahi-toi approach to research is still being thought through and worked through. Hinekura highlights how complex the relationship is between what is seen and what is unseen. What moves through a process of relationship and story to become something tangible and embodied. The use of toi as a practice-based methodology is still a concept being explored by Māori artists and scholars. While mahi toi as theory and praxis is an exciting new pathway in academia, it still needs much investigation. We do have some theorists and practitioners doing this mahi; both Jani Wilson (2017) and Robert Pouwhare (2020) have theorised the concept of toi as a method of inquiry, extending it through Kaupapa Māori theory and into praxis and vice versa. This was not deliberately sought out but was a welcome connection to make given my use of digital storytelling.

Toi Tuku Iho methodology was developed through theory and practice. The words 'toi' and 'tuku iho' as a concept embrace several key ideas that needed to be applied together to fully realise how the approach would be developed for this specific study. I had considered talking about it as a mahi-toi methodology, but this did not consider the positionality of the kaikōrero who were tribal storytellers; who retold, reimagined, and reshaped the kōrero that had been passed down generationally through their tribal histories. It was important to centre the mātauranga-ā-iwi nature of this research, which is captured by the concept 'tuku iho'. I considered including just 'tuku iho' as a methodological concept but when working through and creating the digital story, I knew that the praxis was a fundamental aspect of the explorative element of this study. 'Mahi toi' was a necessary creative condition to revealing knowledge and was also a key kaupapa that was

spoken about throughout the interviews with my kaikōrero. I did have my apprehensions around using the word 'toi', as I thought that it might restrict the kupu to how we view arts as quite a specific field, whereas this research suggests something quite different. I also did not think that it encompassed the role of the composers and performers, but again I was wrong. The word 'toi' also means origin, source or summit (Moorfield, 2021), which would indicate a wider understanding and deeper meaning to 'toi' beyond the arts. Therefore, the weaving of these two concepts has been developed through trial and error, through a deep analysis of kōrero, and through the application of praxis.

If we consider this from a tribal storyteller's perspective, then 'toi' actually connects to the continuum of knowledge shaped through time and connected to our tipuna. This is discussed further in the coming chapters. In a summary report written by Creative Waikato, they expand the concept of toi:

Toi envelops all aspects of Māori living. Knowledge from tīpuna is held within the taonga, patterns, reo, mōteatea (laments), waiata, historical stories and whakapapa. It is a direct connection to the mātauranga of our tīpuna, which is a source of strength for Māori... The deep knowledge possessed within toi tuku iho, allows a person to learn about who they are and where they come from. It impacts all aspects of their lives, which radiates to the people they are connected to, their whānau and beyond. (Creative Waikato, 2017, p. 4)

This would suggest that 'toi' encompasses a range of creative expressions within Te Ao Māori, extending to our oratory mechanisms of waiata, whaikōrero, and karanga - all important platforms for passing knowledge, but may not be connected regularly to the term 'toi'. The summary report also questions how 'toi' is being contemporarily defined and asserts that it cannot be separated from being Māori. Reclaiming the word 'toi' as it is used to describe the ascent by Tānemahuta and Tawhaki to the twelve heavens, 'toi huarewa' (Moorfield, 2021), or to describe the highest of heavens, 'Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi' (Aperahama, 2018), enlightens how we might frame 'toi' as the highest pursuit of knowledge, the source, or expertise. This is important to clarify as the translation from 'toi' to 'art' is inadequate here. We understand 'toi' as a necessity of living in a creative existence as our tīpuna have done. Although we did have tohunga in specific areas of toi, toi itself is an embodied living experience that is not reserved for the few but was a way of thinking,

theorising, and creating as will be discussed in the coming chapters. A Toi Tuku Iho methodology, therefore, is concerned with the aspiration of researching through our old and new knowledge systems for tangible manifestations that can be shared. Toi is not so much about an explicit form, but speaks more to the genesis of an idea that is being brought into Te Ao Mārama, or the world of light.

One scholar and practitioner that has progressed thinking around mahi-toi theory and analysis, is Jani Wilson. She proposes that the person using mahi-toi theory is both toi practitioner and researcher, highlighting that when the two devices come together, they can enhance the conversation between the two vernaculars. Wilson goes on to say that:

Mahi-toi, arts and the production of art, is where a concept takes physical form. The ideas are brought into the physical realm by mahi-ā- ringa, and the mahi-toi practitioner is the conduit. When the mahi-toi practitioner is also the researcher and vice versa, the vernaculars in both circles enrich and give structure to each other. (J. K. T. Wilson, 2017, p. 117)

The nature of the practice and the theory create a complex dance that moves between knowing and being. This research is interested in the relationship between theory and practice, and how this births notions of oranga and mana motuhake within an iwi context. Wilson (2017) goes on to say that “Mahi-toi is a way of thinking through the process of transitioning from practice to theory and vice versa” (p. 117). This suggests that theory informs practice and practice informs theory, making it a non-linear process, and as Hinekura Smith alluded to above, makes it extremely difficult to construct a tidy model of what that might look like. In fact, this may look different depending on the practitioner and the researcher’s chosen creative tool, process, relationships, and output.

To give perspective as to why the articulation between theory and practice in toi is difficult, it is helpful to consider ‘tacit’ knowledge, or knowledge that is hidden or not made explicit (Collins, 2010), as opposed to ‘explicit’ knowledge, or knowledge that has become known and expressed. Collins makes the point that there can be different kinds of tacit knowledge. The knowledge that is of interest to this research as it pertains to kōrero tuku iho is located in society and aptly named ‘collective tacit knowledge’ (Collins, 2010, p. 4); which is knowledge that moves through a collective or culture, but is not easily articulated or expressed. An important element of ‘tacit’

knowledge is that it is developed through the environment, whether that be socially or through Te Ao Tūroa (our physical environment). Pouwhare and McNeil (2018) connect tacit knowledge to the knowledge theorised, processed, and then made explicit, in mahi toi. Iwi esoteric and tacit knowledge that is developed through relationships to people and environment, are important aspects of how iwi and hapū understand their place in the world. They are less explicit and can derive from experiences and living alongside moana, whenua and people, for generations. Pouwhare (2020) uses the metaphor of a rākau (tree) to explain how tacit knowledge moves into explicit knowledge through the creation of the artefact or toi. He describes the roots as being *te kura huna* (the spiritual unseen), while the trunk of the tree represents the wānanga and kōrero process that our storytellers might go through before moving these ideas into an embodiment through toi. Pouwhare calls this stage *te kura tūrama* (explicit knowing), where deeper meaning and hidden knowledge is brought into articulation (R. Pouwhare & McNeill, 2018, p. 269).

The discussion around tacit and explicit knowledge connects to the idea of cultural context and interpretation. It also has roots in a wider idea of knowledge and nature being able to be controlled. Gregory Cajete, a scholar specialising in Indigenous ecologies, discusses the friction between Western and Indigenous interpretations of knowing:

Our science comes from a core set of beliefs relating to personal and community relationships to the natural world. Indigenous science reflects the unfolding story of a creative universe in which we are active and creative participants. So science itself evolves through the creative process of insight, immersion, creation and reflection... Western science, or perhaps research in general, seems committed to increasing human mastery over nature. This is different to tuning into the idea of receiving gifts of information FROM nature, which is how we see the goal of research. (Jacobs, 2008, p. 20)

Interestingly, the conversation of tacit and explicit knowledge is often framed within science. During this study there have been many times where science has crossed into my topic of research especially when considering the necessity of innovation, while this is out of scope for this exploration this would be an interesting research project for the future. There are, however, several points of note in Cajete's comment. Firstly, it speaks to the academy's obsession with defining and controlling knowledge. Toi, however, is there to be interpreted and loved by

generations, so it is unlikely to ever reach a consensus or to ever mean just one thing. Toi Tuku Iho exists on a continuum, and is a gift passed down with aroha (love) to be interpreted within the context and time of their descendants. Mahi toi does not yield to the fixation of being defined as it is in a constant dance with its environment, maker, and interpreter.

Pouwhare’s tree analogy seems fitting to describe the Toi Tuku Iho process used in this research.

Table 1: Processing Toi Tuku Iho

Branches of the tree and leaves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tacit knowledge has come into Te Ao Marama. - The creative output is expressed
Trunk of the tree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The exegesis is being developed. - Ideas, knowledge, and information are colliding and reacting to each other. - The interviews are making collective knowledge explicit
Roots of the tree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tacit knowledge is sitting here. - Te Pō - The potential - Collective knowledge - iwi, hapū and whānau - Social and environmental knowledge

Ako in Action

Collecting kōrero from my whānau has been an area of pride and learning for me, but at the fore of those feelings is also anxiety. I will attempt to explain the root of this uncertainty. There are two areas of wānanga and deep consideration for me. The first is the possibility of visually capturing whānau members and representing them authentically and safely; and the second is interviewing my creative whānau and presenting their thoughts, ideas, and aspirations carefully and thoughtfully through the exegesis. Both require a weaving of ideas and threads in a meaningful and conscientious way. A critical understanding of representation in both video and exegesis through research is imperative. There is pressure in doing this right, because an enduring relationship with them is paramount, to me not as a researcher but as a whānau and iwi member.

This is why it is important to find strategies to ensure they can see where and how their kōrero is being used. One approach was to return to them with the sections they feature in, for their feedback and to ensure they were happy with how their kōrero is being presented and placed in the research. It was also important for them to see the context and how I had positioned their kōrero in relation to other people's kōrero and findings. These processes provide an opportunity for them to understand how I have used their whakaaro and weaved them into the wider tapestry of the thesis.

Responsibilities

While this may be my tuingaroa (thesis), as an insider researcher I am not crafting this alone. Participants have the power to say how they want their voices to be heard and seen. They also had the ability to remove their kōrero if that is what they desire. This is not a traditional western approach to research (Tiakiwai, 2015). Divulging one's power is not often seen in academia, but is essential in Kaupapa Māori research (Pihama, 2016), imperative in maintaining, and hopefully enhancing, my relationships. This is also the case for many other Māori and Indigenous researchers working within their communities. Barnes highlights the need for such considerations, explaining that "in order for doors and windows to be opened researchers must tread gently. Information and knowledge cannot be asked for without respecting those who choose to share and without an understanding of the responsibilities and accountabilities of researchers." (H. M. Barnes, 2000, p. 2). The analogy of moving gently is appropriate. The reality is that a lot of the time, Māori researchers come from the places and communities they chose to study. Their genealogy and accountability to their community requires a protective approach that ensures relationships stay intact, if not elevated after the research experience. I, like many Māori and Indigenous scholars, want my work to contribute to the best outcomes and solutions for my whānau, hapū, and iwi. Supporting whānau and iwi aspirations through research is a dream I work towards.

Another factor I had not really considered before undertaking the research, was whānau members being reluctant to be interviewed because they believed they had nothing to contribute to this research. The first phone call I made was to an Uncle who really did not feel he could add value or was the right person to talk to about this topic. It made me step back and look at how I was approaching whānau and how I was conveying what I wanted to talk to them about. I identified I

was nervous, and in my nervousness, I almost read a paragraph from my proposal as an explanation of my research, which came off quite academic, detached, and possibly cold. I needed a more genuine approach. I decided that after that experience, I would talk to people I wanted to interview face to face before asking to interview them. I found I was able to convey what excited me, what intrigued me, and what scared me about my research. It allowed them to ask questions and share their interest or apprehensions. Their enquiry helped me to further refine the direction I wanted to go in. At times I was able to move and shift my perspective through these exchanges. Therefore, they have helped shape this thesis beyond elicited information on the subject matter. Talking to most of them ā kanoahi (face to face) or by phone call before our interview supported the process in two ways. Firstly, it gave them a sense of what the research was about and what it meant to me. It also provided an authentic exchange to help them decide whether they wanted to participate. I was also able to reassure them that their contribution was much needed and valued. The second element was that this pre-conversation allowed me to step back and reframe or rethink aspects of the research based on their enquiry. This is 'Ako' in motion. This in itself is a Kaupapa Māori approach that holds the mana of the people giving information at the fore, and proactively helps ensure relationships are held and protected.

Interruptions

In my initial proposal I had highlighted that I wanted to obtain information through a series of wānanga, as I believed collective enquiry and discussion was the best avenue to produce rich debate and findings. Wānanga in this context is a kōrero or conversation in a group setting. Wānanga is an ancient process that our tipuna used to deliberate on matters: it is not time focussed and believes in the necessity of collective exchange and examination to find best outcomes. Wānanga usually involves groups of people, but the definition can vary. While this was the ideal scenario, I had missed the initial wānanga I wanted to be a part of and then a world pandemic arrived on Aotearoa shores.

Millions of people died from the Covid-19 pandemic; the elderly are particularly vulnerable. Covid-19 changed the landscape of many aspects of life, including research in 2020. New Zealand went into lockdown which meant people were not allowed to leave their homes for weeks unless for essential activities. The New Zealand government had a level system to help control virus outbreaks in the community. These levels dictated whether people were allowed to congregate

in groups or needed to keep two meters apart. These levels moved up and down throughout the years and organising hui became an unpredictable task. I needed to change strategy, I needed to adapt to these conditions. The uncertainty of group gathering meant that individual interviews were the best method to use moving forward. While I had initially thought that the individual interviews would save time, the levels sometimes meant that travel was not condoned. At the time of the research, I lived in Whakatane and most of the people I interviewed lived back at home in Te Whānau a Apanui which is a two hour drive. Our iwi had experienced pandemics in our history, and consequently we lost many whānau to the Spanish flu in 1918 (Radio Waatea, 2020).

Our iwi had little faith that the government would protect our small, rural, predominantly Māori community from the pandemic, so the decision was made to take action. There is only one road in and one road out of Te Whānau a Apanui, so our iwi-initiated roadblocks at both ends. They were manned 24/7 and data was collected around who came in and who came out. The message came out clearly from leadership within the iwi that uri of Te Whānau a Apanui (who lived in towns and cities) were asked to stay home and wait until it was safe for them to visit our whānau within the tribal boundaries. Te Whānau a Apanui has a particularly high elderly population so the fear of the virus having a serious impact on the community was real. I completely understood this stance and supported our iwi position. We were locked out of our iwi for six weeks and over the ensuing months we were still tentative and unsure as to whether it would be safe to return home. Life was put on hold for several months while we all learnt how to live with the new covid reality. Months after lockdown in March 2020, the level systems were still being utilised to manage border outbreaks and to ensure community transmission was controlled. Moving between levels was difficult as organising trips home to interview could change and often did, so the actual process of interviews was prolonged. It took two years to slowly collect my interviews, it was an unsettling time where people were scared and the preferred way of interviewing aa kanohi was not an option.

Interviews

The interviews were conducted with semi-structured questions, allowing me to explore areas of kōrero with more depth and with the whānau member's lead. It required deep listening and moving the conversation in a natural direction, aided by the core pātai (question). As most of the interviews took place during a difficult time, I decided it was important to conduct the interviews in the manner they felt was tika (correct). Some interviews were done in person, some via zoom

and some chose to answer core pātai by emailing written responses. All methods resulted in rich ideas, expressions, and conversation.

Some interviews I found quite emotional and some I found a relaxed enjoyment in rich inspirational conversation. I enjoyed my interviews; spending one on one time with our creatives was a very humbling and warming experience. There is something about talking to our creative storytellers that is aspirational, perhaps this is in their nature to look at solutions and to revive our past stories to speak to uri whakaheke. While I have known most of the kaikōrero for most of my life, for those few that I did not personally know, whakapapa connections were quickly established. I felt so comfortable with them that I often would not realise where our kōrero about our life, whānau, mahi, marae, and taiao started and the interview began. This happened on numerous occasions, where conversation naturally and unintentionally went into my research topic. This meant that I missed some key processes at the beginning of the interview. A karakia is usually done at the beginning of an interview to help clear the way for a safe, abundant, and meaningful exchange. I asked my interviewees whether they wanted to karakia or not as I wanted to ensure they were comfortable with it, and it was fine if they didn't want to. I missed the karakia in the first interview and had to apologise. I also missed explaining a lot of the university research processes at the start of the interview, so I had to go back at the end of the interview to make sure the mechanics of research in our institution was understood.

All interviews were recorded and consent was sought verbally and recorded. The more interviews I did, the more adept at managing the process of the interview I became. Much of the interviews were quite organic and flowing in nature. I had gone to school with and grown up with some whānau I interviewed. These exchanges were a bit different in that I was able to use specific examples of people and events that we had both experienced to help prompt in-depth discussion. Using memory and shared experience to interview was really meaningful to me. It helped to position the discussion in a way that enhanced moments in time. It also helped me to unpack some of my own thinking around an upbringing in creative spaces and whether others recalled those moments similarly to myself.

Te Reo o te Wāhine

An important point here is that since colonisation, Māori society has experienced a disruption in gender balance through patriarchy (Mikaere, 2017). Iwi are not immune to this disruption. This

balance ensured the continuation of a healthy society that understood the pivotal role wāhine had as knowledge stores, nurturers, teachers, and the link between ngā atua, our ancestors, and future generations. This research ensures that wāhine of Te Whānau ā Apanui have space and weight in their perspectives, stories, and sites of expression. Wāhine (women) and tāne (men) from Te Whānau ā Apanui were interviewed, and their perspective presented in the exegesis.

Conclusion

Toi Tuku Iho is a living, breathing process that may never be fully explained. But then why would we want to? The beauty of Toi Tuku Iho is that it sits within an ancient continuum that connects the past and the present - part of it may always sit in the space of the potentiated pō (night). This chapter argues that Kaupapa Māori and pūrākau hold a theoretical base for a Toi Tuku Iho methodology. However, it has been the interviews with kaikōrero and the praxis of this research that have truly shaped the development of this methodology. Tuku iho as a concept is a deep collective space that is concerned with ancestral connection; a Toi Tuku Iho methodology connects the ancestral continuum with the practice of storytelling and the creative expression that reveals itself.

Pūrākau as methodology supports the oral nature of our stories and the reflexiveness needed to explore kōrero tuku iho on a digital storytelling platform. This chapter asserts that the ebb and flow of theory and practice is difficult to define, but has deeply rich learning for us to discern. To understand the relationship between tacit and explicit, praxis and theory, a reflexive research approach was needed that considered deep relational and ecological learning. Digital storytelling can embrace these complexities and was a platform that explored ancient kōrero on a new and flexible mode of storytelling.

The following 3 chapters develop the thinking and theory used to birth the creative digital story. These chapters theorise how Te Whānau ā Apanui understand the relational process of tuku iho and how this contributes to our oranga and mana Motuhake, beginning with the ever-important ecological knowledge system.

CHAPTER 3: Ko au ko Apanui



Figure 3: Korowai – Maungārongo ki te whenua. Kairaranga: Roka Cameron. Whakaahua: Roka Cameron.

Whakapapa Ecosystems

Relationships are seen to be a key element to any tribal kōrero or taonga tuku iho. This chapter discusses the importance of relational tuku iho that is informed by cultural and environmental factors. It is imperative that we consider the interwoven web of connections and learning with which tribal storytellers engage. When speaking to Rikirangi Gage, one of our tohunga and well-renown composers, about who influenced him growing up, he described learning through an ecosystem - a network of people, settings, relationships, and place that mould a learning experience (personal communication, April 4, 2021). I use the term ecosystem in this chapter to explore the environment in which cultural learning and epistemologies grow and thrive through toi in a Te Whānau a Apanui context.

Firstly, let's look at the wider view of what an inter-relational system of learning and producing might mean. The ecosystem looks at multiple influences that contribute to experiencing knowledge transmission. While this term is usually associated within the scientific domain, it transfers easily to the kaupapa of this research. Ecosystem does not have a pre-existing word in te reo Māori, but it is a concept that is understood through multiple words. As discussed by Harmsworth and Awatere (2013), environmental planners and climate change advocates who highlight:

There is no single Māori word or translation for ecosystem or ecosystem services, but mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), te reo Māori (Māori language) and whakapapa (ancestral lineage) are used together to unlock the indigenous perspective and understand what an ecosystem is, and its components and functional units. (p. 247)

These components support a wide branching relational understanding, where not one word equates to the entire notion of what an ecosystem of learning might encompass from a Te Ao Māori perspective. The concept is understood using kupu that are interconnected and are bound by relationships. Rather than a linear transmission of knowledge, an ecosystem of dissemination has a multitude of mechanisms contributing to the experience, including relational, environmental, physical, whakapapa, and wairua elements of knowledge transfer in Te Ao Māori. Fundamental to this idea is relationships - intertwined whakapapa that binds people and place. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2017), a scholar of Indigenous Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg descent, speaks strongly on interwoven experiences of people and place. Her article *Nishnaabeg Brilliance as Radical Theory* speaks to the beautiful and complex systems the Nishnaabeg use to understand their world and to produce knowledge:

Living is a creative act, with self-determined making or producing at its core. Colonized life is so intensely about consumption that the idea of making is reserved for artists at best and hobbies at worst. Making is not seen as the material basis for experiencing and influencing the world. Yet, Nishnaabeg life didn't rely on institutionality to hold the structure of life. We relied upon process that created networked relationship. Our intelligence system is a series of interconnected and overlapping algorithms—stories, ceremonies, and the land itself are procedures for solving the problems of life. Networked because the modes of communication and interaction between beings occur in complex nonlinear forms, across time and space. (Simpson, 2017, p. 23)

In a sense, Simpson is describing a relational ecosystem of learning. Simpson asserts that the production of knowledge is something Indigenous people have always done: how we have done this is complex and relational. There are several interesting points to consider here. Simpson highlights that the purpose of these intelligence systems is to produce new sites of knowledge

and learning, suggesting that kōrero and taonga tuku iho are engaged with from the past, but pulled into the present, to inform new tribal theories and solutions. She also argues that for Indigenous people, producing knowledge is something we have always done through a series of interconnected relationships. While the doing of this moves between praxis and theory in a non-linear way, making and doing is not only reserved for artists, it was more of a community act and an expectation of living. These relational connections are bound to place, environment, tipuna and to kaupapa, aligned with collective wellbeing through modes of tuku iho.

From a composition and Kaupapa Māori point of view, one of the strong influences in Rikirangi's life was the East Coast poet Tuini Ngawai, a revered and loved composer from Te Tairāwhiti. Her songs are known throughout Aotearoa and include songs written during the Second World War to commemorate and express both deep sadness at the loss of life, and joy at the return of the survivors in 28th Māori Battalion. These songs are immortalised in the psyche of Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau a Apanui iwi, as they were significantly impacted due to the high number of young men that left these communities - some never to return. Rikirangi describes his relationship with Tuini Ngawai as multifaceted in its learning capacity. When asked who some of his greatest influences were growing up, he replied:

The thing is not one person, it's actually an ecosystem. Seeing them by themselves is seeing the I in the iwi... I saw Tuini in a Ngāti Porou setting, I saw her in a kotahitanga setting, in a ringatu setting and I see her in her Tūranga whānau setting, Te Whānau a Rua setting. (personal communication, April 4, 2021)

What is highlighted here is that while Rikirangi identifies a person as being influential, he also identifies the collective kaupapa and settings Tuini was a part of as being just as impactful. Moreover, the settings he describes here are kaupapa which rely on interconnected and intergenerational relationships, and are concerned with bringing people together to share, grow, and thrive. Learning experiences can occur naturally within these settings and environments, but they can also be consciously and more actively constructed to pass on knowledges as Rikirangi experienced in his teenage years:

One queen's birthday I stayed with Ngoi, she pulled her sister Nunu from across the road, I feel sorry for these kuia. Tuku Parata, I think it might have been Nunu

and Tuku Parata and she made them sing. Three days, all day, the next morning ka hoki mai anō, ka waiata anō... I had heard things about kotahitanga and I was asking questions about that. I had just got home and my mum was on the phone “te poia nei e pātai mō te kaupapa (Te Kotahitanga movement of which Tuini, her brother Hori Ngawai and her Father Hori were part of)” and I was just told Ngoi and them are waiting for you at Tokomai so I get there and they gave me one of Tuini’s books and I wrote every song they sang... and when you’re younger you don’t realise that people have given themselves... it was as if that was the most important thing they could be doing. (personal communication, April 21, 2021)

This way of sharing knowledge was a calculated exercise that utilised ancestral ways of teaching and learning – the emergent property that the ecosystem produces. As holders of mātauranga embedded in these waiata, these kuia (female elders) understood what they were doing. Through wānanga, they were shifting this knowledge through to Rikirangi. This was an intense three days of waiata that was a gift of knowledge, experience, hope, and responsibility. This wānanga embodies tuku iho and I am reminded here of the ‘iho’, the umbilical connection where sustenance flows from the whaea (mother) to tamaiti (child). The mātauranga had been immortalised in these songs and were the very mechanisms that made transferring the knowledge possible. What this demonstrates is that ‘coming to know’ in an iwi or a Māori context is about content, form, and process – each part as important as the other.

Blythe Rogers from Te Whānau a Tutawake, mātanga kaikaranga, teacher and composer, explained that going to the marae with her mother and aunties was a regular occurrence growing up. They would all gather around and weave harakeke (flax), laugh, sing, and tell stories. Blythe goes on to say “They would go there for whānaungatanga. So I grew up on that stuff” (personal communication, May 2, 2021). Whanaungatanga (strengthening of relationships) has always been a key social aspect of Māori society. Gatherings, sharing kai, working together, sharing kōrero, and creating together are all important aspects to the concept of whanaungatanga. Weaving was a common interaction that prompted a space for exchanging kōrero and would often involve children moving in and out of these spaces; playing with the harakeke materials being used, watching the process of weaving, and then listening to the different kōrero moving around the room. Tohunga raranga and scholar Roka Cameron from Te Whānau a Harāwaka, reflects

on her time growing up in a weaving family and being a part of an environment where ancient knowledge meets day-to-day activities:

I think for me, it is just playing around with the harakeke, just even chewing on the flax, just being there while the kuia like my nanny, and my mum are weaving. Although I am not weaving, I am just part of it. When I had my mokopuna with me, and when I was working in The University of Otago, or in different galleries, my mokopuna would feel and handle the harakeke and chew it like I did. Just like me and on it goes. (personal communication, October 28, 2020)

Highlighted here is the intergenerational ecosystem that is moving mātauranga through place and practice. Many of the kaikōrero that I spoke with touched on the way that toi is in and of itself a powerful learning mechanism, with the ability to create a learning environment that captures oral history, practical knowledge, working with natural material, and ancient processes. Mahi toi engages the land, body, and spirit and has the ability to prompt all the senses. What is even more powerful is when these experiences move into a collective space, when the knowledge crosses the borders of the self/individual and draws together collectives across time and space. Intergenerational transmission and sharing in these ways are fundamental to how we learn, and tribal histories are passed through the *tuku iho* processes and modes our ancestors refined.



Figure 4: Rākai whare, rākai uri wānanga. The whānau at Pararaki marae preparing a whāriki. Personal Image.

Our marae, wharenuī or whare tipuna (meeting houses) were central to day-to-day living and meetings. Pre-colonisation pā were fortified villages that were based on hapū land and were lived

in, and important for everyday activities and ceremonial purposes (Ka'ai, 2008). Today they are used as a social hub for hapū events, celebrations, meetings, and tangihanga (funerals). The central building is the wharenui and is usually adorned with carvings, tukutuku panels (decorative lattice-work), and photos of family and tīpuna that have passed. These carvings and panels depict hapū stories and histories and are often adorned with the narrative of the eponymous ancestors of that hapū and iwi (Bennett, 2007). Dean Whiting from Te Whānau a Kaiaio is a Māori heritage manager and specialist in marae and whare whaikairo restoration. He reflects on the environment of learning that he experienced growing up with his father and internationally recognised artist, Cliff Whiting. Dean goes on to say:

Growing up in our house it was normal to spend the evenings and weekends painting, carving, making clay pieces, and drawing. The holidays were spent on marae watching or helping (maybe as a hōhā) with the restoration work on whakairo, tukutuku or kōwhaiwhai painting. To us this was normal in that the arts were central to thinking, identity and expression. (personal communication, May 31, 2021)

Our marae are learning environments in and of themselves. The physical and tangible mahi on restoration and caring for our old meeting houses and the carvings and tukutuku that adorn them are a unique and often collective experience that moves through ancestral teachings. Through hands and physical work, you are connecting to the ancestors. This speaks to another branch of the learning ecosystem as kōrero tuku iho takes physical form in carvings. Again, in Dean's case, working with tangible storytelling materials also meant that people holding the knowledge must be there to share their historical understanding so that the kairaranga, ringatoi, and ringawhao can bring them to life through their work. Tohunga are present to serve another element of the ecosystems, te taha wairua, the ever present metaphysical world is attuned to safety but also process and creating. This taha is always present and always afforded thought and respect when dealing with the manifestation of hapū and iwi knowledge into collective spaces like marae. The restoration of marae requires a whole network of knowledge, theory and process to be able to manifest the physical buildings on a marae. Multiple systems of toi are used to bring a whare to life. Being involved in this process is being involved in an ecosystem of learning that embeds a range of mātauranga that is critical to individual, hapū, and iwi identity.

Intergenerational Tuku Iho

Erueti Korewha, a Te Whānau a Te Ēhutu historian, composer, carver and teacher, discusses some of the people who have had a major influence in his life. He experienced learning through waiata and mōteatea from his kaumātua and teachers. A lot of history was passed to him through the medium of mōteatea a mode that holds deep knowledge of place, time, events and people that are significant to our iwi. Mōteatea are time capsules that preserve some of our oldest knowledge streams, these ancient modes are hundreds of years old and still recited today (M. Nikora, 2006). Access to old knowledge is not linear and is not always accessible to everyone. Erueti considers how these kōrero were gifted to him:

You know my doorway to those old fellas was either my grandfather or his grandfather Rapata Kingi. These two koroua of mine Rapata Kingi and old man Hubert, I got access into that world through those two fellas. So that's another thing to think about eh? How you get access to certain information...That's how aunty Roka was with me, my relationship with her was actually through my grandfather (personal communication, October 4, 2020).

