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Nā Wai Koe? Our Tūpuna Call us Home
Maremare Whānau thinking about connections to Whenua Tupuna

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of
Master of Māori and Pacific Development in Development Studies
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by
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Abstract

This research focuses on the Maremare whānau from Tiniwaitara Marae, Turakina, in order to explore the importance of our relationship with our whenua tupuna and the related concept of returning home.

Although many academics have carefully attended to the concept of ‘disconnection’ from whenua tupuna in order to describe the effects of Māori mobility, this term unfortunately reinforces the colonial attempt to detach our people from the things that provide us with our sense of belonging. I argue that thinking about relationship with whenua tupuna through terms like ‘disconnection’ and ‘reconnection’ are unhelpful and problematic; instead, when we understand this relationship in Māori terms, our connection to our whenua tupuna is an everlasting relationship that is woven into the fabric of our whakapapa.

The research combines interviews with three generations of the Maremare whānau, including people with diverse experiences of relationships with Turakina, with critical reflection on relevant concepts from Te Ao Māori. Specifically, mobilising a Kaupapa Māori Theory approach, the thesis draws on an oriori, ‘He Oriori mō Wharaurangi’ as the methodology and foundation of this thesis. In this way, the thesis both argues and demonstrates the value of researchers, and in particular kairangahau Māori, look to mātauranga Māori to guide us in our research about Māori topics. This oriori is iwi specific, it holds kōrero tuku iho that pertains to my whakapapa as an uri of Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa and it is very relevant to both my kaupapa and the people participating in the rangahau.

Ultimately, whakapapa rests at the core of connection to whenua tupuna. It is the foundation in which we stand and it connects us as a people to the land that birthed us. This thesis looks at the different ways that our tūpuna call us home, the different ‘returning home’ experiences within the Maremare whānau and how people within the whānau view their connection with our whenua tupuna in Turakina. Nā wai koe? Our tūpuna call us home.

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To my parents, my sister Talia and my wider whānau and friends' words cannot express my gratitude and appreciation for the love and support that you all have shown me, not only throughout this research journey but in the many milestones that I have reached in my life. Tēnei a ngākau whakaiti e mihi atu nei. Aroha tino nui.

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“Waiho te whānau, ko te punga o tōku waka.”

E Koro Joe, anei he taonga mōu...

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Chapter 1 - I ahu mai ahau i hea?

E mihi atua ana ahau ki a koutou, ki āku mokopuna, mō koutou i whakaaro nei kia hoatu e au ēnei whakamaharatanga mōku ki a koutou. Nō reira, e mihi atu ana, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou. - Nanny Ema Hipango

I choose to begin this thesis with the voice of my great nanny. The first voice that we hear on the marae is that of the wahine: strong, eloquent and tapu all at the same time, so it makes sense that this is where I begin my chapter and that her voice is the first that we hear as I delve into who we are and where we come from. Nau mai. The purpose of this first chapter is to provide the reader with some context as to who the Maremare whānau is, where we come from and where I sit within the whakapapa. I will start with a brief description of Nanny Ema, considering I have begun the chapter with her words. I will then proceed to provide background information on my great great grandfather Maremare Reupena, my great grandparents Pehira Maremare rāua ko Ema Maremare (Puha) and my grandfather along with my mother and me. This chapter will then conclude with a small explanation about our marae, Tiniwaitara and what it means to us as Te Whānau Maremare.

Nanny Ema Hipango

A koro of mine, Koro Eddie once sat down with my Nanny Ema Hipango (Koro Pehira's sister) and recorded her life story. They spoke of who she was and the experiences that she had growing up. An uncle of mine (Uncle Dennis) relayed to me that Koro Eddie knew Nanny Ema's history very well. At the wānanga where they recorded the korero, Nanny Ema listened as he told it and confirmed/answered any queries he may have had as he told it. My uncle Dennis attended this wānanga and is also a part of my interviewees for this thesis. I would like to draw on my tūpuna at this moment and through their words allow some light to be shed on who we are in relation to Nanny Ema and speak to the experiences that she had in her lifetime.

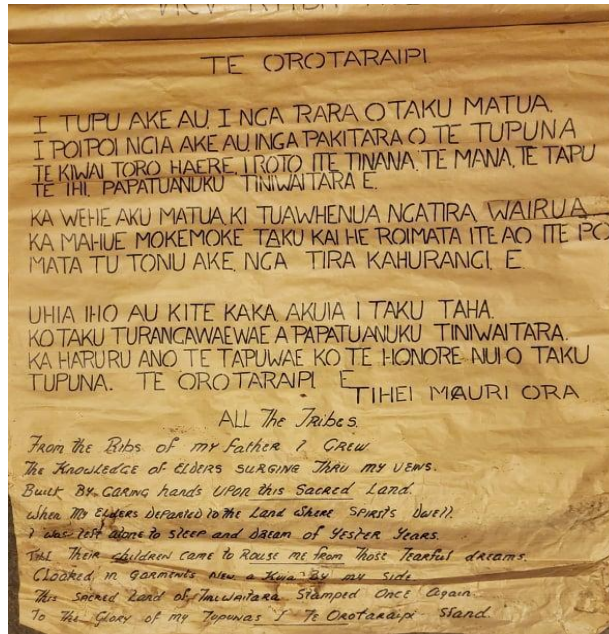


Whakaahua 1: Koro Eddie and Nanny Ema Hipango. Source: Personal Image.

To Maremare Reupena Kewetone Papaka o Tiniwaitara, Turakina and of the Ngāti Apa tribe and Hariata Maremare nee Tupou of Muaūpoko Levin, born on the 1st of July 1898 at Waipu, that area between Ratana Pā and Whangaehu at the home of Reremoana Tohikura who was a brother of Maremare but adopted by the Reremoana family, a female child was born, one of ten children but of those ten children, only four were to survive. On Nanny's birth she was given the name of Tete, Tete being the name of a tohunga. He asked that she be given this name because prior to her birth four of the Maremare children had died. Nanny was taken to Otaki and was the first child to be baptised at the opening of the first catholic church built there. Her baptismal name and registered name was Irihapeti Maremare. Nanny was educated at the Turakina missionary school in 1909. On the 1st of Febuary 1911, Nanny was taken to Waitara at the age of 13 by the elders of the Ngāti Apa tribe this was at the request of Te Huatahi. Te Huatahi was also known as Ema Hipango and was the wife of Waata Hipango. Te Huatahi was also a first cousin to Maremare Reupena. Te Huatahi and Waata had lost their daughter and only child Rawinia. They had

planned to bring up Nanny as their own child but because of Te Huatahi's advancing years, Hipango had no heir and asked Te Huatahi's permission that Nanny bear him children. Nanny gave to Hipango two sons. The first one being Hori Irirangi and the second Tokotoko but Tokotoko passed away at the age of four months. Before Hipango's death they moved back to Pūtiki, to the homestead. Te Huatahi wanted irihapeti or Nanny to take her name, the name of Ema Hipango and to be baptised in the Anglican faith but Nanny had already been baptised into the Catholic faith. However, the name of Ema Hipango was given... Nanny decided to return to the family homestead at Tini Waitara also wanting to take her son with her. At this time, Treadwell Senior who was the trustee for the Hipango estate asked Nan to leave Hori with Te Huatahi because of her age... Upon the death of Te Huatahi, Nanny returned to the homestead at Pūtiki, the home which was left to her by Hipango for the rest of her natural life... Nanny lost her son Hori Irirangi on the 13th of March, 1989. - Koro Eddie

If Nanny Ema Hipango were still alive, she would be 122 years old. The fact that I am privileged enough to hear her voice through this tape recording, blows my mind every time I sit and listen to it and thanks to Nanny Ema and Koro Eddie, I am able to do so. Our tūpuna were forward thinkers, always looking at the past but as a tool to guide them into the future. They were thinking about us before our own parents were even thinking about us, and it shows through the first quote which brings us into this chapter... *“E mihi atua ana ahau ki a koutou, ki āku mokopuna, mō koutou i whakaaro nei, kia hoatu e au ēnei whakamaharatanga mōku ki a koutou”* “I mihi to my mokopuna, it is for you that I have decided to hand over these memories of mine”. She was thinking of me all those years back and because of that, I have been able to hear her voice and listen to the many experiences that she had throughout her lifetime. Two songs were recorded throughout the voice recording by koro Eddie; I have written the kupu below, as well as attached a hand-written version by koro Eddie with the words to the first waiata.



Whakaahua 2: Waiata - Te Orotaraipi. Source: Personal Image.

Te Waiata Tuatahi

I Tupu ake au i ngā rara o taku matua
I poipoingia ake au
I ngā pakitara o te tūpuna Te Kiwai Toro Haere
I roto i te tinana te mana, te tapu, te ihi
Papatūānuku, Tiniwaitara e
Ka wehe aku matua ki tua whenua ngā tira wairua
Ka mahue mokemoke
Taku kai, he roimata i te ao i te pō
Mata tū tonu ake ngā tira kahurangi e
Uhia iho au ki te kaka a kuia i taku taha
Ko taku tūrangawaewae a Papatūānuku, Tiniwaitara
Ka haruru anō te tapuwae o te honore nui o taku tūpuna Te Orotaraipi e
Tihei Mauri ora!

Te Waiata Tuarua

Te Tuahine e moe tō moe mārie
Mā te matua e arahi
Anei mātou e tangi poroaki mōu kua wehe nei
Kaua rā e warewaretia
Mā te tini hei powhiritia
E te ariki, awhina te karanga a mātou tuahine e

Nanny is a kuia to her many mokopuna and those of the Ngāti Apa tribe. - Koro Eddie

Maremare Reupena

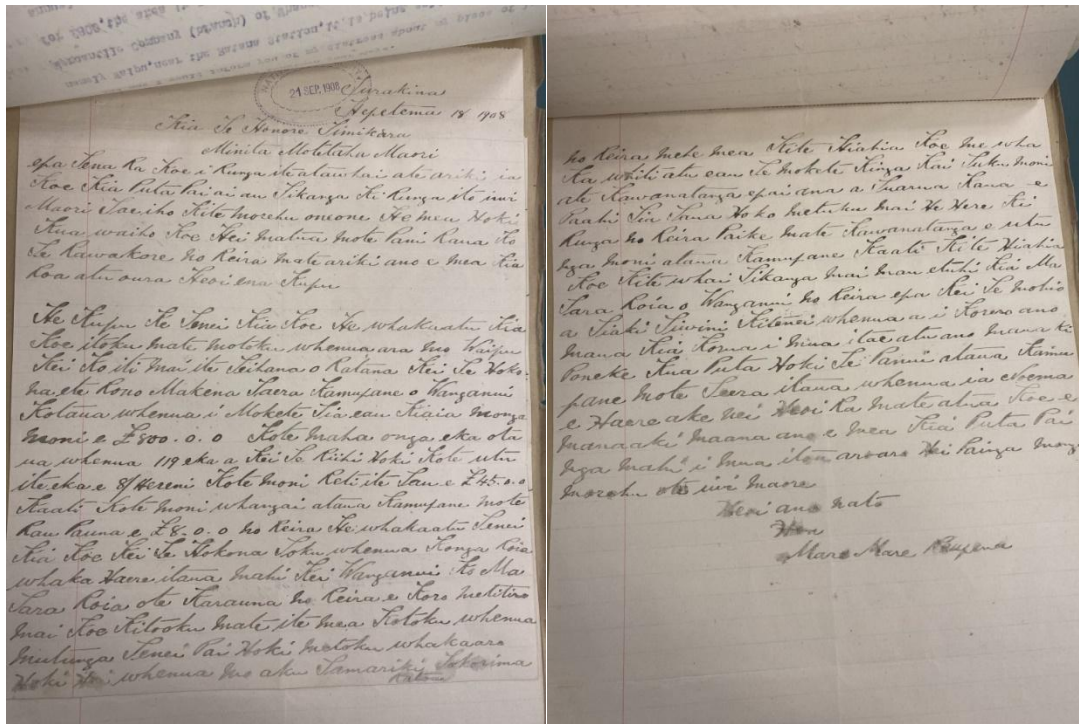


Whakaahua 3: Left to right: Irihapeti Maremare (Ema Hipango), Maremare Reupena, Hariata (Ngā Waiariki) Maremare and Ngākawe Maremare in front of Te Horotaraipi wharepuni. Source: Personal Image.

“E tipu e rea mō ngā rā o tō ao, ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ora mō te tinana ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna Māori hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga, ko tō wairua ki tō atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa”. E whakawhetai ana ahau ki ngā ngākau hihiri o ōku matua tūpuna. Nā rātou tō mātou whenua tupuna I tiaki, I poipoi hei taonga mō ō rātou uri whakaheke. Ahakoa ngā pēhitanga o te wā me ngā mahi kino ā te kāwanatanga i whawhai rātou mō te hemo tonu atu kia whakatūturu te whakahaumarutanga o tō tātou nei whenua tupuna mō mātou ngā uri whakatipu. They say a photo speaks a thousand words, and well, this saying couldn’t be more true. The previous photo of my tūpuna standing in front of our whare tūpuna breathes life into my soul as do the people within it. When I look at that photo, I see not only the faces of my tūpuna but the legacy that they have left behind. This photo is a reminder of who I come from. They stand beneath the tuānui of our wharepuni, Te Horotaraipi, which, to this day, continues to shelter and protect those who gather beneath her, haukāinga mai, manuhiri mai. Both my great great koro and my Nanny Ema along with her siblings are present in this photograph (left to right – Irihapeti Maremare (Ema Hipango), Maremare Reupena, Hariata (Ngā Waiariki) Maremare rātou ko Ngākawe Maremare). We inherit the name Maremare from my great great grandfather, A man of resilience and strength. Through his leadership, Maremare provided a period of crucial continuity as many other marae

throughout the district struggled to ensure that rural life was maintained. This was against government pressure for land development. Whilst many whānau were pressured into abandoning their small holdings and moving into town, Maremare kept the ahi kā going. I descend from tūpuna of commitment, persistence, dedication and humility. On 8th October 2020 I made my way down to the NZ Archives in Wellington, in the hope of possibly finding some archival material which belonged to my great koro Pehira Maremare (the son of Maremare Reupena). What I originally went looking for I did not manage to find which was somewhat disappointing. I sat in my car for what seemed like a long time trying to decide what I would do next. I had just spent time sitting with the librarians and archivists, explaining to them what I was looking for, and although they helped me in my quest to find these materials we were unsuccessful. Despite not being able to find what I had travelled there for, my heart was still telling me to go back inside and try again, to do my own research, so that is what I did. What I found were some taonga that really opened my eyes to the kind of person that koro Maremare was and had my heart not pulled me back inside I may have never found these. I know that feeling in my heart was my koro Maremare.

1908, Te Riri Pākehā is still an ongoing act of malicious behaviour as our land continues to be ripped from beneath the feet of our tūpuna but they continue to fight ever so persistently and determined to keep what had been passed down to them so that they were able to pass it down to their uri. Tears rolled down my face as I sat in the archive's facility holding onto and physically touching some letters that, at one point in time, my tūpuna also held. Tears of comfort because I felt so close to my tūpuna in that space and time of wānanga but also tears of sadness in feeling the mamae and sense of responsibility that would have weighed down on the shoulders of my koro. The letter pictured below is a plea for help from koro Maremare to Tā Timi Kara who was the Minister of Native Affairs at the time. It was a letter of distress, heart break, and uncertainty. He had mortgaged his whenua to the Loan and Mercantile Company of Whanganui and they were planning to sell it.