At the fore of this kōrero sits a relational understanding, the avenue to knowledge in this case (and in many other cases) sit within whakapapa. It is built through intergenerational relationships and there is an understanding that if your tīpuna were skilled in a particular area then you as a mokopuna could also potentially hold these abilities within you. These koroua (grandfathers) and kuia were historians and composers. It was common for kaumātua to nurture potential in mokopuna, and produce fertile loving conditions for that potential to flourish within their wider whānau (Gabel, 2013; Pihama, 2022). Trust is also eluded to, however it is a trust embedded in past and future relationships and whakapapa. Roka Paora, an avid and well-respected historian and educator within Te Whānau a Apanui, identified the potential in Erueti and was assertive around ensuring that she passed kōrero tuku iho to him. I was fortunate enough to perform one of their collaborations on stage with our kapa Tauira-mai-tawhiti in 2014. *E kakare kau ana te rere o te wai* was a mōteatea that considered major historical events within Te Whānau a Te Ēhutu hapū. This knowledge is living and reformed into tangible experiences for uri whakaheke to engage with. It is tuku iho in action, using an array of senses and expressions to embody tīpuna and experiences that happened centuries ago. Embodied tuku iho happens when we reconnect

with our history in different mediums. In this way, kapa haka is a collective experience where tacit knowledge becomes explicit. Learning, feeling, and connecting all collide within this ecosystem of learning. Danny Poihipi, a Te Whānau a Apanui and Whakatohea tohunga and expert fisherman and gardener, describes the passing of knowledge as a living, breathing act:

It's the living whakapapa. That's a pātaka. The knowledge is a pātaka kai, our knowledge. So we fill our pūkuro with the knowledge of this unbroken chain. It's what's keeping us together, from our forefathers to us today. It's in our hangarau, our everyday use of taonga tuku iho. It's fortunate that we've got books now, today, to help preserve it. And rorohiko, another form of preserving. And it may be that we are the last frontier, with all this ancient pātaka kōrero. (Keeble, 2019)

This kōrero highlight, the everyday use kōrero tuku iho has for those living in Te Whānau a Apanui. Tuku iho as a living act is an important concept to consider as it presupposes we move along an 'unbroken chain' while able to look to new devices to preserve and express these tukunga iho that have been imparted to us. A connection that binds us together by whakapapa.

The notion of toi as an aesthetic endeavour has not always been the case for Māori. The ecosystem of learning can stretch to include an array of learning opportunities. One such form that can embrace many purposes and forms is raranga, or weaving. Tohunga raranga and scholar Roka Hurihia Cameron from Te Whānau a Haraawaka, comes from a long line of weavers. She remembers growing up with the art of raranga being normalised through daily practice by her mother and grandmother. Roka builds a clear picture about what tuku iho means to her. She shares her experiences with the various modes and properties of her craft:

My grandmother Roka, had to weave to survive, they wove kete to harvest kai, harvest kuku (mussels), or they wove bigger kete that they would use to drag all the wood back from the beach for cooking. They also made little sleds. The harakeke was not only a weaving resource, but it was also a rongoā, it was everything for us. It was our medicine. She would boil up the roots for clean and cleansing. The gel and the sap, the wai (water) and the butts was used as rongoā. It was used to stop bleeding and gluey ear. They used it to do their huruhuru (feathers), to stick them together to bind them together. The whole of that harakeke every part of it was very important to my upbringing. Making piupiu, that

is why I love the fibre. love it. (personal communication, October 10, 2021)

In this instance, intergenerational *tuku iho* stretches into several different purposes. This also tells us that *harakeke* is an ecosystem of itself - it has its own *kōrero tuku iho*, *mauri*, and a deep relationship with our *iwi* since the arrival of our *waka* to our shores. To understand how the properties of *harakeke* might move into other spaces of *oranga*, our *tīpuna* needed to be curious, to experiment, and they needed to be brave enough to search for different and new knowledge. Leanne Simpson (2017) made this point at the beginning of this chapter, that Indigenous systems are constantly theorising and creating. *Roka* extends upon these traits and skills by fusing old knowledge with new materials and ideas. In a web of learning opportunities and environments, *raranga* sustains its people: practically through day-to-day use, spiritually through connection to a knowledge and the ancestral wisdom continuum, and physically as a healing *rongoā*. Through all the complexities of knowledge distribution and expression, there is a simplicity of a deep *aroha* a *tipuna* gives to their *mokopuna*:

My little *mokos* buy me lovely necklaces for presents, cause when you are in your seventies, they buy you lots of *taonga* and you think, oh my gosh, I will never wear these because I am too old now, sort of thing. What am I going to do with them all? I am implementing them into my *harakeke* pieces. At the moment I am making a *korowai* (cloak) for this *mokopuna*. She is only 11 but when she hits university, she will have a cloak to graduate in. These little things, when they buy me those *taonga*, I attach them to my *raranga*. Here you are I have embedded it into the *harakeke*. This is what you gave your nanny, and this is what I am giving back to you in the *harakeke*. (R. Cameron, personal communication, October 28, 2021)

Within our practices of *toi* are deep moments of honouring and sharing that are represented by the *aroha* of a *tipuna* and a *mokopuna* and vice versa. *Tuku iho* as a beautiful exchange of knowledge, hope, and aspiration. This is how our *tipuna* viewed us, with *aroha* and with the hope that we will carry on these *taonga* and *kōrero* as is *tika* for our world we live in today. *Roka* passes on the *taonga* of knowledge to her *mokopuna*, that was gifted to her from her *kuia* and mother through tangible works and practices of *raranga*. Continuing an ecosystem of *aroha* through *toi* for generations to come.



Figure 5: Tuku iho with Nanny Roka and mokopuna. Whakaahua: Roka Cameron.

Tuku iho – Mo te katoa

Erena Koopu from Te Whānau a Hikarukutai is a contemporary artist, kaihaka (performer), composer, and teacher. She has, among other painting processes, painted waiata and compositions visually, bringing life to generational stories through new platforms. Despite being younger, Erena has been a kaihaka, leader, and tutor of one of our Te Whānau a Apanui kapa haka groups for many years. Erena talks about her initial trepidation about painting someone else's songs, feeling as though she had not contributed to the initial development and expression of the story or that the work had already been done. She discussed this with tohunga, historian, and composer Rikirangi Gage and what follows is the explanation he gave her:

Like him as the composer he never claims these stories, so he had a kōrero to me about actually no one owns these stories and you know he didn't write those songs for them just to be his, these stories were written in these compositions to be heard by everybody and no one owns those stories. (E. Koopu, personal communication, October 23, 2020)

What is highlighted here is the understanding of the need for these stories to move through storytellers and be passed on. Again, the 'iho' is at work, providing an umbilical connection from the past to the present, a conduit for tuku iho. As no one person owns these histories, they are

there for those who whakapapa to them to be retold, reshaped, and shared with the next generation. Erena highlighted how reassuring this discussion was for her to be able to continue to share these historic kōrero from our iwi through a different medium and an innovative lens. Again, the centrality of relationships is always acknowledged.

These stories and histories have moved through tipuna to kaumātua, to Rikirangi to be expressed through his compositions, which in turn are expressed, embellished, and amplified by the skills of those putting tunes to the compositions, and those tutoring the group. It is a collective understanding and need to present these stories in the most prestigious mana - enhancing way possible on the Te Matatini stage - to our own people, and to all other iwi participating. Erena has used compositions and performance to embody the paintbrush, finding ways to recreate these kōrero tuku iho into visual paintings. There is a cyclical relationship here that breathes life into a moment in time. These narratives highlight that the more ways we choose to express these kōrero tuku iho, the more avenues we have to connect and resonate with different people. Erena elaborates:

So those last two exhibitions I did were based on somebody else's compositions who were happy for me to be able to transform them and present them in a different way. Which in hand makes the experience of the stories a lot more accessible to a lot more different types of people. (personal communications, October 23, 2020).

Creative ways of storying our kōrero tuku iho offer a variety of access points for people to engage with and come to 'know' these stories. Therefore, creative expressions of ancestral stories are not just about 'dissemination' but are also about access, inclusion, collectivism and regeneration. These stories also offer different perspectives and ways of engaging with the knowledge being presented, thus expanding our understanding and our relationship with our iwi narratives and histories. This is important in order for tuku iho to flourish, as highlighted by Te Whānau a Apanui scholar and historian, Parehau Richards:

Contemporary taonga tuku iho also include a wide range of modern art forms such as photographs, modern paintings, prints, murals and audio visual forms demonstrating how Māori people continue to use technologies to reinvigorate and innovate ancestral traditions by making them relevant to their generation and

future generations as tribal, or Māori scholarship. (Richards, 2016, p. 25)

This supports the notion that new platforms and modes are necessary fruitions of *tuku iho*. The term *reinvigorate* is appropriate as it suggests that there is an enlivening on what has already been expressed, a connection to wanting to give further life and energy through different forms and technologies.

Cy McLeod, a Te Whānau a Te Ehotu kaihaka, composer, tutor, *taamoko* and fine arts artist, also discussed the idea of writing songs for the collective, rather than writing for individual purpose. Stating that a song written to celebrate one of our founding *tipuna* *Poumātangatanga* - “*he waiata mo te iwi katoa*” - is a song for the people of Te Whānau a Apanui, Cy explains that “If anyone in our *iwi* wants to celebrate *Poumātangatanga*, *tēnā, waiata i tēnei waiata, tukuna*. It’s yours, it belongs to our people now” (Morgan, 2018a). What is brought to the fore here is an understanding of the collective nature of *iwi* storytelling. It is an age-old method that has been used through the centuries, prioritised and kept within the heart of many *iwi* throughout Aotearoa.



Figure 6: “*Poumātangatanga*” Ringatōi: Cy McLeod. *Whakaahua*: Cy McLeod.

The collective continuum of *iwi* history and knowledge sits in stark contrast to a Western, and indeed academic, notion of knowledge being mastered and ‘owned’. Western perspectives of Indigenous knowledge have positioned it as invalid and un-scientific, implying that Indigenous knowledge does not contribute to new knowledge (Kuokkanen, 2008). This framing indicates a limited scope of how knowledge is understood. In their article entitled *The turn toward the indigenous: knowledge systems and practices in the academy*, Knopf (2015) describes the hunger

for Westerns systems to define what is and what is not knowledge, and links this ultimately to power and control:

Seeking knowledge, the "will to truth," covers up the will to power, and discourses of the academy and larger society become agencies of power... Thus, discourse is both agent and subject of control, limitation, and exclusion; and academic and scientific disciplines are controlling instruments of discourses and of power. (Knopf, 2015, p. 181)

The idea of controlling knowledge runs in contradiction to the notion of a knowledge ecosystem that is discussed in this chapter. While Eurocentric views confine knowledge to maintain control, a Te Ao Māori view divulges power and commits to a collective ancestral continuum of wisdom, knowing, and connection. Intergenerational contracts to our tīpuna and our mokopuna dictate that ego must move to the side in order for collective *tuku iho* to seed and flourish for generations. The purpose is not to own, but to share, as many of our *ringatoi* have highlighted. The responsibility to care for and look after these expressions and identities can be seen in the concept of *kaitiakitanga*.

Kaitiakitanga

The concept of an ecosystem embodies the idea of stories moving as a conduit between people, time, and space. It is less about acquisition and ownership of knowledge and more about obligation and responsibility - as *uri* who are connectors to the past, present and future. It is understanding and fulfilling a role that many have had in the past and that the storytellers are now an active part of. While obligation may seem like a heavy term, it sits within a *tangata whenua* (people of the land) worldview of the need to be connected to people and place, and care for these elements that sustain you. It is an obligation that is an essential part of a collective consciousness and identity. Naomi Herewini, from Te Whānau a Kaiaio, who has grown up with the teachings of our *Apanui haka* mentors and now teaches *haka* herself, adds to this discussion:

The role of an artist to their *hapū* and *iwi* is to be a *kaitiaki* of knowledge, a giver of knowledge. That *kaitiaki* role is shown through the way they portray their art form and the way they conduct themselves within the artform. I feel the artist is

responsible for representing their hapū and iwi with integrity and to remember that they represent an entire connection of people and the mana of those people lay on them as a Māori artist. (personal communication, April 2, 2021)

Here the kupu kaitiaki is used to position the artist as a caretaker of stories. Kaitiaki is often associated with being a caretaker of our most precious tangible components of our identity, such as land, rivers, mountains and oceans. However what animates these most tangible parts of our identity to our mind and spirit are the narratives that connect us to place, such as the landing place of one of our first waka from Hawaiki to Whangapāraoa. Again, from a tribal artist's perspective, the emphasis is on the obligation of representing your whānau and iwi authentically and safely. The benefit of obligation is that you are a part of a wide linking community that is bound by whakapapa and strengthened through collective stories, historical and present. Being a part of a collective provides identity and strengthens our connection to our tribal lands and waters through stories. As explained further here:

Mahi Toi is significant to iwi as it enables a sense of connection and belonging. Mahi Toi, especially haka, enables learning to happen where knowledge is gained, shared, passed on and then continues to live. It is through waiata, haka and mōteatea, iwi are able to maintain identity and nurture historical narratives that are unique to only that iwi. (N. Herewini, personal communication, April 4, 2021)

This describes the continuum of knowledge that uses modes of toi as a conduit between past, present and future. Matetu Herewini from Te Whānau a Kaiāio, a young kaihaka, teacher and carver, discusses the role of the artist that uses kōrero tuku iho. He reflected on the need to pass on our stories through the storytellers and their platforms: "The first role is to capture and the next role is to create, inspire and to create change. And to transmit knowledge through their art form, art medium and to keep those pūrākau going mō ake tonu atu" (personal communication, March 4, 2021). Here, the importance of generational continuation is brought to the fore, and the artist as a change-maker is highlighted. Parehau Richards (2016) uses the idea of mātauranga and storytelling as being renewed and extended, which is also a notion supported by other iwi scholars including Wiremu Tāwhai (2013) and Cliff Whiting (Christensen, 2013). This is that tribal scholarship can be - and is - being reinvigorated and revitalised, and that it can also extend with

new innovative tribal scholarship and practice. This is to ensure that kōrero tuku iho connects to uri whakatipu and helps provide guidance for the challenges they may face in their changing world.

A theme among all kaikōrero were that foundations of the past are a necessary element to bringing kōrero tuku iho into new and future platforms. There was consensus among most kaikōrero that change and discovery is important and can be essential to the survival of taonga and kōrero tuku iho but that it sits in a continuum that has deep roots in relational mātauranga and ancient processes. Erueti Korewha considers how lessons of the past are moved to a contemporary context:

How we're living and all that, the outside's changed but the inside that hasn't changed, it's the same as it was way back. So, there's always a historical context somewhere and you can relate, and the idea is to relate whatever happened back then to what's happening now and then there's a lesson to be learnt eh, pull the lessons out of it. I think uncle [Para Matchitt] had a kōrero with Aunty Roka one day, because she interviewed him and he said, take things from before and apply them to now, and in the application of that there's a lesson in there to be learnt, the whole thing is to find out what the lesson is. Ngā mea o mua eh, tīkina atu.
(personal communication, October 4, 2020)

Of particular interest here is the idea that we pull lessons forward from the past and move them into a space and time that is quite different from their origin. However, while times are different, kōrero tuku iho has been generated by tīpuna to communicate with their mokopuna - that is its purpose. How we do this while maintaining a foundation in the ancient process is what our artists are constantly exploring. It is the space that toi occupies, manages and moves through regularly. Developing ancient ideas to explore contemporary solutions is important as a creative expression and is a central element to knowledge transmission in Te Whānau a Apanui. Questioning what we can learn from a historical event or exchange, provides conditions to explore, engage, wānanga, and in the case of artists, communicate these ideas through their process and platforms.

Artists who act as a conduit between tīpuna and mokopuna, providing lessons and pathways for change, raise several questions. Firstly, how do we use our kōrero tuku iho to grow and heal

ourselves? What social and personal changes can these kōrero contribute to? Secondly, how do we bring healthy change to our people and our environment through kōrero tuku iho? This also includes adaptation to new societal challenges in an aggressively “progressive” world. There is an element of our identity that perhaps does not seek change, but grounding in a continuum. This is particularly true for Indigenous people that endure colonisation. The need to hold on to tikanga and whakapapa, when so much has already been taken, can be a physical and spiritual need. This is the space that Indigenous, Māori, and Te Whānau a Apanui artists occupy. It is a gravitational pull towards the perpetuation of knowledge, but the need to adapt and reshape it to the circumstances and social environment of the generation, community or person at that moment in time. This is the genius of our tīpuna. Connection to our stories creates an overwhelming sense that our ancestors are with us because we are still here doing their work; healing and growing through and with their wisdom. It is no wonder that these stories are deeply woven into our identity. Dean Whiting of Te Whānau a Kaiaio contributes to this discussion:

Firstly, we need to ensure that the traditions and legacy of our arts are foundational and distinct. We celebrate, protect, preserve and revitalise our arts history and culture as a form of patriotism. This is where the arts has an important role for social justice and social change. (personal communication, May 31, 2021)

Again, this Te Whānau a Apanui scholar places the idea of tradition within the premise for positive change, where toi is able to move and transform to the needs of the people. From a Te Ao Māori worldview, the understanding of history and tradition as a foundation for change is natural in the sense that the past is never too far from the present. From a Western lens, this may not make much sense, but from a Māori lens it is a part of our woven universe. It may seem like a contradiction to both hold the past in such esteem and simultaneously seek necessary change to ensure the continuity of kōrero tuku iho, but it is a social element of storytelling within Te Ao Māori as is expanded by Dr Joan Metge:

So we have the paradox that even when a people are most concerned to preserve their myths unchanged, scope for choice and therefore change is built into and an inevitable consequence of the transmission process. Myths never become out-of-date. Instead, they continue to provide a charter for existing social institutions, even in social change, and attempt to bring about a mediation of

contemporary as well as ancient problems... Western-trained historians understandably have problems handling such material. (Metge, 1998, pp. 8–9)

Highlighted in this kōrero is the ability of kōrero tuku iho to provide a framework or structure that might be used to guide and shape how we might understand and respond to our social and collective challenges. There are many reasons a method or mode of storytelling might change – the arrival of Pākehā to Aotearoa brought about huge social and environmental shifts. A Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia ringawhāo, and kaihaka Kawana Waititi, also discusses the impacts of colonisation on our art forms and the idea that aspects of this very traditional form needed to move and change to keep uri whakaheke safe:

Eramiha Te Kapua, Ngāti Tarāwhai carver; was reluctant but he said yes to teaching Pine and John Taiapa how to adze. Its said that when he arrived to teach them, he drew a line through the middle of the room/ building and said you are from the new world and I am from the old world. He stuck to the tikanga that he knew on his side of the line, like karakia tawhito, tapu and noa. Its said also that he told John and Pine to operate in the new world and to bring his kids, wives and kai in, something that was not a part of tikanga tawhito. I don't know why he did that. Was it to make it safer for us, the new generations coming through? With the impact of colonisation, whether we could maintain or handle Te Ao Kōhatu stuff? It wasn't like a 9 - 5pm where you can be tapu then take it off. Nah it was for the whole duration of the kaupapa that you were undertaking. So in terms of integrity and health and safety this was an important part of Whakairo in the new world, that Eramiha Te Kapua understood and protected. (personal communication, June 13, 2022)

Of central importance here is that there was an understanding that the world was moving and changing. A theory that Kawana expresses was that it may have been connected to keeping generations and people safe in the space of tapu. Tapu, in simple terms, is a state of sacredness, prohibition or restriction (Moorfield, 2021). According to Cleve Barlow (1991), it is difficult for the generation of today to maintain a state of tapu “because they lack the commitment to maintain the conditions by which a person becomes tapu” (p. 128). It is also important to consider that today's generation may not want to live managing the heaviness of tapu. Many social structures

have changed since colonisation, however, there are still degrees of tapu acknowledged and we still have tohunga today to guide us. The complexities of tapu and karakia tawhito may have different consequences in a new world and within a context that no longer exists. Keeping ngā uri whakaheke safe would have been of utmost importance to our tīpuna and therefore, some changes were necessary. While some shifts needed to happen, Kawana also reminds us that the craft of whakairo is ancient and some of the traditions have been long-held and long fought for - especially iwi-based styles and carvings as he explains “Yea, there’s always room to move and shake. But Māori are hard to move, [especially around] whakairo. You want to keep some of it, really separate. There’s tapu around it too and you want to keep its integrity in place” (K. Waititi, personal communications, June 13, 2022). The integrity of the carving art form has been and is important for ringawhāo of the past and of today. The resolve of communities to hold their whare whakairo (carved meeting houses) in the face of ongoing colonisation, and for this art form to have survived with active ringawhāo across the country, is a testament to the fortitude of this mode of toi. A well-known ringatoi and tā moko artist from Te Tairāwhiti, Joni Brooking, also supports Kawana’s view by emphasising that tā moko (an adornment of the face) is one of the last bastions, apart from peha and puhoro (ancient body tattoos), that has not been changed or modified, so holding on to the form is important (personal communication, August 25, 2022). The resurgence of moko kanohi (facial moko) has been a slow reclamation fraught with many challenges due to colonisation (this is expanded on in Chapter 5). Clawing this form back required a huge effort from the artists and kaiwhiwhi, to ensure it still connects with the original whakapapa of thought is important.



Figure 7: Rākai whare, rākai uri wānanga at Pararaki marae. Kawana Waititi carving. Personal Image.

The Kapa Haka Ecosystems

In more contemporary times, kapa haka has become a nationwide competition where iwi and teams compete on what is known as the Te Matatini stage, an event showcasing haka roopu (group) from throughout the country. Te Matatini is viewed by millions in person and through the internet. There are two kapa haka groups from Te Whānau a Apanui that regularly perform at Te Matatini. They are, Te Kapa Haka o Te Whānau a Apanui, who are considered to be one of the top groups in Aotearoa, winning the prestigious competition several times. And Taurima-ia-tawhiti, a group that was created to nurture the performance and ahurea (identity) of rangatahi as highlighted by Erueti Korewha, one of the composers “Ko ngā rangatahi te tino manawa o tēnei roopū” (Morgan, 2018a). This means that the youth (and their wellbeing) is the heartbeat of the group. There are other hapū - based groups as well, such as Tutaawake from Whitianga. This section offers an insight into the deep interwoven connections that kapa haka ignites through whakapapa, people, and land.



Figure 8: Taurima-ia-tawhiti. Whakaahua: Erica Sinclair.

Te Matatini is the most prestigious competition in Te Ao Māori. Months, weeks and hours of training are committed to, for a group of 40 performers to take the stage for a 25 minutes. This dedication is needed to reach the heights of excellence required to win this competition. This road to excellence needs a huge amount of work from many sections of a community or iwi. It requires performers, composers, musicians, tutors, voice specialists, booking managers, cleaners, seamstresses, piupiu and headpiece makers, budget managers, uniform managers and people to feed and nourish 80 - 100 people each weekend. Weekend practices can start on Friday night,

with a full day on Saturday and half a day on Sunday, usually over a five-month period, every two years. Kaihaka can be expected to practice around 20 hours a weekend, while learning during the week is expected to hone the performance. These expectations are more time-consuming for tutors and composers who lead the group; deciding on actions, group movements, singing arrangements and managing the overall group dynamics. These jobs, this work, is all voluntary, the copious amounts of time given is for the love and pride of our iwi, hapū and for whatever kaupapa your kapa is grounded on.

These connections are embodied in the training, the performance, and the community it takes to get there. In the stunningly made series *Haka at Home* that follows some of the top kapa haka groups in Aotearoa, Cy McLeod discusses the first time Taurima-mai-tawhiti stood at Te Matatini and gained a spot in the coveted top 6.

I waimarie mātau te uru ki te whiringa toa, the top 6. The best thing for us was seeing the elation of our kaumātua and kaitautoko who had followed us through the whole campaign. That's the best memory of that time. (Morgan, 2018a)

Here Cy highlights the importance of the people and whānau that helped to create the conditions and environment needed to nurture a kaupapa like this. It reaffirms that kaihaka have a deep understanding of the value of the ecosystem that is the foundation to any kapa haka group. This is further supported by Putiputi Tahere, a founding member of the roopū, who recalls the first time they stood on the national stage as a new group “Coming off there and thinking of all of those who had got us there. It was a huge achievement. And I think our iwi was proud of us, to perform the way we did.” (Morgan, 2018a).

The multiple benefits that kapa haka produces pre-and- post-performance depend on the social foundations that have long been an aspect of Māori communities, and indeed our iwi of Te Whānau a Apanui. Coming together to ensure all kaupapa within our iwi, including tangihanga and celebrations, are run successfully, has been an important part of this social fabric of our community. Despite the pressure that colonisation and urbanisation has put on our social structures, and the pressure that is now placed on our ahi kaa (people living at home) to carry and uphold these hui, they are still here these hui and kaupapa still run.

An important kaupapa that is carried by many is kapa haka. The foundation of the social ecosystem that operates such a huge movement is whakapapa, relationships, and a connection to identity through stories. To stand back and witness all aspects of a kapa haka campaign - from the start to finish - unfold, is to behold the power of a Māori community bonded in a collective kaupapa. It is witnessing living whakapapa, story in motion, and the power of iwi collectively. It is an ecosystem within itself and relies on the many to move a kaupapa through months of dedication and on to the Te Matatini stage.



Figure 9: Apanui e tū! Festival 2017 – Kauaetangohia marae. Te Whānau a Kaiāio performing.

Chapter Conclusion

Relationships are key to the flourishing of kōrero and taonga tuku iho. These relationships are also supported by our tangible relationships to the environment and to the materials used by storytellers. This chapter has given some key examples as to how different modes of toi cultivate an ecosystem of learning. While kōrero tuku iho can pass stories from generation to generation, there are other factors at play that contribute to 'knowing' what tuku iho means. These can be, but are not limited to, full body and collective experiences of waiata and haka, the use of materials such as harakeke or wood and all the whakapapa that sits within them, and the different modes of toi used to restoring whare and marae. All of these examples require deep relationships with people and the environment to be successful in passing on knowledge. What has been highlighted is that a tribal knowledge ecosystem is a powerful and complex multifaceted learning system. This ecosystem connects with the continuum our ancestors anchored themselves in, and

which we also ground ourselves in today. While the learning ecosystem is immersive, the fruits of it is *oranga*, a wellness that connects *uri whakahaheke* through story to cultural identity. The idea that wellness can stem from tribal storytelling is important and will be further explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4: Hei ō mo Apanui



Figure 10: "Hei ō mo Apanui". Composed by Rikirangi Gage and painted by Erena Koopu.

Toi as Oranga

Memory, story and history are imbued in the process and production of toi and have an important contribution to the oranga and healing of people. This chapter examines 'oranga' through the lens of mahi toi and its connection to identity. The term 'oranga' or wellness can be multifaceted for Māori. It can mean health and wellbeing and can also be described as wellness connected to different aspects of a person, as is explained by Meihana Durie (2011) "Wellness is constructed from an ecologic perspective with a dynamic exchange between spiritual, biological, intellectual, emotional and social forces... Wellness is not a static state." (p.g 33). Toi, both in practice and in theory, can be seen as a conduit for the diverse exchanges that constitute the notion of oranga for Māori. The violence of colonisation has assaulted many aspects of our oranga for Māori. Since the arrival of colonialists to Aotearoa, the Māori population plummeted (M. H. Durie, 1998). New introduced diseases, land alienation, condemning policies, and new health and educational systems all contributed to this decline (Cram, 2019; H. Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; S. Walker, 1996). We have necessarily had to articulate what oranga means to us in a sense that is beyond physical wellness, leading to the development of Māori health models such as Mason Durie's (1985) Te Whare Tapa Whā and Rose Pere's (1997) model Te Wheke. Both of these

models have been popular in the education and health sectors; their assistance in articulating oranga beyond the physical has been important but they were designed decades ago, and new and extended pathways to further investigate our understanding of oranga are needed. This chapter explores our tribal storyteller's view on oranga and how toi contributes to this.

An overwhelming consensus by whānau who were interviewed was that, within the mechanics of mahi toi and storytelling, there is a deep connection to identity. Storytelling, remembering, and connecting are all fundamental to the identity of uri whakaheke, which also means they are crucial to the wellbeing of tribal members. This point is summarised by Naomi Herewini, who explores the vital role toi, and specifically kapa haka, has played in her life. When asked what inspires her to participate and invest in kapa haka, she replied:

Being Māori inspires me to haka. My whakapapa inspires me to haka. My whānau, hapū and iwi inspire me to haka. I also feel haka is the vessel that provides sustenance mentally, physically, and spiritually. Whānau also play a part in haka. All of these factors transfer, transform, and transact the way I feel, the way I am and why I am. (personal communication, April 2, 2021)

There is a visceral benefit to who you are and how you place yourself in this world when participating in waiata and haka. Naomi speaks of being mentally, physically, and spiritually nourished through being part of kapa haka in all its encompassing facets. Highlighted here is the benefit of having a direct relationship and connection to whakapapa, whānau, hapū, and iwi through kapa haka. Rob Ruha extends on this by emphasising the feeling that uri can have when watching a group that you connect to through whakapapa "when they hear Te Whānau a Apanui haka, when they hear Te Whānau a Apanui sing and when they feel them do those things. That half a teaspoon of Te Whānau a Apanui is now feeling exhilarated and multiplied" (personal communication, 2020). What is discussed here is the pride in being connected to a collective that holds your whakapapa, your history, and your whenua, and helps to position yourself within the collective, social, and geographical settings through pūrākau and kōrero tuku iho. This pride is held within the collective cultural tapestry and speaks to how magnetic it is for whānau, inside and outside the iwi. Pride in oneself and connection through a collective is directly connected to oranga.