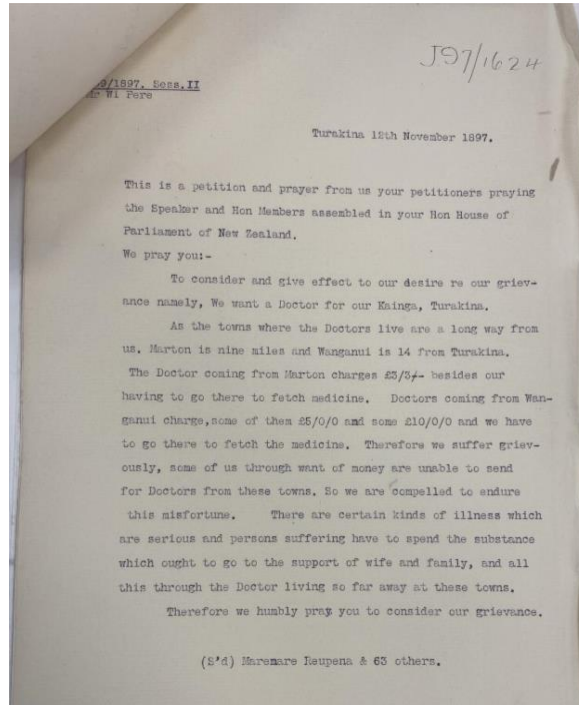


Whakaahua 4: Letter from Maremare Reupena to James Carroll - Minister for Native affairs, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, R22402496.

Nō reira e koro, me titiro mai koe ki tōku mate I te mea ko tōku whenua mutunga tēnei, pai hoki, me tōku whakaaro hoki hei whenua mō aku Tamariki tokorima - Maremare Reupena.

The hurt in my heart welled up. He was begging for the last of his land not to be sold, so that he could pass it down to his children. That whenua still rests within the land of our iwi to this day and it is not only because of the persistence, determination and sheer willpower of koro Maremare that we are still able to be kaitiaki of our whenua tupuna today but also the ability of his writing and the strategic thinking that went into developing this letter. I always think of my tūpuna and the fact that I would not be here without them. I feel them everytime I return home. As soon as I step foot upon my whenua tupuna I hear them, I see them and I feel them. I love learning more about their history, about my history and the events that lead to me sitting here today, writing this thesis. Now, everytime I stand upon my whenua tupuna, I think of this letter and how it was his persistence, determination and forward thinking that allowed me to still stand upon her. The time period when this letter was written was a period of injustice, mistreatment and unfairness from the colonising state on to our people. It also wasn't just our whenua tupuna that we had to fight so hard to keep, but things like access to a doctor so that our ancestors didn't have to spend the last of their earnings

just to travel to seek medical assistance when they or their whānau were sick. Another letter pictured below was signed by koro Maremare and 63 other tūpuna of mine.



Whakaahua 5: Petition of Maremare Reupena and other uri of Turakina that a medical man may be subsidised to attend to Māori in Turakina, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, R24570244.

Therefore, we suffer grievously, some of us through want of money are unable to send for doctors from these towns. So, we are compelled to endure this misfortune. There are certain kinds of illness which are serious and persons suffering have to spend the substance which ought to go to the support of wife and family, and all this through the doctor living so far away at these towns. Therefore, we humbly pray you to consider our grievance.

Our tūpuna suffered through times unimaginable, and I say unimaginable because they fought their hearts out so that we don't ever have to experience injustice on the same scale as they did. As I said earlier, our tūpuna were forward thinkers, always thinking about their descendants still to come and the survival of their whakapapa. All of this is shown through the work of my koro Maremare and I believe it has been passed down through our whānau. My tūpuna along with our future uri sit as the foundation for my desire to complete this thesis. This is for them and I quote my Nanny Ema Hipango again, but this time I am speaking to my future mokopuna:

E mihi atua ana ahau ki a koutou, ki āku mokopuna, mō koutou i whakaaro nei kia hoatu e au ēnei whakamaharatanga mōku ki a koutou. Nō reira, e mihi atu ana, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou.

Koro Pehira Basil Maremare and Nanny Ema Maremare (Puha)



Whakaahua 6: Left to right: Joseph Emia Maremare, Pehira Basil Maremare, Te Reimana Maharanui Maremare, Ema Maremare (Puha) and Tukiteara Maremare.

Turakina is a small settlement in the Rangitīkei region, 20 minutes south of Whanganui and just over the hill from Te Pā o Ngā Ariki, Rātana Pā. I ngā whāruarua o Turakina i tipu ai tōku matua tupuna, ā, ko Maremare Reupena tērā. My great koro Pehira Maremare is the son of Maremare Reupena and between him and my great Nanny Ema Maremare (Puha) (Te Whānau a Apanui) they raised nine children - seven boys and two girls - one of whom was a whāngai (Hiria Sheila Te Patu, Alexander Hirini, Pehira Basil, Hemi Ranapia, Te Reimana, Rangiatea, Tukiteara, Orewa and Joseph Emia). They all grew up on and around our ūkaipō, Turakina, in the homestead which used to rest next to the marae, as an āhuru mōwai for our whānau and whoever was resting beneath her shelter. It makes sense for me to refer to my Nanny Piola at this point. Nanny Piola is the wife of the late Hemi Ranapia Maremare and sister inlaw to my Koro Te Reimana. Nanny Piola was fortunate enough to have lived through this time, she spoke of the homestead and our people.

They all use to come here because this use to be the house for them to meet, you know everybody met here, you didn't have to go anywhere, they were always here. – Nanny Piola (extracted from an interview held on the 14-12-2019)

The stories that are relayed to me by my aunties, uncles, nannies and koros are those of busy and abundant times. These stories tell me that in the lifetime of my tūpuna, our home in Turakina was alive and busy 24/7. There were always people there, having hui, holding church, cooking, gardening, swimming in the river, running around the big macropcarpa trees and sliding down the sand dunes on a surfboard. Turakina was filled with the voices of our people and felt by the hands of our many ancestors who worked the land to provide for our people. My koro Pehira sounds like a very respected man not just by members of our whānau but by rangatira of the time, including the prophet, Tahu Pōtiki Wiremu Rātana.

His aspirations was with T.W Ratana that's where his dreams were, was there. He was a faithful follower and because he was the secretary for T.W Ratana, he was always there. My mother in law just followed him because she was the one that had to do all the waiata, she followed him all the time. – Nanny Piola (extracted from an interview held on the 14-12-2019)

When I think of my koro Pehira and Nanny Ema some kupu that come to mind are, strength, courage, hardworking, loving, dedicated, committed and kind. They were hard workers who lived a life of simplicity. Their strength and determination is something that has been passed down throughout the Maremare whānau and I believe that many of the values and mātāpono that we hold and follow are a testament to them both. Although I never got the chance to meet them, I almost feel like I have through the stories that have been passed down to me which we will hear more about as we journey through this tuhingaroa.

Te Reimana Maharanui Maremare (Koro Ray)

Koro Pehira and Nanny Ema had a son by the name of Te Reimana Maharanui Maremare, my koro, my mother's father. My relationship with my koro was not your typical koro/moko

relationship; neither was the relationship between my māmā and her father, my koro. We will delve further into this shortly but for now, let's find out who exactly my koro was.

Te Reimana Maharanui Maremare, i tipu ake ia ki Turakina i raro i te tuanui o Te Horotaraipi. He grew up with his siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, nannies and koros, playing on the sand dunes and enjoying the simple things in life as a young rural Māori boy. When Koro grew up, along with his brothers he went off into the defence force and he choose to go to the Navy. It's almost a whānau tradition of ours to go into the Army or the Navy; most of our koros went off into the defence force and this filtered down to my mum's generation where our uncles followed in their footsteps. Koro had met my Nana and very early on my Nana had fallen pregnant with both my Māmā and her twin sister, my Aunty Katy. My Nana ended up raising both my Māmā and Aunty Katy along with her two other daughters to two previous relationships, Denise Hethrington and Marie Wightman as a solo mum because koro simply wasn't around or involved in raising them both. My Māmā and my Aunty Katy have other siblings who are also the children of my Koro Ray from one previous relationship as well as a relationship following the birth my mother and her twin sister: Aunty Karen, Aunty Helen, Aunty Michelle, Uncle Pehira and Uncle Matt. I'd like to describe my Koro as a free spirit; he loved to sing and he would do that everywhere he would go, his guitar was glued to his hip and anywhere he went, his guitar went too. I believe music, his singing and his guitar was one thing that would allow him to really understand his feelings, to bring him back down to earth and to settle his heart, mind and wairua. From the stories that I've heard, it sounds like he was always on the go, never really settled and was always looking for something new and exciting.

He always used to stay by me and I used to say to him "why don't you come back? Move here with me and I'll look after you". No, he'd get back up to Auckland all the time. You know he just looked like a lost sheep, trying to find something. He had that lonely look about him but he was alright because he had his guitar with him. He used to sit out there and serenade to me. Then I used to put him in the room there but we got on so well him and I we were like real brother and sister. He always loved coming here - Nanny Piola

My māmā and my Aunty Katy didn't meet my koro until they were 18 years old and because of this they missed out on a lot of things. Don't get me wrong, they were extremely lucky to have

been brought up by my nana, the kindest hearted, hard working, strong, dedicated woman I know. She always made something out of nothing not only for her own children but also for those who she thought may need the extra love as well. Although they didn't have much growing up they had a childhood filled with love and kindness, they had a roof over their heads and kai on the table, but with the absence of my koro came the absence of identity, of culture, of reo Māori, of tikanga Māori and everything that made up who they were within that part of their whakapapa, he Māori. Because of the little understanding that both my māmā and my aunty had of who they were and where they came from, this then had a trickle-down effect to my sister and me. I always knew that my mother was Māori and that was just normal to me. The one thing I found hard to understand was the fact that my mother was Māori, therefore I was Māori, but we didn't know our marae or where we were from. I returned home for the first time alongside my māmā, my Aunty Katy, my sister and the rest of our whānau when we took my koro's kawē mate back home after he passed away. I've returned home now - we all have - and it is for that exact reason that I am so passionate about who I am, who and where I come from, the importance of going home and the importance of this tuingaroa for my whānau and future generations to come. The love and appreciation that I have for our whenua tupuna is boundless and it is because I know how it feels to live without it.

Tiniwaitara

Ko Kurahaupō, Aotea me Te Arawa ngā waka
Ko Ruapehu te maunga
Ko Turakina te awa
Ko Paraekaretū te wāhi tapu
Ko Te Horotaraipi o Ngāti Apa te wharepuni tawhito
Ko Taraipi o Oro te wharepuni hou
Ko Te Oranga te wharekai
Ko Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa rāua ko Ngā Ariki ngā iwi
Ko Ngāti Rangitūmoana, Ngāti Tamawaina, Ngāti Rangipuhi, Ngāti Kiriweheke me Ngāti
Hinewai ngā hapū
Ko Te Mangungu te whare karakia
Ko Onepoto te urupā tawhito
Ko Tiniwaitara te marae



Whakaahua 7: Duplicate of whakaahua 5 attached to recent photo of myself in front of Te Horotaraipi wharepuni. Source: Personal Image.

Ko Paraekaretu te whakaruruhau, te maunga e kore e neke. E tū aumangea ana tēnei tāwharau o Paraekaretu ki tō Turakina taha e rere kau atu ana hei wai oranga mō ōna tini mokopuna, ngā mangainga o Kurahaupō, Aotea me Te Arawa waka anō hoki. Ko Rangitūmoana te hapū, ko Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa te iwi, ā, ko Tiniwaitara tōku āhuru mōwai, haere ake nei. Tiniwaitara has rested as an āhuru mōwai for whānau throughout the Rangitīkei/Whanganui region for many generations and has been home to the Maremare whānau since mai rānō. Te Horotaraipi wharepuni still stands as a reminder of where and who we have come from and is a physical representation of the strength, determination, love and passion that our tūpuna have for us, their uri.

E noho nei au i te māhau o tōku whare tūpuna o Te Horotaraipi, ko aku whakamaioha ki ōku tūpuna i tēnei wā. Nā rātou tēnei whenua tupuna, i tiaki, i waiho mā mātou ngā uri o kōnei. Mei kore ake rātou.

Chapter 2 - Introduction

Nā wai koe? Who are you from? Who came before you and who do you descend from? The first wāhanga of my thesis title speaks to the importance of knowing who you are, who you come from where you sit within your whakapapa ties and how this makes up everything to do with who you are. “Our Tūpuna Call us Home” speaks to the important role that our tūpuna play in calling us back to our whenua tupuna and the different ways that we experience this call. There are a multitude of reasons as to why someone might drift away from their ancestral lands and because we are all so different with differing stories and wheako, our “going home” experiences will also differ from one another. Something I've struggled to comprehend and understand is what these widely used kupu ‘disconnect’ and ‘reconnect’ mean within Te Ao Māori and I believe that this is because they don't have a place within our world view. A question that has been a constant resident in my mind throughout this research is: are we ever really disconnected? Do we reconnect? or are our tūpuna merely calling us home? Through this thesis I will be looking at the different ways that our tūpuna call us home and the differing perspectives around what connection to whenua tupuna looks like across three reanga within the Maremare whānau.

There are people within the Maremare whānau who were born and bred at the pā, grew up at the marae with our nannies and koros and it was all that they ever knew. Some of them as they grew up, for various reasons, moved away from home and have since returned or are still on that journey of returning home. On the other hand, we have members in our whānau who have grown up with little to no knowledge of their whakapapa and where they come from and they too have experienced a calling home from our tūpuna. We have whānau members all over the spectrum and even ahikā who have lived on and around our whenua tupuna for as long as they can remember. It is important for us to acknowledge these different life stories and experiences and to acknowledge the role that our tūpuna play in calling us home to our whenua tupuna.

I also would like to acknowledge that some people may never feel or experience a “calling” as such from their tūpuna. Or, this call might feel or sound different at different times in their lives. This is not to say that they are any less Māori or to suggest that a particular kind of connection to home is a “requirement” for being Māori. Working with my own whānau members to develop this

thesis, I was opened to many different experiences and situations where some people had never experienced something they would describe as a “calling from their tūpuna”. I will clarify here that the only requirement for being Māori is whakapapa, mēnā he toto Māori tāu, he Māori koe. If Māori blood flows through you, then you are Māori and that is your identity. My research focus on particular experiences of being Māori are not intended to challenge other perspectives or experiences. Instead, this thesis and the kaupapa that underpins it delves into feelings or pulls that we may feel experience from our tūpuna, the different ways that we receive these and the many layers of whakamārama that come with them.

What is the importance of returning home to your whenua tupuna?

The whakaaro around why it's important to return home to your whenua tupuna will differ for everyone. Everyone has their own relationship with their whenua, their own story and their own journey which will influence their whakaaro around this pātai. Take someone who was born and raised on their whenua tupuna for example - their opinion may be very different to someone who has grown up living away from their whenua. This does not mean that one is right or wrong; they are, just different perspectives. Someone who has grown up on and around their whenua tupuna may have the whakaaro that it is important to return home to uphold what their tūpuna left behind for them, to be good kaitiaki of their pepeha and to give back to the place that gives so much to them and their identity. On the other hand, someone who may be still trying to strengthen their bond with their whenua and someone who may not have grown up there, could possibly have a different whakaaro. Their whakaaro could be more along the lines of: “It's important for me to go back so that I can feel more comfortable there, so that I can get to know my whānau, hapū and iwi better, so I can learn more about myself and who I come from”. Contrastingly, someone who has had a negative experience on their whenua tupuna or have negative perceptions of their whenua tupuna, will feel differently again, possibly asking the pātai “Why is it important to return home to my whenua tupuna?” For some people this is a reality and it is no surprise that they may find it difficult to understand why it is important for them to return to a place that may not provide them with the sense of comfort and belonging that it may do for others.

Hoki atu ki ngā maunga kia purea e nga hau o Tāwhirimātea”. “Return to the mountains to be cleansed by the winds of Tāwhirimātea”. In times of adversity, this proverb encourages a return to our home mountains to receive healing from the winds of Tāwhirimātea. Proverbs such as this tell of the store of healing within our connectedness to the natural world of mountains, seas, rivers, lakes and land. This sense of returning home to a place of refuge and solace is not always possible if our lives are complicated by the impact of trauma (Smith, 2015).

The connection between whenua tupuna and whānau stories

I tipu mai te whakaaro mō tēnei kaupapa i taku aroha nui ki taku whānau, aku whakaaro nui mō ngā uri kei te heke mai me te anamata o tō tātou nei whānau, hapū, iwi. Story telling runs in our blood and stands as a strong foundation for how we pass down our history through the generations. Our tūpuna were storytellers and orators and the importance of this has been passed down to us. My hope for our whānau is that these stories are never lost, and they continue to be told for years and years to come. This thesis will rest as a kohinga of stories and experiences by the Maremare whānau, for the Maremare whānau. Stories of our whenua tupuna, our ancestors, life experiences and most importantly our whakapapa: nā wai mātou?

Oriori was a very common tool used by our ancestors to pass down whakapapa and hītori to their pēpi from the time that they were conceived until they were old enough to hold on to and obtain the kōrero that was being shared with them. An example of this can be found in an Oriori that is very prominent in my iwi of Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa, ‘He Oriori mō Wharaurangi’. This oriori was composed by Te Rangitākorou (Ngāti Taurira/Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa), for his niece Wharaurangi who is the daughter of Irihapeti and Hakaraia Te Rangipouri. Wharaurangi married Hone Waitere from Turakina and the Waitere family are another strong Turakina whānau with whakapapa ties to the Maremare whānau. Wharaurangi is also buried in the Turakina Cemetery which is located within the main township and sits on the hill to the right as you are travelling north. These are our connections as a whānau and as uri of Turakina to this oriori. The oriori as a whole talks to Wharaurangi’s lineage and her history right back to the arrival of her ancestors to

Aotearoa. This oriori also traces the special and significant landmarks of her tūpuna. The first verse speaks to the purpose of the oriori and acknowledges this notion of kupu tuku iho, the oral transmission of knowledge from generation to generation. Anei te whiti tuatahi.

Taku pōtiki e, Ko Wharaurangi
Ka rongo o tūpuna, ka maka mai ki au,
Māku, e hine, mā te huri, e
Mā te whakarongo ki te whita kōrero,
Ko te whare tēnā i taia ai te Kāhui Rongo,
I pipiri ki te pō
Ngā toka whakaahu o tō kōrua kūkū e
O toku rua wāwāhi, o taku rua pāke,
Ka wehea ko te tau, e.

My little child, Wharaurangi
What your grandsires heard they freely gave unto
For me and mine, o maiden, because I listened,
Heeded and retained the stories complete
In the house was told the Kāhui Rongo ritual,
Told to a group in the night,
Hence the rock shrine of your tight lipped elder,
Hence my store pit, renowned pit, to be shared with
my absent loved one, ah me. (Jones, 2006)

The oriori then proceeds to tell the whakapapa of Wharaurangi and significant events in her whakapapa. It speaks of the ancestor Haunui-a-Nanaia and his journey in chasing his wife, Wairaka, mai te rohe o Taranaki ki Te Whanganui-a-Tara. Along his haerenga he named multiple awa which are also alluded to within the oriori. Te Rangitākorou would sing this oriori to Wharaurangi for years and by doing this, the hītori would be embedded in her heart where it would remain for the rest of her life. Through transmitting and handing this knowledge down to Wharaurangi, which tells her of her history and how she came to be, it prepares her for the life that

she is about to lead. Knowing this kōrero enables Wharaurangi to be confident in who she is, where she has come and provides her with a strong foundation to stand upon, helping to guide her into the future. When we hear this oriori as her descendents, we are able to look back at our past and use it to guide us into the future, helping us to understand and deal with what we are going through in today's world.

I have introduced 'He Oriori mō Wharaurangi' and the whakamārama behind it here because, just as oriori are used to guide us throughout our lives and pass down knowledge, Wharaurangi has guided my rangahau in a very significant way. This oriori and the way in which it has guided my research will be explained further in the Methodology Chapter (chapter four) of this thesis. Because our traditional ways of learning have so much to teach us, I chose to use Wharaurangi as the methodology of my thesis. It is important as researchers and in particular as kairangahau Māori that we look to our traditional ways of learning to guide us in our research. "Stories, especially in Indigenous contexts of colonisation, are like the metaphorical sap in Miiam Ungunmerr-Baumann's (2002) *Piece Dadirri: Inner deep listening and quiet still awareness*, she writes: If you stay closely united, you are like a tree, standing in the middle of a bushfire sweeping through the timber. The leaves are scorched and the tough bark is scarred and burnt; but inside the tree the sap is still flowing, and under the ground the roots are still strong. Like that tree, you have endured the flames, and you still have the power to be reborn". (Murphy, 2011)

Along this research journey, I have found it interesting how many people have had conversations with me who asked: "What do you hope to find or take away from your research?" Initially I was confused and unable to really provide an answer to this question because I was unsure about what the answer was. My kaupapa looks at the notion of our tūpuna calling us home to our whenua tupuna and the importance of returning home and maintaining ahikā. It's about the re-telling of whānau stories and the relationship that our whānau has to our whenua tupuna. When I reflect back now I can think of many things that I hope to get out of this rangahau, from revitalising stories and history within our whānau, hapū, iwi to helping our whānau return home often and adding strands to their own individual taukaea which will then strengthen our collective one as a whānau. However, I also seek in this thesis to make a clear argument that relates to my own rangahau but is offered as a contribution to other researchers and members of our communities: that when we

think about relationship with whenua tupuna terms like ‘disconnection’ and ‘reconnection’ are unhelpful and problematic; instead, we will understand this relationship better through looking at our connection to our whenua tupuna as an ongoing relationship that is woven into the fabric of our whakapapa.

Chapter Breakdown

The nine chapters of this thesis began with the previous chapter, Chapter 1: I ahu mai au I hea? The role of this chapter is to provide the reader with background information on who the Maremare whānau is, where we are from, who we descend from and where I sit within the whānau dynamic. By commencing with the voice of a tupuna wahine, and beginning with a recitation of whakapapa, that chapter also structurally demonstrates the argument I am making in the thesis about framing our thinking about this topic according to Māori concepts/ terms. Chapter Two is the Introduction Chapter, and this aims to provide an overall view of the thesis, including where the kaupapa stemmed from and the key arguments and accompanying questions for this rangahau. Chapter three is the Literature Review; this is where I will speak to the importance of my kaupapa as an extension of intellectual whakapapa around the relationships that we have with our whenua tupuna. The four key pātai that I have used to guide my literature review are:

1. He aha ēnei mea te pepeha me te whakapapa? And how do these mātāpono provide us with a deeper understanding of who we are and who we are connected to?
2. Are we ever really disconnected?
3. He aha te wairua? What is wairua?
4. What part does wairuatanga play in this experience of being called home?

Chapter Four, the Methodology chapter, Introduces and explains the oriori that I have chosen to guide my research, ‘He Oriori mō Wharaurangi’. I will discuss the importance of this oriori within Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa and how it relates and helps guide the kaupapa of my research. In chapters five to Seven, I present the findings of my research. Each of these chapters is structured in a similar way: these chapters introduce the interviewees, analyse the interviews and the individual kōrero

that emerges as well as the whakautu in relation to the reanga from which they emerged. In these chapters, I draw upon key points that surfaced, discussing them in connection to my broader kaupapa and relating the participants' kōrero to the main argument of my thesis. Chapter eight, the Discussion Chapter, includes an overall analysis of my findings, discussing common themes across reanga, providing my interpretations of these findings and discussing challenges and limitations I faced throughout the research process. The concluding chapter of this thesis restates my argument, highlights what emerges from my findings, and provides recommendations for future research. In this conclusion chapter I also reflect on how I have found the research process, stand out moments and a mihi whakakapi.

Conclusion

Nā wai koe? Our tūpuna call us home. Who do you descend from? Who calls you home? The whaingā matua for this thesis is to elucidate the positive effect that comes with returning home to your whenua tupuna, the different ways in which people experience this “returning home” journey and the different perspectives of what connection to whenua tupuna looks like across different reanga within the Maremare whānau. Our marae Tiniwaitara sits at the core of who I am and rests upon the land of my ancestors. My āhuru mōwai has seen and felt the many stories that are relayed to me by my kaumātua and these stories are woven into the kōiwi of my tūpuna who lay within the warm embrace of our whenua tupuna. This thesis will rest as a kohikohinga of whānau kōrero to be kept for generations to come.

Chapter 3 - Literature Review

While deciding on my kaupapa rangahau, something that became apparent to me is that there is an immense amount of literature that speaks to the notion of Māori being ‘disconnected’ from their ancestral lands, their whenua tupuna. This literature draws on the idea that many Māori are ‘disconnected’ from their identity and everything that makes us who we are as tāngata whenua, and it mirrors the circulation of these ideas of ‘disconnection’ through media, communities, and social conversations. This concept derives from the colonial world that we live in which has attempted, for many years, to detach our people from the things that provide us with our sense of belonging. Te Riri Pākehā brought many of our people into a time of korekore and depression as te iwi Māori; we were being stripped of everything we ever knew by the taking of our land and having colonised perspectives and ways of living forced upon us. This process enabled not only Pākehā but Māori as well to believe that we can be disconnected from our whenua when, according to a Māori understanding of the world, in fact this can not be true.

The Pākehā anthropologist Joan Metge has written extensively on Māori urbanisation, including the problematic stereotypes and assumptions that are reinforced by terms such as ‘disconnection.’

For some years after the war, the influx of Maoris to the cities was almost universally deplored. It was popularly referred to as a ‘problem’. Common use of the phrase ‘drift to the cities’ implied something undesirable and badly organised. Maori elders in the country scolded emigrants for their defection from the rural way of life which, they preached, was natural and right for maoris and the cultivation of maori virtues. Urban and national leaders, Maoris as well as pakehas, expressed open concern about bad living conditions, ‘footlooseness’, absenteeism in employment, thriftlessness, martial instability, crime and delinquency among Maoris living in the city. Means of stemming in the tide were debated in the press and at conferences of many kinds. By the turn of the decade, it was generally accepted as impossible. Most of the immigrants came from areas where employment and housing were already inadequate, while increases in the general level of Maori education were reflected in increased economic aspirations. The focus of interest switched to the problems of adjustment. (Metge, 1964)

Metge's comments foreground the links between the colonial efforts to disconnect our people from whenua through migration and the ways that journalists, politicians, and researchers have thought about this history.

Throughout my research I have sought to identify the small pool of literature that focuses on this notion of returning home. Of these, the most significant is *Panguru and the City: Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua* (Williams, 2015) by Melissa Matutina Williams. Williams traces the urban migration of the people from Panguru to Auckland in the early to mid 1900s, and in one chapter she specifically speaks to the process of whānau returning home to Panguru, their ancestral lands, after residing in Auckland for a long period of time. In the chapter she describes the push factors including economically difficult times, and the pull of ancestral lands and the cultural desire and longing that comes with that, as well as Pākehā views on such returns home, the relationship of Māori to their whenua tupuna and the intergenerational consequences of these journeys.

According to Williams, the move to Auckland would see whānau members from Panguru holding Auckland as a place close to their hearts for generations to come - a second home - where memories were created, younger migrants were raised and connections were made. Auckland continued to be a second home and a significant place for migrants long after they returned back to their whenua tupuna in Panguru. Williams argues:

For Panguru people the act of returning back-home rarely entailed rejection of their Auckland-based home-spaces and relationships. Instead, Auckland continued to play a role in the lives of Panguru migrants well after they left. Over the decades Panguru and Auckland had become 'co-existent home-places', connected in an ongoing cycle of economic and cultural interdependency. The idea of co-existent home-places challenges portrayals of Māori migration in which linear pathways from 'true' or 'traditional' tribal homelands to 'urban Māori' communities imply that only one 'home' ever really existed or mattered.³ (Williams, 2015) This idea that it is possible to have more than one home contributes to reframing the large-scale mobility of Māori in the twentieth century. While there is always the home that you are culturally connected to through whakapapa ties, you can also spiritually and emotionally feel a connection to a place and according to Williams' research this was the case for Panguru migrants and their relationship with Auckland.

One of the reasons Williams's work has resonated so deeply to my own rangahau is that she foregrounds the ways in which Māori decisions to retain connection with their whenua tupuna cannot be accounted for without Māori understanding of why this connection is important. "Parents, ideologically if not literally, took their Auckland-born children back-home when they returned to Panguru. Indeed, the future of the next generation was also a key factor in the quandary over whether to move back-home or not". (Williams, 2015) The desire to return home based on cultural pull and forward thinking for the next generation was viewed differently by Pākehā and from a colonial perspective. Colonialists viewed the return home to ancestral lands by Māori as romanticism. "This Māori 'desire' to return back-home is often interpreted as an outcome of Māori romanticism, sentimentality or nostalgia. Such interpretations extend back to the nineteenth century when Māori explanations of their relationship to the land were often translated into something mystical, impractical, even irresponsible, yet also something that resonated with European notions of romanticism". (Williams, 2015) Returning home meant something quite different to Māori, whose interwoven connection and relationship with the land, did not align with values of Te Ao Pākehā. Although there was the cultural desire pulling the people of Panguru home, there were many other aspects that had to be weighed up in terms of difficult financial situations and also the reality of actually returning home caused a lot of uncertainty and anxiety amongst whānau. The migration to Auckland and the return back to Panguru was an intergenerational journey "One of the negative consequences of leaving back-home was that it could be both emotionally and practically difficult to go back-home". (Williams, 2015) One of the difficulties mentioned was the dynamics of the whānau and the ability for younger generations to either cope and stand on their own two feet in a Pākehā world or move home and be capable of standing on their own two feet in a Māori world. "Adult children capable of coping on their own needed weaning off their parents, and those parents were often prepared to return back-home to assist that weaning process. But concern extended beyond whether or not the next generation was able to stand on its own feet emotionally and financially in the Pākehā world. Migrants' desire to return home also sparked cultural concerns around issues of family leadership, whether or not children knew about their whakapapa and where they came from, and the ability of their children to stand on their own feet in the Māori world". (Williams, 2015)

In *Panguru and the City: Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua*, Williams demonstrates what many whānau Māori experienced and faced due to urban migration. The many push and pull factors that caused them to move in the first place and then either pulled them back home to their whenua tupuna or resulted in them staying in Auckland were decisions that had to be made by many. As mentioned previously, my Koro had a way about him, he was a free spirit and his mobility as a person was heavily connected to his personality. The kupu migration suggests and gives the impression that everything happened only on a mass or community scale, when these were decisions and factors that impacted people on an individual scale as well. The reframing of the conversation about Māori mobility, Williams's focus on the intergenerational journey and the impacts that both living away from your whenua tupuna and returning has on the coming generations, is something I am looking to continue with my own research.