In a Te Ao Māori setting, identity contributes and is a key factor to oranga and wellbeing (A. Durie, 1997; M. H. Durie, 1995; Rameka, 2018). To identify yourself with your ancestors, your stories, your people, and your land and waters, is to nourish your oranga or well-being. This can be as a participant, watching and engaging with your iwi haka group, or sitting in your wharenuī touching the stories of your tīpuna through tukutuku panels and carvings. This can also be as the storyteller or as the artist, retelling a kōrero passed down to you. Whether you are engaging with tribal art or whether you are producing it, it is all a part of connecting with a fundamental part of your collective identity and well-being. This is further discussed by Rob Ruha:

Through weaving, through haka, through art, through carving, through moko we are engaging in the algorithms of our oranga. The algorithms of our oranga are locked into those things. (personal communication, October 16, 2020).

There are several points of interest here. Rob highlights the necessity of arts as not only a vehicle for oranga or well-being, but also an 'oranga formula' that allows us to problem solve, philosophise, and ground ourselves in the most conducive ways to support our well-being as Māori, and as uri of Te Whānau a Apanui. Algorithms are an important way to frame the use and purpose of toi in an iwi context, as many stories within our iwi have been retold, reworked, and reimagined, to move through time and space, from our tīpuna to us. This is how our stories have survived the generations. The stories themselves hold key information our tipuna believed was important for us to know and to be used in our changing world. Adapting our stories in different forms has allowed them to address different generations and to adapt to diverse challenges that our tīpuna did not have to overcome in their time. Many of our tribal storytellers adapt our kōrero tuku iho so that it might speak to us in a different way by connecting us to the same story through a different portal. When discussing Para Matchitt's advice, Erueti Korewha makes an important point about the experience of those engaging with toi and waiata:

[Uncle Para] said, you don't do it so that they can see it blatantly you know, so it's right in front of your face, you hint at things. That is what I've tried to do in my compositions, is hint at stuff because then you allow the person who's observing or looking or listening, you allow them the opportunity to create, whether they're trying to match stuff up or relate stuff, you allow them that chance to do that. (personal communication, October 4, 2020)

Storytelling through toi assists in the process of interpretation, but also creates spaces for those engaging to reveal what lesson is needed for that particular person at that particular time. Situations are not presented literally; stories can be presented in a way that asks the observer or listener to engage their mind and heart; the intellectual, spiritual, and the emotional. People engaging with toi and waiata bring their own life experiences into the interpretation to make sense of challenges and search for solutions. To engage with kōrero tuku iho in the form of toi is to immerse yourself in deep conversation with your ancestors.

Roka Cameron is a contemporary weaver who has been taught in the old ways of weaving but also experiments with different materials to create her raranga. When I asked her “you aren’t scared of experimenting?” she said “No, I am not, I love it. When I start to do it, I can feel my tūpuna around me. I think, I know how they survived back in the day, I know how you did this”. The excitement Roka feels when she is channelling the creative and explorative qualities of her tūpuna is inspiring. A key function that is also highlighted in this kōrero is that while many of us in modern times do not consider it to be a function of survival, the need to experiment with different materials was a vital tool to explore and exist in new and changing environments. Weaving is considered one of our most precious art forms that has been handed down, but at the time of our tūpuna it very much had a practical purpose. Roka and I discussed the practical use our ancestors had for weaving and how her creative side contributes to her own research and learning:

I learnt the practical side from my mum and my Nanny Roka, but I really enjoyed being creative, and I still do today. I will show you some of my work. I love being absolutely out there, exploring and pushing the boundaries. I love natural resources because that ties me to the tūpuna, and gives me an interest in doing research, around what our ancestors did, how clever they were and how they survived. With mum, she couldn't understand any of that, her response was just “e noho, mahi ana ngā kete”, just sit down and do the work. What are you doing with all this research? – finish the kete there is another one to be made. (personal communication, October 28, 2020)

Roka, as well as many other whānau I interviewed, very much embraced the stories and techniques their ancestors had shared, but they also moved these stories in different ways, they tell them in a different time. Experimenting and exploring different avenues to express old

teachings is something we perhaps have always done. Within our art forms lie a mass of learning opportunities that our iwi members deliver to us in old and new ways.



Figure 11: Woven tāruke, crayfish pots. by Roka Cameron.

When discussing the role of the artist within the iwi, there were several significant points that align with the oranga of our people and iwi. There is an understanding that toi traverses a space that is both ancient and new. Their ability to share our old stories in a new light is necessary to make sense of our place within this world. The role of the artist in an iwi context is further articulated by Rob Ruha:

So in our iwi strategies and we're looking at the preservation of mana, the question I always pose is where are our artists, where are our poets, where are our tohunga, where are our orators.... Because what those things speak to is the core of who we are. Those artists, those poets are able to take and decipher all of the codes in the nucleus of our mana Māori. They are able to extract the most potent parts of it and put it into their artforms so that when we go and touch those carvings we know we are touching brilliance. We are touching the greatest part of the intellect of our ancestors. (personal communication, October 16, 2020)

The role of the artists is powerfully explained here. This interpretation expresses how artists take the intangible cultural elements and make them touchable, giving us an avenue to engage with them. It is a visceral experience that gives a sensory engagement to rongo (hear, feel, taste,

touch). These stories were meant for mokopuna to experience them in a variety of ways using a range of senses. It also gives us a portal to engage with our ancestors, to further understand who they were and how they understood the world they lived in. It gives us an opportunity to dream and to re-evaluate our challenges and experiences. The artist that works from an iwi base potentiates past lessons, and asks us to engage with the most potent parts of who we are as Māori and as iwi, hapū, and whānau members. Dean Whiting adds to this kōrero when discussing the role of an artist that retells and reworks the stories of their iwi:

From a tribal perspective they are the enablers of cultural expression and cultural repossession. They also question themselves and provide provocation. Ultimately, they draw together and make tangible through art the cultural narrative, an embodiment of identity in what they do. When we reflect on the achievements of Tā Apirana Ngata for example, we are able to anchor this through the multitude of whare whakairo that he had initiated through his life. In this we see the carvers, weavers, and painters that became storytellers and leaders in their own right, respected and trusted for generations to come. Therefore, the role of artists who ground themselves from a tribal base are very important, if not critical, as part of the process of reclamation, strengthening, and inspiring our cultural narratives. (personal communication, May 31, 2021)

Dean underlines here how artists develop in their communities. Projects like the building or restoration of wharenuī require many skill sets as they are the focal point of a marae. Collectively working on the wharenuī that Tā Apirana Ngata had initiated across the East Coast enabled the use and reclamation of many tribal arts and skill sets, such as the weavers and carvers of these areas (R. Walker, 2001). It is a collective collaboration as it had been for our ancestors. As Dean emphasises here, their role is critical in embedding cultural identity, whether that is to heighten what is already there or to reconnect people to a story, narrative, or place.

Healing and Reconnecting

In the 2018 Te Kupenga Report, released by Statistics New Zealand (2020), the importance of identity to Māori adults was highlighted. The connection to and the participation in Te Ao Māori, was of particular significance to 89% of participants who completed the survey. The report also showed that rural Māori are more likely to participate in cultural hui and activities on the marae

and in Māori spaces. Te Whānau a Apanui is a rural coastal iwi who still occupies most of our whenua. This is unusual as most iwi lost copious amounts of whenua through the many facets of colonisation (Anderson et al., 2014; Orange, 2015). As a result, Te Whānau a Apanui has retained much kōrero connected to whenua which is still taught to tamariki and expressed through modes of storytelling today. The process of toi facilitates connection to our unique identity which can also be a powerful healer and reconnector. The reconnection to these vital portals of identity is even more important for uri that have been disconnected through colonisation and urbanisation. While this study has focussed on the artists who are well connected to our iwi of Te Whānau a Apanui, it is also important to acknowledge that the majority of our uri live outside of our iwi boundaries. Some of these uri are still very much connected to their iwi but others have not had such an opportunity. New modes of storytelling now have the ability to connect and reach whānau beyond our tribal boundaries. Lizzie Dunn from Te Whānau a Te Ehotu, who works with digitising books, discusses linking back to Te Whānau a Apanui and learning her history through modern technology:

As someone who has grown up away from my marae, I have started using media to reconnect. And it's been an easy non-intimidating way for me to reconnect to my culture. So I listen to Nuku podcasts, I listen to Taringa and I remember listening to an episode with Rawiri Waititi and he was talking about Apanui my ancestor about his trip to Mauao and for me to figure that out on my own would have taken so long but I listened to this podcast and I carry that with me all the time. And I heard him say that we need our people to come home. I wouldn't have had a conversation with him and you know that's made me feel a lot more comfortable about my culture and my pathway home is more easier to do because of that. I've got a book from Te Whānau a Apanui about our maramataka (Māori lunar calendar). So media is, I think, the modern way for us to spread our stories the way we use to sit around and tell them to each other. It is our opportunity to pick up Te Reo Māori, pick up Māori culture, and ensure that instead of going on the decline we turn that around and we go out and we thrive. (Matata-Sipu, 2021)

Lizzie highlights the reach digital technologies can have to support the reconnection of uri to their own history and stories. Moving our stories into different platforms creates a wealth of access points. What was emphasised in the first section of the chapter was the importance of toi to identity

and therefore, the oranga of a person or community. Toi and the processes involved also act as healer and a process that can reconnect uri to their own narratives, whenua, and their tīpuna. This is oranga and this is mana motuhake. Considering how significant these story platforms can be to the wellness and connection of people, the premise should be that they are valued by wider society, but this does not seem to be the case.

Valuing Toi

While all whānau that were interviewed asserted the vital role storytellers play in individual and collective identity, many also stressed that we are still in need of more artists fulfilling these fundamental parts of tribal, hapū, and whānau expression. While the role and value toi plays in identity, connection, and expression has been highlighted thus far, Rob Ruha poses the pātai “So the question is, why haven’t we got more artists in that space? Because it’s all about the falling in love part.” Toi is a vehicle for identity and contributes to collective connection in a myriad of ways. It also offers further pathways to fall in love with our tipuna teachings and therefore ourselves, but despite this, the significance is not understood by wider society. Often, if you want to be an artist full-time it is necessary to move beyond your tribal boundaries to find work. This disparity is also prevalent in our education system where the arts are relegated to topics of interest or electives, as opposed to core subjects. Erena Koopu also points this out, when we began to discuss how we value the arts today:

I know from being a teacher at high school before Toihoukura and my parents being teachers for years, and how much my mum has to invest personally into her own pocket to deliver art in her own classroom because it’s not supported through the education system. (personal communication, October 23, 2020).

To answer Rob’s original question, the arts are not valued enough by wider society so they are not prioritised in our education system or economy. A living can’t always be made from dedicating your life to this necessary craft. When I asked Rob what his hopes were for the future of arts in our iwi, he articulated the dream to reinstate our artists to their rightful place as tohunga:

When we think of our tipuna Hingangaroa. First tohunga of the Te Rawheoro wānanga, where Apanui Ringamutu attended, he wasn’t a part-time carver, he didn’t do carving part-time and then work down at the shop as his 9 – 5, he was

a carver, aye koinā. And our tohunga were tohunga koinā aye. And our songwriters were songwriters, and our moko artists were moko artists. Our tohunga moko were tohunga moko that's all they did. That's why they were tohunga because they did nothing else. We want to encourage that and create a creative impact house back here at home. That fully lands the sustainability models around being a full-time artist. That speaks to the core DNA of our people. (R. Ruha, personal communication, 2020)

A dream to restore the status of our artists as they were in the times of our tīpuna could have immeasurable benefits to the well-being of our communities. This is not to say that they are not seen as important - they are - however, only some can make their passion calling a full-time reality. Often those that seem to produce toi as a living, also have part-time jobs. Many that have pursued mahi toi full-time have been celebrated and recognised nationally and internationally. This should highlight that there is a market for what our creatives are producing. Our artists who work outside of our iwi and are revered for their craft have been influenced by the narratives, stories, experiences, people, and environment of their iwi, hapū, and whānau. Their craft can support and revitalise those from their iwi but they can also impact and influence people outside of the iwi and Aotearoa, which is evident from the international recognition that some of our artists have had, including Rob Ruha, Tweedie Waititi, Taika Waititi and Cliff Whiting (to name a few).

Given the importance of these storytelling modes to iwi, hapū and whānau, we want our tamariki and rangatahi to engage in our toi and to learn and teach through toi. However, this is difficult when even application processes for contestable funding are fraught with challenges for Māori artists. Joni Brooking from the hapū of Te Whānau ā Kahu & Te Whānau ā Tūwhakairiora, in her experience as a ringawhāo of moko, discusses how difficult it is to apply for funding in her craft:

This is talking from my years of experience being immersed in te ao moko... one of the sad things is that when actual strong kaupapa that have a long term history of developing, strengthening and maintaining an artform make funding grant applications for assistance in the continuation of building specific kaupapa within the arts, and they get denied, but then you see something like, ten artists being funded for an overseas haerenga and this is not to discredit our Pasifika people or our moko artists that partake in those haerenga as these haerenga are also about networking and strengthening the indigenous cultures of our Pasifika

whānau and the art form of indigenous moko or tattoo. My point being, our funding entities look beyond funding kaupapa that are on the ground in Aotearoa to build our own and strengthen our own, but its ok to send a group overseas for a one off haerenga or kaupapa with no long-term return of knowledge and skill to our own here at home. It's really disheartening when I see and know the inequities within the funding sectors. I guess again, it's an example of just how devalued we really are at times by even our own and especially by our funding councils. (personal communications, August 25, 2022)

An example Joni uses is that funding applications have in the past been put into Creative NZ for the celebrations and kaupapa that have been built within the hapū of Te Whānau ā Hīkārūkaitai and their annual mokopapa in Maraenui. This application and many like this, including the more recent establishment of the Ngā Matarau o Paepae Aotea Whare Wānanga Moko, that was founded as a succession plan for the retention of mātauranga and skills of moko. This kaupapa had a strong focus on moko kanohi and the mokopapa kaupapa within hapū and iwi of Te Whānau a Apanui. These sat under the guidance and tutelage of sibling duo Joni & Henare Brooking and other prominent moko kanohi advocates and experts - these applications were declined. If we are to look at the long-term preservation and retention of the matauranga (knowledge) and pukenga of such artforms, one would think a small iwi collective serving the iwi and wider motu would be considered important because of the wide reach it has to ensure the survival of moko and the dissemination of the mātauranga within the artform. Moko is still not being acknowledged for the powerful form it is in the spaces that should be embracing it - the top echelons of art in Aotearoa and the institutions that instigated the removal of moko in the first instance. The kaupapa of moko has been reborn and now run by hapū and whānau, and by the ringawhāo themselves. Joni acknowledges pride in the fact that this kaupapa survives and now thrives because of the connection and belief of the communities that embrace it.

Jessica Palalagi, the kaiwhakahaere matua of the Arts Foundation Te Tumu Toi, argues that although society has a want and need for the arts to “feed the souls of the community”, the inherent value of the artist is still not being acknowledged:

We love the joy it brings, the view into other people's worlds, the perspectives and portals, but the people who are creating these amazing experiences and allowing us to travel through different times and spaces are not remunerated in

the same way [as other careers]. (Manson, 2022)

Palalagi goes on to say that she has a dream that young people in Aotearoa can go home and say they want to be an artist without their family feeling trepidation that they may be on a path to financial insecurity by choosing a creative career. Kawana Waititi, a ringawhāo and kaihaka from Te Whānau a Kāuaetangohia, understands the difficulty in pursuing an ancient passion in modern times. Kawana, who works in the more traditional area of carving, highlighted that making a living through his form was done on a project-to-project basis, and that moving through this world as a carver or artist can be difficult:

The level of respect that artists had back in the day had, it's just gone. It's just gone into the fold with making money and paying your rent and all that kind of stuff. So our art form does take a huge blow... I'm still battling myself with just making a living, going to work and carving for pūtea (funds). And on the other hand, knowing this artform records history and it's Māori, it's creative. I would love to be in that sort of space where I didn't have to worry about the income stuff. (personal communication, June 13, 2022)

Carving was a revered artform for Māori in a pre-colonial world. Carving was prominent in some of the prestigious whare wānanga and taught to many rangatira (chief) of the time (Ellis, 2016). This mātauranga was so coveted and tapu in the days of our tīpuna that many sacrifices were made to gain the specialised knowledge and experience. A well-known kōrero tuku iho from Te Whānau a Apanui is the story of how Apanui Ringamutu sacrificed his finger as entry into the prestigious whare wānanga of his tīpuna, Te Rawheoro. Te Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga, a magnificent cloak that came from the ancestral islands, was also gifted as part of his entrance into this most esteemed whare wānanga (V. Walker, 2012). Kawana discusses the dedication and sacrifices in the pursuit of mātauranga in the times of our tīpuna "I think that was about how much you wanted that mātauranga... the understanding of getting mātauranga now is totally different. You showed your commitment by doing stuff like that" (personal communication, June 13, 2022). Despite the changing times, acquiring this necessary mātauranga is still a hard-fought road. While body parts are no longer sacrificed, our traditional and contemporary artists are still navigating turbulent oceans and new challenges including colonial systems, the regeneration of mātauranga, the displacement of their people from whenua and whakapapa, colonial views, and intergenerational trauma caused by colonisation. All whilst trying to hold on to the stories, processes and methods

of our tipuna. Indeed, mātauranga and how it is expressed, can still be a tumultuous affair, but it is an essential aspect of reclaiming these methods of storytelling.

Keeping to traditional processes, carving as well as forms such as raranga, are laborious endeavours. They are a specific craft that requires time and dedication. Kawana conveys how time-consuming Te Tairāwhiti's style of carving is, as it requires substantial precision and distinct detail. The carver's process is a long one, but the esoteric elements of the work must also be handled carefully, which is a fundamental part of this ancient form and process. Karakia, mauri and te ao wairua (spiritual realm) are all spiritual aspects that the ringawhāo negotiates and manifests into the form it will eventually become. How do we put a price on this mahi? This is a wider issue for those that work deeply in this ancient craft. Kawana discusses the conflict between the understanding that this form has come from our tipuna, and that it contributes to the retelling of our kōrero tuku iho, and therefore our health and identity as a people, and the necessity of making a living. Again, this is a hard and common space for our artists to navigate. The need to economically sustain themselves is a necessity for them to continue practising and storytelling. However, sometimes this can conflict with what they want to do with their craft, and how they want to 'tuku iho'.

Kapa Haka: He Oranga, He Rongoā

One of the most generationally influential and community driven expressions within Te Whānau a Apanui is kapa haka. Kapa haka is a performing art that includes a group traditionally singing waiata and performing in the Māori language. While I have discussed the relational power of kapa haka in Chapter 4, this section looks at how that collective power contributes to the healing and oranga of a person and community. This section seeks to understand why kapa haka is such a powerful tool that can unite a community in such a way. A discussion with Rob Ruha signals a possible answer. Rob explains that "at the core of our art form sits a very potent and distilled ball of energy that is so magnetising that our people can't help but be drawn to it" (personal communication, October 16, 2020). The 'distilled ball of energy' highlighted here speaks to what draws us to our collective stories, connects us to place and kōrero tuku iho, and instils in us collective pride. We have many whānau who don't necessarily participate in the performance aspect of kapa haka, but are invested in the process that the group needs to go through to get to Te Matatini or the regional stage. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, it takes many

people and many skill sets to move a kapa group to the stage. The effort involved and the importance of the process is critical part of the kapa haka.

With modern technology and live streaming now available, these huge events on the Māori calendar are more accessible to wider Aotearoa and internationally. Te Matatini, the bi-annual kapa haka event, attracts huge crowds. Statistics from 2019 state that over 3000 performers took part, over 42,000 tickets were sold at the 4-day event, and 1,350,000 million viewers worldwide tuned in to watch the spectacle (Te Matatini Society Inc, 2021). There is no other event like this in Aotearoa and it is a significant source of pride for Māoridom. Kapa haka amplifies pride in collective connection and storytelling, while also providing a home for those looking to reconnect to their iwi, groups or who live overseas. In 2019 Te Matatini set a new record for international exposure, expanding its global reach with international media in attendance (Royal-Taeao, 2020). Despite the global influence that Te Matatini has, the value is still not being reflected in how it is being funded. A report released by Nga Pae o te Maramatanga titled *The Value of Kapa Haka* (L. W. Nikora et al., 2022) looked at the many avenues that kapa haka contributes to, including the economy, health and well-being, education, and research scholarship. Overwhelming individual and collective oranga through all facets of kapa haka was highlighted in the report. Despite the substantial amount of research conducted stating the widespread benefits of kapa haka, Te Matatini receives annual funding of \$1.9 million with an increase of \$1million in the most recent budget taking it to \$2.9 million. This is low compared to the other art sectors that receive government investment such as the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra who receives \$8.1 million annually and an additional bump from the last budget stretching their funding to \$19.7 million per year (T. K. Dewes & Day, 2022). Our own Rawiri Waititi from the hapū of Kauaetangohia, a member of Te Pāti Māori (a political party cantered on Māori aspirations) spoke out strongly about this inequity, emphasising that the New Zealand government seriously undervalues Te Matatini given its national contribution to cultural identity and it should be professionalised (Gifford, 2022). Rawiri goes on to say:

Kapahaka is an incredibly powerful kaupapa. It is not just a performing art. It is a platform for the repository of our mātauranga Māori, our reo, our whakapapa, our history... Not only that, it supports physical health and mental health, it fosters connection, it teaches teamwork, it teaches problem-solving skills, it teaches our people how to build and manage relationships, it fosters resilience and

encourages confidence. It is a one-stop-shop for oranga and needs to be treated as such. (Te Ao - Māori News, 2020)

Rawiri reminds us of the myriad of relational and oranga benefits kapa haka gives us. How Māori view kapa haka and how Te Whānau a Apanui view kapa haka sits very far from the debates of parliament. Te Matatini and our celebration of kapa haka will go on regardless of government or external funding because the fundamentals of kapa haka have existed predating the arrival of pākehā. Its importance as a vehicle that brings our stories and whakapapa to life has always been a significant cultural platform and tool.



Figure 12: *Tauira-mai-tawhiti and the poi.* Whakaahua: Erica Sinclair.

While kapa haka is now known predominantly in a competitive space, which also includes primary and secondary school competitions, its origins sit more in a marae, hui, and whānau setting - a communal repository of shared storytelling, waiata, and whanaungatanga. Whanaungatanga is a term used to describe kinship ties, built and developed through working together or socialising together, which can strengthen whānau relationships and experiences (Kaai-Oldman, 2004). The purpose of these meetings was to share stories and histories as well as entertain, thus strengthening bonds and relationships. From the kōrero of the whānau who have grown up in these hubs of learning, their memories of that time posited the marae as a focal point of the hapū. These were often times of ngahau (relaxed entertainment), which means they were jovial gatherings that promoted learning through kōrero, laughter, and waiata. Blythe Rogers, a kaihaka,

kaikaranga (caller), composer and teacher, shared her experience of growing up around a hub of waiata, instilled in their everyday gatherings:

We would waiata at any time and whenever. And he ngahau, most of it was ngahau so when I was at the marae I used to watch the old people dance and you know that inuhia te po? And they would talk about the tūrehu and all the stuff. And they would dance, “yah aha, you anda me, shapplin shargo, sharaway” [iahaha ko koe me au, haparena haiko harawei]. (personal communication, May 2, 2021).

Blythe describes growing up and going to the marae often, but not always for official hui purposes. She would go with her mother and her uncles, aunties, and cousins, and they would sing, compose, and exchange kōrero and laughter. Marae are still hubs for gathering and are still used for tangihanga, hui and are usually the central base for kapa haka practices, but they are used less for day-to-day gatherings as they once were. Populations in and around the marae have decreased as many whānau have moved into the cities to find work opportunities (Hill, 2012). Modern day demands on time have increased. This has created more pressure on these cultural hubs and the haukāinga (those living at home) who run the marae and uphold the cultural practices that ensure meetings, events, rituals are run safely. The performance element of kapa haka is maintained through competition and the exuberance and excitement it brings. Many kaikaha travel to practise from outside of the rohe and for many it is an opportunity to come home. However, it is difficult to maintain an active waiata group when there are not many people at home to run them. Both Rikirangi and Blythe expressed sadness that these spaces were no longer hubs of day-to-day waiata and learning that they once were and that there are less people to help uphold necessary cultural practices of waiata, whaikōrero, and karanga on the marae. These are still bastions of cultural importance, but they are used less frequently as people have moved away. The current way that 'work', and ultimately time, has been colonised (Nanni, 2012) and capitalised means that these kinds of experiences and the well-being that comes with them are scarcer.



Figure 13: Practice at Te Kaha marae. Personal Image

Kapa haka is maintained at a competitive level but it has many other learning and oranga benefits. Kura (schools) within the iwi boundaries are also hubs that maintain iwi mātauranga, including waiata, mōteatea, and mahinga toi. When I was growing up at home, school is where I learnt and grew a passion for kapa haka and waiata. It was a part of our learning, although not officially part of the curriculum. It was still nonetheless regarded as being very important for us to learn as mokopuna of Te Whānau a Apanui. We were lucky enough to have many teachers of waiata, kapa haka, whakapapa, and history including Bill Tāwhai, Nehu Gage, Ethel Parata, Vicki Demant, Emma Rogers, Erueti Korewha, Roka Paora, Con Jones, and Maka Jones. Many of these toki (champions) are considered foundational to kapa haka in our iwi and learnt their craft from generations before them. We practised vehemently for our own regional competition, The Delamare Cup. Our repertoire of waiata was also used to support kaupapa run by the kura and the wider hapū and iwi. This is still a role the kura in our iwi play today. Kapa haka is, and will always be, a powerful learning tool. Matetu Herewini Jnr a lecturer, kaihaka, and carver, discusses the potency of kapa haka as a learning tool. When asked why he thought kapa haka was such a magnetising art form he replied:

Kapa haka is probably the ultimate pedagogy for teaching right from young to old. I say that because it covers those three fundamentals of learning; kinaesthetic, audio, visual. We learn stories through movement of hands and movement of body through sight, through reading the kupu, through singing. So it covers all bases of absorbing information making the transfer of knowledge so easy. I still

remember ngā waiata i waiatahia i a māua e tipu ana. (personal communication, March 4, 2021)

I have grown up with Matetu and we attended the same kura when we were children. At the end of his kōrero, he reminded me that because kapa haka is such a visceral learning experience, he still remembers the songs we learnt at kura when we were young children. Embedded into kapa haka is a deep learning experience that uses all senses. It is a physical experience, but it is also a complex spiritual and emotional experience that reminds us constantly of who we are and how we are connected to people and place. In 2020, I was fortunate enough to be on a Te Whānau a Apanui tikanga course run by Blythe Rogers and Danny Poihipi, two well respected mātanga within our iwi. An aspect I enjoyed immensely was that the lessons were always connected to waiata and mōteatea. While we were learning an aspect of our history, Blythe would pick up the guitar and start strumming. Her ability to teach and connect through waiata is well known. What was being taught was connected to waiata as a tool to help remember and bind events, people or place to our hearts and minds. This is a practice many of our iwi storytellers use to immortalise lessons and key points of history for our iwi. Te Whānau a Apanui kaumātua and storytellers have this practice honed to a fine art as Wiremu Tāwhai our well respected historian and oratory attests (Tāwhai, 2013). Kapa haka and the waiata within them are pedagogical instruments that are heightened by an ecology of learning, that is to say that there are many factors operating to hold and disseminate matauranga. Linda Nikora, who has extensively researched kapa haka, also supports these ideas by adding:

When you open the world on kapa haka, you open the world on te ao Māori and all the repositories that reside there in terms of mātauranga Māori. People leave the stage, but they don't leave what they learn behind and that translates into other aspects of people's lives. So it's a really unique and intense pedagogy that education institutions fail to recognise in terms of its value. (T. K. Dewes & Day, 2022)

For generations Māori have understood the power of waiata and kapa haka. While educational institutions have not fully embraced this potential, kura Māori (Māori schools), kura kaupapa and kura ā iwi use it as a learning and competitive platform. A motto Te Whānau a Apanui Area School used at the time we were attending was coined by a well known and loved Te Whānau a Apanui

historian, poet and composer - Wiremu Tawhai. This whakataukī was “kia mohio ai au, nō hea au, e haere ana au ki hea”. One interpretation of this is “to know who you are and where you come from so that you know where you are going”. This was ingrained into waiata, mōteatea, and karakia we learnt at school, including the visual art that surrounded us, like the Poupou (traditional poles) that were carved by Cliff Whiting that depicted the 13 hapū of Te Whānau a Apanui. These poupou were beautifully carved and enabled us as tamariki of the kura to touch them, play on them, and engage in the stories they depicted in a physical way. To further engrain the teaching, the mōteatea Marumarū, written by our kuia, Roka Paora, was the national anthem of our kura at the time. This mōteatea reinforced our knowledge and the interconnections of the 13 hapū of Te Whānau a Apanui. Kapa haka was one of the most effective ways to transfer whakapapa, history and lessons. It embedded these songs into our hearts and wove relationships between people, tīpuna and our physical environments. There is deep oranga in kapa haka, there is whanaungatanga, there is connection, and there is an understanding that you are linked to a wide tapestry of people, places, and moments in time.