As mentioned previously, there is a great deal of literature out there bringing focus to and concentrating on the area of 'disconnection.'¹ One example is "Our Māori Connection" (Armstrong, 2016) written by Varity Armstrong. Armstrong, similar to myself, speaks of her own whānau and their journey back home but with a heavy emphasis on the disconnection of members from their "tūrangawaewae" and their "cultural roots". Deidre Brown who wrote "Tūrangawaewae Kore: Nowhere to Stand" (Brown, 2016) draws upon the issue of homelessness amongst our people and the impact that land dispossession has had upon our homeless whānau. Jake Kake's article called "Why are our people overrepresented amongst te pani me te rawa kore? Reflections on the root causes of Māori Urban Homelessness" (Kake, 2016) also speaks to the impact of colonisation and the effect that this has on homelessness as well as drawing upon the concept of social exclusion and the disconnection from one's place of origin. All of this work is important and addresses crucial Māori questions, perspective and experiences. However, this thesis aims to extend on this intellectual whakapapa by seeing what can happen when we set aside the concept of

¹ For examples of this literature see Kake, J. (2016). Why are our people overrepresented amongst te pani me te rawakore?: Reflections on the root causes of Maori urban homelessness. *Parity*, 29(8), 8–10. <https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/informit.451847997236947>, Peters, E. J., & Andersen, C. (Eds.). (2013). *Indigenous in the city: Contemporary identities and cultural innovation*. UBC Press., Armstrong, V. (2016). "Our Māori Connection": *The impact of colonisation on one Southland whānau* (Doctoral dissertation, Auckland University of Technology)., Brown, D. (2016). Tūrangawaewae kore: Nowhere to stand. *Indigenous Homelessness: Perspectives from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand*, 331-362., Broughton, A., Grace, P., Ramsden, I., & Dennis, J. (2001). *The Silent Migration: Ngāti Pōneke Young Māori Club 1937-1948: Stories of Urban Migration*. Huia Publishers.

‘disconnection’ by addressing the importance of our relationship with our whenua tupuna and the aspect of returning home that comes with this relationship. To be clear, this rangahau does not seek to describe urban migration or the mobility of Māori in the twentieth century; nor is it a history of Turakina. Instead, this thesis will look at the relationship that we have with our whenua tupuna and what this looks like according to the Maremare whānau. Nā wai koe? Our tūpuna call us home.

The notion of returning home, the role our tūpuna play in this and what connection to whenua tupuna looks and feels like to the Maremare whānau, is an area that I wish to contribute to within the academic space, as Melissa Matutina Williams has done with *Panguru and the City: Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua*. I have definitely felt a strong connection to Williams and her mahi rangahau throughout my own rangahau journey with this thesis. Being both wāhine Māori, speaking about and contributing back to our own people in the area of ‘returning home’ is where I felt this parallel connection. Perhaps because we are both deeply enmeshed in, and committed to, the communities about which we are writing, the return home is a significant part of her research and this is similar in my own work. This is why I have chosen to focus attention on her writing within this literature review. However, I am also interested in pushing the idea of what can be covered in a literature review by taking some time to consider the literature about some of the key Māori concepts I engage in this rangahau. Although some of this secondary material does not directly connect to my research focus, it does provide the intellectual context for the work I seek to do in this thesis.

It is fine to throw out the concept of ‘disconnection’ but then what are the concepts on which we can draw to understand the relationship of Māori people with our whenua tupuna? I developed four key pātai to guide this wāhanga and, in turn, the thinking I am doing through this research. These pātai not only bring together more knowledge on existing literature that pertains to my kaupapa and the many subtopics that stem from it, but they also allow the reader to deepen their knowledge about the kaupapa and lay a foundation for the remainder of this thesis. The answers to these questions provided kōrero around key aspects of the research and in turn provided me with a foundation for the questions needed to ask my interviewees.

1. He aha ēnei mea te pepeha me te whakapapa? And how do these mā tāpono provide us with a deeper understanding of who we are and who we are connected to?
2. Are we ever really disconnected?
3. He aha te wairua? What is wairua?
4. What part does wairuatanga/tohu play in this experience of being called home?

He aha ēnei mea te pepeha me te whakapapa? And how do these mā tāpono provide us with a deeper understanding of who we are and who we are connected to?

He uri ahau nō ōku tini kāhika e ora ana i roto i a au, I am a descendant of my many ancestors that live through me. We not only descend from our parents but we descend from the many people that came before them. We are each individuals made up by the collective and they all hold a part of us within them. The legacy, the history and the whakapapa that my tūpuna have left behind is what grounds me, it is what keeps me on the right path and encourages me to go forth for the betterment of my people and my uri to come. Nā wai koe? Who do you come from?

Pepeha essentially are extensions of ourselves. Our pepeha talks of the many ancestors that make up who we are, our whakapapa and our identity as Māori. Before I delve into this and what the importance of pepeha and whakapapa is to us as tāngata whenua, I will retrace my steps through my whakapapa, back to Te Kore, The Void where potential resides. Te Kore is known as the nothingness, the void, the home of untapped potential... For Māori this phase was the beginning, the beginning of everything. Te Kore is where our creation story starts, it works its way through a series of pō before the separation of our māmā and pāpā, Ranginui and Papatūānuku which brings us into Te Ao Marama, the world of light.

Te Kore is where my whakapapa starts. When you think about it, it's where everything started. Everything that surrounds us both physically and spiritually originates from Te Kore and can trace its whakapapa back to that realm. My pepeha originates from there and everything that makes me who I am once rested within that realm nō reira, he uri ahau nā Te Kore, where my untapped

potential resides. Because we all originate from Te Kore, we are all connected in some way, shape or form. We are all a part of each other, a part of the mountains, the rivers, the oceans, the sky and the land. We can trace connections across many generations, this is what we call our whakapapa, and our pepeha is how we share this. My pepeha gives me life and reminds me that every action and every word that comes out of my mouth represents not only myself, my pepeha or the legacy and history that comes with that but the future generations and my descendants still to come. When one knows that they belong to something bigger than just themselves and they belong to a collective, a collective made up of atua, people gone before them, people still to come, the whenua, the sky, the moana aha atu, aha atu their existence becomes more meaningful, purposeful and the possibilities are endless. Nā wai koe? Nā Te Kore koe, where the potential for everything resides.

Are we ever really disconnected?

As mentioned earlier, there is a multitude of literature out there that leans heavily on an idea that many of us as Māori are disconnected: disconnected from our culture, disconnected from our lands, disconnected from our language. I argue against this and say no - we are not disconnected. Instead, we have been impacted by colonisation and are products of intergenerational trauma. How can you be disconnected from something that is literally a part of you? He uri tātou nā Te Kore. When we talk about whenua tupuna, we are talking about our ancestral lands. Whenua tupuna, meaning the ancestor that gave us life. Our whenua is our tūpuna, we are her and she is us, but she also holds within her warm embrace, the many tūpuna that have gone before us, her descendants. As Māori our connection to the land is an integral part of who we are and our identity as a people. Often our reo is a great reflection of the interwoven connections between ira tangata and the taiao and this is seen with the use of the kupu 'whenua'. Whenua is the kupu Māori for Land but also the kupu Māori for Placenta. The land for me has the same significance as the placenta that surrounds the embryo in the womb – the Māori word 'whenua' is the term used for both the land and the placenta. Each living thing has a mauri, a life-force that relates to, and interacts with, the earth's forces (Pere, 1982 as cited in Harmsworth, 2013). When a baby is in the whare tangata the whenua is what connects this pēpi to their māmā, protects them and helps them to develop with the nutrients that they need. Traditionally, when pēpi is born the whenua is then returned to the land, usually within one's tribal area. As direct descendants of Papatūānuku our placenta is essentially being returned

to our māmā. Our whenua (placenta) ties us to who we have come from re-affirming those connections that we have to our whenua tupuna through our pūrākau and those that have come before us, nā wai koe? We live our lives here on earth and when we pass and it's time for our wairua to return to the homeland of Hawaiki our tinana returns back to our placenta within the warm embrace of our māmā, Papatūānuku. Essentially our placenta keeps us grounded while we are here on earth and keeps our place within our mother warm until she calls us home, whether that be while we are still walking upon her or when we take our last breath, tīhei mauri ora, tīhei mauri mate.

With the impact of colonisation, many traditional ways of being and doing were oppressed and stripped from our people. I would like to acknowledge here that because of this, I understand that not all Māori locate their identity within the whenua and that not all Māori attribute their creation to Te Kore. Although this is an extremely important kaupapa that adds another layer to the ways we might think about how Māori in 2021 conceptualise their connections to home, whenua and tūpuna, it is beyond the scope of my project; I hope that further research into this will be picked up by our own people in the future. I am a living product of this impact from colonisation. For a long time, I was unsure of where my whenua was buried, or if it was even buried at all. I was born in Auckland Hospital, away from my homeland and in an urban city amongst the hustle and bustle. I knew my whenua was never buried back home in Turakina because my mother had never been back there, so where was it? Just as my whenua was lost, so was I. It had no belonging place which was how I felt, so I was continuously searching. I was searching for my whenua and searching for my whenua tupuna, my tūrangawaewae, nā wai koe? Many years later after a kōrero with my father, I found out that my placenta had been buried in Auckland as that was where we were living at the time. Although my whenua was not returned to lay within my ūkaipō and the place where my many ancestors rest, Turakina, it was still returned to Papatūānuku and that gives me some form of comfort. Despite the fact that I didn't go back home to my whenua tupuna till much later in my life, I have for as long as I can remember, felt connected to those lands and my tūpuna whom lay there. I've never questioned this feeling because I know that they are a part of me and my whakapapa says so. I know that the feeling of longing and desire for my whenua tupuna was my tūpuna calling me home.

He aha te wairua? What is wairua?

Wairua is something that, because in many ways it exists in the realm beyond human language, words fail to describe or define. “Wairua is so broad, [you] need to have a specific focus for it/theme or direction or you can sit there and talk about all sorts. You can go into frequencies and vibrations, so that's what I mean. You can't define it specifically, it is so broad across times and spaces, experiences and personal interpretations that it doesn't have a ‘what is it?’. It is. It falls in the intangible so explanations of what it is, is experiential” (Maclean, 2018). Although I cannot speak for everyone and my choice of words inevitably will fail to encapsulate the meaning of wairua in its entirety, and although this is a Māori concept being explained through a thesis written in English which as a language does not provide the same depth in meaning and feeling as Te Reo Māori, I would still like to delve into some definitions and interpretations from others and wānanga over their thinking about what it means to them.

Earlier in this literature review I introduced the significance of Te Kore and how everything that has ever existed, or has the potential to exist in the future, originates from Te Kore. This means that wairua originates from Te Kore as well and is a part of us and this notion of whakapapa. “Wairua, essentially, is the energy that created the Universe from the first seeds, from io”. (Ngawati, 2018). Wairua exists in each and every one of us, it lives through us, it lives in the Taiao, it constantly surrounds us and exists with us.

The Māori believe that all things have a spirit as well as a physical body; even the earth has a spirit, and so do the animals, birds, and fish; mankind also has a spirit. Before man was fashioned from the elements of the earth, he existed as a spirit and dwelt in the company of the gods. The spiritual and physical bodies were joined together as one by the mauri; the manawa ora (or life-giving essence which is imbued at birth) gives warmth and energy to the body so that it is able to grow and develop the maturity. (Cleve Barlow, 1996 as cited in Ngawati, 2018).

The word wairua when broken down literally means two waters. Water, in all its forms, comes from one of two sources, ‘...it either arrives as rain from Ranginui, or it comes as a spring, breast milk, from Papatūānuku’ (Johns and Johns, 2000: 39 as cited in Hibbs, 2006). A close friend of

mine passed away when I was 17, and on the rā nehu it rained. A whaea of mine said to me as she tilted her head to the sky and let the rain fall upon her face: “his tūpuna are here.” She reiterated to me that when it rains, it is a tohu from our tūpuna, they are making their presence known. The feeling that you have when it rains, and you know that it is the wairua of your tūpuna gracing you with their presence is a feeling like no other. Wairua makes you feel a certain way, a feeling that nothing tangible could ever provide. “Every child is born with a wairua, which is usually translated as soul or spirit... We have to accept that a child is born with a wairua and this wairua became a part of their existence as a person from the time the foetus developed eyes. And as we shall see, it continues to exist long after the death of the life they were attached to” (Mead, 1991 as cited in Ngawati, 2018). We all have a wairua and as mentioned above by Mead, it continues to exist long after death. When we take our last breath and our tinana returns to Papatūānuku our wairua remains and exists over space and time.

Along with the many interpretations of what wairua is, there is the belief that it is passed down intergenerationally. This is related to the concept of whakapapa. My whakapapa tells me that “the self is a holy and sacred being” therefore to understand the sacredness and “tapu o te tangata, rukuhiā te whakapapa ... to understand the self, delve into one’s whakapapa. So, my wairuatanga is based on tapu, is based on mana and is based on the wairua that has come down to me through my whakapapa (Peter, as cited in Foster, 2009, p. 61) We are the products of all our ancestors, everything that they were, did, thought, felt, and experienced originated from the same place where potential resides, Te Kore. Ko tātou ko ngā wairua, ko ngā wairua ko tatou, he uri tatou nā Te Kore.

"He maha ngā peka o te wairua ... te wairua a te tangata,
te wairua o te whenua, te wairua o te kōrero, te wairua
o te tamaiti,
te wairua o tēnā whakatipuranga o tēnā whakatipuranga;
te wairua o tātou matua tīpuna, te wairua whakahaere
te tāngata
kia tau te wairua."

"There are many different dimensions of wairua ... wairua

of the people,
wairua of the land, wairua of the spoken word, wairua
of the child,
wairua of different generations; wairua of our ancestors,
the wairua that directs
and inspires a person to engage."
(Valentine, 2009, p.60)

What part does wairuatanga/tohu play in this experience of being called home?

The title of my thesis “Nā wai koe? Our tūpuna call us home” speaks to the concept that we are all descendents of the many ancestors who have been before us and continue to live through us. It allows us to think about who we come from, what they have left here for us and what they continue to tell us, show us and feed us. It emphasises the fact that although they are no longer here physically, they are here ā wairua and we know this to be true by the tohu they provide us with; we see it, hear it and feel it. Wairuatanga is a part of us, it is embedded in us and is a part of our whakapapa. He uri tātou nā Te Kore.

In terms of ancestral lands and the connection we as uri have back to our whenua tupuna, I genuinely and wholeheartedly believe that our tūpuna (Papatūānuku) and our many tūpuna that lay within her call us home when we may drift too far off or have been distant for a long period of time. As mentioned earlier, this is not to agree with the idea that it is possible to be ‘disconnected’ but instead that it is possible to be distant from our whenua tupuna to the extent that it is time to return home and restrengthen those ties. A friend of mine described the connection between a person and their whenua tupuna as a rope, it will always be there and can never be broken, but the more you return home and the more you learn, the more strands are added to your rope and that rope becomes stronger. Significantly the specific language used when speaking about someone returning back to their whenua tupuna, whether or not it is the first time they have physically been there, the word “return” or phrase “go back” are used to describe this experience as if they have already been there before, which in Māori conceptualization makes sense because they have.

Although someone may not have physically returned back to their whenua tupuna and laid foot upon the soil that holds their many ancestors, they spiritually have been there before and this is acknowledged through their whakapapa: “Kua hoki mai koe ki te kāinga” “You have returned home”.

It is helpful to consider a comparable concept from Australia that was highlighted in a research project which looked at ‘The Relationship Between Caring for Country and Health for the Yorta Yorta Nation, Boonwurrung and Bangerang Tribes’, in which thirteen informants participated in interviews which focused on health and wellbeing associated with caring for country and perceptions that Indigenous people felt when they were on their country. A young Yorta Yorta female stated: “I was taken off my mother through the assimilation policy... at the river I felt a connection like a belonging before I knew where I was from... an affinity towards the land” (Kingsley et al., 2009) This strongly emphasises the idea that you are always connected to your whenua tupuna without ever physically stepping foot upon her. This is a spiritual connection between yourself and your ancestors “it’s a special connection... this is where your ancestors were... that’s a sense of belonging” (Kingsley et al., 2009)

The kupu tohu has a very broad definition and is encompassed by a wide range of personal interpretations, experiences and perceptions, and although everyone has their own experiences in receiving tohu, it is clear to say that tohu in all their shapes and forms are a big part of te ao Māori and who we are. When talking about our tūpuna calling us home, there are a multitude of ways in which this might happen. For us as Māori, tohu teach us many things, they guide us and provide us with understanding and clarity. Tohu and their meanings, and the understanding behind them, can be a difficult kaupapa to approach within western academic spaces. The difficulty does not arise because we need the consent of these institutions to approve or validate our understanding of tohu, but the small amount of literature about this concept compared to its prominence in Te Ao Māori signals that tohu can still be a difficult kaupapa to discuss within these fields. I believe this is the reason why I have struggled to find much current literature which talks about tohu and their importance within our world and culture. The Principle of Cultural Aspiration – Taonga Tuku Iho is a principle of Kaupapa Māori Theory and “This principle asserts the centrality and legitimacy of Te Reo Māori, Tikanga and Mātauranga Māori. Within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, these Māori

ways of knowing, doing and understanding the world are considered valid in their own right. In acknowledging their validity and relevance it also allows spiritual and cultural awareness and other considerations to be taken into account” (Smith et al., 1990).

The impacts of colonization on Māori communities and understandings of *tohu* included missionary influence, the loss of *tūrangawaewae* and social and economic marginalization accompanied by language and cultural loss. Missionaries de-spiritualized pre-colonial views towards land and the environment by campaigning against the views of *tohunga* and associating the pre-colonial Māori worldview with heathenism. The spirituality of land, associated with *Papatūānuku*, the Earthmother or forebear of all-natural things on Earth, was negated through the promotion of a patriarchal view by declaring *Rangi-the-sky* as heaven and the missionary concept of God as the ruler of Heaven and Earth. (Rangahau, 1990).

Colonisation has had immense impact on the understanding and receiving of *tohu* and continues to have an effect the way that we view the world and what our *tūpuna/taiao* are trying to tell us. Because of this, Indigenous scholars recognise that writing about our own concepts requires a process of consciously decolonising and deliberately tuning in with your surroundings and your *taha wairua*.

To return to the idea that we can never really be disconnected, it seems important to acknowledge that we may feel disconnected from our *whenua tupuna* and this can cause us to feel uneasy, angry, sad, confused, and so on. I wonder though, if it is possible that these feelings that we feel in the depths of our *puku* are our *tūpuna*. Could these feelings be a form of *tohu* that we are receiving to help us acknowledge our distance or whatever relationship we may have with our *whenua* and draw us towards strengthening those ties? For generations our *tūpuna* have continuously referred to the *puku* as a place that deeply feels emotions and is essentially the *ngākau*. “The interior of a *whare tupuna* is termed the *ngākau*. *Ngākau* is a term that describes the interior. In human beings it refers to the internal system, but is more commonly used to refer to the stomach or gut-related organs of the central part of the human body”. (Smith, 2019, pg 9) So the *ngākau* is a fluid concept

within Te Ao Māori; the ngākau it is not only limited to the heart but rather all central organs of the tinana. Takirirangi Smith refers to this way of knowing as “ngākau-centred”, knowing through the heart. The congregation of kare ā roto that we feel in our puku are tohu from our tūpuna. Our connection with te ao wairua is a part of who we are as Māori. We hold values and tikanga that differ from that of the western world. Tohu are something that we as Māori speak quite freely about among each other because we understand and it’s time that we speak freely about these things within all spaces

Conclusion

At the first attempt of writing this literature review, the kupu “reconnect” was a frequently used term to describe the notion of going home. I realised something while I was writing that I believe deep down I already knew; through the process of writing and analysing literature my whakaaro shifted to a space where the idea of being disconnected was not possible. We can never truly be disconnected from who we are, from our whenua tupuna because it is a part of us. We are made up of everything that comes before us and everything yet to come; he uri tātou nā Te Kore. Although we can never be disconnected from our whakapapa, there is an abundance of literature out there pertaining to this notion of disconnectedness and the negative connotation that comes with it. My thesis acknowledges this research, and the experiences it is seeking to understand, but has a different starting point for understanding the relationship between people and our whenua tupuna.

Our tūpuna lay within the warm embrace of the whenua, of Papatūānuku warming the land which we walk upon and keeping the home fire burning. Each of them a strand on the taura that binds us all. The strands of our taura never break, but when they start to loosen, our tūpuna are there to pull us in, call us home and tighten those strands again. Nā wai koe? He uri koe nā te kore where your untapped potential resides.

Chapter 4 - Methodology

This chapter will describe the methodology that guides my research, indicating the methods that were used, processes that were followed and the foundations which guided my research. Key points that will be discussed are Kaupapa Māori theory, ‘He Oriori mō Wharaurangi,’ interviews as conversations, data analysis, ethics, and challenges and limitations.

Kaupapa Māori Theory

“Kaupapa Māori Theory is a theoretical framework that ensures a cultural integrity is maintained when analysing Māori issues. It provides both tools of analysis and ways of understanding the cultural, political and historical context of Aotearoa” (Pihama, 2015, p. 11). For years our people have fought and continue to resist against colonialism in countless spaces. Kaupapa Māori theory was developed as a form of resistance against western structures and processes in the context of research.

Our ancestors have always theorised about our world. The navigational expertise of our people highlights a deep understanding of a range of sciences related to building waka, tides and sea movement, distance navigation, cosmology and much more. Each of these skills and knowledge areas requires the development of frameworks for understanding and explaining the knowledge base that informs Kaupapa Māori. (Pihama, 2015, p. 6)

Kaupapa Māori theory is built upon and within Te Ao Māori. The foundation on which the theory was built is Mātauranga Māori, and it was created from a Māori lens, by our own people, for our people. “He mea hanga te mātauranga Māori nā te Māori. E hangaia ana tēnei mātauranga i roto i te whare o Te Ao Mārama, i runga anō hoki i ngā whakaaturanga o te whakapapakia mārama ai te tangata ki tōna ao” “Mātauranga Māori is created by Māori humans according to a worldview entitled ‘Te Ao Mārama’ and by the employment of methodologies derived from this worldview to explain the Māori experience of the world”. (Royal, 1998 as cited in Pihama, 2015). I continue to be extremely grateful for the many, not only Māori but Indigenous, academics who have paved the way for uri like myself so that we are able to research within Te Ao Māori, guided by our

tikanga, reo and ahurea Māori throughout the entire process. Sir Apirana Ngata predicted that the best outcomes for our people would be possible a combination of Māori and western approaches to knowledge in his famous whakataukī “E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao. Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ara mō tō tinana. Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tūpuna Māori hei tikitiki mō tō mahuna. Ko tō wairua ki tō atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa” “Grow up and thrive for the days destined to you. Your hand to the tools of the Pākehā to provide physical sustenance. Your heart to the treasures of your Māori ancestors as a crown for your brow. Your soul to your God, to whom all things belong” (Ngata, as cited in Mead et al., 2001, p. 48) Ultimately, the arguments made by Kaupapa Māori Theory about the contributions of mātauranga Māori and the need for Māori researchers to engage our own structures of knowledge in our work have created room for me to use an oriori closely linked to my iwi of Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa as a methodology to guide my research.

He Oriori mō Wharaurangi

The methodology which has been used to guide my research is iwi specific and holds kōrero that closely pertains to my whakapapa as an uri of Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa. As introduced in Chapter Two, my research methodology is derived from an oriori written for a tupuna of mine, Wharaurangi. I have chosen the oriori as the foundation of my research due to the relevance that it has to both my kaupapa and the people who have participated in the rangahau. I am currently part of a five-year iwi research project back home with Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa called “Tangata Ora, Whenua Ora” which aims to develop Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa ways of measuring the health and wellbeing of our rangatahi. The focus question of this research project is “Does reconnecting our rangatahi to whakapapa and whenua-based knowledge improve their health outcomes?” A process that we have taken throughout our rangahau journey has been learning some of our iwi oriori, Wharaurangi in particular. We have held wānanga to provide the space for our people to have deep, meaningful and insightful kōrero around what the oriori may be teaching us in terms of better understanding our relationship as an iwi to our whenua tupuna.

He Oriori mō Wharaurangi

Taku pōtiki, ē, ko Wharaurangi ē
Ka rongō o tīpuna, ka maka mai ki au
Maku e hine mā te huri ē
Mā te whakarongo ki te whita kōrero
Ko te whare tēnā i tāia ai te Kahui-rongo ē
I pipiri ki te pō
Ngā toka whakaahu o tō kōrua kuku ē
tōku rua wāwā'i, o taku rua pakē
Ka wehea ko te tau ē
Hoki mai e hine ki te ao mārama
Whakatū tāua ki āku manu ē
Te tangata i patua e te tini o Tio
Waiho nei ki a tāua ē
E hine āku e tangi nei ki te kai
Me whakainu koe ki te wai e ngata
Me whakangongo koe ki te wai ka rari
Te mate o Tawhaki ē
Whakaputa ki te toru ka kē te kāhu
Nā Tiurangi, ē, nā Tiupakihi
Nā Kapokai ē
Kimikimi noa ana ahau e hine
I tō kunenga mai i Hawaiki
I te whakaringaringa, i te whakawaewae
Te whakanohitanga
Ka mānu, e hine, te waka i a Ruatea
Ko Kurahaupo ka iri mai tāua i runga i Aotea
Te waka i a Turi
Ka ū mai tāua te ngutu Whenuakura
Huaina te whare Rangitawhi

Tiria mai te kumara
Ka ruia mai te karaka ki te taiao nei
Keria iho e Hau ko te punga tama wahine
Ka riro i ngā tuāhine, i a Nonokouri i a Nonokotea Ko te here i runga ko te korohunga
Kapua mai e Hau ko te one ki tōna ringa
Ko te Tokotoko-o-Turoa
Ka whiti i te awa
Ka nui ia ko Whanganui
Tiehuatia te wai, ko Whangaehu
Ka hinga te rakau, ko Turakina
Tikeitia te waewae, ko 'Tikei
Ka tatu, e hine, ko Manawatu
Ka rorowhio ngā taringa, ko Hokio
Waiho te awa iti hei ingoa mōna, ko Ōhau
Takina te tokotoko, ko Ōtaki
Ka mehameha, e hine, ko Waimeha
Ka ngahae ngā pi, ko Waikanae
Ka tangi ko te mapu ē
E tae hoki ki a Wairaka
Matapoutia, poua ki runga, poua ki raro
Ka rarau e hine
Ka rarapa ngā kanohi, ko Wairarapa
Te rarapatanga o tō tupuna, ē
Ka mohiki te ao, ko Te Pae-a-Whaitiri
Kumea, kia warea Kaitangata
Ki waho ki te moana
Hangā te paepae, poua iho
Te pou Whakamaro-o-te-rangi, ko Meremere
Waiho te whānau, ko te punga o tōna waka
Ko Te Houmea, ko Te Awhe ma
Kati, ka whakamutu, e hine (Jones, 2006)

The oriori for Wharaurangi both teaches her about her past and provides a foundation for her future. “Oriori were used to educate, telling children of their entry into this world, where they are from, their whakapapa, their parents, their ancestors who have passed on, and the achievements of those ancestors. An oriori was a way of reminding a child of its place in the wider world, of the journey that lies ahead”. (Penehira, M., Doherty, L., 2013) When we carefully consider the elements of the oriori and delve into the depth of its meaning, we can see that it reminds her of her role to protect and nurture the mana of others so that they may flourish, and it also speaks of her role to uphold and maintain the mana of the kāinga through the responsibilities that she carries and guides her in how she is able to manaaki people through the means of kai. These are shown through the many kura huna which are woven into the piece itself. In order to critically reflect on the oriori while designing my approach to this research I split the oriori into different wāhanga which represent different sections of my methodology chapter. However, although I have split it up for these purposes, the overall whakamārama for the oriori has helped shape and guide my research in its entirety - from the reciprocal manaakitanga that was shown by both me and the participants to the protection and nurturing of mana throughout this journey.

Participant Selection Process

Taku pōtiki, ē, ko Wharaurangi ē
Ka rongō o tīpuna, ka maka mai ki au
Maku e hine mā te huri ē
Mā te whakarongo ki te whita kōrero
Ko te whare tēnā i tāia ai te Kahui-rongo ē
I pipiri ki te pō
Ngā toka whakaahu o tō kōrua kuku ē
tōku rua wāwā’i, o taku rua pakē
Ka wehea ko te tau ē
Hoki mai e hine ki te ao mārama
Whakatū tāua ki āku manu ē
Te tangata i patua e te tini o Tio
Waiho nei ki a tāua ē

My little child, Wharaurangi
What your grandsires heard they freely gave unto me
For me and mine, o maiden, because I listened
Heeded, and retained the stories complete
In the house was told the Kahuirongo ritual
Told to a group in the night
Hence the rock shrine of your tight lipped elder
Hence my store pit, renowned pit, to be shared
With my absent loved one, ah me
Return, o maiden, to the world of light
Let us pause and pay tribute to my noble ones
He who was killed by the myriads of Tio
Bequeathed grief and sorrow to you and me, ah me (Jones, 2006)

The opening wāhanga of the oriori focuses on wānanga. It prepared Wharaurangi for the kōrero that is about to be imparted to her by her tūpuna. Certain rerenga within this wāhanga allude to practices that our tūpuna would carry out before, during or after wānanga. For example, the line “ngā toka whakaahu o tō kōrua kūkū e” speaks to the stacking of toka which were generally gathered during wānanga. This first section provides guidance for the opening discussion about my methodology and for the first physical process that enabled me to then carry out my interviews: the participant selection process. I collected the kōrero discussed later in the thesis by conducting individual interviews with thirteen members of the Maremare whānau. Because I sought to compare different perspectives across age groups, participants were mainly selected according to their age. Participants fall into one of three categories: rangatahi (three participants), pakeke (six participants) or koroua (four participants). It was important to me to have a substantial number of participants for each of the three groups. This was important so that I would be able to pull out any distinctive themes in terms of how the different groups perceive our connection to our whenua tupuna and the different ways that they may have experienced their tūpuna calling them home and compare them across the rōpu. The collating of kōrero generationally, reflects this concept of the stacking of toka gathered during wānanga which is spoken to in the oriori. Each generation stacked one on top of the other reflecting and demonstrating the concept of whakapapa

Interviews as Conversations

E hine āku e tangi nei ki te kai
Me whakainu koe ki te wai e ngata
Me whakangongo koe ki te wai ka rari
Te mate o Tawhaki ē
Whakaputa ki te toru ka kē te kāhu
Nā Tiurangi, ē, nā Tiupakihi
Nā Kapokai ē

O maiden my own, now fretting for food
I shall offer you the water that satisfies
You are to sip from the water that spurts
Now as in the death of Tawhaki
It came in the third month with hawks ascreaming
Aloft were swooping-in-the-heavens, swooping down to earth
And the Food-Snatchers, ah me (Jones, 2006)

I have drawn on this whiti and the whiti that follows to guide my process of thinking about “Interviews as Conversations.” It talks about the kai which will nourish Wharaurangi as a baby. This wāhanga speaks to both the physical kai (wai ū) which will nourish her body ā tinana nei, but also nutrients in the form of korero. The kupu within this whiti encourage Wharaurangi to drink from the water that will satisfy, sustain, and nourish her. I see this reflected in myself throughout the interview process. I was hungry for the kōrero of my koroua and wider whānau members, so, like Wharaurangi, I went to drink from the waters that would satisfy my hunger by talking to them, hearing their experiences, and listening to their stories. He kōrero tuku iho, he tāonga tuku iho.