Environment and Place

The significance of place for Te Ao Māori and for Te Whānau a Apanui is present in historical and contemporary works of tribal scholarship, mahinga toi, and compositions. A Te Whānau a Apanui understanding of the world is deeply entrenched in our coastal landscape. Histories are linked through naming of places and environmental land and water marks such as (but not limited to) rivers, lakes, points, rocks, hills, and mountains. These names are often woven into our waiata, mōteatea, pātere (chant), and oriori (lullaby) which are all used as, Bill Tawhai would say, memory mechanisms to ensure their significance is transferred and kept intergenerationally (Tāwhai, 2013). Toi plays a crucial part in retelling and renewing these stories. When I asked Dean Whiting why he thinks kōrero tuku iho like Ngā Kura Pae a Mahia, a kōrero connected to the coming of our waka Taurima-mai-tawhiti, have lasted the test of time, he said:

The importance of these stories is they describe the ancestral landscape, a timeless relevance that again anchors the kōrero to tangible references like the stained rocks; ngā kura pae continually enlivened through reinterpretation by the arts. This is reinforced further by the cyclical processes of seasonal change indicated in the stories like the blossoming of the Pohutukawa again anchoring in

a relevance of seasons of today and signalling a time of year to remember the kōrero. This is the cleverness of the kōrero that enables it to resonate indefinitely and be reimagined with each generation. (personal communication, May 31, 2021)

Our creation stories tell us how we whakapapa to our environment. Our inception narratives tell us how we are related to the elements we live in, and that we rely on to live. Herein lies our understanding of who we are and how we are connected to our taiao (environment). It is also the base that informs how we interact with our environment. Here, Dean connects the importance of our tangible references, such as the stained rocks at Taunga Waka, with how we continue to interact with these stories and retell them today. He also references how our tipuna were sure to embed seasonal signals in their stories, so that we may have some idea of when these significant events occurred in the year. This is important to how we might engage and reconnect with these narratives in a physical sense generations later. There is deep environmental ethics embedded in our taonga and kōrero tuku iho. When I asked Erena Koopu what inspires her to create, while she acknowledged that people do inspire her, she also highlighted that “I think I definitely have been influenced by certain people, but then also by the environment that we live in and have been brought up in too. So I think influences take form in heaps of different ways.” (personal communication, October 23, 2021). This demonstrates the powerful impact that place and environment play in how we express ourselves through different creative platforms. It also emphasises how important relational learning through our various ecosystems are from a Te Ao Māori perspective.



Figure 14: Te Haika carved for the commemoration of the waka migration by te whānau Kingi. Carved mostly by wāhine to acknowledge their whakapapa to Papatūānuku. Personal Image

Rawiri Waititi of Te Whānau a Kauaetangohia, a kaihaka, local historian, and politician for Te Pāti Māori, asserts the importance of being at home to learn and practice the songs that are embedded into Te Whānau a Apanui history and place:

It's important to come back here to Te Whānau a Apanui and have the practices here, because its influences are here, especially Rikirangi's compositions, have been drawn from the whenua, from the moana, mana motuhake, and I think it's important that we show mana Motuhake, by having our foundations right by having practices here in Te Whānau a Apanui, on our marae, around our pākeke (elders). (Morgan, 2018b)

Here Rawiri makes the correlation between learning stories and history through waiata, and being on the land and sea that they originated from. The connection is important, and the relationship between the environment and people is fundamental to the survival and well-being of Te Whānau a Apanui people, and the places that are so important to us. Embedded in our landscape are the stories that connect us to our tipuna and their experiences. Tamati Waaka a kaihaka, and leader of Te Kapa Haka o Te Whanau a Apanui, reaffirms this notion:

Ko te mōmonatanga a o mātau waiata, anā, i ahu mai i konei. I ahu mai i tōku whenua, tōku moana, ngā maunga, ngā awa. Mēnā e kore e pēnā, tērā pea me kore e kī ko te kapa haka o Te Whānau a Apanui tēnei. (Morgan, 2018b)

Tamati affirms that most of their waiata have grown from kōrero tuku iho and the physical environment of Te Whānau a Apanui. He also states that if it wasn't like that, then it wouldn't be Te Kapa Haka o Te Whānau a Apanui. When compositions are created from a specific place or event in Te Whānau a Apanui, it is common for the kapa (group) to visit that place during a training campaign. When they arrive at the particular place, the group discuss or wānanga the kōrero tuku iho that the composition is based on, and often perform the item there, whether it is on the beach or up a mountain. When we sing, we manifest the greatest parts of ourselves and further reaffirm our relationship to our physical settings and to each other. That experience is esoteric mātauranga, a deep connection to land, moana and the lived experiences of our tipuna. It can be an emotional and spiritual experience for performers, and one you can draw upon when it comes time to perform that item on the stage.



Figure 15: *Tauira-mai-tawhiti performing Te Pā Kūhānui. Whakaahua: Erica Sinclair.*

The landscape of Te Whānau a Apanui is coastal. Highway 35 is the road that runs through our tribal lands, with views of the moana and rivers all the way along. Nearly all Marae are positioned where you can see the ocean. Therefore, the ocean has an immense influence on Te Whānau a Apanui as a people. As a source of sustenance, known as a *kāpata kai* or food cupboard, *kaimoana* (seafood) has been collected and sustained us for generations, ever since our ancestors arrived on the first *waka*. The influence of the moana on us as a people is both profound and commonplace; it is a lived experience because those living at home view and interact with the ocean every day. Like Rikirangi, Erueti Korewha weaves the moana into his compositions and arrangements. He highlights that the rhythm or sound of the ocean is present in items and *waiata* derived from Te Whānau a Apanui:

Tētahi āhuatanga mō te iwi nei, ko ngā waiata. Me uru atu te tangi o te moana ki roto. Kei reira ka mōhio ai te tangata nō hea te waiata. Mēnā kaore koe e rongoi te tangi o te tai kei roto i te waiata, ehara nō konei. (Morgan, 2018a)

This further strengthens the interwoven relationship Te Whānau a Apanui has with the moana. It is so important to who we are that our specific environment is embedded in how we express who we are through *waiata* and movement. *Kapa haka* is an expression of who the group is and where they come from. A distinguishing factor, that is emphasised by Erueti, is that the moana is heard

in the songs. This is particularly true for the action song and poi that incorporates actions, poi motions and body movement help portray the story being told. The moana is present in these retellings. Te Whānau a Apanui's relationship with the moana and how it is expressed through kapa haka is a well-known feature of our performances. Outside experts of kapa haka understand this. Te Rita Papesch, mātanga kaikaha and kaitito, identifies the moana as being ever-present in a Te Whānau a Apanui performance expressing "their Kapa Haka repertoire talks about their identity as sea people and their relation to the sea" (Papesch, 2015, p. 185).

Rikirangi Gage discusses this relationship with the moana as Te Whānau a Apanui still having a contract with Tangaroa (the god of the sea). We have many stories about our connections to Tangaroa and Rehua (gods of the ocean). One of our early kōrero tuku iho is from our eponymous ancestor Poumātangatanga (Pou) and the coming of the Moki, a most sacred fish to Te Whānau a Apanui and the hapū of Kauaetangohia. As told by our koroua Hirini Waititi, before Pou left Hawaiki and travelled to Aotearoa, he visited Rehua at the bottom of the ocean to ask for safe passage to the new lands. Rehua gifted him a fish of his choice. Pou chose the Moki, a fish with big lips. Rehua agreed and said that it would follow him when the star Autahi rises but it is a tapu (sacred) fish and has a number of rules attached to the fishing of it (Nepia, 1972a). The Moki still comes into Whangapāraoa and the ancient rituals are still observed and revived by the community and in particular the school, Te Kura Mana Māori o Whangapāraoa. The kura incorporates into the curriculum, the stories, history, and tikanga that are connected to the moki and the arrival of Poumātangatanga on the waka, Tauira-mai-tawhiti. Celebrations take place with the rising of the star Autahi as was foreseen by Rehua. The school is physically located in the place of many significant events connected to Pou. This makes it a rich learning environment and a special place to instil the teachings left for us by our ancestors. Bringing this thinking back to Rikirangi's kōrero around our contractual obligations with Tangaroa, practising these tikanga associated with this kōrero tuku iho are a part of us holding up our end of the deal. When I asked Rikirangi why he thought stories of Pou and ngā kura pae o Mahia had survived he said:

Well they're the things about the links to mana whenua, ki te mana tangata, they are the links to te hekenga mai, mai i te Moananui-a-Kiwa. So you have a whole kete kōrero that sits in Te Moananui-a-Kiwa. So some of the haka I did was trying to keep those kōrero alive. (personal communication, April 21, 2021)

These stories reaffirm our wider connections to Te Moananui-a-Kiwa. Rikirangi has composed many waiata and haka that connects us to these traditions including *E noho ana au*, a pātere that depicts the coming of the Tainui and Taurima-tawhiti waka to Whangapāraoa. We use this regularly to support and acknowledge events or people. While our creative platforms can connect us to our physical landscapes, they can also transport us to meaningful places that were traversed by our ancestors. A significant part of our cultural narratives is the importance of our ancestral landscape and home before the migration to Aotearoa. Many kōrero tuku iho suggest that when we die, we return to Hawaiki. Te Whānau a Apanui has a coastal landscape that faces the lands and times of our early tipuna who travelled here from the Pacific. When I asked Dean Whiting if he had any thoughts as to why we had artists, composers and kapa groups that were celebrated nationally and internationally he replied:

It is no accident that our contemporary artists stand with confidence on many stages. They are secure in the knowledge that creativity is a foundation rather than an embellishment. It might also be that the remoteness of our rohe has protected our unique approach to the world, a sanctuary, an intact ancestral landscape that allows imaginative minds to roam freely. It might be the orientation of the landscape itself; looking outward over the horizon to Hawaiki in the north, the backbone of the hills and mountains to the south, a sense of all the possibilities looking out from the security on the land on which we stand.
(personal communication, May 31, 2021)

There are many thought-provoking offerings here. Rikirangi also suggests that perhaps these establishing stories with the migration of Pou and Taurima-tawhiti represent a shift in consciousness because the physical landscape and conditions were so vastly different to that of the Pacific from where our tīpuna travelled. Our relationship to our physical landscapes, and our ancestral landscapes before the arrival of the waka, sit in our hearts and our beings. They are celebrated through waiata, art, carvings, tā moko, and painting, and these stories will continue to survive in these forms and in new expressions for many more generations to come. They connect us to times that we may not know in the physical sense but that we 'know' through our bodies, lands, stories, and spirits.

Te Rawheoro and Te Kete Aronui

Our tipuna have been theorising their world through pūrākau and kōrero tuku iho since our understanding of time. These kōrero serve to guide us and instil teachings that can be used in meaningful ways for uri whakaheke. In this section we will look at how our tipuna have positioned the role of toi in some of our wider pūrākau contexts and narratives. It reflects on how they might have viewed the connection between oranga and mahi toi as theory and praxis.

In October, 1769, the Endeavour, captained by Lieutenant James Cook, and crew sailed into Uawa, Tolaga Bay on the East Coast of the North Island (Salmond, 2012). After a disastrous landing in Turanga (Gisborne), and with some initial trepidation, they were welcomed into Uawa, where they traded and moved around the pā of Te Aitanga a Hauiti. What Captain Cook and his crew members observed was the abundance of beautifully kept gardens, thriving children, and the creation of artwork. Their observation was that people living in Uawa were living in peaceful abundance, where the reverence of art and the production of art was visual on most of their artefacts, day to day tools as well as more revered pieces of importance (Parkinson, 1773; Salmond, 2012; V. Walker, 2012). Parkinson (1773) himself described the artworks in much detail, suggesting the level of precision and craft used was “with as much truth as if done from mathematical draughts” (p. 98). Little did Cook and his crew know that they had entered into a community that was the stronghold of the prestigious whare wānanga, Te Rawheoro, a school of higher learning and carving. The significance of the whare wānanga is captured in our ancient mōteatea:

Me ko Manutangirua, ko Hingangaroa.
Ka tu tona whare, Te Rawheoro, e
Ka tipu te whaihanga, e hika, ki Uawa
Ka riro te whakautu, te Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga,
Ka riro te manaia, ka riro te taowaru;
Ka taka i raro na, i a Apanui e.
*And Manutangirua had Hingangaroa
He who established the school,
Te Rawheoro And arts and crafts flourished at Uawa
There came in payment, Te Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga*

*And was exchanged for the manaia and taowaru
And the designs were taken north ... (V. Walker, 2012)*

As the mōteatea suggests there is significant historical connection and whakapapa between Te Whānau a Apanui, Uawa, and Te Rawheoro. Hingangaroa, the first tohunga of Te Rawheoro, was Apanui Waipapa's grandfather. After Apanui Waipapa was killed, his children fled around the coast and established what is now known as the iwi of Te Whānau a Apanui. Rob Ruha discussed the observations of the inhabitants of the Endeavour with Wayne Ngata, a scholar from Ngāti Porou and the hapū of Te Aitanga a Hauiti:

Wayne's distillation of that was he believed that that was an oranga metric of the time. When there was art in all communities that was a sign that our people were thriving because they weren't at war... They weren't in times of upheaval, what do you do when you're not at war, you make tamariki and you make art. (personal communication, October 16, 2020).

The "oranga metric" spoken about here sits within a community context. A healthy, thriving community has space and time to wānanga, produce, and create works of art or embellish tools and garments. When the necessities of food, water, and shelter are met, philosophy and thinking beyond the practical functions can manifest. Conceptually, the fact that Te Rawheoro was a whare wānanga that facilitated a breadth of higher learning, and was also a school of carving, gives us insight into how our tipuna might have understood or positioned the acquisition of mātauranga. Firstly, it is obvious that our tipuna placed a reverence on toi, which means the integration of history and whakapapa and the expression of this through creative means was important. Secondly, there is an intertwined relationship between the importance of mātauranga and whakapapa and the arts. Our tipuna placed their most esteemed places of thinking and wānanga with the expression of carving and other modes of toi. This duality is important because it connects theorising and meaning making with praxis. The practical application of toi is a process developed by tipuna to help understand the world and to develop deep and meaningful ways to connect to whakapapa and Te Ao Tūroa. These theories were developed to a high degree using pūrākau, kōrero tuku iho and toi which are all processes that connect to us – their mokopuna. Their communicative devices are what we still listen to, hear, see, touch, and embody today.

This understanding of the ingredients of a thriving community that Rob and Wayne discuss also supports the contents theorised within Te Kete Aronui. There is a connection between an oranga metric discussed in relation to Te Rawheoro, as well as other wānanga like weaving in Te Whare Pora (Yates-Smith, 1980), where deep philosophy and wānanga is embodied through toi and the conceptual understandings held within the baskets of knowledge. From a mātauranga Māori perspective, understanding how we conceptualise our knowledge is shown in a kōrero tuku iho that involved the journey of Tāne-mahuta (in some iwi narratives it is Tawhaki) to retrieve the three baskets of knowledge from the highest of the twelve heavens. The three baskets of knowledge were Te Kete Tuatea, Te Kete Tuauri, and Te Kete Aronui. One interpretation of Te Kete Aronui is “a basket filled with aroha, peace, and the arts, and crafts that benefit the Earth and all living things. This basket relates to knowledge acquired through careful observation of all that is around us” (Ruru & Nikora, 2021). Timoti Karetu (2008) also supports this interpretation, expanding to include the kete of intellectuals and philosophy. This begs the question, why did our ancestors place the elements of peace, art and philosophy together in a mātauranga context? I believe, they are offering us a framework or pathway to understand and explore our oranga by connecting significant themes, thus, elevating our understanding and consciousness. The Kete Aronui framework can situate itself to be used in many contexts where knowledge is being explored. For example, Dr Jani Wilson has also explored the notion of Te Kete Aronui as an intersection of Te Ao Māori and film. Jani has experimented with the elements of Te Kete Aronui as a theoretical framework for film analysis (J. K. T. Wilson, 2016). Therefore, the key ingredients held within the kete offer another avenue for us to consider pathways to understanding our world and to understand what oranga means to us.

What Te Kete Aronui and the toi produced in Uawa would suggest is that the conditions of this creative consciousness require a peaceful space and state of being. Or is it that the peaceful space and state create the conditions for artwork to thrive? Either way, the premise of this thinking is that when people are in a state of wellness and calm, the production of higher thinking and a shift in consciousness coupled, with the space to think and create, are fundamentally intertwined. It was an oranga metric of the time but can it still be an oranga metric of today? Today we have a range of mediums to express ideas critically and creatively. This interpretation leads me to ponder Māori and Indigenous health inequities that stem from the impacts of colonisation (Axelsson et al., 2016; H. Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). Is it possible for people who experience the intergenerational trauma of colonisation to shift into a space of peace through

creation? In the time of Te Rawheoro, if war signalled a time of distress and a state of survival, then colonisation is our contemporary equivalent, as many Māori live in a position of uncertainty and fear. And it can be constant and ever looming for some. However, again, toi offers a path. It's power to reconnect to their source of collective power is undeniable.

Despite the correlation between a collective peace and toi, the arts are also known to express a myriad of feelings and emotions. Both Rob and Rikirangi agree that the anomaly of the production of toi during times of war is waiata. Waiata is a transient embodiment of moments in time, that are cultivated from our experiences. Rikirangi uses the prophet Te Kooti a Rikirangi as an example, Whilst on the run from government troops and while imprisoned in the Chatham Islands, he composed mōteatea (personal communication, April 21, 2021). Other artists I interviewed, especially the painters, expressed they often take to their craft in times of heaviness as a means of expression. This is interesting as perhaps this suggests that the expression through toi is a place to reach the nature of peace. Toi then becomes a vehicle that through expression, whether that be anger, grief or elation, we move and reach a more balanced sense of being and therefore, oranga. This would suggest that toi is a paramount vehicle to enable individuals and collectives to navigate their realities and experiences, to release them, and move closer to rebalancing - in whatever way that may look like for them.

Chapter Conclusion:

The importance of the connection between identity and oranga cannot be understated. The role that toi plays in connecting us to the deep philosophies of our tipuna, the collective tapestry of whakapapa, and passages to healing through our stories, is both powerful and grounding. Mahi toi is a process that awakens the need of our tipuna to create and explore solutions in both profound ways and day-to-day situations. Mahi toi is a masterful pedagogy that connects through time and space, calling people home by reconnecting them to their whakapapa and stories. Despite the arts being less valued in our modern western society, for Te Whānau a Apanui it is a key mode of living with each other and with the taiao. Our environment and the stories that are embedded there are another important aspect of collective iwi and hapū oranga. Whakapapa, and the taiao, are inherently connected.

Our tipuna understood the importance of toi and positioned it within the kete of philosophy and harmony suggesting that the act of creation has a wider correlation to healthy communities. A healthy community is one that is creating, is one that is searching for possibilities and answers to challenges through the act of making, through the resolution of thinking and then creating and vice versa. Oranga is a living concept, it evolves and moves with needs of people and the taiao. Toi will move and shift with the requirements of our time as we seek to connect to the past teachings of our tipuna. Toi is important to iwi oranga as it provides the necessary tools to weave the bonds of whakapapa and the relational connections needed to function as a collective. The use of these tools can be seen as an act of mana motuhake. The use of toi as an expression of mana motuhake will be explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5: He Mana Māori Motuhake



Figure 16: Iwi & Greenpeace protests in the Raukūrama Basin, Te Whānau a Apanui waters. Whakaahua: Greenpeace.

Mana Motuhake

In 2010 a Brazilian oil company was granted an exploration permit by the Crown of the Raukumara basin. This permit was situated in the hapū of Kauaetangohia and in the tribal lands of Te Whānau a Apanui. Our iwi of Te Whānau a Apanui opposed the oil drilling and the environmental risks involved. On April 3rd, 2011, the Te Whānau a Apanui fishing vessel the *San Pietro*, who at the time had on board the skipper Elvis Teddy and runanga CEO Rikirangi Gage, at their own risk moved to block the approach of the Petrobras vessel, the *Oriental Explorer*, in their waters. A contingent of police and military forces were sent to deter or detain protesters. Rikirangi Gage sent these communications to the *Oriental Explorer* stating our iwi position:

This is the Te Whānau a Apanui vessel the *San Pietro* calling the *Oriental Explorer*. As has been relayed to you earlier, you are not welcome in our waters. Accordingly, and as an expression of our mana in these waters, and our deep concern for the adverse effects of deep sea drilling, we will be positioning the Te Whānau a Apanui vessel directly in your path, approximately one and half nautical miles. I repeat, approximately. We will not be moving, we will be doing some fishing. That's what our waters are for. Not for pollution. To the HMS Taupo and the New Zealand Police who boarded our vessel yesterday, we wish to

reiterate that this is not a protest. We are defending tribal waters and our rights from reckless government policies and the threat of deep sea drilling which our hapū have not consented to and continue to oppose. We acknowledge that you have your job to do. We too have a duty, to uphold the mana of our hapū, and to ensure the sustainability of our waters so that it continues to nourish future generations. We will not stand by and allow the New Zealand Government to trample on our mana, on the Treaty, on our Treaty rights and our rights as indigenous peoples under the Declaration of Indigenous Rights. (Gage, 2012)

This event led to different expressions of mana motuhake, adding to the continuum of iwi storytelling stating our place in the world. At the helm of this waka were our kaitito and ringatoi.

While mana motuhake can have a number of meanings depending on context, this research looks at mana motuhake from a tribal storyteller's perspective. It seeks to understand mana motuhake from the position of the storyteller. It has been both fascinating and enlightening to discuss mana motuhake with my kaikōrero. There are several areas of mana motuhake that help to build a picture of what sovereignty means to our iwi, and what role it plays in the continuation of our kōrero tuku iho and identity. These are by no means the only expressions or views on mana motuhake in our iwi, but they are tied to significant events that establish some clear points of reference.

Rikirangi's words at the start of the chapter provide a space to understand the concept of mana from an iwi perspective. There are several assertions here that help develop an ideology as to how our iwi understands mana and mana motuhake. The themes in this chapter are analysed through the eyes of our tribal storytellers, therefore considering what it means to them as storytellers who retell kōrero tuku iho, and who interpret events happening around them. To give context to the argument of mana motuhake, this chapter will look at some of the wider discussions on mana motuhake.

Explaining Mana Motuhake

Explaining mana motuhake can be challenging in an academic context. Firstly, the English language has difficulty expressing Māori worldviews, as they stem from completely different

epistemologies and worldviews. Some authors attest that Te Reo Māori (Māori language) is the gateway into the Māori world (T. S. Kāretu & Milroy, 2019). Regardless, the hope here is that the English language can explore and shape kōrero to further support the importance of kōrero tuku iho through the toi. Despite having articulated a chapter on mana motuhake, I still feel there is a lot more that can be said about it. The word mana has been explored and investigated by many early linguistic ethnographers since missionaries first made contact. They have been fascinated by the complexity of the meaning and its use throughout the Pacific and Melanesia (Codrington, 1891; Keesing, 1984). In most cases, their eagerness to define often fell short of encompassing the multifaceted and contextual use of the kupu *mana*, by wanting to define it linguistically. When exploring the concepts of mana motuhake and Tino Rangatiratanga, they are often translated as sovereignty or autonomy. However, Sir Mason Durie esteemed Māori health advocate, highlights that the word sovereignty has not developed from a Māori worldview of power or governance, and can very well shift the focus from autonomy to the relationship between Māori and the Crown (M. H. Durie, 1998).

This being said, the use of the term mana motuhake can also be linked to other movements within Māoridom that have endured on-going battles with the government. The Kingitanga had deep grievances with the Crown over its insatiable appetite for Māori land which ended in devastating conflicts (Mahuta, 1995). Mana motuhake was a term used to speak to the Crown and assert their mana over their own destiny. In the early 1850s, the Kingitanga movement was established to unite tribes across Aotearoa against unauthorised land sales. After a lengthy period of wānanga, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero reluctantly agreed to take the mantle and the Kingitanga was established in Waikato Tainui (Te Aho, 2006). He was soon succeeded by his son Tāwhiao. As Associate Professor Linda Te Aho (2006), of Tainui and Ngāti Koroki Kahukura highlights, the King movement had two founding principles - mana motuhake and mana whenua:

Mana motuhake encompasses the authority of distinctive and dynamic tribal groups to make their own choices and determine their own destiny. Mana whenua encompasses tribal authority exercised over land and signals the importance of land retention. (2006, p. 102)

Tāwhiao established a coat of arms as a symbol of his aspirations for his people and named it Te Paki o Matariki. The inscription on the coat of arms reads - Ko Te Mana Motuhake. Here, mana

motuhake is described as being from tribal groupings that express their own unique understanding of the world based on their relationships with other iwi and hapū, as well as with their distinct physical environment.

The stories embedded in the whenua by our tipuna show us pathways to express tribal authority, to the Crown and other iwi and hapū. The term mana motuhake has been used in contexts that involve the pursuits of hapū and iwi aspirations and sovereignty. This term has wider uses but has its foundations in a deep understanding of connection to people, place, and story. Therefore, it is an important iwi concept that requires action to be fully expressed.

Apanui e tū! – External threats

Rikirangi's earlier communications stating our iwi opposition to the dangers of deep-sea drilling in our moana frames an important era in the expression of mana motuhake for our iwi. Mana motuhake was brought intensely into focus as a means to discuss why and how our iwi of Te Whānau a Apanui fundamentally objected to potential risks to our intergenerational resources, and risked life and livelihoods to do so. This section discusses why mana motuhake is important, and how this builds into expressions of mahi toi.

The exploration permit to drill in Te Whānau a Apanui waters was granted in 2010 by the Ministry of Energy and Resources (Brownlee, 2010). The company is known as Petrobras, a subsidiary of Petróleo Brasileiro, one of the largest companies in Latin America and the Southern Hemisphere who at the time of the permit were the third largest oil company in the world (Agence France-Presse, 2010). The Permit was granted without proper consultation or permission from the tribe of Te Whānau a Apanui. These deep waters outside of the Raukumara basin are the waters our ancestor's waka glided through to come to the shores of taunga waka, Whangapāraoa, centuries ago. They are the waters that still sustain the hapū of Kauaetangohia, Pararaki and Maruhaeremuri, and wider Te Whānau a Apanui with kai. It is our kōrero tuku iho that connects us to our tipuna and their ongoing teachings, therefore, the Raukumara sustain us in more ways than one. These layers of sustenance connect uri whakaheke to their place in the world. A threat to these waters was a threat to the sustainability of future mokopuna. In an interview for the *Sunday Star Times* in 2011, Tweedie, Jamie, and Taika Waititi, all creative siblings who work in film and television production, expressed their concern for the drilling of the Raukumara basin

and the possible effects this could have on the moana they grew up on with their kuia. Tweedie describes the sustenance, oranga, and connection to our tīpuna that uri whakaheke experience from our moana:

It is our main food source, but it is also healing. Guaranteed that if my grandmother was down about something, she was at the beach. She'd say that if you go down there and tell your problems, or have a cry at the beach, it will go back to Hawaiiki and our ancestors will hear about it. If I'm depressed, no doubt you'll find me down at the water. And there's no way I want to be crying to an oily beach. (Knight, 2011)

These words were soon to become a reality for the iwi within the Mātaatua rohe. The timing of the Raukumara exploration permit coincided with several other oil catastrophes, both abroad and nationally. This gave further resolve to our iwi to oppose the dangers of oil drilling and fuelled the fire of protests even further. Early in the morning of October 5th 2011 the vessel Rena, carrying 1,368 containers and 1,733 tonnes of heavy fuel oil, struck the astrolabe off the coast of Tauranga Moana (Maritime New Zealand, 2022). Due to stormy weather and rough conditions, six days later the Rena split in two, spewing dense oil into the Bay of Plenty's seas and currents. The devastation along the coast was immeasurable, with small coastal Māori communities like Matakana Island, Maketu and Te Whanau a Apanui having to figure out how to clean their shores themselves, as government and councils scrambled to find a way to deal with the magnitude of the spill. Dayle Takitimu, a fierce protector of whenua, moana and mokopuna, who was also the Te Whanau a Apanui lawyer at the time of the Petrobras drilling protest, highlighted that the Rena spill showed how ill - prepared the government was to address any future oil spills, let alone one that might occur from the Raukumara deep sea drilling. She said in an interview:

The Bay of Plenty is no longer the plenty of anything except oil and it's not good enough. Rena is our big signpost to tell the rest of the world and the rest of the country that New Zealand is not ready to deal with oil spills. (Gillespie & Conchie, 2011)

People in the Bay of Plenty were horrified by the scenes of complete devastation, as slick black oil covered their beaches and taonga and species of manu (birds) and ika were consumed by the thick foreign muck. A year earlier an international disaster further highlighted the dangers of oil

spills to whenua and moana. This was an explosion on an oil rig in the Gulf of Mexico, which was owned by the company BP Deepwater Horizon. Oil spewed into the ocean for 87 days killing an unknown amount of sea life (Meiners, 2020). From the other side of the world we watched on television and through news reports as thick oil erupted into the ocean with no solution from government, officials or scientists as to how to stop the onslaught. This remains one of the worst environmental disasters in US history (Helmores, 2020).

Te Whānau a Apanui did not need to look far to understand the extreme risks that deep sea drilling could have on their natural environment, and on the future of their mokopuna. The Crown assessment of oil spill risk was “low” in order to justify granting explorational permits. Iwi wide protests were held, with Te Whānau a Apanui putting the call out for support to those who oppose drilling. Greenpeace responded, as well as other Māori environment activists such as Mike Smith and Hone Harawira. On the 2nd of April 2011, a Greenpeace flotilla was welcomed into the Whangapāraoa bay by hundreds of uri o Te Whānau a Apanui and those that came from outside the rohe waited in the beach of Ngā Ahi Kumukumu a Marakauiti. Impassioned haka flew across the waves, speaking as much to our ancestors in Hawaiki as we were to incoming vessels. We urged our tīpuna to give us the strength to do what must be done as uri whakaheke. This powerful collective moment is one example of collective hapū activating and working together against an outside threat.

From the outset of the oil prospecting, Te Whānau a Apanui was clear that it operated from a foundation built on mana motuhake. The threat of oil drilling in the Raukumara engaged hapū throughout Te Whānau a Apanui, and as a result impassioned toi were made to express our feelings on the issue.

Mana Motuhake – Ka Whawhai Tonu

A powerful vehicle for expressing grievances and mana motuhake is kapa haka. At the 2011 Te Matatini o te Rā, Taurima-tawhiti, a Te Whānau a Apanui roopu, performed *Taku Mana Moana*, a haka fiercely opposing the drilling in the Raukumara ranges. Expressing rage at the audacity of the Crown to feel it owned our waters and could be so careless with future resources of our mokopuna. The arena of kapa haka and especially Te Matatini have always been platforms to

express grievances or political issues of the past and present. In a report prepared by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, a kaihaka interviewed expressed this:

[Kapa haka is...] an expression of our mana, mauri, and our beauty as a people. An opportunity to discuss, debate and voice kōrero, political opinions and current events in a way that reaches all generations and forms of life. Kapa Haka, for me, is about the fusion of contemporary and the traditional, the performative and the ceremonial, the political and the fun. (L. W. Nikora et al., 2022, p. 15)

While concentrating on whakapapa, ngā taonga tuku iho and tikanga are fundamental to our identity and place in the world, addressing Crown injustices is another avenue to air ngā kare ā roto (emotions) and to place those emotions and political challenges on the stage for all to witness and feel. Many composers and storytellers have done this in the past and continue to do so. Highlighting political issues on stage demands wider attention and showcases the current events and challenges for that kapa and rohe to the other iwi. This makes the kapa haka platform extremely important.