Kimikimi noa ana ahau e hine
I tō kunenga mai i Hawaiki
I te whakaringaringa, i te whakawaewae
Te whakanohitanga

I am trying to remember, o maiden
How it was you sprang forth from Hawaiki
How the hands were formed, then your feet
Until your face took shape (Jones, 2006)

I saw these four specific lines about “trying to remember” reflected throughout the interview process, in particular with my pakeke and koroua. My elders embodied what Te Rangitākoru was saying to Wharaurangi; they were “remember[ing]” my whakapapa and passing down stories and experiences to me that would help to add to the foundation on which I stand upon as their uri. The main theme from this which I saw reflected throughout my interview process is the importance of listening in a way that enhances and nurtures the mana of all who are involved. Listening attentively and actively is important in order for the participant to feel comfortable, safe and valued. Each participant took part in an individual semi-structured interview. I chose semi-structured interviews as my method - rather than Structured or Unstructured because it allowed me to ask the pātai that I wanted to be answered whilst also allowing room for additional kōrero to flow through conversation.

Since I was interviewing my own whānau members, there were some issues which I wanted to try and avoid as much as possible by providing a comfortable environment for the participants. I am aware of how intimidating it can be when you place the word ‘interview’ into a sentence and receive a consent form to sign; it makes it feel overly daunting and I did not want my whānau members to be put in that position. Therefore, I was adamant that my interviews would feel like conversations to avoid this anxiety and uncomfortableness. This was done by conducting the interviews at a location chosen by the participants; this was generally at their home and we would share in kōrero over kai. I also made sure not to place the recording equipment directly in front of them as I did not want anyone feeling invaded or anxious about being recorded. I was also aware that by having conversations, certain memories or experiences could be remembered using certain words or other stories shared that may not necessarily have flourished in another process of conducting research.

Mamu/ Djirribal woman Robyn Ober spoke of her experience in her 2017 article “Kapati Time: Story Telling as a Data Collection Method in Indigenous Research”. Ober came across similar situations as me whilst carrying out the data collection process of her PhD. She found that the way she was conducting his interviews conflicted with his world view and the values that he held as an Indigenous researcher.

This was a challenging experience and forced me to ask questions of myself as a researcher such as, how can we work with Aboriginal people in a way that is supportive, respectful and understanding of our ways of carrying out research? There must be a better way to undertake research with our people, without being forced into a mode of working that causes all involved to become frustrated, confused and angry. I have decided that the common-sense approach is to be true to yourself, don't forget who you are, bring your whole self into the research domain, to ensure you are working in an ethical, authentic, genuine, and respectful way.

It is reassuring to see that other Indigenous researchers worldwide are articulating the same issues and pave the way for each other to continue to make changes within this space.

Data Analysis

Ka mānu, e hine, te waka i a Ruatea
Ko Kurahaupo ka iri mai tāua i runga i Aotea
Te waka i a Turi
Ka ū mai tāua te ngutu Whenuakura
Huaina te whare Rangitawhi
Tiria mai te kumara
Ka ruia mai te karaka ki te taiao nei
Keria iho e Hau ko te punga tama wahine
Ka riro i ngā tuāhine, i a Nonokouri i a Nonokotea
Ko te here i runga ko te korohunga

Now afloat, o maiden, is the canoe of Ruatea
And tis Kurahaupo
We two were carried hither aboard Aotea
The canoe of Turi
We landed at the river's mouth at Whenuakura
The house there was named Rangitawhi
The kumara was then planted
The karaka, too, soon flourished in the land
Hau thereupon dug the odd extra female plots
Which were taken by his sisters, Nonokouri and Nonokotea
To mark them off, the border of a robe was hung (Jones, 2006)

This wāhanga in particular pertains to the Findings/Data Analysis process of my mahi rangahau. These kupu and the whakamārama behind them guided the way in which I listened to and embraced the kōrero that was shared with me by my whānau members throughout the interview process. This wāhanga speaks about māra kai, it talks to the planting of hua whenua and the hua that spring from their growth. This perfectly represents the seeds that were planted throughout the interview process and the nurturing that took place as I delved into the korero shared with me. This wāhanga of the oriori also connects hua whenua with specific places; this not only reflects my focus on whenua tupuna through this research but also the places where I conducted the interviews. One interview in particular took place inside Taraipi o Oro; the new wharepuni at Tiniwaitara marae with my Aunty Mary. This was a very significant moment because of the relationship between the place we were sharing this kōrero, the kaupapa of the conversation and the fact that she had returned home for a visit. An interview conducted with my Uncle Pehira was held over Zoom because he lives in Australia. This interview with Uncle Pehira was also very significant due to his distance in proximity and the kōrero that this idea of 'distance' provided. Place is extremely important when thinking about knowledge and the locations in which these stories and experiences are shared. I watched and felt these stories grow with me along this process and the korero that was shared has blossomed and helped to contribute to this thesis and the future of our whānau. Hua whenua feeds us and provides us with the nutrients to live and prosper, and likewise my hope is that this thesis will do the same for our whānau.

Ethics

Kapua mai e Hau ko te one ki tōna ringa
Ko te Tokotoko-o-Turoa
Ka whiti i te awa
Ka nui ia ko Whanganui
Tiehuatia te wai, ko Whangaehu
Ka hinga te rakau, ko Turakina
Tikeitia te waewae, ko 'Tikei
Ka tatu, e hine, ko Manawatu
Ka rorowhio ngā taringa, ko Hokio
Waiho te awa iti hei ingoa mōna, ko Ōhau
Takina te tokotoko, ko Ōtaki
Ka mehameha, e hine, ko Waimeha
Ka ngahae ngā pi, ko Waikanae
Ka tangi ko te mapu ē
E tae hoki ki a Wairaka
Matapoutia, poua ki runga, poua ki raro
Ka rarau e hine
Ka rarapa ngā kanohi, ko Wairarapa
Te rarapatanga o tō tupuna, ē
Ka mohiki te ao, ko Te Pae-a-Whaitiri

Hau scooped up a handful of earth
From the portion of the Staff of Turoa
He then crossed the river
Which won him great renown, and it was Whanganui
He splashed through cloudy waters, hence Whangaehu
He felled a tree so he could cross, hence Turakina
He strode across the land, hence 'Tikei'
Then he stumbled, o maiden, hence Manawatu

A buzzing sound assailed his ears, hence Hokio
A tiny stream he named his own, hence Ohau
He held his staff as he spoke, hence Otaki
The waters beyond were lost in the sands, hence Waimeha
He stood and stared in amazement, hence Waikanae
Then he breathed a sigh of relief
For he had come to Wairaka
And he cast a spell fixing it above and fixing it below
It was thus he came to rest, o maiden
He gave a flashing glance, hence Wairarapa
Indeed, it was there your ancestor gazed about him
The clouds lifted up on high, hence Te Pae-o-Whaitiri (Jones, 2006)

The ethics process of this rangahau journey was a significant one. The signing of the consent forms was definitely a process which I knew needed to happen and I understood the reasonings behind them, but it sometimes placed me in an uncomfortable or awkward situation with my whānau. With this being a whānau based kaupapa, just as it was hard to ask whānau members to be interviewees because this term made the process sound intimidating, it was also the same when asking them to sign a consent form. The above wāhanga of the oriori speaks to Hau's journey in quest to find his wife Wairaka. It speaks to the many different rivers that he arrived at and named along his way. Hau discovered many obstacles along his way but he finally reached his wife Wairaka at Waikanae and he sighed with relief. This wāhanga of the oriori helped me get through this process, I knew that there would be some difficulties along the way and terms that I would have to explain in depth for my whānau in order for them to gain a full understanding as to why I was following certain processes. However, just as Hau felled a tree at Turakina in order to cross the Turakina awa, I too knew that I would find ways to make the process less of an "uncomfortable" feeling for my whānau and we would eventually get there.

Kumea, kia warea Kaitangata
Ki waho ki te moana
Hangā te paepae, poua iho

Te pou Whakamaro-o-te-rangi, ko Meremere
Waiho te whānau, ko te punga o tōna waka
Ko Te Houmea, ko Te Awhe ma
Kati, ka whakamutu, e hine

The lengthened day was made to detain Kaitangata
Out on the open sea
The beam was made and posts were fixed
The posts were Stiffened-was-the-heavens and Meremere
The family became the anchor of his canoe
They were Te Houmea and Te Awhe ma
Enough, tis now ended, o maiden (Jones, 2006)

“Waiho te whānau, ko te punga o tōna waka” Just as Hau’s whānau were the anchor to his waka, this oriori, ‘He Oriori mō Wharauragi’, has been anchor to my thesis. This oriori has guided me throughout my whole rangahau journey. It is a constant reminder the importance that this document will have in the lives of my uri and mokopuna to come. This final wāhanga of the oriori acknowledges the long journey and the arrival to the destination you’ve been working towards. “Kati, ka whakamutu, e hine”.

Chapter 5 - Findings (Kaumātua)

When I think of my great grandparents, I can only ever imagine getting to meet them, feel their embrace and listen to their voices. To just be in their presence is something that I long for. I feel closest to my tūpuna when I speak with my kaumātua, especially my koro Joe, because it is people like him who, at one point in time breathed the same air and shared the same space and time as them. When I speak with my koro Joe, I feel as if I am speaking to my great grandfather Pehira Maremare and in some ways, I am. Our kaumātua hold so many stories and life experiences that can teach us a lot about our past, who we are, who we come from but also where we should be heading. When I sit and listen to them talk, I could sit and listen for days. If we don't ask, if we don't listen and if we don't spend time in their presence, their kōrero and their mātauranga will soon be something that we can only wish to have known and received. I want my children, my mokopuna to hear their stories and learn from their knowledge, and they will because I will make sure to tell them. However, I want to give them the opportunity to read and feel the words directly out of the mouths of their tūpuna, exactly how they said it. These are some of the reasons why it was so important for me to have my kaumātua be a part of this thesis, mei kore ake rātou. In each of these three chapters that present the findings of my research, I will start by introducing the interviewees and then discuss their various responses to each of my main pātai. As you will see, this chapter includes the kōrero of interviewees who may not be strictly speaking of the same generation, but who I consider to be in the position of kaumātua because of their knowledge and experiences.

Joseph Emia Maremare

My Koro Joe - there is so much that I can say about him. Koro Joe is the youngest of the nine siblings, and the brother of my grandfather Te Reimana Maharanui Maremare. Because I wasn't fortunate enough to have my Koro Ray around while I was growing up, koro Joe has been the closest person to a koro that I have known. He grew up with his siblings and his parents, my great grandparents, Pehira Basil Maremare and Ema Maremare (Puha) and he attended Turakina school

When I went to the school in Turakina the principles there didn't want anyone to talk Māori. Going to school there, I had a lot of friends, had heaps of friends. I did a lot of things with them like milking the cows, with the Pākehā people. We did a lot of things; we did a lot of fishing. I can remember one time, my sister and I, Olive, we went for a swim down the river and she just about drowned me... Lucky I went to the bottom and I pushed her up. And going to the Turakina beach with my cousins, the Woons, we were out there fishing and we got swept out by the undertow and he let the net go and I just swam back in... Lucky I was a young fulla then. My mate, I thought he was gone but he survived. Yeah so there were some good days and some bad days but I enjoyed it with my friends and going to school. - Koro Joe

It was very important for me to interview my koro Joe and to have his kōrero be a part of this tuhinga roa. He is the last one left out of all of his brothers and the kōrero and knowledge that he has to pass down cannot be missed.

Waimātao Matemoana Maremare (Piola)

Nanny Piola is the wife of our late koro Jim (Hemi Ranapia Maremare) my Koro Ray's brother, and she has been a part of the Maremare whānau since the mid 90s when she first started coming back and forth from Turakina with Koro Jim. Nanny Piola is from Whakakā and is a descendent of Ngāti Kahungunu. She and Koro Jim bought the piece of land which currently sits right alongside the back of the marae fence; they moved into their whare in 1986 and still to this day, Nanny Piola lives there keeping the ahikā lit for the Maremare whānau.

Basil used to come out, we all used to lie around out there on the lawns and Jill when she would come back with your grandfather, all of us just blobbing out out there. It was fabulous! It was a very close family. It was lovely, you would have enjoyed it and got terribly spoilt. They were the best in laws I've ever had. Fantastic. - Nanny Piola

Nanny Piola was fortunate enough to have met and spent time with both Nanny Ema Maremare (Puha) and Koro Pehira Maremare as well as the many other whānau members that occupied the

lands of Turakina back in the days. She knows a lot and has many stories to tell which is why it was important that her kōrero was also included in this tuingaroa.

Dennis James Te Rangimarie Murray

Uncle Dennis is an uncle of mine and first cousin of my mother. He has taken on many of the teachings of our tūpuna, is knowledgeable about many things and has experienced a lot in his lifetime both at home in Turakina but also overseas with the Army. Koro Basil was his father who he speaks about below.

My biological father said I was actually stolen, because I was supposed to only go away for a little short time and I ended up staying. My biological mother and the first wife of Basil Pehira were sisters. Her name is Queenie, that's who Queenie is named after. She was unable to have children so they came, took me for a holiday and never to return sort of stuff, as a baby. And for quite some years I was what the pākeha would term, illegally adopted. But they would not have understood that that happened a lot. Grandparents would come and pick up the elders and take them away with them, and they were the ones that structured the upbringing of that particular moko. That's how I became affiliated with Turakina. Over the years they split up and remarried and dad married Jimmy's mum, he was about 32 she was about 16 at the time and they still brought me up. When I was about twelve my grandmother sat me down, my biological fathers mum, she sat me down and told me why I was adopted. So that I understood better and would not hate at the time. The adoption took place well after, when I was about four or five where I was legally made their son and that's why on my birth certificate it's Basil and Queenie as my parents. Turakina has always been special and I was fortunate to also know my grandmother, dad's mum and be with her quite a lot. - Uncle Dennis.

While Uncle Dennis sits within my mother's generation so could be included in the following chapter, I decided to include him alongside these kaumatua because of his experiences and knowledge. He was fortunate enough to learn and be in the presence of his grandmother, my great grandmother, Ema Maremare (Puha). He is one of very few who hold the reo within our whānau and one of only a few moko who remember what it was like growing up with Nanny Ema.