In 2004, Te Kapa Haka o Te Whānau a Apanui performed *Hamuera* at the Palmerston North based Te Matatini. This action song spoke to the controversial passing of the Foreshore and Seabed Bill that transferred title to the Crown and invalidated all rights Māori had to our takutai moana (foreshore and seabed) (Koopu, 2019). The song asked the Māori parliament members of the time to hold fast to the calls of their iwi. That year, a number of kapa haka roopu from around the motu used the Te Matatini stage to express their anger and frustration towards the Crown over the Taukuta Moana Bill and to state their position. The Foreshore and Seabed Bill was another example of the Crown's encroaching power, and how we as an iwi responded to it. This is how this kaupapa unfolded.



Figure 17: "Hamuera" Composed by Rikirangi Gage and painted by Erena Koopu. A painting and song opposing the controversial Seabed and Foreshore bill and asks Māori members of parliament to heed the lesson of our past Māori prophets.

In May 2004, a nationwide hīkoi was organised which descended upon parliament in protest. Te Whānau a Apanui travelled down with many of our kaumātua. Many were not known to be assertive protesters - my own father included. However, this was different. This was about the Crown's power and control over the moana and the shorelines which are fundamental to who we are and how we sustain our future uri whakaheke. Our iwi was met by an estimated 25,000 Māori from iwi all around the motu. Despite the volume of protesters and the clear messages sent to the government, the bill was passed the following day. This protest remains vivid in my mind for two reasons. The first was being part of a surging collective that pulsed between disdain, fear, anger, and hope. The second was seeing my 83 year old father bus down to Wellington from Te Whānau a Apanui, with other kaumātua and pākeke, and walk the whole way. It took hours to walk to parliament as the crowd was so huge and he could not walk very fast. He was not a man to protest but the proposed bill was seen as a modern day raupatu, or confiscation, so the stakes were too high not to act. These real experiences are cultivated, criticised, reflected upon, and passed on through wānanga and kōrero tuku iho. Hīkoi has long been an expression of tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake (A. Harris, 2004; Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2021). Hīkoi have been demonstrations of uprising, discontent, anger and a collective show of solidarity. A physical manifestation of collective mana motuhake.

Mana Motuhake – Te Aroha

Iwi relationships with the Crown have often resulted in conflict, contestation, and protest which is the case for Te Whānau a Apanui. As a result, mana motuhake has been the vehicle from which to position ourselves in order to express our autonomy over how we operate and care for whenua and moana that must continue to sustain mokopuna for years to come. However, external expressions of mana motuhake towards the government do not always have resolution. Speaking to the crown is not the only way to embed yourself in the ethos of mana motuhake. Mason Durie (1998) discusses the complex notion that while the power dynamic between Māori and the Crown is important and has been a point of contention, it is not central to the intention of mana motuhake:

While the politics of power between Māori and the state are critical for an understanding of self-determination, they are not synonymous with its fundamental aims and goals. Rather the aims of self-determination are practical and intimately bound to the aspirations and hopes within which contemporary Māori live. Essentially, Māori self-determination is about the advancement of Māori people, as Māori, and the protection of the environment for future generations. (p. 4)

While mana motuhake, or self-determination, can be seen as relational to the government, as Durie highlights, this is not always the case. Mana motuhake functions to realise Māori hopes, dreams, and aspirations. This is an interesting position as mana motuhake is often positioned or discussed within conflict. The above statement brings into focus a more intimate notion of mana motuhake, where the practical and intimate day-to-day expressions, in individual and whānau contexts, echo the workings and thinking of our tipuna.

More introspective expressions of mana motuhake might look like; gardening on whānau whenua, fishing in tribal waters, speaking Māori to our children, connecting to whakapapa, organising whānau and hapū kaupapa, cooking and gathering kai for a kaupapa at the marae, caring for mokopuna, caring for elders, caring for manuhiri (visitors), and speaking and expressing the stories passed down to us from generation to generation. Dr Kirsten Gabel suggests we should not underestimate the impact of everyday actions on future generations:

Tino rangatiratanga is the language that we speak to our children, it is the names we bestow upon them, the songs we sing to them, the whānau and the individuals that we surround them with, the tikanga we immerse them in, the educational experiences we choose for them. (Gabel, 2013, p. 161)

Tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake become attainable for whānau and individuals in their everyday life. What this suggests is that mana motuhake does not only exist as an ideology or a grand display of mana but also as a personal act of reclamation and aroha. Mana motuhake is an action that can be tangibly expressed through many forms including toi. While these are all actions that counter colonial thinking and practices, their function is not always with the government in mind, or for the conscious purpose of speaking to the coloniser. An important example of this is how the compositions for Te Kapa Haka o Te Whānau a Apanui were thought through and developed for the Te Matatini o te Rā festival in 2011, the year of the oil drilling protests.



Figure 18: Tamariki living in their mana motuhake. Personal Image.

Intense wānanga took place to decide how to address the biggest issue Te Whānau a Apanui was facing at the time - the deep-sea drilling prospects in the Raukumara basin. Te Matatini has always been a platform to express kaupapa within an iwi, hapū, or wider haka group. The dilemma was how should they address and articulate the injustices going on in their iwi at the time. Should they speak directly to the government, who freely trampled on our mana motuhake? Or should they dedicate their performance to weaving our history and reaffirming whakapapa and whenua links? Rob Ruha discusses how Rikirangi eventually approached their performance bracket. Their conversation moved to what was important to say and who they should be speaking to:

What is the desired result and what is it that we want to impart to them [uri] to be able to fight these taniwha? Knowing that Petrobras is only the kutu (lice) on the back of a bigger taniwha. We settled on writing about whakapapa. Writing about whakapapa connections between every other iwi in the Tairāwhiti, it's those things that tell us what Te Whānau a Apanui is. How to be Whānau Apanui, what's our metric and in times of strife and huge upheaval, te wā i rurea ana, te wā e pōkaikaha ana te iwi. Those are the things that matter, when we need to call on those relationships, boom kei konā. The whole bracket - top to bottom - was about history. Not once did we say Petrobras, but in every breath we meant Petrobras. It was about asserting the Mana of Te Whānau a Apanui. This is what it looks like, this is what it feels like, that mana. This is what it sounds like and these are the people that are key to that thing. Meaning our whakapapa relationships and when you have nailed it, this is what you can do with it. Meaning this is the fuel that is going to be everlasting ā tērā whakatipuranga, ā tērā whakatipuranga when we have to face these things again. (personal communication, October 16, 2020)

This is a clear example of how mana motuhake can present in ways that does not always centre the Crown, but still speaks to oppressive regimes, while simultaneously grounding itself in the depths of whakapapa through story weaving. The performance bracket spoke to the expansive relationships Te Whānau a Apanui has within Te Tairāwhiti. It breathed these stories into the present and embedded them into uri whakaheke and haka fans throughout the motu. Rob continues to articulate why this is important:

This is not the first taniwha and it definitely won't be the last, so we are going to fuel up our people with the things that make us fall in love with who we are. Because when we do that we will do anything, we will be innovative, we will create new pathways, we will create solutions to the problems we never had before, because of that aroha kua whakatō ki roto i a koe. (personal communication, October 16, 2020)

Expanding on this whakaaro, Rob suggests that aroha can be central to mana Motuhake, that tribal storytelling has the power to instil a sense of generational belonging and a sense of self that

is connected to a wider tapestry of events, whakapapa, and place. It is from this space that an understanding of aroha can be developed, and creativity and innovation can thrive. This draws parallels with what Merata Mita talked about in the earlier chapters around stories fortifying us. It also connects to the notion that by instilling aroha and confidence through storytelling, we can move beyond the bonds of a Crown relationship and into a deep reflective relationship with ourselves, paving pathways to where we want to go and what we hope the future will look like for our mokopuna. Rikirangi extends this further by highlighting that a kaupapa of this nature can rise within a collective consciousness, where connection through waiata or mahi toi can connect the subconscious to the ngākau (heart), powerfully shifting people into a particular state of being:

Well, the thing is we have a unique opportunity to sing about it and express it, with Petrobras, we express it in kia mau ki ngā tikanga, so mana motuhake is a part of it, it's an ecosystem thing. There's a photo of basically all the kapa at the beach lining up and welcoming those [flotilla]. That's what that's for, it's a way of having a consciousness and to do stuff because there's some value that sits behind it. (personal communication, April 21, 2021)

The coming together of the hapū and kapa haka groups of Te Whānau a Apanui, to sing and haka at Whangapāroa, signalled a collectivised response to an external threat. The response was to draw on waiata and haka that had vibrated through time and the consciousness of our tīpuna to us standing on the beach welcoming our manuhiri, but also speaking past our manuhiri and asking our tīpuna for strength and courage. The bay of Whangāparoa was a pertinent place to make a stand, as many of our iwi origin or hekenka (migration) stories moved through this area and are still bound by the naming of significant landing points. The naming of uri whakaheke, singing of waiata and mōteatea, the kōrero tuku iho embedded in the hapū, and by the significant works of artistry throughout the kura and marae, retelling the journey of our coming to Aotearoa. Of all places Petrobras and the government chose, they chose this area that is rooted deeply to all of Te Whānau a Apanui. Therefore, the response could only be a collective one.

Mana Takitahi – Mana Takitini:

Many kaikōrero I interviewed talked about mana motuhake as their capacity to make decisions and represent these stories as they see it should be presented. How tribal storytellers express

themselves as individuals is an interesting topic. Master carver Pine Taiapa, a renowned expert within Te Whānau a Apanui and Ngāti Porou, also mentored and taught some of our own iwi artists. He said “even through the patterns used are traditional, the Māori artist, is allowed personal liberty to express himself creatively” (Christensen, 2013, p. 46). The expression of an individual storyteller is important, but if we delve deeper into this area we can see that individual expression still has its foundations in the deep history and whakapapa of the collective, as Erueti Korewha asserts:

It's your ability to do things really without having to get permission from someone else. You're not standing on something flimsy though, you're standing on something that's been in place way back. It's expressing who you are, it's expressing your sovereignty. (personal communication, October 4, 2020)

Importantly, a tribal storyteller stands on foundations set by our tipuna and weaved into the present by kōrero tuku iho. The continuum of whakapapa and the experiences of our navigational tīpuna passed down through time, provides the essential roots for individuals to grow and express tribal kōrero creatively. It should provide a grounding that allows our ringatoi and kaitito to flex out and interpret their world and the many changes and challenges in it. Roka Cameron, tohunga raranga, discussed this as a continuum of knowledge passed down for both survival techniques and for purposes of creativity. When asked what mana motuhake meant to her, she said:

I connect to my harakeke, I can be anywhere in the world and I can pick up a grass and start weaving, because of the knowledge that has been passed down to me through the harakeke. Through my nanny Roka, watching her surviving, and making kete to pull her wood off the beach. Our whāriki was what we would sleep on, those were our moenga (sleeping mats). It carries so much mauri in all of that, it carries all of that for me, that is part of me. That is why I relate more to the art, we call it art, but back in the day as I said, Mum and them didn't call it art, it was more of their survival skills. When I look at it, I see the connection, everything in it, it is just the whole package for me, doesn't matter what I am creating, whether it be a wahakura (woven bassinet), korowai, a piupiu, a kete, no matter what, I feel their mauri in everything I do, I really do. (personal communication, October 28, 2020)

Connection to Te Ao Wairua and to mauri has been important to many kaikōrero I have spoken to. Roka describes the deep knowledge held within her craft and the whakapapa of the harakeke she works with. This suggests that the foundation that Erueti first talked about is also tied to the depths and breadths of wairua and mauri stored in the whakapapa of knowledge, and in Roka's case, the materials used as well. It is evident that when reengaging with knowledge that has been passed down through millennia creatively, we are engaging with a continuum of thought and practice, and you are contributing to it. Interestingly, Roka makes the point that while the knowledge is centred in a certain iwi or hapū, expressing mana motuhake can be something you do outside of this physical area, because the connection to the knowledge, stories and in some cases materials, can be accessed anywhere. Therefore, mahi toi and waiata can be expressed anywhere. This is an important consideration, as many of our uri live outside the iwi geographical boundaries.



Figure 19: Harakeke being prepared for weaving. Personal Image

Individual expression within mahi toi, and its connection to the collective, has always been a space of discussion. However, a debate that seems to be had in the past, and still today, is how an artist incorporate new ideas and innovation with our more traditional forms. Cliff Whiting recalls an experience with his teacher, mentor, and master carver, Pine Taiapa, a well-known and highly respected tohunga whao (expert carver). Pine had come to see Cliff's first innovative mural *Whiti Te Rā*, carved in 1969 using hardboard and paint:

He looked and studied it carefully for a long time, and I was wondering what to say. He was very accepting. He looked again and said “Yes, I know this is a changing world. These works must stand in that world, but the stories must remain true so that our treasures are never lost.” (Christensen, 2013, p. 48)

From a mana motuhake perspective this kōrero would suggest that individual creativity should be cared for and encouraged when it can move safely from a grounded and supportive perspective. Pine’s words also offer some warning that a combination of innovation and kōrero tuku iho from our tipuna is needed if we are to maintain our identity. How we present these stories may differ from past techniques or materials. However, the artist should have space to explore the reality of their context and search for avenues to connect with people in the world we are now living in. Despite having room to show individual expression, the tribal artist also sits within a powerful intergenerational system of kōrero tuku iho. The recognition of the mana of the individual and their uniqueness is important, but this is held and supported within collective knowledge systems that perpetuates tribal identity to people and place. Mana motuhake is an expression of this identity by the individual and the collective, the demarcation lines between the two are at times indistinguishable.

Mana Motuhake Together:

Erena Koopu makes the point that it is important to work with others in your whānau, hapū, or iwi when you are reworking kōrero tuku iho. She has collaborated and worked individually on many projects. Wānanga with others is often to enable a kaupapa to move through different viewpoints and different perspectives on tribal kōrero, to help build a picture for kaitito or ringatoi. How an individual works through these kōrero and then reinterprets them is important. An individual’s own creativity is essential to foster and encourage so that kōrero tuku iho can find different avenues to connect and speak to people. Iwi storytellers occupy a unique space where interpretations of kōrero tuku iho are filtered through uri whakaheke wanting to connect to the story and wanting others to connect to it as well. As a lecturer of toi at one of Aotearoa’s most prestigious schools for toi Māori, Toihaukura, Erena Koopu discusses the importance of encouraging rangatahi creativity and ensuring that kōrero and experience is shared:

Lot's of the creating that I do has been done at Toihoukura amongst my students so my studio space is in their studio space, and that's really important to me for my students to be able to see what I'm doing, how I do it and the process of me doing it. They'll come and sit with you and talk to you, you make them a part of the process, you know they can just take things from you... So it's important to bring our students, our rangatahi, and make them a part of the process too and that's about sharing what we have because if you don't share what you have then it's not worth having. That's ultimately what we do as creatives. (personal communication, October 23, 2021)

Erena talks of the importance of a shared experience, of creating a space where learning should also be relational. While Toihoukura is a tertiary institution, the teaching processes and teachers follow their own pedagogy and practices, steeped in Te Ao Māori. They are guided by tohunga whakairo and tohunga tā moko, Derek Lardelli. Building and reconnecting with relationships through the process is important, and Erena shows that teaching and learning are experiential rather than based on a power dynamic or teachings from a book.



Figure 20: Erena Koopu taking her roopū Taurima-mai-tawhiti through a waiata. Whakaahua: Erica Sinclair.

This space has been hard fought for through the education system, as is highlighted by one of Te Whānau a Apanui's most celebrated artists and teachers, Cliff Whiting - one of the early pioneers

to work with Māori art in the curriculum. He highlighted some of the challenges in those early years:

We were looking for a way in which Māori could come into the system without having to suffer the shock of its demand to 'become like a Pākehā' and leave their Māoriness at the gate. That was devastating for our people. (Christensen, 2013, p. 58)

The need for Māori to be Māori in these spaces of learning seems like a simple understatement. However, as Cliff has asserted, it was often discouraged, not allowed and not valued as a legitimate art form. It was a denial of who they were as people and devastating because it reconfirmed the colonial lens of our people not being good enough as they were, or not being of value to society. Cliff, along with other colleagues and mentors, worked throughout their lives to change this, thereby reigniting a passion for toi Māori through history, kōrero tuku iho, and through innovation with new ideas and materials. Cliff pushed his passion through education and into marae restoration, which included the accessing of knowledge and practice through a variety of forms, such as carving, tukutuku, waiata, painting, weaving, and new innovations with contemporary materials (Christensen, 2013). Marae projects meant that a range of skills and knowledge were required, and to do this it needed to become a community project. This was one of Cliff's major viewpoints - that marae restoration brought back a range of skills and knowledge systems into a community, and that their own whakapapa and histories were used to bring life to their wharenuī and wharekai (dining hall). It was also important for him that the community or hapū were a part of the process, that they were involved in the visioning and the physical manifestations of the toi needed which was the case for the first marae he worked on in his iwi of Te Whānau a Apanui, Kauaetangohia. Cliff's approach was to empower the communities he worked in. His process was to ensure he understood what the needs of the community were, and then move out of their way so that they could develop and grow their own knowledge and skill-sets in these areas:

Working with communities can be quite inspirational in many ways and the dynamics of it is something you can't avoid. You have the highs, the lows, the most wonderfully emotional sort of times, and times of difficulty that you have to get through, and that is all part of the development. Otherwise, you just go in and

do it all for them, three years later there's the meeting house, but there hasn't been any growth or development. As far as I'm concerned, Māori art belongs to Māori people in whatever form or shape it comes. Whatever is happening today is contemporary whether it's carving a traditional form, or the most modernistic thing. But how you weave that into a community is something else and that's the important thing. That's where a marae becomes sustainable, because people have invested their time and emotion and money into it, and in doing that you are adding to the continuum of all those tikanga, all those references, experiences, challenges and hopes. And if it's not an on-going process then you've missed the boat. (Christensen, 2013, p. 166).

Cliff's approach to marae restoration was a deep collective learning experience. Marae restoration needed multiple areas of mahinga toi, which meant accessing different types of knowledge systems. Speaking to kaumātua and the wider community was all a part of his initial research and required the engagement of waiata, mōteatea, whaikōrero, and karanga to help build the picture. In other words, traditional mahi toi were used to inspire new expressions of toi. If the community no longer had certain mātauranga, people were brought in to help share their knowledge and skills. In the case of Kauaetangohia, Pine Taiapa's wife Mere from Te Aowera, Ngāti Porou, came to help share her knowledge of processing kiekie for tukutuku panels (Christensen, 2013). There is a level of genius in focusing on marae restoration and the collectivity involved, because the process becomes as important as the destination. The process is where the continuum that is often discussed by Cliff is brought to the fore, and hands and heart get to touch and feel the knowledge systems our tipuna used. Mana motuhake is strengthened and displayed in these collective acts of resurgence, collaboration, knowledge sharing, and the physical manifestation of our tipuna's stories.



Figure 21: Kōrero tuku iho painted by Cliff Whiting. Te Whatianga wharekai – Kauaetangohia marae. Personal Image.

Tiro ki tua – Mana Motuhake and Innovation:

Cliff Whiting and Paratene Matchitt are known for their innovative, creative and contemporary interpretations of kōrero tuku iho, and this visioning can be seen today in Erena Koopu's work and the creative methods she uses. This section explores the power of creativity and the need for our artists and composers to pave the way forward by addressing problem-solving in innovative ways. The ability to create and find solutions to challenges meant that innovation was a necessity when our tipuna arrived on these shores generations ago, needing to adapt to a new environment and climate. While this necessity is well established in our storytellers today, these explorations can be seen as an expression of mana motuhake.



Figure 22: Kōrero tuku iho by Para Matchitt. Te Whatianga wharekai – Kauaetangohia marae. Personal Image.

Tohunga kairaranga, Roka Cameron, sees innovation and curiosity as being an essential part of her practice and weaving artform, describing it more as a process of inquiry and exploration where knowledge from the past connects to technology and innovation of the present. She approaches much of her mahi as research, and often experiments with new materials using old techniques:

Because my research is all around old. I love the old, so I go into the old, but I am creating it today. To do the research, and to go through the process of what our ancestors did and think back to that time when they had nothing. I have got lots of resources that can help me today, but I still try to go back to their era of using the roro, the brain [for tanning]. (personal communication, October 28, 2020).

A point Roka makes in this comment, is that the weaving knowledge passed down to her is still very much fundamental to her practice. However, she is making it in a world very different to the times of our tipuna, therefore, interpreting that for the present day and for our changing contexts is important. The abundance of resources that are also available today provide a plethora of pathways to create new and exciting toi. To move into Roka's artistic home and studio is to simultaneously be transported to the past and the future. There is something reminiscent of a combination of explosive science and art cascading down the walls and filling every part of her whare, it is beautiful to be in the presence of. Ringatoi are crucial connectors, communicators, and innovators, bringing forth stories and skills needed for our current contexts. Diggeress Te Kanawa, a master weaver from Waikato, also supports this view. Although much of Te Kanawa's work is intricate and follows more traditional styles, she is adamant that innovation was happening constantly for our tipuna (Panoho, 2015). Her research shows from the earliest contact with Captain Cook, our tipuna were incorporating new materials and resources into their weaving.



Figure 23: A korowai woven together using a loom technique by Roka Cameron. Whakaahua: Roka Cameron

When approached to work on his first marae in his own iwi, Cliff Whiting was already displaying his unique style and innovation, pushing boundaries around what people might have considered traditional art. As it turns out, he was not the only one seeking new approaches to the visual storytelling on marae. Cliff speaks about his encounter with Manihera Waititi, a leader from the hapū of Kaueatangohia, Whangapāraoa:

He said, “I want you to come down to do our marae, and I don’t want all that old stuff. I want the new stuff.” That was his kaupapa. They were like that, him and his brother John, they were adventurous, they were in a different space in their heads. They weren’t conservative, not them... Part of what Uncle Mani said was I want the stuff that you’ve been doing, not that old stuff. Like his brother John, they were thinking about the young people. So I went down and talked to him about it, and said, “What I need are all the kōrero. What are all the stories down here? (Christensen, 2013, p. 72).

This instance shows not just a desire for artists to push conventional boundaries, but that it can also be important for leaders who are searching for different ways to connect our stories to uri whakaheke. Manihera’s brother, John or Hoani Waititi, was interested in the teaching and

revitalisation of te Reo Māori. His Reo Māori resource, *Te Rangatahi* (H. R. Waititi, 1992, 1993, 1995), is a seminal body of work for language revitalisation and is considered innovative for the time (Mariu, 2021). It is clear that although these men were grounded in tikanga, whakapapa, and kōrero tuku iho it did not mean their ideas or dreams were static. If we consider Mason's earlier interpretation, mana motuhake seeks to fulfil our greatest desires, our hopes, and our dreams, and toi plays an important part in this. Toi shows us what was and what could be if we so desire. It encourages people to engage with foundations of their past and simultaneously, possibilities of their future.



Figure 24: Kōrero tuku iho by Cliff Whiting. Te Whatianga wharekai – Kauaetangohia marae. Personal Image.

The ability of the kaitito or ringatoi to move themselves into a state of creativity is important when we are speaking about tribal storytellers. This is where it moves from being an art form to a kaupapa bigger than what is available to the tangible senses. It moves into consciousness, a consciousness that belongs to a continuum steeped in whakapapa and experiences. Tuini Ngawai used waiata to express important kaupapa. Rikirangi Gage acknowledges that some people were not ready or supportive, at the time, of some of the kaupapa Tuini expressed through waiata, such as Te Tiriti o Waitangi. However, one of Tuini's gifts was her profound ability to move and connect with people through waiata; her profound ability to shift people into a space - to be very political, while still connecting with the heart of the person or the collective:

That transforms the hinengaro, it transports them to a place and that place to me is where the ngakau takes over. It's not a conscious thing, it's a space inside your thinking, inside your being where you can become creative. Where you are free, where you can be creative... it creates space and I say it creates a state, a link

between what's a mind and a heart. (R. Gage, personal communication, April 21, 2020).

This is a powerful example of how our creatives navigate different spaces in order to connect to a space that considers the workings of the hinengaro, wairua and ngākau. Rikirangi talks about there being a collective consciousness behind a kaupapa that is connected to the continuum that Cliff Whiting talks about, and the standing on a foundation that Erueti also highlights.

Innovation is a vital component of living in a way that aligns with seeking beyond what we know and what we believe. Our artists are in a constant motion of exploration and experimentation. For instance, the idea that mātauranga Māori and science can contribute to each other is becoming more of a reality as Roka Cameron has shown. Roka discusses a request from Dr Kura Paul a professor in Marine Science and Aquaculture from Ngāti Awa. Her request was that Roka design spat lines for growing mussels using natural resources that do not put more harmful plastics into the water. The combination of the knowledge systems of raranga and marine biology were a very interesting and fruitful relationship. Roka goes on to say:

The first lot went down, there were four stations, they didn't last that long because they wore out on the buoys, you saw the hauama there, we used hauama for our buoys, where they used big plastic. We are trying to get away from the plastic, by putting our traditional resources back in there. I used tīkauka and harakeke, and made these spat lines up. Down the line, Kura came back, oh, could you make some more this year? 2020, and we will put them down, but could you strengthen them up a bit? I thought back to Baggy Whiting, I went down there when I was doing a degree and I was doing tāruke, those are those crayfish pots outside there, that was my degree. (personal communication, October 28, 2020)

Roka's intergenerational understanding of raranga and the materials, coupled with her creative and explorative spirit made her an ideal candidate for this job. Uncle Baggy (the older brother of Cliff Whiting) was an expert fisherman and gardener, he was a man with immense mātauranga in our iwi. He had grown up in a hapū known for these skills. The experimentation needed to understand how particular mātauranga might be repurposed, is also the same nature of exploration that happens in mahi toi. Experimentation is crucial to a life that is centred in creating. This is an example of a fusion of ancient knowledge and new more sustainable ways to look at a

relationship with nature. It also shows the potential to address new and emerging challenges with the mātauranga of our tīpuna. However, Roka did highlight that not everybody was happy with Uncle Baggy giving these teachings to her as a wāhine, as some considered it men's knowledge. Uncle Baggy had known Roka's grandmother well, and he made that decision to "tuku" in order for that knowledge to live and be passed on. Both Roka and Cliff Whiting experienced push back with their intonation to explore outside of the traditional confines of what some believe their art form to be. Both are tohunga in their fields of mahi with their knowledge clearly sitting in a tīpuna continuum, yet they bravely pushed beyond the expectations of their form, which would suggest that innovation is more than something nice to do, it is a fundamental component of a living breathing social system. Artists can see beyond what is here and ask us all to dream beyond the impossible. This has always been the way for our tīpuna.

Moko Kanohi – Te Hokinga mai:



Figure 25: Moko kauae being applied to Kahurangi Waititi by ringawhāo Joni Brooking. Personal Image

If there were ever a resurgence in toi Māori within recent living memory within Te Whānau a Apanui, it has been the rebirth of moko kanohi. A taonga that has laid dormant for many generations has re-emerged springing from the mātauranga wells of Te Tairāwhiti. The impact of colonisation and assimilation saw a sharp decline in moko kanohi, however the re-emergence of moko is seen as an act of resistance, tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake (L. W. Nikora et

al., 2007, p. 479). The art form had been held by a few and is now being breathed to life again by our tohunga tā moko and the brave recipients who chose to reconnect with this art form. The surging of moko in our communities has created space for robust conversations, deep self-reflection, confrontation with our own colonisation, and a normalisation that has long been missing from our memories. This section looks at how moko is a site of self-expression and mana motuhake. It considers the resurgence of moko in our iwi, the healing properties it holds, and the importance of moko as a vehicle to mana motuhake.

He aha te moko?

Moko is the art of chiselling the skin and placing a pigment into the openings to embolden those markings for life (Te Awekotuku, 2006). It is an ancient art that leaves permanent markings on the skin to identify where that person was from, who they are connected to, and what they do. A requirement of moko kanohi is that the person has whakapapa Māori. In pre-colonial times, moko was applied to people from all walks of society and markings indicated their different mahi, whakapapa, and place within their whānau and wider community (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2007). A woman receives her markings on the chin and lips and a man receives a mataora or full faced moko. A mokopapa is the collective wānanga space where a group of people receive their kauae or mataora, although this is not necessarily the only way a moko can be received. In the tradition of Te Tairāwhiti, the people who you receive your moko with are known as a whariki. These people become an important part of the journey, and are recognised with the markings applied to all receivers (Tamihere-Waititi, 2020). Many thought that the art of moko was destined to die out and be lost forever because of the pressures of assimilation, the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 (R. Higgins, 2004), and the disturbing toi moko trade that erupted in the 1800s (Aranui, 2018).

Despite this, there has been a slow but sure resurgence of this ancient art form through whānau seeking reconnection. Moko kanohi is a visceral expression of mana motuhake. Beautifully overt, it is a public announcement of pride and mana motuhake. Moko can be received for many reasons, including an expression of identity and connection to your whakapapa, whānau, and hapū. It can also connect you to a space of mana motuhake - to your aspirations. As you will see in the coming sections, moko kanohi can be a highly contentious space, but many people are working to change this. Moko kanohi is on display for all to witness as an overt exhibit of someone's culture and place in the world. Carrying moko is an embodiment of cultural pride and

place, that connects wearers to their power and further solidifies their place in the tapestry of a long continuum. Wearing moko is expressing Mana Motuhake. Toi tū te mana moko!



Figure 26: Whānau watch on as Kahurangi Waititi receives her moko kauae by ringawhāo Joni Brooking. Personal Image

Tame Poata and moko in Te Whānau a Apanui:

Tame Poata was born to Herewaka Porourangi Pōtae and her husband Thomas Porter, a lieutenant in the Colonial Defence Force. The father of Herewaka was Tama-i-whakanehua-i-te-rangi, who had prominent whakapapa in Te Whānau a Apanui, Te Whānau a Ruataupare, and wider Ngāti Porou (King, 2008). Tame's sister Te Rangi Paea was a professionally trained singer and experienced great success travelling the world, performing at venues such as the Royal Albert Hall in London (Chadwick, 1996). Tame and his whānau whakapapa to the hapū of Kaiaio. Creative attributes are still strongly seen in this hapū today with some uri having sweet melodic singing voices as well as inspirational artists like Cliff Whiting. Tame was considered a prolific tohunga tā moko, and travelled throughout the areas of East Coast, Whakatōhea, Urewera, Tūhoe, Rotorua, and in wider Waikato right up to the 1930's (R. R. Higgins, 2004; King, 2008; Sangl et al., 1980; Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2007).

Mokopapa has slowly moved back into Te Whānau a Apanui in the past 15 years through the efforts of the hapū of Hikorukutai, who held their first mokopapa in 2008 and joined by the hapū of Kauaetangohia in 2015 (T. Cooper, 2022). It has been in the last 5 years where there has been

a real resurgence and a growing hiahia which has seen the hapū of Pararaki, Pahaoa, and Kaiaio request and embrace the celebration of mokopapa. The future of moko within Te Whānau a Apanui looks vibrant. When we were growing up back home, there were no moko kanohi to be seen until the late 1990's. The only moko we saw growing up were those of our tipuna hanging on the walls in our wharenuī. We are fortunate that the teaching around moko in Te Tairāwhiti has been passed down by the few.

The knowledge of moko in Te Tairāwhiti has been nurtured and shared by tohunga whakairo and tohunga tā moko, Mark Kopua and Derek Lardelli. Their teachings have come from a variety of places, but the basis of ngā kōrero i tuku iho have their genesis with Tame Poata, considered to be one of the last great tohunga tā moko who used uhi (chisel) and needles (R. R. Higgins, 2004). Tame passed the knowledge of moko on to his sons, Porourangi and Te Kani ā Tikirau, who in turn shared their teachings with Mark and Derek. They would go on to mark many kanohi and to teach many of our well known moko artists today. Mark Kopua reflects that when he was seeking more knowledge about moko, he approached Te Taki ā Tikirau Poata, who invited him and Derek Lardelli to wānanga. Mark attests that if it weren't for these kōrero tuku iho, then much of their mahi would not have had the correct foundations (Sanderson, 2022). Mark and Derek would go on to have many apprentices to ensure the continuation of this mātauranga. Interestingly, Tame Poata's sons, Porourangi and Te Taki ā Tikirau, were given different teachings by their father (J. Brooking, personal communication, August 25, 2022). Tame Poata's extensive travels could have meant that he learnt many different elements to moko from other iwi. The dissemination of knowledge to both sons could have signalled that Tame believed the different strands of mātauranga should be preserved, and spreading these strands into different places would be the best way to do this. Mark Kopua also believes in the philosophy that one person should not hold all knowledge, or that knowledge shouldn't be captured from one source only (Sanderson, 2022).

Joni Brooking and her brother Henare Brooking have grown under the tutelage and mentorship of Mark Kopua and Derek Lardelli. They have been an important part of the recent reclamation of moko in Te Whānau a Apanui. Joni Brooking has been instrumental in the resurgence of moko kauae (female chin markings), and while Mark and Derek supported the inaugural mokopapa at Maraenuī, the reins to the kaupapa were passed to her early in the resurgence within Te Whānau a Apanui. Joni has developed her own way of holding these spaces with the support of the hapū who tonu for them. The whakapapa of this valuable craft sits within Te Tairāwhiti. There is mana

in understanding and knowing where the knowledge of moko has come from. For Te Tairāwhiti, reconnecting with the knowledge systems and practices of one of our tipuna has been a revelation. Mana motuhake is again connecting deeply to the continuum that was previously nurtured by tohunga such as Tame Poata. In 2021 the hapū of Kaiaio welcomed the return of mokopapa to their marae. This is the hapū and marae closely connected to Tame Poata and Te Rangi-Paea. This momentous occasion brought celebration, tears, waiata, kōrero tuku iho, laughter, and love into Kaiaio. Joni and her tira were to be the first tā moko artists to practise on this marae since the days of their tipuna, Tame Poata. The occasion was special for all:

Every mokopapa is special in its own unique way, it brings its own wairuatanga (spirituality) and that's what shapes the uniqueness. I guess for us knowing that no one had been there and done a mokopapa since its last existence in the time of Tame, this made it all the more special and significant, knowing that we had returned to the very place that our teachings came from. To be given that honour and privilege to be the tira that took mokopapa back to its home, just another level. (personal communication, August 25, 2022)

Speaking to some of the recipients after this mokopapa, it was clear a certain wairua that radiated throughout the weekend. A joyous return of a taonga that had struggled on the brink of extinction, and now reclaimed as a site of mana motuhake. One of the parts of a mokopapa that is significant is the wānanga space, where tā moko artists speak to the whānau and kaiwhiwhi (recipients) about all things related to moko, and answer any pātai they might have to calm their nerves before they welcome their new taonga. The hapū of Te Whānau a Apanui who have held mokopapa in 2021 contemplated how to acknowledge our tā artists as tohunga, who in the old times were revered and treated with the utmost respect. Te Whānau a Pararaki came to support Te Whānau a Kaiaio by setting up a tent especially for the ringawhao. They decorated the tent and set tables with beautiful kai and delicacies. When Hikarukutai had their mokopapa next, Kaiaio went across and acknowledged them and their tā moko artists by passing on the manaakitanga (care) shown to them. This was a beautiful part of the process that spoke to this kaupapa on multiple levels. It further magnified the celebration and the coming home of this taonga to these whānau. While also embracing inter hapū connections and whanaungatanga. Te Whānau a Apanui is becoming well known for the care and manaaki that is embraced in their mokopapa, as Hine Haig from Ngāti Porou states:

The mokopapa we've been to up there are next level... It's the respect the whānau up there have for moko kauae. I love the way they respect it. You know they respect the kaitā for their mahi, the extra lengths they go for the kaitā. Everybody should see how they do that actually. Everybody should learn off the Whānau Apanui, it's beautiful their manaaki. (T. Cooper, 2022, pp. 19–20)

Ensuring a safe and caring environment has been an important aspect for mokopapa in Te Whānau a Apanui. The mokopapa also look to embrace the old tikanga of acknowledgment of tohunga tā moko, further elevating the kaupapa with manaakitanga. If we look at the word manaaki we can see that it suggests an elevation of someone's mana. The reciprocity shown here embeds the idea of mana motuhake as an opportunity to express aroha and nurture relationships, solidifying connections to the relational tapestry upon which iwi and hapū rely upon.



Figure 26: Rawiri Waititi speaking at the 2019 mokopapa at Kauaetangohia. Personal Image.

Whakatikatika - A colonial shame:

The freedom to embrace moko still remains elusive to many. The return of this taonga to our iwi has been slow. But why is there both an external and internal struggle to re-engage with this precious taonga? A survival strategy for Indigenous people all over the world was to assimilate to the coloniser and to remove any indicators that would highlight their indigeneity or would suggest that they are connected to the oppressed group. These ideas are deeply seated in colonial power and control. The reclamation of moko kanohi can help to dispel these notions at every level. As Ngahuia Te Awakotuku, a well-known scholar in the domain of moko, explains:

[Moko] It signals the continued existence and resistance of Māori and points to all the failed efforts to make Māori subservient. Moko takes on a symbolic power that questions hegemony by presenting alternative ways of viewing and being. Moko and the embodied become acutely political. (L. W. Nikora et al., 2007, p. 481)

It is seen as an act of mana motuhake to claim your identity by visually showing pride in your connection to your culture and where you are from when the dominant culture seeks to diminish this. Colonisation serves to shame a culture into believing they are inferior and are of no value to themselves and society, producing racial stereotypes that can be internalised and accepted (A. M. Barnes et al., 2020). People that wear moko may navigate many different spaces. These spaces are constantly moving and changing as we navigate our own colonial past and present. Moana Jackson, a revered scholar in Te Ao Māori, has long discussed and dissected the continued impacts of colonisation on Māori. Here, he explains the devastating effects we have experienced on our innermost beings:

For the Māori, the attack on their soul was to be so terrible it would lead to a weakening of faith in all the things that had nourished it. The demeaning of the values, which cherished it, the language, which gave meaning to its soul, the law, which gave it order, and the religion, which was its strength, was to ultimately affect the belief of the Māori in themselves. (Jackson, 2018, p. 95)

The battle to regain our cultural identifiers that are embedded in a Māori world view are on-going. The expression of these cultural markers are critical to the act and concept of mana motuhake. Jackson goes on to discuss the mission of colonisation to create narratives that define the power dynamic between the coloniser and the oppressed, and construct myths that provide fertile grounds for colonisation to flourish. Destroying the Indigenous soul was a necessary step before constructing these myths that pedestalled a new societal reality and decimated our innermost sanctums (Jackson, 2018).

The removal of our social structures eroded many external expressions of mana motuhake, including moko. This has put much pressure on those wearing moko, in what is still a colonised society. What is even more distressing is that wearers of moko, often feel disdain from other Māori who still prescribe to notions of feeling not good enough or worthy enough to wear moko, or

needing to be of a certain status. This point of view only serves the coloniser and their perpetual myths they use to hold power. Rawiri Waititi, a long supporter of moko was the first to receive a mataora in our whakapapa line since the time of our tipuna Haimona Waititi who lived in the 1800s. Rawiri summarises some of the frictions held in the moko space:

The reo and moko, it's not one or the other... we shouldn't be fighting ourselves for our own cultural identity. Whether it's language, whether it's moko, whether it's any of those things. Pākehā have tried to kill our language off and we're still here. We're still speaking it. They've tried to kill our culture off and here we are, we've got four moko on this screen [referring to the zoom meeting he is on]. (Tamihere-Waititi, 2020).

This is a point of tension some wearers of moko need to navigate. However, as Rawiri highlights, the need to have or to express one cultural element over another is a colonial fiction that serves to cause more harm. Joni Brooking links some of these ideas back to Goldie and Lindauer who painted exquisite portraits of early Māori wearing moko, who were much older, and in many instances, rangatira (J, Brooking, personal communication, 2022). These paintings did not show the breadth of moko holders within the early years of our tipuna, and as a result new meaning has been drawn from them, suggesting that only the elderly or rangatira wore moko. This is factually incorrect.

Rob Ruha acknowledges the conflicting space Māori live in and the views of oppression that often bubble to the surface. However, in an interview with Te Taumata, Rob was asked how to encourage people who are conflicted about receiving moko. Rob centres his reply around aroha and highlights how colonisation has impacted how people see themselves:

It's kia nui te aroha really, because those struggles that you're talking about have a whakapapa deeply rooted in colonisation. And the myths and the fictions that come with that, telling us that we aren't good enough to be us. So it's having compassion for that, kia nui te aroha ki te tangata. And make sure that every door is opened to those whānau, kia pai tā rātou kuhu mai ki roto i tēnei whare. Kia mahana, kia māhorahora tā rātou noho i roto i tēnei ao. Because this world isn't about moko, it's not just about moko, ko te moko te whakatinanatanga o tō aroha ki tō Māoritanga, ki tō Apanuitanga, ki tō Tainuitanga, ki tō Kingitanga, ki te aha

atu ranei. Moko is an opportunity to celebrate those things that are dear to us.
(Raniera, 2021)

Clawing these markers, such as moko, back is an act of empowerment and a reconnection with the soul. Mana motuhake is therefore an act of self and collective love. Moko kanohi has had to navigate an array of colonial sites of oppression and violence. Interestingly, Rob talks about it as not really being about moko but about displaying the aroha you have for your Māoritanga, tribe, hapū and yourself. It is a chance to exhale colonial myths and breath in Indigenous power and connection. Rawiri also approaches these frictions and fictions with aroha. The hapū of Kauaetangohia are on to their 8th annual mokopapa, and the hapū has worked hard to ensure that their mokopapa space is welcoming for those receiving and for those that want to learn more, “We've created a safe space for our whānau to be able to receive it. If you've been to a Kauaetangohia mokopapa it is one of the safest, comfortable environments we try to create.” (Tamihere-Waititi, 2020). The support within a mokopapa has long been a tradition of Te Tairāwhiti. In Tame Poata's time, his preference was to tā wahine in groups. There was practicality to this but it also ensured recipients were well supported by wider whānau and whānau pride was enhanced by all present (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2007).

Reconnecting people:

Mahi toi also has the power to reconnect people with their identity and the knowledge continuum that they may have been disconnected from. One of the key figures, along with her mentors in the revitalisation of moko kanohi in Te Whānau a Apanui, is ringawhao, Joni Brooking. Trained and mentored by the tohunga of moko in Te Tairāwhiti, Mark Kopua and Derek Lardelli, Joni was also nurtured in ngā mahi toi me ngā āhuetanga Māori by her father and wider whānau and hapū. Joni's world has been entrenched in iwi storytelling through mahi toi and moko kanohi. She now specialises in moko kauae and is one of Aotearoa's foremost tā moko artists, applying thousands of kauae around the country to wāhine Māori. From a mana motuhake position, Joni has witnessed a powerful association with the receiving of moko and the reconnecting to identity and community:

So even encouraging people to find their voice and navigate life thereafter [receiving a moko] in building their own mana motuhake. I can honestly say, and these are the things that people don't know, they don't see, they don't hear, but

we as ringawhāo do, because we have those prior wānanga and receive feedback and 99% of people that receive moko kanohi that may have doubted their level of mana motuhake or Māoritanga, they naturally start heading that way to strengthen aspects of their te ao Māori. Part of it is because yes, they've made a conscious decision. I now wear this taonga, I received it at a mokopapa where the hapū, the iwi witnessed the process, I'm now responsible and accountable and obligated to serve my people. Aside from even thinking that and feeling obliged or that they have to be accountable, it just draws you in that direction. For me, that's what I believe mana motuhake is, visually walking around every corner and kei reira te moko kanohi e kite ana, e tūtaki ana, e mihi ana. It's about the reclamation and ultimate statement of one's identity through moko kanohi. (personal communication, August 25, 2022)

Joni asserts that receiving moko encourages the recipient to engage more with their identity, which is an idea supported by Kiri Waititi-Tamihere, an advocate for moko kanohi. As Kiri highlights "Don't let moko be the destination but let it be the beginning of your journey" (Tamihere-Waititi, 2020). Meaning that achieving all parts of your identity is not necessary to receive moko and it can easily be a catalyst for a journey of connection. It also suggests that the path to reclaiming or learning about identity is fluid and moving and has no set parameters as to how you might move through this space. Joni's kōrero also highlights a responsibility that can be felt when receiving moko kanohi, but suggests that this is not the only reason people start to navigate towards other parts of their identity and their community. They may start to feel more connected through the experience of receiving, and through the embodiment of mana motuhake that they are now wearing every day.



Figure 27: Joni Brooking explaining the whakapapa of moko at the 2022 mokopapa in Te Whatianga wharekai, kauaetangohia marae. Personal Image

As a moko artist who has experienced and facilitated many mokopapa throughout her life, Joni has held extremely vulnerable spaces. The loss and re-emergence of moko kanohi has produced a highly emotive space, where many whānau have had to grapple with imposed and internalised ideas of worthiness, not being good enough, not being Māori enough, and not being able to speak Māori (which as we have discussed, was forcibly taken). Reviving a taonga like moko that has been lost to a whānau for generations, often produces a mixture of emotions, which can look like simultaneously mourning that loss and extreme elation. Often words just don't quite grasp the deep and loving experience of being in a whare where there is singing and love and laughter radiating from your wider whānau, while being watched by your ancestors on the walls during a mokopapa. There is no wonder that recipients feel more connected to who they are and where they fit in the world. Moko does not have to be the last step to feeling fulfilled with your Māoritanga. Instead, as Joni has mentioned, it can be the step that leads you to other aspects of acknowledging your identity, that may have also been waiting dormant for their time to rise.

I can speak from experience that a mokopapa affects the whole whānau it is a beautifully intense and celebratory exchange. I received my moko kauae at our 4th mokopapa at Kauaetangohia in 2019. I had heard a lot of the kōrero around worthiness, a lot of this was from our kaumātua (elders) too so unpacking this and unlearning was work that needed to be done. There are photos of my two great-grandmothers that have beautiful moko kauae and our tipuna Haimona also had a mataora, so I knew this was a taonga was normalised in our whānau at some point in our history. There was more to this, and I wanted to know. The best place to learn was to go to a mokopapa

and watch, kōrero, and listen. Mokopapa were special I could feel and see this. These experiences helped to shape an idea about what moko meant to me and how I wanted to have a relationship with it. I decided to receive my moko kauae and the experience was powerfully beautiful. It was a celebration; tears, joy, and singing vibrated through the whare as recipients rose from the tables to show their kanohi to their whānau with pride. I haven't had an experience that has matched this. It is embedded in me now and part of how I carry my kauae today. I love that my tamariki and irāmutu get to see me with it. I love that I can move in many spaces where you don't see moko. I love that I can say what I'm about without saying anything. Mostly I love being connected to my tīpuna and my people through this taonga. For me, this is mana motuhake.

Chapter Conclusion:

When I first thought about doing a chapter on mana motuhake, I thought I would be writing about protest and anger. I have to some degree, however the unexpected finding was that there is a strong decolonial aroha at the core of mana motuhake. That aroha is not for the coloniser. That aroha belongs to us and is an act of reclaiming knowledge systems, expressing kōrero tuku iho, connecting to our ancestral knowledge and place, and finding joy in our tamariki, mokopuna, and each other.

Mana motuhake stands in a space that is both ancient and forward moving. A conception that descends to us from our mātua tīpuna, nō tua whakarere. Mātauranga, whakapapa, place and kōrero tuku iho are the foundations of mana motuhake, and are what bind uri whakaheke to the concept. The Crown has been instrumental in the need to construct a strong paradigm from which we can speak and has helped us (forced us) to articulate mana in a way our ancestors may never have had to. Kōrero tuku iho is an important part of this. Storytelling can be about opposing dangerous government legislation, or it can be about looking more introspectively and instilling oriori into our most precious taonga, our babies. This range of storytelling is navigated most critically by our iwi storytellers, moving their people through various emotional states from unpacking lessons from our tipuna to understanding how to navigate and respond to Crown oppression. However, as our kaikōrero have shown, Mana Motuhake is not for the Crown. It is for us, so that we can see ourselves as our tipuna saw us. So that we can attach ourselves to the continuum of knowledge that was forged by our ancestors, that tells us who we were and who we might dare to be. What is clear here is that mana motuhake in the context of innovation in mahi

toi, is rooted deeply in ngā kōrero o nehe (stories of old), but can be - and is - expressed in many different ways today by our ringatoi. Reimagining these stories and narratives today with the vast technologies available seems like something our tipuna might have relished doing, had they the opportunity to do so.

CHAPTER 6: Mana Mokopuna

The digital story *Mana Mokopuna* follows a whakapapa exploration that considers a place-based kōrero tuku iho approach. This chapter will discuss and contextualise *Mana Mokopuna* as a digital story and as a tool of inquiry to further understand this research. *Mana Mokopuna* illustrates the depths of kōrero tuku iho by encapsulating kōrero passed through the generations and physically embodied through people, place, environment, and moana. The theorising in this chapter has developed from the findings in the previous interviews and literature by Te Whānau a Apanui artists, poets, kaikōrero and theorists. It was important to put these learnings into practice myself to help expand these ideas and contribute to the ecosystem of learning within my own whānau. The concepts of ecosystem and whakapapa, oranga, and mana motuhake are interwoven into the filming process and are brought to life through moving image and sound. The digital story positions itself as the listener and the observer of time passing, rewinding and moving forward. Tamariki are at the centre as they are often thought of when we discuss the passing down of knowledge and are considered to be our most precious taonga. Yet it is the environment, wai, and moana that hold the tamariki and open itself to a relationship both seen and unseen.

A creative audio-visual medium has been employed to further understandings of the ecosystems of whakapapa and the ways that ecological knowledges find expression within our places and people. Exploring relational knowledge systems requires multi-sensory engagement which is why digital storytelling as a medium serves as a portal for the viewer to intimately engage with whakapapa in action. Like mōteatea and waiata, the use of audio-visual stories immortalises these moments in time and asks us to reflect on and re-engage with our tīpuna narratives repeatedly. Digital media can be highly accessible to tamariki and has entrenched itself quickly into modern day life (Green et al., 2020; Peters et al., 2021). If used and accessed within the right context it can cultivate imagination and creativity “whereby there is a dynamic relationship between the interior and the exterior worlds of the child and through which the child is transformed and learns” (Stevenson, 2020, p. 77). It does have its limitations as it can only capture a moment and is less of an embodiment of learning than some other modes of toi can be. However, it is an enduring medium that offers another portal to equip our tamariki and mokopuna with the stories and groundings of their ancestors to fortify them as they move about this changing world.

Mana Mokopuna illustrates a day in the life of tamariki from the coast. I have used the word mokopuna purposely in the digital story, and it is a term used for grandchild or grandchildren. The word tamariki is the term for children, and you will see that both terms are used throughout this chapter as I refer to my tamariki. Mana mokopuna represents the normality of tamariki engaging in their environment and moana, and how we use kōrero tuku iho to connect with our physical spaces. The audio and filming are captured in two different places. The audio has been captured on a whānau day at one of the old homesteads. Kōrero tuku iho about the arrival of our waka Taurima-ai-tawhiti, and the naming of Whangapāraoa, was shared with our whānau and tamariki. This was set up as a day to share stories and for tamariki to draw and retell kōrero themselves. This audio plays over the footage observing tamariki playing and exploring in Whangāparaoa, the very bay that the kōrero originates from. The footage was not staged and follows our tamariki exploring whenua, wai, and moana as they freely do. The story told over the footage is set in a time centuries ago and is based in Whangapāraoa, specifically at Ngā Ana o Meretuawhenua and the waters of Wharaungāmo, where the tamariki are seen interacting. This is a special place for our wider whānau and our hapū.

In this chapter I detail the digital storytelling process that was informed by the interview chapters 3, 4, and 5. The findings from this chapter expand my understanding on how the making of toi contributes to whānau oranga and mana motuhake. It examines the audio-visual platform as a vehicle to express relationships and merge timelines and spaces. These findings have been analysed through a whakapapa lens which looks at mana atua, mana whenua and mana moana, mana tīpuna and mana mokopuna, all important considerations when discussing relational understandings of the world through toi.

Digital Storytelling: Mana Mokopuna

At the fore of the creative video sits Rikirangi's ecosystem analogy in chapter 3; a relational understanding of knowing through a myriad of connections to people and place. The vehicle directing this movement is kōrero tuku iho. The story being told in *Mana Mokopuna* is a merging of two present-day experiences that connect to centuries of intergenerational knowledge. Digital storytelling captures moments and meaning but it does not capture the relational complexities at play. Jason De Santolo (2018) extends this by saying "there is no way to simplify the intricacies of all the elements present in the video as they weave together layers of meaning and relational

connections that extend well beyond the frame” (p. 108). Beyond the frame lies centuries of interconnected links that bind us through narrative and modality, or the modes from which we pass and share knowledge. While we cannot fully capture all these connections, I am reminded here that Erueti Korewha intimates that *toi* is about suggesting ideas and notions so that viewers or listeners can contribute their own understandings (personal communication, October 4, 2020). This implies that *toi* in all its forms, can communicate differently to each person, to their context and to various environments.

When I refer to *Mana Mokopuna* as a digital story, I am meaning an audio-visual story that combines sounds and moving image to make meaning. Digital storytelling can include many multimedia approaches including text and still images. Digital storytelling has been used for over two decades and is applied most commonly in education and research as a tool to teach and learn from (Jamissen et al., 2017; Robin & McNeil, 2019). I have chosen an audio-visual medium because of its ability to engage timelines, both seen and unseen, that are pivotal to the inquiry of the relationships to people and place. The longevity of the audio-visual medium enables future re-engagement, which as a meaning making tool, can transform and shift over time well into the adult and *kaumātua* lives of our *whānau* and *tamariki*. The potential for this medium to continue to impact and move through our *whānau* to our *mokopuna* is an interesting and timely conversation as digital media surrounds our daily lives. This leads to the idea that the *tamariki* in *Mana Mokopuna* are first the embodiment of their ancestors’ aspirations and then grow into *tipuna* themselves. In a storytelling loop that will forever be recurring if *kōrero tuku iho*, relationships, *whenua*, and *wai* are cared for.

The intention of the digital story that accompanies this exegesis is to explore an authentic way that those connections manifest in our day-to-day lives, and how this can be expressed in an audio-visual platform. *Mana Mokopuna* extends this thesis by making tangible the themes of connectedness, identity, wellness, spirituality, *aroha*, and *mana motuhake* that were birthed from the previous enquiry chapters. These weavings are spiritual, and call through time and space. They are intentionally brought forward through *kōrero tuku iho* and the various modalities we use to dance, sing, and create them into being. These *taonga* and *kōrero tuku iho* are how and why we have endured some of the most fundamental changes we’ve experienced in 800 years because of colonisation. The perpetuation of our *kōrero tuku iho* and *pūrākau* are also of metaphysical provenance as is explained by Manulani Aluli Meyer (2008) “Knowledge that

endures is spirit driven. It is a life force connected to all other life forces. It is more an extension than it is a thing to accumulate.” (p. 3). The whakapapa ecosystem supports the notion of extension by creating various access points to investigate and extend knowledge and practice, further embedding kōrero and practice into a long tipuna continuum of experience and storytelling.

The style and principles I used to capture this moment might be described in film theory as adopting the conventions of observational documentary film (Nichols, 2017). Cinema vérité could also be considered which describes a style of film-making that represents the ‘real world’ or the ‘truth’ (Hassard, 1998). Both these ideas of truth and the real world are highly contentious notions within documentary film theory and are widely debated amongst academics in these fields (Minh-Ha, 1990; Nichols, 1991; K. R. Waititi, 2007). Furthermore, the history of documentary and cinema vérité theory has developed from the roots of anthropology and ethnography (Hassard, 1998). These disciplines have their origins in the colonisation and oppression of Indigenous people around the world. Ben Burt (1998) explains how ethnography developed in settings such as the British Museum from the ‘fruits and trophies of colonisation’. He goes on to say, “In terms of the anthropology of that period, museum ethnography more or less covered what were regarded as evolutionary stages of 'savagery' and 'barbarism', represented by tribal and peasant societies, as distinct from 'civilisation’” (p. 11). These artifacts and narratives were expressed from a colonial view, marginalising and controlling the story of people’s place and existence, and perpetuating meanings of savagery and barbarism that the ideas of racial supremacy and hierarchy hang on. Ethnography has contributed to the colonisation and re-storying of Indigenous people around the world. However, many academics work in this space to indigenise or decolonise ethnography as inquiry (Kāwika Tengan, 2005; Simaan, 2020).

I wish to stress the power of digital stories to ‘talk back’ to the coloniser as is intoned by Linda Smith (2012) in *Decolonising Methodologies*. Victor Masayesva (2000) extends this idea by asserting that the success of experimental Indigenous video is dependent on the “degree to which they subvert the colonizer's indoctrination and champion indigenous expression in the political landscape” (p. 231). From a mana motuhake position, and from the findings in Chapter 5, ensuring conventions and narratives of *Mana Mokokopuna* are supportive and caring of whānau aspirations means constructing a digital story that cares for the relationships moving fluidly, both seen and unseen, in the story. This notion reorientates the position of power, mana motuhake in this sense can be viewed as opposing western conventions but also that mana motuhake is an

act of aroha and a commitment to our grounded normality, which is tamariki on the beach, unknowingly and knowingly, engaging in ancient relationships. As highlighted in Chapter 5, Mana Motuhake can be a response to oppressive colonial systems, but it can also be acts of deep intergenerational aroha, where everyday expressions as iwi, hapū, and whānau members are lived and normalised. Mana motuhake is activated in an expression of protest when the ability to live our lives as tangata whenua and practice our way of being within our intergenerational normality is threatened. At its core it is aroha, and *Mana Mokopuna* embodies this in the juxtaposition of common place and the complexity of a relational view of the world.

Documentary as a truth teller is challenged by Trinh Minh-ha, an academic, theorist and filmmaker from Vietnam, a country impacted heavily by colonisation and foreign rule. Her films often challenge patriarchal, colonial epistemologies and notions of meaning making, which includes one of her most well-known films *Reassemblage* (1982):

Reassemblage signals that it will be no conventional documentary. Disentangling sound from image, foregoing an authoritative voice-over and relinquishing the long takes of an observational style for a disjunctive montage aesthetic, Trinh overturns the conventions traditionally employed in anthropological filmmaking. Rather than a work of ethnographic cinema, *Reassemblage* is better understood as anti-ethnography – a film that reflexively dismantles the objectification and exoticization of otherness which mark the ethnographic and colonial projects alike. (Balsom, 2018)

Trihn Minh-ha's work resonates with many Indigenous audio-visual storytellers seeking to use today's technology while also dismantling the power structures inherent in western film theory. While Western film styles and conventions are important to note, they have not been used to examine the filming process or the digital story. Kōrero tuku iho has its own whakapapa and understanding how the themes of connection, oranga, and mana motuhake have been used to probe the practice is how this chapter is framed. It is also important for me as a Māmā, Aunty, daughter, sister, partner, and a mokopuna to reclaim the gaze as someone who is intricately interwoven into the kōrero tuku iho, the place, and the relationships in *Mana Mokopuna*. I occupy all those roles in the digital story, yet I am not seen – but I am seeing. One of Minh-ha's most prominent quotes in *Reassemblage* (1982) is "I do not intend to speak about; just speak nearby"

which challenges the notion of the filmmaker as the voice of authority. *Mana Mokopuna* extends this notion by 'speaking alongside' in the sense that the meaning is developed from a layering of intergenerational factors all moving and colliding in a very unassuming day-to-day situation, and I am not someone detached from those relationships.