Basil Pehira Jimmy Murray Maremare

Uncle Jimmy is also a son of Koro Basil and son to Koro Basil's second marriage with Nana Mirie. This makes Uncle Jimmy the younger brother to Uncle Dennis and another first cousin of my mother; like his brother, Uncle Jimmy has knowledge, stories and experiences that prompted me to include him in this chapter too. Uncle Jimmy also grew up on and around his whenua tupuna, eventually following in his older brother's footsteps as he joined the army. When asked about some of his first memories of Turakina he replied with the following answer.

Dad. The first memory that pops into my head right now is when me and cousin Mike got asked to take all of the hay out of the house. We took a bale out and then we went and played in the hedge and Dad, uncle Ray and uncle Rangi took the rest out. – Jimmy Maremare

I have spent a lot of time with my Uncle Jimmy having lived with him, Aunty Amanda and my younger cousins for a while. He has shared many stories with me about Turakina, life growing up and his time in the army. I knew it would be important to speak with him and hear his perspectives and whakaaro on certain kaupapa and include his kōrero in this thesis.

Tamati Thomas Te Patu (Tommy)

Uncle Tommy Te Patu is a part of the Maremare whānau through his mother, Nanny Sheila. Nanny Sheila was a sister of my Koro Ray. He is the son of Nanny Sheila and Koro Grey and also grew up upon his whenua tupuna in Turakina with his cousins Uncle Jimmy and Uncle Dennis just to name a couple, and his many other whānau members.

I remember when the old house used to be up there, I was still there living with my mum and her mum. I still remember the toilet that use to be right down the bottom with the pine trees and everyone use to come to the house, and they were wondering where the toilet is you know, you had to walk in with a candle. - Uncle Tommy

Uncle Tommy lived in the old homestead, in the time that Nanny Ema was still alive with her and Nanny Sheila. It was important for me that future mokopuna who are reading this can learn from

stories and experiences from someone who was fortunate enough to live in a whare with so much history and so many stories carved into the foundations of the house, clothing and embracing anyone under its shelter.

Pehira Murray

Uncle Pehira is named after Koro Pehira. He is the son of Te Reimana Maharanui Maremare which makes him my mother's brother. Uncle grew up in Forest Hill Auckland with his mother (Nana Jill), his father (Koro Ray) and his siblings, making trips back home to Turakina every now and then. He reminisced on his early memories of Turakina at Nanny Ema's tangi...

I was only five but I will always remember the times in the kitchen and all of the noise out in the marquee and all of the whaling and her looking so content in her coffin and all of the different smells and all of the different kai... I was travelling into a new world, when I was that young you know. It wasn't until a lot later in life when I expressed myself. – Uncle Pehira

Having grown up in Auckland and travelling back home for visits it was interesting to hear the different kōrero and the different perspectives/whakaaro that uncle Pehira was able to provide and contribute to this space.

Karen Mete

Aunty Karen is another one of Koro Ray's children making her a sister to both Uncle Pehira and my mother. She too grew up in Forest Hill Auckland, in the same household as Uncle Pehira with Koro Ray and Nana Jill, making visits back home to Turakina. She also recalled some of her early memories there.

Going down the river with all of my uncles and aunties and just having a day of it and just strolling down the river. On the bank, some in the river, kids just being crazy... Uncle Rangī up on the sandhills use to play follow the leader and he was always the leader running

around and we would have to follow in his footsteps behind him. Probably the sandhills, up there with uncle Rangī and the grave sites and down the river. - Aunty Karen

Again, I was interested in the kōrero that aunty Karen could provide and contribute to this space having lived away from Turakina but still returning home often and spending a lot of her childhood upon her whenua tupuna.

Mary Erina Hall

Aunty Mary is the child of Koro Bill and Nanny Anne. Koro Bill had a lot to do with Tiniwaitara in his time and put a lot of effort and dedication into the marae and the whenua that it sits upon. Aunty Mary currently lives in Australia but makes frequent trips home to visit her mother (Nana Anne), her whānau and her whenua tupuna. Her early childhood memories of Turakina also include the river and the sand dunes with her whānau.

The sand dunes, that's where we first learned to swim too cause we went down there and if we couldn't get in the water well too bad... I just remember dad taking us down there 'you'll be alright! Get in the water!' I think some of them got thrown but yeah it was just good memories, it was good childhood memories with our cousins. - Aunty Mary

I was interested to hear what it was like for aunty, growing up with a father who was so heavily involved with the marae and how she finds living away from home and in another country.

What does the term “Tūrangawaewae” mean to you?

Tūrangawaewae, a belonging place and a place where someone has the right to stand. This can look and feel different for any individual, from a physical place to a spiritual place or feeling or even a person. Only you can define who and/or where your tūrangawaewae is and this thesis considers what this looks like for individual members of the Maremare whānau across three generations.

To me it's a place that's very very sacred. If I had to go back home, then yeah that would be my standing ground at Tiniwaitara. There's a time that we'll have to go back there, not at the moment though, because of what I'm doing at the moment. I'd like to go back there and really think about it, seriously... Because I've been told by my brother Bill and his wife that one of us should go back there but at the moment, I said to them, not yet. - Koro Joe

For many, their tūrangawaewae is their marae and these places are tapu for many possible reasons. The history, the kawa, the tikanga, the urupā, the wāhi tapu and the spiritual presence of our ancestors are all part of what makes up our marae and these things are all spiritually interwoven into the physical fabrics of the buildings, the air which surrounds them and the ground upon which they are built.

Sometimes we can have more than one place which we refer to as our tūrangawaewae and many of the interviewees did express that they have more than one such place. For example, two interviewees both spoke of places that have significant meaning to them in terms of where they grew up, their jobs, their families and then also the place in which they have hononga to ā whakapapa, ā wairua hoki; this for them is Turakina.

So, with my dad I guess referring to where I grew up in Forest Hill and it was still all farm and dirt roads... That was my playground, down by Wairau Rd we used to get really big eels, we would all walk to school in bare feet and so yeah, I still have a longing for a Forest Hill like that... But it's not ever going to be like that ever again. Also, my connection to Turakina in early times, with dad down on the beach, up on the sand hills and down by the river. I went down to mum's land in the South Island, I went down to the South Island when I was twelve and when I was there I felt connected to that land. - Uncle Pehira

Where do I stand? There's probably a few places where do I stand in my family. Where do I stand in my workplace? Where do I stand in my past, my heritage and where do I stand in myself? Do I have a place to stand? Where is that place that... Is there one place that is totally all of those things? Because I have so many different dimensions within me. You know when I go down home, I feel like I belong there, I know that's where I've come from

and I know that when I go to May and Joe's I can not see them or Robyn and Lloyd come up and I've not seen them for two years and it's like you saw them yesterday. I can go up north to my family up north and just sit in their lounge and I feel like I belong there too. So, I guess it's connection. - Aunty Karen

Through these answers they acknowledge the idea that as individuals we are made up and molded by the collective and everything that makes up who we are. Our belonging places can rest in the many areas of our lives that we find comfort, happiness, safety, peace, support and many other things.

What does the term “Whenua Tupuna” mean to you?

Whenua tupuna, the ancestral lands. This is ours, it's still ours but it was passed down... We don't own it, we're guardians of it from our tūpuna and I'm sure that's how they regarded it in their days too. Some people these days might see it as ownership, to me personally, guardianship. - Uncle Dennis

Kaitiakitanga is a key concept that helps shape the foundation of Te Ao Māori and the relationship that we as Māori have with the taiao. This idea was described by my uncle Dennis where he talked about his interpretation of the term ‘whenua tupuna’ he spoke about it being a taonga tuku iho from our tūpuna, passed down to us, the next generation. Although he used the word “guardianship” in the interview, the meaning he attached to that word clearly connects to the meaning of kaitiakitanga. “Māori are not just joined to the land, they are an integral part of nature, with a relationship to every other living thing, defined by whakapapa. From it comes the requirement for people to be guardians of nature. Māori refer to such stewardship as kaitiakitanga. Integral to effective kaitiakitanga is the notion that the mauri of resources must not be impacted by people’s actions. Mauri may be enhanced but never weakened as it is the key to the health of both individual species and whole ecosystems" (Ka'ai et al., 2004) The concept of kaitiakitanga is very different to the idea of connection to land through ownership. Instead, we do not own the land we belong to it; we descend from it and therefore hold the responsibility to look after it and take care of it for the coming generations. Without our land we have nothing, which is why kaitiakitanga is such an important concept within our Māori world. Among interviewees from the kaumatua

groups, there was also a strong emphasis on collectiveness and the idea that we as people, as members of our whānau, hapū, iwi - alive or dead - are all connected and interwoven on top of, underneath and within the land, within our whenua tupuna.

Belonging, everyone, all of the whānau. - Uncle Tommy

Us as a whole, us as a people, us as a whānau, where you belong. - Aunty Mary

Everything. Who I am and who they were. - Uncle Jimmy

What does the place Turakina mean to you?

If we think about our whakapapa like a tree, we are the trunk, our ancestors are the roots and our uri are the branches which extend from us. We are an extension of our many ancestors and our descendants are extensions of us. We can also think about this as a metaphor for our journey on this earth. Our roots keep us grounded and planted within our whenua tupuna providing us with a strong foundation as we branch out and journey through life, that connection will always remain.

Turakina means where I come from, that is my roots of who I am. - Aunty Karen

It's home, it's a belonging. It's also a memory. - Uncle Tommy

Well when I was coming down the road it was just like when your kids... Cause we were only little, it just used to be a place where you would come out, you always knew that the sand dunes were over there and it was just somewhere for us to come and play and we knew that we were going to be safe and it was ours. - Aunty Mary

When we revisit particular places, we are reminded of those memories. The same feelings, smells, sounds come flooding back and it is almost as if you have travelled back in time. This relationship between place and time was expressed by many of our kaumātua as they reflected and reminisced on their childhoods. One of the questions asked within the interviews was “What are some of your first memories of Turakina?” Some of their answers are shared below. Of these, I will discuss some in more detail and for the most part I decided to respectfully quote them at length, not only to help paint the scene and provide a deeper understanding for the reader about Turakina and the

people who descend from there but also for members of my whānau to read and reflect on moments and times shared upon their whenua tupuna. It is also a place for future mokopuna to read stories and times experienced by their tūpuna. I envision this thesis as having multiple roles and purposes. Yes, it is a research project that makes an argument about how we think about the relationship between people and their whenua tupuna. In addition to this, however, I have mentioned previously, one of the aims of this rangahau is to collate many stories and experiences shared by the Maremare whānau and for the written thesis to. This thesis to be a kohikohinga of kōrero for our whānau and in particular for the future generations.

The first one would have been the tangi, nanas Tangi. And then the reunion we had, that was really neat. It is a special place, where our whānau are. - Uncle Pehira

Conversations held with my kaumātua and pakeke about Turakina almost always involve the sand dunes. Two answers to this question about Turakina, from Aunty Mary and Aunty Karen, speak to these significant landmarks and wāhi tapu upon our whenua tupuna and demand for further discussion. These wāhi were mentioned a lot in the interview process of this research, not only within this hunga of interviewee's but also te hunga pakeke me te hunga rangatahi. Because this idea is so closely connected to the kaupapa matua of this thesis about our tūpuna calling us home, and connection to whenua tupuna, I will draw upon it not only in this chapter but also the chapters to follow.

The sand dunes, that's where we first learned to swim too cause we went down there and if we couldn't get in the water well too bad. I just remember dad taking us down there 'you'll be alright! Get in the water!' I think some of them got thrown but yeah it was just good memories, it was good childhood memories with our cousins. - Aunty Mary

Going down the river with all of my uncles and aunties and just having a day of it and just strolling down the river, On the bank, some in the river, kids just being crazy, Uncle Rangi up on the sandhills used to play follow the leader and he was always the leader running around and we would have to follow in his footsteps behind him. Probably the sandhills, up there with uncle Rangi and the grave sites and down the river. Oh, and having to eat eel. - Aunty Karen

The importance of these sand dunes is that they are also an old urupā and the resting place for many of our ancestors around the time prior to and time of Maremare Reupena my great great grandfather. Onepoto is the name of this urupā and it holds somewhere between 1,000 to 3,000 tūpuna. Many of our tūpuna who rest there passed away in the battle of Kohurupō.

During the later 1830s, a series of engagements involving variously Whanganui and Nga Rauru against combined forces involving Ngati Apa, Ngati Kauwhata, Ngati Raukawa (in particular Ngati Parewahawaha and Ngati Kahoro), Rangitane, and Ngati Te Upokoiri took place, notably at Koatanui and Kohurupa. Following Kohurupa, most Ngati Apa returned to Te Ana and Te Pohue. In the expectation of reprisal raids mounted by Whanganui, [Ngā] Ngati Rauru, and Ngati Ruanui, Nga Wairiki and several Ngati Apa hapu established a defensive position at Paeroa or Parewanui to the north of the Rangitikei River and settlements at Kotaraka, Te Awahou, and Tawhirihoe. Ngati Apa and Nga Wairiki sought and secured support from Ngati Raukawa, some 400 settling at Poutu. Upon Ngati Apa and Whanganui agreeing to end hostilities, most of the people of Ngati Raukawa returned south. (Hearn, 2015)

This kōrero reinforces the concept of Māori mobility and again, contributes to reframing the large-scale mobility of Māori in the twentieth century. Migration is not something that happened in one singular mass movement. Our people have been migrating and returning home for generations; this is not a new concept for Māori.

How would you explain our connection as a whānau to our whenua tupuna?

Well because our whānau were not around that area when we grew up, I've always felt a little bit behind the A ball really. Because of the cultural part that we didn't really grow up with... I always felt a little uneducated about things... But I think most members of our whānau really take that place as a special part of our inheritance and I think with new blood coming through, I can see that a few people are keen to be involved, I'm really happy about that. So, at my age I think I just have to say 'I'm sorry for not having too much culture or Māoritanga, te ao Māori in me' but I've lived away for so many years and as my dad said 'if your mana is strong, then that's the main thing son'. It's always been strong

*and it always will be till I die... That's through the bloodlines and through my mana. -
Uncle Pehira*

This pātai opened up many different perspectives. Everyone had a different take on what our connection as a whānau to our whenua tupuna looks and feels like. We had members on one end of the spectrum who believed it to be very strong, while others were the opposite, stating that it is weak and not strong at all. We also had people in the middle who believed that it was a bit of both. This diversity in opinions is to be expected as they derive from the different life experiences and backgrounds of these individuals have come from. Uncle Pehira spoke to the idea of being uneducated in certain aspects of Te Ao Māori and alludes to the fact that he would feel more connected if he knew more about his culture and was more familiar with the cultural practices and protocols. Some of our people haven't grown up immersed in Te Ao Māori and haven't been fortunate enough to have received or had cultural teachings be passed down to them. It is no wonder that Māori today who are born and raised away from their ancestral landscapes “view tribal marae as distant places to which they feel varying elements of disconnection” (Tapsell 2002, as cited in Overall, 2010). Although the feeling of being uneducated, unfamiliar or unconfident in cultural practices or language lay within some of these individuals, their connection and hononga to their whenua tupuna, through whakapapa, will never be weakened. When speaking about connection in terms of hononga to ancestral lands, it comes in many different shapes and forms. The word is defined differently by people depending on their circumstance or situation and this is what I have found through the answers to this question.

People who have lived and breathed their whenua tupuna growing up as children tend to acknowledge and refer to the connection as being a strong one, and this was reinforced by Uncle Tommy's answer.