In *Mana Mokopuna* it was important to express the relationship with whenua, moana, and wai in a way that was not about dominance or ownership. This was achieved by being in the physical place where the ancient experiences of our tipuna occurred and by situating our landscape as being central and majestic – emphasising them as the tipuna they are. Naomi Simmonds (2016) a mana wahine and whenua scholar, discusses how our relationship with whenua and place endures:

For mana whenua, and indeed for those Māori living away from their tribal lands, identity and distinctiveness are inextricably embedded in place. The collective cultural memory of mana whenua is etched into the landscapes and storyscapes of Aotearoa's regions. These storyscapes reference cosmological and social origins, events and encounters, and are enduring. They endure historical and more contemporary colonial impositions; the ebbs and flows of regional population growth or decline; local and central government election cycles, policy development and changes; and economic highs and lows. (Simmonds et al., 2016, pp. 84–85)

Being in our physical environments heightens and contributes to our collective cultural memory. Engaging with the storyscape of our kōrero tuku iho through digital storytelling was an enriching experience. Simmonds kōrero emphasises the resilience and the importance of our physical and metaphysical spaces, connecting them deeply to our notions of identity, and therefore, oranga. In *Mana Mokopuna* the role of environment as tipuna and as teacher come to the fore, as in our kōrero tuku iho and creation stories we are related to all earthly elements. Whakapapa allows this, if not asserts it, through story and land, through the physical and the metaphysical. Erueti Korewha has previously highlighted how the physical attributes of the moana are captured in our waiata and our movements in kapa haka. The presence and the personification of the wai is enhanced through the ever-present sound of the moana and the waterfall, Wharaungāmo. This emphasises how interpreting our moana as a living being within our storytelling is important - by

physically manifesting its movements, we embody the learning and perpetuate our lived histories. The static wide shot at the start and end of *Mana Mokopuna* allows viewers to ground themselves in the scenery. The wide shot pulls maunga (mountain) Tihirau and the moana into focus with the tamariki playing at the edges of the shots. The wai and moana are revered through the captured interactions of the mokopuna. Hana, who is captured connecting with Wharaungāmo the waterfall and the moana, looks to be speaking to them, conversing and enjoying the wai. None of the people in the footage have been staged, they are interacting with their environment as they feel. In this respect, the use of the iPhone 13 pro enabled less intrusive viewing.

CAMERA SHOTS

The use of cell phones for filming and making film has been practiced for many years, since we have harnessed the mobility of this technology (Odin, 2012). Cell phones have become well established within the film scape, with mobile phone awards being established in well known film competitions such as the Cannes Film Festival and the Global Short Film Festival (Sharp, 2020). One advantage of using cell phones for capturing footage is that they allow more accessibility and familiarity when filming. At the time of filming the iPhone13 pro had one of the most powerful cell phone cameras on the cell phone market. *Mana Mokopuna* was shot in 4k to allow any pace or editing changes. The benefit of using cell phones to capture the footage was that the tamariki were really familiar with them and didn't give much attention to when they were being filmed; they just proceeded to interact with each other and with their environment uninhibited from the pressure of cumbersome equipment. I knew I was going to use the audio from the homestead recording so I also didn't need to carry the boom and sound equipment around as well. This gave me the flexibility of movement with the tamariki and you get a sense that I was chasing them (which I was). Using an iPhone to film resulted in an authentic, relaxed exchange between people and place.

Sensory and shared learning were both embraced by the tamariki in *Mana Mokopuna*. I knew our tamariki would explode out of the cars, ready to dance with the waterfall and moana, so I had to move fast. I managed to get there before them and set up quickly. A māmā hat can never be removed in these instances so the general getting ready of the tamariki needed to happen next. What ensued after that was running children and a running Māmā/Aunty following behind with an iPhone13 in tow. Capturing their initial reaction to the waves, cliffs, shells, pāpaka, kūtai, and the

general environment was my intention. After the static establishing shot, the camera moves to a faster pace. This captures the beautiful chaos, moving between shots and movement, depicting curiosity and joy. The faster editing pace makes us feel the exuberance of the moment for the tamariki. Matching the energy of the tamariki was important to develop the feeling of exploration and curiosity.



Figure 28: Wide shot of Wharaungāmo and Whangapāraoa. Whakaahua: Mana Mokopuna.

The still shots at the beginning and end stanza contrasted the scenes in the middle that move quickly in an observational manner. These shots embrace the idea of pepeha which is a form of introduction with environmental elements of place, as a real tangible physical and metaphysical connection. The static wide shots also highlighted that the people move but the environment remains, singing the same songs that it sang to our tīpuna who arrived at these shores centuries ago. It shows the unmoving continuity of the whenua and wai and gives a sense of time passing and people moving in and out of the frame. People come and go but the whenua remains. That scene could have been the scene our tīpuna saw 800 years ago. The wide shots allow us to breathe in the depths and strength of our taiao, and highlights our fragile existence that is kept alive by mokopuna, storytelling, and mahi toi.

I would consider myself both observer and participant and the tamariki to some extent dictated this. They interacted with me when and how they wanted. They were not fazed by the camera we were using as it was their father's iPhone and they were more concerned with their environment and with each other than what I was doing with the camera.



Figure 29: Mokopuna showing a treasure found. Whakaahua: Mana Mokopuna.

My eyes are looking, it is my perspective that the camera sees but the camera saw more perspectives and voices than I did. In the rush to organise the tamariki, the gear and the day, my spatial and environmental awareness was not present. I was distracted by what I needed to do. Reflecting back on the footage in the editing suit was almost like watching something I hadn't participated in. I saw the moana and the tamariki interacting, I saw joyous exchanges between the children, and I saw shapes and colours I had not previously seen. I heard the moana talking and remembered the smells where ancient sands and Te Moananui-a-Kiwa collide. The idea that new knowledge and experiences can be gained from rewatching video is another strength of digital storytelling which is also present in other forms of toi, in the same way a story can be told and retold and different points of view can be discovered.

EDITING AND FRAMING

The establishing shot and the final static shot have several purposes. The first is to ground the viewers into the scene and environment. In the establishing shot the tamariki are offset, playing and drawing to the side of the shot. The focus is on maunga, Tihirau and the vastness of the takutai moana. In Te Ao Māori when you introduce yourself, you introduce your mountain as an unyielding representation of your ancestors and your physical place in the world. The first shot displays Tihirau's strength and gives a sense of protection as he looks over his mokopuna. Maunga Tihirau was also one of the first indicators of land when our tīpuna first sailed into Taunga Waka centuries ago. Therefore, this significance is also highlighted in the wide establishing shot. The environment in both the establishing and end shots is commanding, yet had a gentleness about it on this particular day. While, establishing and ending *Mana Mokopuna* with a static wide

shot of Tihirau and the vastness of Tangaroa served as a grounding mechanism, it also served as the exploring shots of the tamariki were held in between the start and end points as strong representations of their tīpuna and atua. I have designed a model to help visualise how the editing embodied this idea of care and protection:

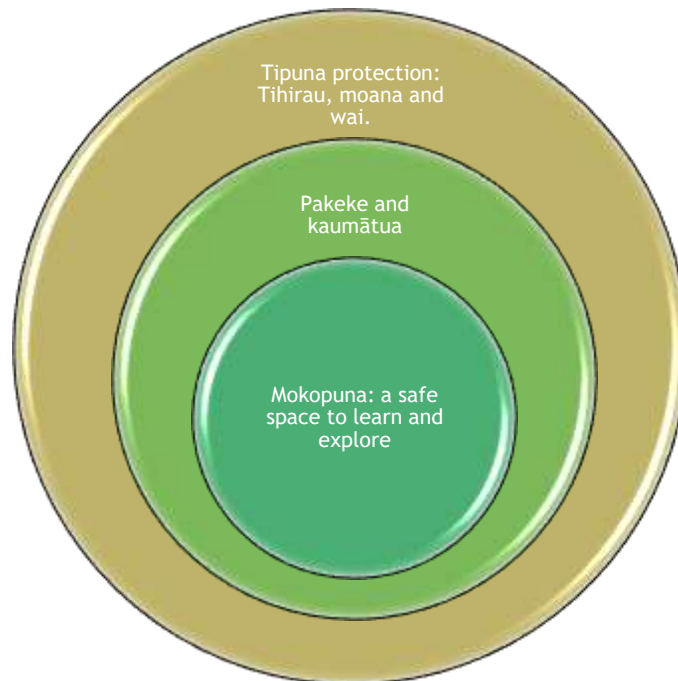


Figure 30: Tiaki tamariki model. Personal Image.

This model visually represents how the editing has been constructed to look after and care for the tamariki. The scenes where the mokopuna explore are edited in the middle of the static wide shots representing their ancestral waters and mountain that still sustains and cares for them, as it did their tīpuna. This framing also follows a pā harakeke model that represents how to care for tamariki and mokopuna. This model is based on the harakeke plant where the small leaves or rito grow in the middle and are nurtured and cared for by the awahi rau and tīpuna rau, which represents the parents and grandparents (Pihama, 2022). Editing wise, this has been represented in *Mana Mokopuna* and was an intentional consideration as my most important role as a māmā and Aunty.



Figure 31: Wide shot of Tihirau maunga and mokopuna. Whakaahua: Mana Mokopuna.

While the establishing shot helps to ground the viewer, the shots following this are of the tamariki exploring and interacting with each other. The pace of the story becomes more dynamic and the editing starts to follow this pace. The speed of the editing also needed to match the energy of the tamariki as we move from a relatively calm scene to an explosion of excitement and curiosity. We see tamariki feeling safe enough to explore their environment and connect with their tīpuna narratives through the taiao. The speed of the editing mirrors the beautiful chaos that unfolded. The people being filmed are also the people in the audio storytelling. You can see in the footage how Haimona prompts the tamariki to search and look for certain things as they are walking. He also does this in the storytelling, encouraging them to add their thoughts and prior knowledge to the story.

The end shot is a wide static shot that frames the tamariki and pakeke moving in between maunga Tihirau and the waters of Wharaungāmo. Drawing parallels to the establishing shot, the environment once again holds space for those moving in and out of it. The fresh waters of Wharaungāmo meet the salty seas of Whangapāraoa, symbolising more journeys, connections and the colliding of timeframes. The imagery of the joining of waters is significant as past meets present, and mokopuna meet tipuna. At the very end of the clip Mokonuiārangi sees the camera and moves towards it, snapping the viewer back into an awareness as an observer. Mokonuiārangi picking up the camera symbolises the natural growth of mokopuna into the role of the storyteller as he attains a tool of storytelling and carves his own perspective, deciding on his own story to tell.

SOUND

In *Mana Mokopuna*, the relationship with water and the moana was also explored through sound. I played with the sound, layering both the oral kōrero and the background sounds of the moana and the tamariki chatting and playing. With regard to sound, it would have been clearer to only include the storytelling in the video, but from a whakapapa view point incorporating the moana was necessary, as it too had something to say. The sound of the moana identifies itself as another presence, injecting a sense of place as it does in our kapa haka movements and mōteatea. The sounds of moana are unique to each area and bay. These are the sounds our tīpuna would have heard, further connecting a sensory intertwining of past and present. The background noises of the tamariki excitedly squealing also brought a sense of awe and spontaneity as only children can do in day-to-day situations and with each other.



Figure 32: Uncle with tamariki exploring. Whakaahua: Mana Mokopuna.

The following sections of the chapter have been organised in a manner that predicates key relationships that are intertwined and breathing within *Mana Mokopuna*. These are Mana Atua, Mana Whenua, Mana Moana, Mana Tipuna, and Mana Mokopuna. These sections indicate a relational understanding between each of them and express a way to discuss the processes and findings from the audio-visual story.

Audience

The digital story is an intimate account of a collective story. The audience for this creative piece is whānau, and it is mokopuna. It is for those that are a part of the unfolding continuum of this

place based kōrero tuku iho. I envisage the tamariki in the digital story watching it in years to come while holding their own mokopuna. Their perspective and position as mokopuna have been immortalised in this tukunga iho. Viewing there kaumātua as mokopuna may open up further opportunities of connection as they find deeper meaning in their relationships to people and place, and the roles they may fulfil one day as uri of Te Whānau a Apanui.

Mana Atua

In the radio broadcast *Te Reo o te Māori* which aired in 1972, Hirini Waititi, a Te Whānau a Apanui pūkōrero (expert on tribal knowledge) and scholar, discusses the migration of the waka to Whangapāraoa (Nepia, 1972b). Before he talks about the coming of the waka, he begins by tracing our whakapapa to the gods starting with Ranginui (sky father) and Papatūānuku (earth mother), leading to their children including Tangaroa (god of the oceans), Tāne-Mahuta (god of the forest), and Tūmataunga (god of the war and man). Our atua play an important role in how we position ourselves within our environment and how we understand our wider relationships and responsibilities. The connection to these responsibilities is played out in *Mana Mokopuna* through kōrero tuku iho and the visual relationship happening between whānau, wai, and whenua. Our atua allow us to personify our environment and create deep lasting relationships with our physical, spatial, and spiritual ecosystems. Mere Roberts (2012) offers this explanation around one of the roles our atua Māori (Māori gods) have “by using celestial atua as representative of earthly territories, they provide physical reference points within an otherwise continuous space, so that all things so located exist in a spatial relationship to each other.” (p.749).



Figure 33: Close up of little waewae and the waters of Wharaungāmo. Whakaahua: Mana Mokopuna.

Atua as spatial markers in our physical environment help us make sense of the world and provide a personification for us and our tamariki to engage with. Our tamariki can talk about and describe the atua of the different environmental domains they move into. Although not caught on camera, some of the tamariki as they jumped out of the car ran down to the lapping tide squealing “kia ora, Tangaroa”. The tamariki have a spatial awareness, which means they understand there are connections within their ecosystems. Tamariki perceptions of this are probably more honed than their pakeke (adults) as they find greater freedom in the small curiosities of their environment. They acknowledge the realms that they walk into and understand that they have a relationship with them, which also means they have an obligation to these domains. As Hirini Waititi explains, these are the beginnings of our ancestry and are therefore understood and engaged with as tipuna. Hirini’s kōrero then goes on to link the gods to the demi-god Māui, the ancestor of one of our revered tipuna that left on the waka for Whangapāraoa, Poumātangatanga (Nepia, 1972b). These are all interconnected physical and metaphysical links that help to create a worldview and relational understanding of the world that our tamariki seem to navigate with ease and understanding.

Narratives of atua Māori or iwi specific atua serve to grow a relationship between tamariki Māori and their environment. In Māori understandings of the world, relationships to the land and water are foundational mechanisms to ensure these essential elements of life are cared for. As is explained further by Roberts (2012), “Rongo, Tangaroa and Tāne each act as both spiritual and spatially defined signposts of the environmental realm or territory within which the information coded in the whakapapa is located.”(p. 749). From Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and our home environments, our tamariki have been taught to embrace ngā atua and the various realms they occupy or care for. Pūrākau and kōrero tuku iho pertaining to atua Māori provide codified information, so that we might find solutions for present-day challenges.



Figure 34: Tamariki playing near the mussel rock. Whakaahua: Mana Mokopuna.

A relational instance that happened in *Mana Mokopuna* was when Hana (6 years old at the time) tells her younger brother and cousin not to touch the mussels as they are too small and still growing. You can hear her saying “kāore anō kia rite” - they aren’t ready to eat yet. She and I had a discussion earlier in Māori around the mussels still growing. She linked this kai to Tangaroa and was happy to act as Tangaroa’s reinforcer against her energetic siblings who had not quite grasped what she had. Relationships and whakapapa to landscapes create an obligation of protection from their uri whakaheke. These mechanisms are used in Indigenous communities all over the world; they embed a worldview where protection of whenua, wai, and natural resources are fundamental to their being as an Indigenous person. This can be seen globally as although Indigenous people make up 5% of the world's population they hold 85% of the world's biodiversity (Hoffman et al., 2021). At some point, the Western world forgot its relational mechanisms that bound them to their environment and forged an obligation of care to those things that would sustain them.

Te Mana o Whenua, Te Mana o Moana

The process of creating *Mana Mokopuna* confirms how multitude modes of toi can be collectively shared within whānau and through tamariki. Capturing these moments through video allowed me to share and explore kōrero tuku iho with our children. It captured a love of the environment, a joy of being together, and an exhilaration of exploration. It brought kōrero tuku iho to life, allowing knowledge to seep through physically while the senses create a visceral connection to the kōrero being shared. The landscape and moana in the video are their own being, commanding, gentle, and ancient. While the moana has a strong presence throughout the digital story, it is particularly

noticeable in the static shots at the beginning and end of *Mana Mokopuna*, where the viewer has time to contemplate and observe the wai, moana and the ever-present maunga that called our navigating tīpuna to shore, Tihirau-mai-tawhiti. In these static shots the wai calls the tamariki, plays with them and talks to them as a tipuna might speak to their mokopuna. Indeed, in some of the shots it seems the tamariki are talking to the moana and the wai, private conversations between mokopuna and tīpuna.

This story of the waka coming into Whangapāraoa has many elements to it, including the story of the feathers, Mokonuiārangi and Tauninihi. Initially, capturing the story of the feathers' arrival to Whangapāraoa was what I had intended to focus on. The connection here is also that my son (3 years old at the time) and his cousin (2 years old at the time) are named after these most precious of feathers. This is another hononga that binds whakapapa and kōrero tuku iho to the present day. However, as can naturally happen, our kōrero swayed into the other branches of the story. Once I had looked at the footage, I knew that our maunga Tihirau and the landscape of Whangapāraoa were the prominent tipuna in the footage along with the tamariki. I made the decision to refocus the digital story on the naming of Whangapāraoa as I felt it spoke more to the relationship as I see it of mokopuna and tīpuna. The tipuna being both the environment (as is told in our whakapapa) and our founding ancestors.



Figure 35: Looking out to Hawaiki. Whakaahua: Mana Mokopuna.

Instilling kōrero tuku iho in tamariki to help navigate new challenges and connect them to an interwoven continuum is fundamental for their grounding in this world. These experiences are further enriched by giving tamariki opportunities to experience these kōrero embedded in whenua and moana. Our tamariki are fortunate to still have access to the physical environments their

tipuna experienced, as this is not the experience for all Māori due to land loss and confiscation (H. Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). For *Mana Mokopuna*, these experiences are heightened as it shows the exchange of kōrero with wider whānau. With three generations observed in *Mana Mokopuna*, the relationship between karanga tahi (first cousins) is exciting, interactive, and bursting with wonder and excitement. As the worldview of our tamariki develops, so does their kinship affinity, their relationship to each other and to their ancestral spaces and narratives. Leanne Simpson (2014), a Nishnaabeg scholar from Turtle Island, in her critical article *Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation*, discusses the pivotal role whenua plays as teacher and as ancestor:

The land, aki, is both context and process. The process of coming to know is learner-led and profoundly spiritual in nature. Coming to know is the pursuit of whole body intelligence practiced in the context of freedom, and when realized collectively it generates generations of loving, creative, innovative, self-determining, inter-dependent and self-regulating community minded individuals. It creates communities of individuals with the capacity to uphold and move forward our political traditions and systems of governance. (p. 7)

Simpson's assertion is that the process of learning and knowing through whenua is fundamental to growing tamariki and communities that understand the systems developed by their tipuna. She also describes how a deep relationship with the land can instil aroha into the generations, and produce uri (descendants) that have a creative freedom to express their stories and find solutions to evolving challenges. Dean Whiting extends on this by highlighting what toi in all its modes can do to help navigate the space of exploration and learning:

When we think about ngā mahi toi, it's the deep conversation it provides between our living selves and the intangible cultural self as individuals and collectively as tribal people. It's the mediating space that the arts can provide to enable interaction and participation, but also exploration without having to reduce ideas into rational things. (personal communication, May 31, 2021)

Mana Mokopuna moves through these deep conversations by juxtaposing ancient knowledge with the exploration of mokopuna, and the potentiality of our tipuna's dreams. Our intangible

cultural self is manifested through the process and expression of *toi* and through the link to the environment. These relationships are woven and expressed throughout *Mana Mokopuna*.

The *kōrero* *tuku iho* is based on the arrival of our ancestral *waka*, *Tauira-mai-tawhiti*. There are many people, exchanges, discoveries, and parts to this story. Many different modes of *toi* have captured different parts of this story, this is particularly present in our *kapa haka* items. Although our *kōrero* *tuku iho* session with our *tamariki* prompted many of these branches, *Mana Mokopuna* focuses on the naming of the bay that we know as *Whangapāraoa*. This presented an opportunity to film our *tamariki* exploring a part of this bay known as *Ngā Ana o Meretuawhenua*. The younger *tamariki* in our *whānau* had never been there so it allowed them the space to connect with the caves, *moana*, and the waterfall, *Wharaungāmo*. Their enjoyment and love for their *whenua* is evident and palpable in the footage. The idea of layering the footage of our *tamariki* exploring on the beach at *Whangapāraoa* with the audio storytelling of how this bay received its name, is premised on the exploration of the *whenua* our ancestors connected with from *Hawaiki*. The audio and visual layers are about two time frames, 14 generations apart searching, finding and learning. This is what is most intriguing about this juxtaposition. Our *tīpuna* were exploring and their *mokopuna* are exploring merging timelines of feelings, smells, and tastes.



Figure 36: *Ngā Ana o Meretuawhenua*. *Whakaahua: Mana Mokopuna*.

In Mere Roberts (2012) aptly describes this phenomenon thus; “children were taught particular accounts in the place to which that knowledge belonged, so that the past is made present and space–time distances are collapsed” (p. 747). The merging of timeframes is what many of our modes of *toi* embody. The use of audio-visual digital storytelling adds visceral and sensory elements to the retelling, which is a strength of this vehicle of *toi* and further supports exploration of other forms of storytelling. There is beauty in the connection to place through the eyes of our

tamariki. It is an interconnected portal that weaves time, place, and people. This is the power of storytelling, and the mana our tamariki and mokopuna hold.

The normality of tamariki playing on the beach, in the environment, and with each other, could be underestimated as a learning opportunity. Yet I am reminded here of Blythe Rogers and Roka Cameron's kōrero around these environments, where day-to-day learnings were absorbed in the kōrero and the environment and materials of weaving. At the time of filming, this seemed like non-intentional learning. But from a tipuna perspective, learning occurred from a myriad of whakapapa markers and places. This physical and spiritual link is explained here by Indigenous methodology scholar Shawn Wilson:

Identity for Indigenous peoples is grounded in their relationships with the land, with their ancestors who have returned to the land, and with future generations who will come into being on the land. Rather than viewing ourselves as being in relationship with other people or things, we are the relationships that we hold and are part of. (S. Wilson, 2008, p. 80)

Grounding narratives into land is inseparable to weaving stories into hearts and minds. This is an essential aspect of survival and reciprocity, but it also highlights that the act of retelling and the process of toi are relational and powerful tools that further bond across generations. These understandings of the world are entrenched into Māori and Indigenous ways of thinking and being. Capturing the beginnings of this relationship through *Mana Mokopuna* was a warming experience and now is one that we as a whānau can look back on and reflect as our tamariki grow.

Mana Tipuna

Whangapāraoa in and of itself is a time capsule, a gateway to where we came from. Whangapāraoa the name and other place names of the area, are intertwined with the arrival of our ancestors and our ongoing relationship with Te Moananui-a-Kiwa and Hawaiki, our ancestors' motherland. This is the kōrero tuku iho that is discussed in the *Mana Mokopuna*. The video moves our tamariki through the story of the coming of the waka and the naming of Whangapāraoa, which was named after a bay in Hawaiki. The kōrero tuku iho is placed over the visual landscape of Whangapāraoa and looks out towards the horizon from which we once arrived. Place names from

Hawaiki have extended to people's names, further cementing our ties to our ancestral lands and speaking our histories into being every single day as these naming markers roll off our tongues. As explained here by Joeliee Seed-Pihama, “Kōrero ingoa (names) are an important source of intergenerational knowledge. These stories make an integral contribution to the on-going maintenance work that is being done to hold our history, values and practices” (Seed-Pihama, 2019, p. 108). It was and is an important connector to pūrākau and kōrero tuku iho. Naming links us with where our tīpuna physically have been and where they dreamed - we might go.

Two of our children in the clip have names that originate from Hawaiki, names that arrived on the ancestral waka, Taurima-tawhiti. My sister-in-law and I were pregnant at the same time, we were four months apart. At the time I was living on the whenua of my partner and had decided to give birth there. Some might say that the correct process of naming my child would have been to name them after the place from which he was birthed as it had been 20 years since a birth had taken place on that whenua. I was adamant that I wanted a Te Whānau a Apanui name for my tamaiti as my children all had names from their many other iwi. My brother and I had several wānanga on what an ingoa could be and at the time I had been studying some of my great grandfather's writing who talks about Ngā kura pae a Mahia. The revered feathers that came on the waka Taurima-tawhiti. I thought I might have liked him to be named after one of those feathers but there were two feathers in our kōrero tuku iho. Our discussions then led to naming both of our babies after the most precious of feathers, Tauninihi and Mokonuiārangi.



Figure 37: Tauninihi raua ko Mokonuiārangi. Whakaahua: Mana Mokopuna.

We discussed how that would intertwine them not just as karanga tahi but in a wider collective narrative, and that their mokopuna would be able to look back on the whakapapa books to make their own connections to this kōrero tuku iho, to Hawaiki and to the many amazing feats their ancestors did. The beauty of Māori names linked to tīpuna and pūrākau is that there is potential

to conscientise whānau and individuals to the power of our ancestral knowledge (Seed-Pihama, 2019). Here, *Mana Mokopuna* links these ancestral teachings through physical space, kōrero and names, manifesting our tipuna's experiences visually and through sound, weaving in and out of present and past, mokopuna becoming the manifestation of their tipuna.

Mana Mokopuna

The audio for *Mana Mokopuna* was captured in one day where we shared a hekenga story together. We didn't quite know what our tamariki would do, we had no expectations of them to perform or relay information to us. I wanted us to share a story they were familiar with and react to it as they naturally would. Present that day were our seven tamariki, their parents and their grandmother. Their Uncle/Pāpā Haimona retells the story with animation and interaction. This aligns with Rikirangi's kōrero about the energy the olds ones use when retelling stories. They've told these stories hundreds times but it was like it was the first time "So I can sit there and see and not hear I can still feel the emotions of their kōrero" (R, Gage. personal communication, April 21, 2021). This tells us that there must be an energy brought into storytelling that allows connection and peaks interest and curiosity. And this is very necessary when speaking with tamariki.



Figure 38: Mahi tuhituhi, mahi toi. Farmstead at Te Waiti. Personal Image

There are different tīpuna that are connected to our hekenga iho stories, these are the stories where our ancestors navigated to Aotearoa many centuries ago on different ancestral waka. There are many branches of kōrero that stem from these particular kōrero tuku iho of the arrival of our ancestors into what is now known as our tribal lands of Te Whānau a Apanui, and many of them share great detail of people and their interactions. They also include many stories about

how places were given their names from Hawaiki. Whangapāraoa is one such name. Connected to this kōrero tuku iho are many branches of tribal history that contribute to our iwi identity and that have been retold and reshared by iwi storytellers throughout the generations as discussed in previous chapters. This is why they still exist in the psyche and hearts of uri whakaheke.

For *Mana Mokopuna*, we decided to let the storytelling flow organically and allow the tamariki to intervene with the kōrero as they wanted to. This can be heard many times in the video as Haimona prompts them with questions and they share their ideas of what the world of their tipuna might have looked like. Encouraged by each other's responses, the race was on to see who could conjure up the best scenario. My partner Shem captured the sound on a boom and my brother and I organised the storytelling and the tamariki. While the promise of a goodie bag encouraged them to listen intently (at first), the babies were more interested in following their tuakana (older brothers and sisters) in the race to get the best spot on the carpet. The people involved in storytelling, filming, and audio were all close relatives which ensured our tamariki felt safe and responded and shared their whakaaro. We set up to record the wānanga at one of the old whānau homesteads in Raukokore, Te Whānau a Apanui. From the homestead, you can see Tihirau maunga looking back at you from where the crux of the story takes place.

Because of the extensiveness of the kōrero tuku iho connected to Tauira-mai-tawhiti, we had around a 20 minute window before the allure of the snack bags wore off and our babies started to get restless. At around 15 minutes into the kōrero one of my nephews (5 years) declares "kaore au e pai ki tēnei kōrero" in other words "I'm over this" which made all of us laugh. This further highlights Rikirangi's point around the value of the wide-reaching web of learning from a Te Ao Māori perspective. Our children are young so could not be expected to sit and listen for long periods, yet there are other ways tamariki can engage with knowledge and learning.



Figure 39: Kōrero tuku iho, kōrero pūrakau. Personal Image.

After the kōrero we prompted our tamariki to draw their favourite part of the kōrero tuku iho, nearly all of them drew Tauira-mai-tawhiti crashing into a rock, Tāmurenuī, before it was able to land on shore. It is said that everyone on the waka swam to shore and survived but Poumātangatanga's coveted red feathers were lost. The tamariki reinterpreted this part of the kōrero and embellished areas such as the appearance of giant squid and great white sharks which were currently being defeated by our taiaha-wielding tipuna. The edition of the tamariki drawing their own emerging thoughts about the kōrero tuku iho gives them a voice and a thinking space within this research. It was a platform that allowed them to explore the story shared and to re-engage with parts of the kōrero they already knew from other access points within their ecological knowledge systems, produced by their wider whānau, kura and community and by other modes of communication like kapa haka.



Figure 40: Mokonuiārangi e kōrero ana mo tōna pikitia. Personal Image.

The young cousins followed their older cousins and siblings as they too wanted to express their part of the story. Although not speaking clearly yet, they made their thoughts known through kupu, intonation, and body movement. They showed us what part of the story excited them the most.

Kapa haka has been a vehicle to help instil our kōrero tuku iho for some years now. The inclusion of these kapa haka items on platforms such as You Tube serve to make these kōrero more accessible, which is particularly important for those tamariki, like mine, that live outside of tribal boundaries. They know the story of the coming of the waka Taurima-mai-tawhiti by being told about them and by listening and singing to popular Te Whānau a Apanui performance items. These include *Hei ō mō Apanui*, *E noho ana au i te kei o taku waka*, *Ka hura i uta* and *Mokonuiārangi me Tauninihi*. Some of these are iwi anthems so our tamariki have picked them up by going to kaupapa and singing them, and some of them we purely enjoy listening to as a whānau through platforms like Spotify and You Tube. Therefore, our tamariki engage in these stories regularly and this is important for us as a whānau. One of the prevalent modes of learning for our tamariki is through technology and digital modes of storytelling, our kōrero in these platforms are necessary to speak to them in a way that they can access and enjoy. This needs to be considered more in the future.



Figure 41: Mokonuiārangi jumping into the waters of Wharaungāmo. Personal Image.

The work for *Mana Mokopuna* has forced me to look at my tamariki and ask fundamental pātai about their/our relationship to place, the environment, and how embodied experiences contribute to learning. It is pushing me to see space and time through the eyes of my tamariki, and simultaneously through the eyes of my tipuna. I have been trapped somewhere in between these fundamental spheres of perspective. My children's learning and my own learning are moving and

shifting. There were two events that created the audio and the visual components and there are many timelines at play that overlap each other and loop back into each other. Though our tamariki have many access points to these stories, it is arguably the space of the whānau units that can instill the most meaningful connections with kōrero tuku iho, the embedded practices, and the places from which their kōrero stems. This is a responsibility that we understand as a whānau.

In the new book *Tiakina te Pā Harakeke, Ancestral Knowledge and Tamariki Well-being* Leonie Pihama (2022) highlights that whānau are an essential building block for Māori society and that iwi and hapū are dependent on whānau. She goes on to say “Whānau bring to the fore collective obligations and responsibilities for each other in the wider sense of well-being” (p. 18). This wider sense includes the stories we share with them to help give them a foundation of meaning making and access to tīpuna whakaaro, and experiences to bring forth when they need them. Esteemed academic Moana Jackson gave a stirring presentation in which he stated “if we are to make sense of who we are or what is happening to us, then we must be able to and must be confident to reach back to the prior thought that has been left to us by our old people” (Jackson, 2013). This idea of looking back to bring forward is a concept that is in constant motion in Te Ao Māori and *Mana Mokopuna*. Experiences like the one in *Mana Mokopuna* strengthen whānau bonds in the most normalised and natural of ways. These moments have been preserved to be reflected upon by generations to come.



Figure 42: Kōrero tuku iho with our tamariki. Personal Image.

My vision for *Mana Mokopuna* was to create a sensory feeling of awe and exploration which is achievable through visual and audio means as is explained here by Beltran and Begun (2014),

“the very nature of Indigenous DS [digital storytelling] is both individualised and collective, while also simultaneously engaged in the present as well as the past” (p. 170). Capturing the children’s relationship to land was important. Pūrākau and kōrero tuku iho are implanted into whenua, moana, and wai as codified knowledge that tamariki will return to as and when they need to interpret situations or find pathways. The collective nature of learning can bond and solidify relationships and interpretations as is explained here by Arthur et al (2003):

Social interactions with family members further children’s learning as children revise and internalise their inventions, constructions and representations, as well as move over time to shared understandings, attitudes and processes that are conventional within their family and community. (p. 9)

The collective learning of codified knowledge through place and pūrākau, conscientises our tamariki to the wider tapestry of how they view the world. Shared knowledge of a pūrākau can allow our tamariki to provide different viewpoints of how they might interpret a situation or find codified answers to challenges they are viewing and experiencing as a whānau.

Te Reo Māori

An important element to *Mana Moko* that wasn’t intentionally spoken about in the planning of the filming was that the kōrero tuku iho was told and engaged with in Te Reo Māori. Our tamariki’s first language is Māori as a whānau we decided to speak only Māori to them while they are young. This has been harder to maintain the older they get and the more they want to explore outside of the whānau nucleus. It is still their main language and when our tamariki are together with their karanga tahi they are encouraged to only speak the language of their ancestors. Although it was less of a conscious decision to run the wānanga in Māori, there is a bigger political and reclamation argument that sits in the background here (unbeknown to our children).

All our tamariki have attended Kōhanga Reo and Kura Māori, total immersion education that grows and supports tamariki in te reo me ōna tikanga. The Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori initiatives were born from the decimation of Te Reo Māori within Aotearoa and to ensure the survival of our language (G. Cooper, 2004; G. H. Smith, 1992; Tocker, 2015). Language loss was the result of a number of colonial assimilative policies and practices (Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2011) which facilitated the rupturing of Māori identity and the beginning of intergenerational trauma

which is still very much felt today. Parents of young Māori tamariki believed that the education system was not adequate to teach reo and tikanga to their children and essentially did not see the value in it (Nepe, 1991; G. H. Smith, 1997; Tocker, 2015). Therefore, they sorted their own means of developing a system that matched the dreams they had for their tamariki. During our younger years of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori in Auckland, my brother and I attended one of the first kohanga and kura kaupapa to be set up, based on my mother's dream that we would not be severed from our language as she and her father had been. She would ensure her children breathed and thought as their tipuna did through language. The parents who started these kura forged us from their yearning for their own reo, the battle for resurgence, and the aroha for their tamariki. That we might revive what lay dormant in them.



Figure 43: Retelling through pikitia. Personal Image.

It has taken a long journey for Te Reo Māori to become as normalised as it is in *Mana Mokopuna*. We now have Disney movies such as *Moana*, *Frozen* and *Lion King* in Te Reo Māori thanks to the efforts of our own Te Whānau a Apanui uri, Tweedie Waititi and Rob Ruha. As unassuming as our wānanga was, there was no discussion as to what language we would use because we spoke as we would always speak to them. The whakapapa of this is deep, vast, and resilient. There have been many ways the colonial system tried to sever us from our language. But they have failed and the mana of our reo and tamariki endures.

It is important to note that during the video you can hear the tamariki interjecting with what they believe their Pāpā or Uncle is going to say next. Haimona tests their already learnt knowledge by asking open-ended questions “I whakarite ngā tīpuna i ō rātau waka, he aha te ingoa o ērā waka?” You can hear them in the video testing out the names of different waka they have learnt about, “Mataatua? Tainui?”, through their other systems of understanding their world. Kapa haka has been an intimate part of their ecological knowledge. The roopū that myself, their father, and their

Uncle and Aunty have performed for is named after our waka, Taurima-ia-tawhiti. The branches of kōrero tuku iho from this story hold much inspiration for the compositions that we perform in our kapa haka groups. I reflect on a stand we had at our regional competition held in Omaio in 2012. I had been feeling tired during practices but put that down to the rigour of the work involved in singing and the physical movement involved. A few days before our performance I found out I was pregnant with my first pēpi (baby). We were elated.

From these moments I reflected on the intense and collective environment our child was born into. There are many kōrero associated with knowledge transferal inside the whare tangata. It is said that the pūmotomoto, or fontanel is the gateway for mātauranga to enter while the tamaiti is invitro or has entered Te Ao Marama (Gabel, 2013; Pere, 1994). Waiata, oriori, and mōteatea were all used to connect tamariki to their narratives before they had come into the world of light. Reflecting on this and thinking about the early years our babies had following us to kapa haka were special, and although it has been some time since we last stood with our kapa we know that this was a part of the whakapapa ecosystem that nurtured them in their early years as it did in our adult years. The building of relationships with our wider whānau members and kōrero tuku iho grew our aroha for place and people. Moving as a collective for a kaupapa ā iwi felt natural and heightened what had always been planted in us from growing up as children of Te Whānau a Apanui. For my partner it opened a door to meet my wider whānau, learn more of our history and make his own whakapapa connections which he relished. Our link to our kapa groups has never been severed and when we are able, we go to practices so we can see our relations and they can tease us about not standing with them while our tamariki are doted on by their uncles, aunties, nannies, and koro.

Chapter Conclusion

Mana Mokopuna observes time passing in the present and simultaneously, time rewinding. Past and present flex and move in and out of contention, asking us to reconsider our understanding of time by merging ideas of ancient maunga and wai, kōrero tuku iho, and Te Reo Māori with the power, dreams, and potential of mokopuna. It is in our most natural circumstances with our mokopuna that ancient connections are revealed. *Mana Mokopuna* highlights the importance that our kōrero tuku iho have in connecting us to place and space, through ancient stories, naming practices, and lived experiences. Sensory and visceral experiences with the taiao help to embed

these kōrero tuku iho into the hearts and minds of our tamariki. These are powerful lessons that implant themselves into the identity of our tamariki as uri of Te Whānau a Apanui so that when they move forth and out of their iwi context, they have a range of experiences to help ground them in who they are and how they might approach challenges.

The use of digital storytelling opens the opportunity to give viewers a sensory experience and to capture an essence of the deep and intergenerational relationships at play in *Mana Moko-puna*. The advantage of digital storytelling as toi is that it can layer different moments and sounds to help build an understanding of connection and relationship that ultimately leads to the strengthening of identity. What is sung about on the kapa haka stage, carved into the walls of our whare, and woven into our whāriki, can be brought to life through film adding to the visual and sensory elements told through other modes of toi. Not only can digital stories capture kōrero tuku iho, they also have the unique power of filming the process which this thesis has argued is as important as the final output. Digital storytelling is already being embraced by our tamariki, we see this everyday through their use of technology. However, with options such as kapa haka on demand, and iwi music artists creating interactive music videos, their stories are accessible to them. Their iwi narratives come alive and are shared across platforms and with other uri, iwi, and kapa enthusiasts. Therefore, digital storytelling has an important place within Te Ao Māori and with the expression of tribal toi. The potential to pull our kōrero into the future and weave them into platforms that are exciting and engaging for our tamariki is crucial for the survival of our kōrero tuku iho. That is not to say that our more traditional modes of toi are not important - they are - as their process is deeply embedded in ancient practice, materials and place that will always be an essential connector for iwi-based storytelling. Our stories grow and develop, as do the platforms our iwi storytellers use, and as the needs of our mokopuna expand. As the final shot of Mokonuiārangi picking up the camera in *Mana Moko-puna* suggests, it will be in the hands of our rangatahi and our tamariki to decide what the future of storytelling looks like within our iwi, and they have the mana and teachings of their tīpuna to shape their changing world as they see it. E tipu e rea i ngā ra o tō ao.

CHAPTER 7: Ngā kura pae o Mahia

Conclusion

This research explores how our iwi storytellers and their expressions of toi contribute to iwi oranga and mana motuhake. Mahi toi in its many forms is analysed through engagement with the voices and ideas of iwi storytellers and scholars from Te Whānau a Apanui. To further understand the space that toi occupies within our iwi identities, creative practise research is implemented. The use of audio-visual storytelling is used to develop and activate the theoretical concepts of relational knowledge, oranga, and mana motuhake that are analysed in chapters 3, 4 and 5. This allows a deeper engagement of the ideas expressed through these key concepts. The creation of my own digital story helped to unpack these key concepts further by engaging in practice led research that embodied knowing through experience, whakapapa, senses, and deep connection to place. Both the theory and the practice facilitate the development of a Toi Tuku Iho methodology that considers a relational understanding of knowledge through the complex exchange and expression of iwi artists who help to sustain our worldview, identity, and well-being and are thus a vital part of the ecosystem that supports Te Whānau a Apanui to thrive.

As this research asserts, the importance of kōrero tuku iho as a vehicle for connection and transformation cannot be understated. The findings reiterate the collective and individual oranga that is held within our storytelling spaces. Our storytellers hold a fundamental space within our iwi, hapū, and whānau contexts and provide necessary links to our ecosystems of learning and our ability to bring forth lessons to inform and create new understandings within our current contexts. Our iwi storytellers who use toi as their mode of communication do so within the space of collective memory which is foundational to our meaning making processes.

Storytellers journey through ancient spaces, and simultaneously new and evolving contexts and realities. This makes their job extremely important to help navigate moments of hardship and to oppose colonial pressures by drawing on what makes us unique as an iwi – our stories and places. Reconnecting to whakapapa and kōrero tuku iho through toi allows us to engage with sensory elements and embody our stories through physical and metaphysical spaces. Fundamentally, our kōrero tuku iho show us the pathway to intergenerational aroha. It demonstrates that our tipuna thought about us, gave us gifts in the way of kōrero and strategies to immortalise them through

modalities, such as mōteatea, kapa haka, raranga, moko and whakairo to pass on knowledge that precedes our arrival to Aotearoa over 800 years ago. This is intergenerational aroha, and we feel this when we connect to our tīpuna continuum through modes of toi.

This research shows that there are many access points to consider how our tīpuna understood the role of toi. One of these avenues is by reflecting on how our tipuna philosophised where they believed toi sat within our pūrākau of knowledge paradigms. Te Kete Aronui with its contents of philosophy, arts and peace was considered. The connection of these three components were contemplated with the idea that many of our whare wānanga also had elements of the practical making of toi such as Te Rawheora and Ngā Whare Pora. This would suggest that toi as praxis was a very important part of how they theorised and made sense of their world.

The intersection between practice and theorising was of crucial significance given the methodology I had chosen for this research. These deliberations signalled that while I have chosen to conduct this research using methodology less familiar within the confines of the academy, it is in fact not new to our old tribal academies of learning – our whare wānanga. The other pivotal component to this relationship was the idea of peace as an optimal condition for the generation of toi and the philosophising that accompanies it. This inspired me to contemplate the limitations colonial conditioning puts on our visioning and dreaming, how do we get the opportunity to express ourselves through toi when many of us are struggling to survive the continued effects of colonisation? Where is the time to be in our creative selves and produce the dreaming needed for emancipation. There are counter arguments to this. As highlighted in mana motuhake Chapter 6, toi can also be generated in times of upheaval as an expression of mana motuhake as well as an outlet to express our colonised realities. Both ideas are true depending on the context. *Mana Mokopuna* was made in the sphere of peace and inter-generational aroha but with a deep understanding of the struggles that our iwi has faced and continues to face at the hands of colonial oppression. Toi Tuku Iho created through love or resistance are not mutually exclusive and in fact we can revisit the idea of resistance as a radical act of love as Leanne Simpsons states:

This is the intense love of land, of family, and of our nations that has always been the spine of Indigenous resistance. The fact that I am here today is a miracle, because it means my family, like every Indigenous family, did whatever they could to ensure that I survived the past four hundred years of violence. For my

kobade to survive and flourish the next four hundred years, we need to join together in a rebellion of love, persistence, commitment and profound caring and create constellations of coresistance, working together toward a radical alternative present based on deep reciprocity and the gorgeous generative refusal of colonial recognition. (Simpson, 2017, p. 9)

The audio-visual story, *Mana Mokopuna*, highlighted many of the wider themes of connection, well-being, and resistance through normality, in a visceral and sensory way. Our relationship with the moana as uri of Te Whānau a Apanui are expressed in our daily encounters with the ancient, be that ancient places, knowledges, languages, or relationships. Te Whānau a Apanui is very rural and isolated, there are no malls or amusement parks here, therefore the moana, awa, ngahere, people, and all the ancient practices and kōrero bound to them within our iwi boundaries are what our tamariki engage with regularly and naturally.

The isolation also means we have needed each other; we are bound by whakapapa, tipuna and collective experiences. Te Whānau a Apanui are in a position where whenua and wai are still held within us and have been since our tipuna arrived at our shores. Therefore, the ties that bind our kōrero tuku iho to place are still there and are still being re/worked into our expressions of toi. This connection to place, to people, and kōrero tuku iho are what fuels our sense of identity and therefore, our oranga. This research emphasises that oranga is connection to people, place, and story. When we are discussing an ecosystem of learning and connections, when we share the importance of identity, when we are expressing mana motuhake - we are evoking the depths of our wellness paradigms that fuel our oranga.

In the introduction of this thesis I posed two questions:

How does mahi toi contribute to oranga and mana motuhake in an iwi context?

These questions were raised as I saw the need to articulate the immense value that mahi toi, and the artists who reanimate our ancient narratives, have within our communities. This need has been developed by a clear lack of appreciation by some of our social and political systems for our arts sector, which is reflected in how our society resources and values toi and Indigenous storytellers. This is signalled within our education system that creates a hierarchy of knowledge that is considered valuable, with art more often than not being considered a 'nice to have' or

elective way of knowing. Added to this has been the ongoing marginalisation of Indigenous knowledges and Māori knowledges through erasure, appropriation, and repositioning. A blatant example of how undervalued Māori toi is, is seen by how Te Matatini is funded, which this research has shown has a huge impact socially, physically, mentally, and collectively on communities and individuals. Te Matatini has a huge outreach and national and international engagement yet its funding pales in comparison to other sectors that are considered “high art” by society such as the New Zealand Orchestra and the New Zealand Ballet. I argue here that toi is much more than a ‘nice to do’, rather it is a vital part of the knowledge ecosystem for Te Whānau a Apanui. Kapa haka has always been entrenched within our own iwi in different forms. This research has shown that kapa haka has the ability to strengthen hapū ties, reconnect people, to heal and to ground themselves in their identity, and is an active embodied pedagogy that cultivates deep learning. It nurtures kōrero tuku iho, can express mana motuhake, it can remember those people important to us, and it can debate topical issues of our current context. It requires community working together to move a group on to the most prestigious stage within Te Ao Māori. Recently Te Whānau a Apanui won the coveted top prize at the Te Matatini 2023, with Taurima-mai-tawhiti winning several prestigious categories. We are proud that our kapa get to take our kōrero to the world through this medium.

The findings of this study underscore how important our iwi storytellers were in times before colonisation as portals to theorising our realities, problem solving, and instilling pride and belonging into their communities. They are our original theorists and philosophers. Kōrero tuku iho is the umbilical link to our tīpuna. It nurtures us by providing a source of sustenance, identity, learnings, connection, and process that wraps us in tīpuna aroha and aspirations. This is a strong concept to embed into mokopuna helping to fortify their identity by embedding the understanding within them they are a part of an extensive and intricately woven whāriki – they have a purpose. Their tīpuna were thinking about them generations ago. Te Whānau a Apanui has a long history of using toi to express our iwi, hapū, and whānau narratives. These kōrero tuku iho have survived the impact of colonisation which brought about one of the most substantial social changes since the waka migration from Hawaiki, to what is now known as Māori society. The skills and creativity that were developed to survive our migration to Aotearoa were also what was needed to survive the continued impacts colonisation enforces upon us as an iwi. Therefore, as much as toi is about grounding us in tipuna greatness and intertwining us through relationships to each other, whenua and wai, it is also resistance.

This research discussed how our iwi storytellers navigate the complexities of the collective processes that reach back to ancient times. Some described this as standing on a foundation, others used the idea of moving through time and space, and some described it as contributing to a continuum. What was clear when discussing this with all kaikōrero is that they understood they were a part of an ancient system of interwoven kōrero, relationships, and tīpuna that they were connected and obligated to. There was open discussion about the responsibilities they have to this collective storytelling continuum. However, it was also made clear that we all hold individual characteristics of tīpuna brilliance, and therefore, there is space and expectation for individual expression to flow into iwi storytelling and articulations of toi. Many of our artists now use our stories in ways they have never been told before and thus, give us many different access points to engage with our kōrero tuku iho.

The concept of mana motuhake and the role toi has in it is examined in this thesis. I inherently knew that mana motuhake was more than protest, but it has been through this research that I have been able to articulate and process the nuances and complexities of how we as an iwi express mana motuhake. Mana motuhake is resistance, but it is also more than this. This study explored the many forms and purposes that toi embodies as a tool to re/claim space by pushing back on colonial agendas. This was evident in Te Whānau a Apanui's oppositional response to the government drilling proposal in the Raukumara basin. Toi's existence is resisting colonial attempts to take land and resources, and to erase our stories that ground us and tell us who we are. As long as iwi storytellers are supported and uplifted, this will not happen. Interestingly, it was the response to the oil drilling that prompted two different pathways to help unpack our view on mana motuhake. The first is obvious opposition and active protest against agendas that would move to take or risk the ability of our mokopuna to live in their tīpuna normality, with their whenua and waters, cloaked in their kōrero tuku iho. Mana motuhake is a collective response. What this also suggests is that living in our normality is of itself an act of defiance and resistance.

Colonisation has severely impacted Māori and iwi ability to live in a way in which our worldviews are normalised, and it has affected our learning ecosystems that are fundamental to these views. It can be easy enough to forget that the loss of land so many other iwi experienced through colonisation takes away the opportunity to know stories through place. Our normality is not everyone's normality. Yet we have uri within our own iwi that have been severed from place and kōrero tuku iho for various reasons. Toi, in its ultimate ability to connect and to call to its people

from the tipuna continuum, can again have multiple purposes. Iwi storytelling and toi are living notions of self and the collective - they sing to the hearts and minds of uri near and far, calling them home, calling them to their ūkaipō. The relationship to our taiao is immense. Kōrero tuku iho are further embodied through whenua and wai. Naming practices and kōrero connected to these spaces offer experiential learning and knowing, entwining further into our learning ecosystems and the feats and place-based teachings of our ancestors.

A critical finding expressed in many of the kōrero collected for this research, is that toi and the process of toi can be a change maker. As much as they sit within a tīpuna continuum of kōrero tuku iho, they can also contribute to valuable reflections, the pushing of boundaries that are no longer conducive to oranga and probing what change might look like for the betterment of their iwi, hapū, or whānau. Toi provides platforms to experiment, which is essential to be able to process how our kōrero tuku iho might be relevant in our changing world. I was surprised at how many kaikōrero, especially our pakeke/tohunga, supported the idea of evolving platforms of toi and the need to move with the technologies of the time. This pointed to the concept that toi and storytelling are never static. They are conceptual and contextual and need to speak to the people at the time, i ngā rā o tō ao. In this sense, toi can be grounding as well as shifting. Our mokopuna may have vastly different technologies and storytelling tools than we have now, and it will be up to them as to how they express and care for our ancient kōrero. New forms of toi are inevitable, the use of audio-visual storytelling for this research does push the story told outside of the usual platforms. However, by doing so I have created something with longevity, and accessibility, for my whānau in the future.

What does a Toi Tuku Iho methodology look like?

The Toi Tuku Iho methodology would not have been possible to explore without the theory developed in the interview chapters and the practice and process of creating the audio-visual digital story, *Mana Mokopuna*. The making of *Mana Mokopuna* was used as a tool of inquiry to expand and delve into the key themes that were generated from kōrero by our Te Whānau a Apanui storytellers, theorist, and scholars. The exploration of their work as iwi storytellers, who use the medium of toi, was key to be able to think through how a digital story might capture the essence of what is being expressed. Though their kōrero has been fundamental in developing this space, their works of art, old and new, waiata and mōteatea, the embodiment of kapa haka, the sensory manifestations of ringawhāo and kairaranga, have also influenced how I understand

their position and how they express who they are and what is important to them. Their creative expressions evoke and speak just as much as their words do.

What the digital story was able to do was further delve into this idea of the tipuna continuum and grounded normality by following an unassuming day at the beach with tamariki. According to these findings this is an expression of mana motuhake. The digital story became a platform to explore the deep interconnected relationships that moved through time and space and were grounded in the whenua and moana. The merging of an ancient story and conversation with moving images of our tamariki exploring their taiao unlocked a different understanding of time, where past becomes present and mokopuna become tīpuna. These colliding ideas of time and space were understood through audio-visual means. Where time and space are malleable in this specific storytelling form. Past and present can often be manipulated and bent using a combination of audio, sound, moving image and context in order to achieve the idea of time passing, rewinding, or moving forward. This coupled with the actual relationships on screen, the whakapapa between generations and place, and the tipuna relationships through kōrero tuku iho, amalgamated to express something that could not be achieved with just words. The layering of ancient naming stories (people and place), mokopuna, the environment as tipuna, and with the wide shot of the place in which the story is based, all contributes to a complex relational view of the world. *Mana Mokopuna* pulls viewers in and expresses a collision of connections, storyscapes, and timelines that are heightened by an audio-visual platform.

In the filming, recording, and editing of *Mana Mokopuna*, the complexity of what was happening was at times lost on me as I wondered if normality was revolutionary or complex enough to be considered for a doctoral thesis. The more I engaged with the footage and the audio the more I started to unpack the physical and spiritual importance of place-based kōrero tuku iho, it became clear how monumentally challenging it has been to hold on to our stories that are over 800 years old. Despite the pressure of colonisation and assimilation, these stories are still here, and they are here because our storytellers have passed them on, embodied these learnings through knowledge ecosystems, merged them into current contexts and challenges, found new platforms to express them, and gifted them to their people. There is nothing simple about this process - there is power and beauty in it. A Toi Tuku Iho methodology considers ancient processes and simultaneously, new contexts and modalities to investigate and theorise our world. The process of making *Mana Mokopuna* helped to theorise these timelines and storyscapes. What toi and

Mana Mokopuna also does because of the timelessness of these modalities, is provide a return point to reengage, rethink and in some cases repurpose the story being told. The tamariki in the digital story, will not be tamariki one day. How will they view this story of theirs? How will they contribute to the retelling? In the not-too-distant future, seven mokopuna will become seven tipuna which will become hundreds of uri whakatipu. However, through the timelessness of this digital story, they will still be able to share that time when they were mokopuna playing on the beach – as we have always done.

Final thoughts:

While this research uses a Te Whānau a Apanui lens, our mātanga, kaikōrero, educator, and poet Wiremu Tāwhai eloquently describes that there are connections these kōrero will have with people, hapū and iwi outside of our iwi confines:

Ko ēnei kōrero nō konei, ko tēnei hapū e noho nei o roto i te whānau a Rūtaia o Te Whānau a Apanui. Me taku mōhio anō, ka huri atu ki tētehi atu rohe, he rerekē ngā kōrero kei reira, rerekē paku nei. Ka huri atu ki tētehi atu rohe, he rerekē ngā kōrero o reira, anā, kei te tika tērā nō te mea he whenua kē ō rātau he rerekē tā rātau kite i te taiao anā ka rerekē anō ō rātau tikanga. Engari kua kite ahau, i roto katoa i ngā rerekētanga kei reira tonu e mau ana te taura, e whakakotahi nei i te katoa. Ko taua marama ka titiro te katoa, ko taua tai ka titiro te katoa, ko taua pīpīwharau anō kua rongo e te katoa, ko taua riroriro anō kua whakarongo te katoa. Engari nā te mea he rohe kē, he rohe kē, paku nei te rerekē o tā rātau whakamāori. Nā reira, kei te kōrero tātau mō ngā tohutohu, mō ngā kōrero, mō ngā whakarereingaiho ā ngā mātua tipuna o tēnei rohe anake. Mai i Tihirau ki te taumata o Apanui. (Tāwhai, 2020)

Although this is Te Whānau a Apanui knowledge there are strands that other iwi or people will be able to connect with. Every rohe has a unique environment and context, but there are universal links to which we might relate. The pitopito kōrero in this research may resonate with other iwi and Indigenous storytellers throughout the motu and world. As much as we have differences, we have aho that connect us all, threads of knowing as tangata whenua.

The role of our iwi storytellers and the connection and oranga their toi nurtures should not be underestimated. The skills and abilities of our artists within Te Whānau a Apanui are well known and are nationally and internationally celebrated with a three-time Te Matatini winning team, New Zealand Academy of Performing Arts, Grammy, and Oscar awards to name a few. Despite these accolades, the genesis of their storytelling worldview starts in Te Tairāwhiti and within Te Whānau a Apanui. However, the participation in the retelling should not be left only in the hands of our iwi storytellers alone. As this research has reiterated it takes an ecosystem to embody the learnings held within our kōrero tuku iho. We all need to be active in the telling and retelling of our stories as a part of our normality, and as part of our role in the tipuna continuum.

While the topic of time and space through toi was explored, the depths and complexities of our Te Ao Māori concepts of time could be better investigated with future research. Expanding this area could counter some of our colonial understandings of time and contribute to a reassessment of how we are dictated to by current time constraints. Another area of research that could be extended is a better understanding of how our iwi members who live away from home connect with expression of toi. This research did touch on this at various points, but research and interviews outside of our iwi may help to identify future needs or future expressions of toi tuku iho.

When I initially started this research, I understood many of these intergenerational concepts through lived experience as a daughter and mokopuna of Te Whānau a Apanui. The day-to-day movements in and around our iwi expose us to many elements of storytelling as well as our social settings that are embedded in toi. These are natural occurrences that are part of community involvement. However, knowing these concepts through lived experience and being able to articulate why they are important or why they contribute to our identity and wellness are two different things. This research has asked me to move from embedded normality to consciously unpacking the “whys”, and to note that we are not overtly taught the “whys” by our kaumātua and pakeke in our storytelling and iwi/hapū learnings. We are taught through experience and relationships. Therefore, writing this was a shift that was more difficult than I imagined it to be.

This thesis was written during a time of extreme change. Covid-19 impacted us for two years in many ways and recently we have experienced extreme weather, with floods and cyclones causing unprecedented damage across Te Tairāwhiti and wider Aotearoa. The impacts of climate change are felt severely for those iwi, hapū, and whānau that live coastal as Te Whānau a Apanui does.

I do not know what these changing conditions will mean for our future as people of the moana but I know our stories will endure and we will find respite in the sanctuary of our iwi artists who negotiate our new realities with our ancient truths – as we have always done.

Appendices

Filmography

Frozen, 2013, Chris Buck and Jennifer Lee, 1h 42mins

Lion King, 1994, Roger Allers and Rob Minkoff, 1h 28mins

Mana Mokopuna, 2023, Kahurangi Waititi, 7mins

Moana, 2016, Ron Clements and John Musker, 1h 47mins

Reassemblage, 1982, Trnh T. Minh-ha, 40mins

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