*First of all, that's where our tupuna is so we are connected to everything from there. -
Uncle Tommy*

Through this answer he reiterates the idea that whakapapa is the only requirement for being connected to anything that makes you who you are, ancestral lands, culture, whānau, hapū, iwi. As a whānau we all whakapapa back to those lands and therefore we are connected to everything and

anyone that also has whakapapa ties to that area. Although, as mentioned earlier, people interpret the word differently as individuals. “The home seems primarily to represent a ‘com-fortable’ place, a concept that combines both physical and emotional comfort derived from familiarity, personal rituals and routines, and other characteristics. ‘Attachment to place’ is therefore connected with the personal and social meanings that are given to the home, and it is directly proportional to the level of importance that these meanings have in a person's life” (Kuwahara, 2004 as cited in Cristoforetti, 2011) Despite people being connected through whakapapa to their ancestral lands, there is a range of ways that people experience feeling connected and comfortable and this in turn is linked to a sense of familiarity to people, place and culture.

What continues to bring you back home to your whenua tupuna?

Although not all of our kaumatua grew up in Turakina, some of them did. Some of our kaumātua were fortunate enough to grow up in the old homestead and live within the presence of Nanny Ema Maremare (Puha), Koro Pehira Maremare and many of our other tūpuna within their generation, including Nanny Ema Hipango. Because our kaumatua have been around for longer than the other interviewees, I was interested to see what continues to bring them home. As children we often return to our whenua tupuna because our parents, our grandparents or older members within our whānau are going home, so we go with them. As we get older our beloved elders start to pass away and suddenly we become the eldest. We return home to find their photos on the wall and we’re left wondering where the time has gone as we look down at our mokopuna growing and absorbing everything there is to learn. During our interview, I had a significant conversation with Koro Joe about this process over time.

It was late one night and my sister and I had just arrived at the marae for a wānanga which was taking place the following day. It was raining and we pulled up to the marae, collected our belongings and made our way to the māhau to cover from the rain and take our bags and blankets into the wharepuni. The light was on inside so I knew that someone was in there but I couldn’t hear anything, so I was unsure about who it was. I opened the door to find the back of my Koro Joe as he stared up at all of the photos, all of our tūpuna who have passed. I didn’t interrupt him because I could feel that he was in deep thought. It was a while until he turned around to find us,

he had tears falling down his face. In my interview with him, I asked him about this moment in time and this was his reply:

*It was very very emotional because you know, yeah, it's a bit hard... *Long pause* It brings back memories. Yeah you know, after losing all of my brothers, it's hard. But I do what's good for me and my life and everybody else. To see you kids there makes it even harder, knowing that my brother has left the scene and didn't have much to do with you kids makes it hard. Knowing that you're a part of the whānau is really lovely, really lovely! Somebody different you know, brought into the family. Yeah, it gets quite emotional every time I go back. It's good, it's good to see you back there, darling. – Koro Joe*

Reflecting on this experience now and his explanation for the moment we shared, there is definitely an intergenerational dynamic playing out. As we get older, more descendants of ours are born and we become the eldest. Our elders have passed on and then we go to join them and there is a flow on effect across the generations. I witnessed and felt this experience that night and realise how significant the moment was to think about our tūpuna who have passed being on the wall, Koro Joe looking at them and then my sister and I looking at him. A wharepuni holds a lot of korero, it holds many stories and has housed many people. The history that lays between those four walls is rich and abundant. This concept is reinforced by Alice Te Punga Somerville in her article “Nau Mai, Hoki Mai: Approaching the Ancestral House” in which she explores and analyses Apirana Taylor’s “Sad Joke on a Marae”, Vernice Wineera’s “Toa Rangatira” and “Tangi”, and Kāterina Mataira’s “Restoring the Ancestral House”.

The connection between the people and the whare is made even closer in the last lines of the poem:

I will know I am home
when I see the meeting house.
Toa Rangatira! The proud name.

As in the poem “Toa Rangatira,” a play is made on the “name” as wharenuī and as iwi. This doubled return—to a specific place and to a (p.84) specific people—ultimately confirms the speaker is “home.” The English translation often supplied for wharenuī,

“meeting house,” is literalized and the speaker “meet[s]” her tūpuna and, by logical extension, her descendants as well. Having started with the living, the speaker becomes part of an ever-widening ancestral matrix of connection and relationship among land, house, and people. (Te Punga Somerville, 2014)

When we are talking about whenua tupuna as being the whenua on which our marae stands, our tūpuna are ever-present in all areas, spaces and buildings. The wharepuni however, is a unique and significant place. It is the first building that manuhiri enter as they ascend onto the marae, it is a place of wānanga and the four walls that hold our wharepuni up have heard many stories in their time. It is also the place where our tūpapaku rest before departing to the urupā. Tangi are a major reason that people return home. Sometimes tangihanga are where the most whakawhanaungatanga takes place between whānau members when we come home to grieve the loss of a loved one and to support each other through that grieving process. For a lot of people who live away from their ancestral lands, the business of everyday life can sometimes prevent frequent returns home. When someone passes away we tend to drop everything and go, out of pure love for the person and the whānau but sometimes tangi can end up being the only time we return. This is a common occurrence within many whānau Māori and something that Uncle Tommy describes:

It's always been bloody Tangi but we need to change that, there needs to be more diversity on that you know? We want to go there for a happy reason, you know? - Uncle Tommy

Tangi is what tends to bring him home these days but he wants to see this change so that we can all come home for different kaupapa and for more happy reasons. This will also allow for different kinds of memories to be created upon our whenua tupuna as a whānau.

Māori names are infused with deep history and meaning. My Uncle Jimmy inherits his name (Basil Pehira Jimmy Murray Maremare) from Koro Bas (his father) and Koro Pehira (his grandfather). For Uncle Jimmy, the importance of returning home to his ancestral lands is linked to the name that he carries.

I will always go back due to my name, that will always be a part of me. - Uncle Jimmy

When you hold a name, which was passed down to you through generations, a tūpuna name, it comes with a sense of responsibility. You have the responsibility to uphold the name in whatever way you deem best. His name originates from people who contributed to the foundation of our whānau upon our whenua tupuna, the name is a part of them and it is also a part of his thinking about why he returns to that whenua.

Has there been a time in your life where you have reconnected back to your whenua tupuna in Turakina? What was this experience like?

As mentioned above, many of the men in our whānau are a part of or have served in the New Zealand Defence Forces and this is something that has been passed down through the generations and followed through by the younger ones coming through. When I asked about reconnecting to Turakina Uncle Dennis spoke to me about old rituals that our tūpuna took part in before going into battle.

One thing that I did, myself another guy before we went to Iraq... We have a connection with Pākaraka, Taituha, he was an old tohunga and a master of the taiaha, married my grandfather's sister on the Haami side. The family up there wanted to have karakia before we departed to go to Iraq with a hangi. The story goes back to WW1, those that went there that visited church and did the final karakia before going off... Because in those days they would have still been in that era of going through rituals to be put in a state of tapu before they go to war as our tupuna were, and then they get released from that when they finished the battle so they can come back to the side of Rongo. So that's when I decided, everytime I came back for leave from Iraq or affiganastan I went back to visit my home, I went up the river to visit my koros up there, I would sort of make a ring, I would come back go to where Queenie is uried and my grandparents on my mums side and then pop out to Turakina, sitting there in the church and do a karakia, same as at pākaraka, the church there and just thank that I'm here and to watch over me when I go back. So, I made a point of doing that everytime I came home. – Uncle Dennis

He describes his connection to whenua as something he embodied and tried to replicate in his journey with the Army when leaving home and then returning. This is the epitome of our tūpuna calling us home: every time he returned home from overseas, he would return to his ancestral lands, to his tūpuna and do karakia before asking them to watch over him again while he was away from home, and his belief is that they did just that. He shared this belief through a story he told me about an experience he had while he was with the army in Tonga.

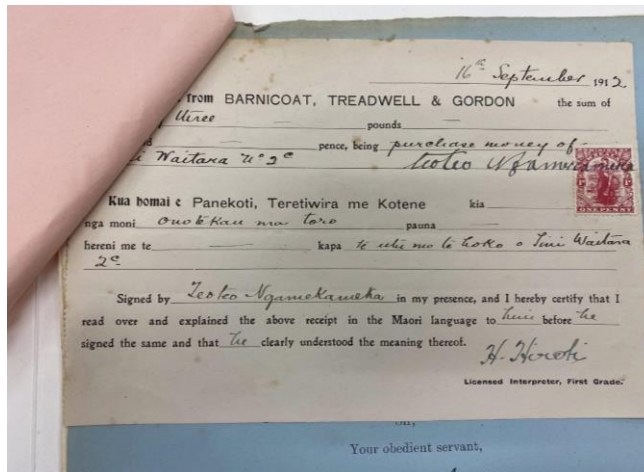
I was lying in the whare in Tonga one time and I looked up, there was a tree outside, a mango tree. I looked up and I saw the ruru. Second time in my life that I had seen a ruru. Straight away I rang Tima [His partner, my aunty, who is from Tonga] and I said 'you got a ruru?' She said 'no they were extinct years ago, they don't exist anymore' So I rang up my biological mother because of the connection with the ruru and got hold of dad. 'Everything alright back home?' 'yeah yeah, it's alright, why?' 'I just saw a ruru' 'Oh it's just looking after you, everything is alright back here, boy.' What was more amazing was that the whare is in the middle of big open lawns that has to be done by a tractor, nothing else in between. When I came out, I heard the fluttering. There was no ruru in the tree so I looked up into the sky, big beautiful fine day, I didn't see any bird fluttering, not a bird of any kind... But aunty Angel told me "No it's the wairua. – Uncle Dennis

This explanation reinforces the idea that our tupuna are ever present in our lives, not only after they have passed on and not only within Aotearoa but also beyond our whenua. Our tupuna visit us in many ways and Uncle Dennis experienced it as his kaitiaki from the river (the ruru) coming to visit him in a place where that particular manu had been extinct for many years. "These experiences are not uncommon in Te Ao Māori. Kaitiaki is the Māori word for a guardian of a person, or even an area. Spiritual kaitiaki offer unseen spiritual protection. Often, they come from the same whakapapa (genealogy) line, but not always. (Niania et al, 2019) Both experiences that Uncle Dennis has spoken about have a very strong link to the kaupapa of this thesis and the idea of our tūpuna calling us home. They also reinforce the idea that connection to whenua can be related to, rather than undermined by, individual mobility.

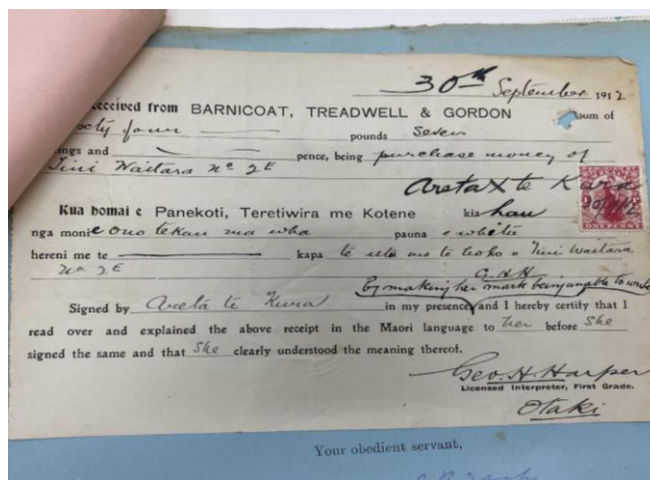
What are the hopes and desires of our kaumatua for the future of the Maremare whānau and their connection to their whenua tupuna?

With most of our kaumatua having experienced what being on our whenua tupuna in the time of Nanny Ema and Koro Pehira was like, I wanted to hear what their visions were for our whānau as we move into the future. They have experienced gradual change over the years, the good and the bad and the dispersal of whānau members from our ancestral lands in Turakina into bigger cities. In the context of this change, what are their hopes and desires for the future of the Maremare whānau? Through my trip to the archive facility in Wellington, I was introduced to the harsh reality that, due to the alienation of land, a lot of our whenua tupuna was sold throughout the early 1900s. I describe this as, our whenua tupuna being stripped and pulled from beneath the feet of our tūpuna through malicious, conniving and deceitful transactions. Through this period, we lost a lot of land.

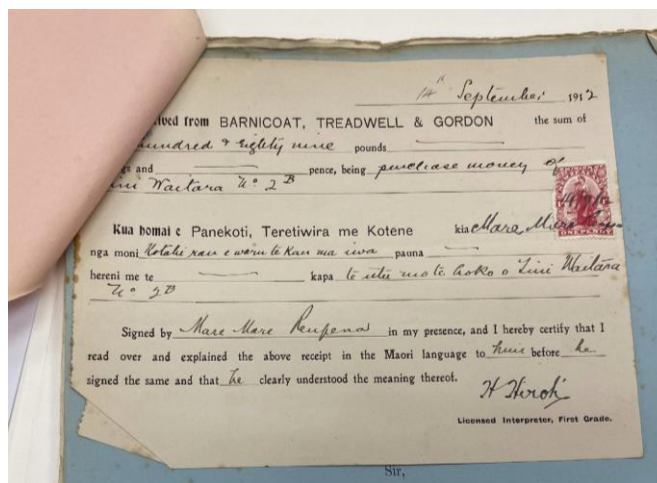
Before European land ownership models were introduced, Māori land was held collectively by the iwi [tribe] or hapu [clan] and rights to occupy such lands were determined by the kinship group. Whakapapa [genealogical] ties to the original occupiers of said lands provided such rights. The establishment of the Native Land Court Act in 1862 set out to “encourage the extinction of native proprietary customs” in favour of an individualisation of property title similar to that of private property, in order to free up Māori land for European settlers to purchase. This process of having to establish “titles” for land that had been previously occupied for centuries resulted in widespread land loss and alienation since many Māori would often use sections of their land as down payments for food and travel costs to get to court hearings across the country. Since the certificate of title was not allowed to be issued to more than 10 people, there were many land disputes that persist still to this day, and absentee ownership is common (Shep et al., 2020).



Whakaahua 8: Tiniwaitara 2C, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, R10695377.



Whakaahua 9: Tiniwaitara 2E, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, R10695379.



Whakaahua 10: Tiniwaitara 2B, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, R10695378.

In my interview with Koro Joe we spoke about experiences that I have come to realise were a direct consequence from the confiscation of this land. He spoke to me about my Koro Bill and my great grandparents having to ask the Pākehā for land that was taken from us, so that we could use it as an urupā and have a place to burry our loved ones when they depart this earth. It breaks my heart to understand the reality of the time period that some of my tūpuna lived through, but with understanding comes responsibility. As their uri, I - we - have the responsibility of looking after our whenua tupuna, the responsibility to keep our fire of occupation burning, to bring our children home, our mokopuna home and contribute back to the place that gave birth to us.

Well I think you know, I think you should carry on what's going and no doubt it's going to get better and better. In the 60's 70's it was hard! It was hard in those days for mum and dad. We had to say to our farmers, our white brothers 'can we take a bit of that land for our urupā?' and he did give some of his land to us. It was done by my brother Bill, he did a lot of work for us, to get that. I think people like yourself and your sister and everyone like that and your cousins, I think you kids will do well. If your hearts are in the right place, you'll do well you kids. Won't have to worry about yours. – Koro Joe

Everything that our tupuna did, they did with their future mokopuna at the forefront of their whakaaro. Due to the fast pace of the world that we live in, it is easy to get caught up in the here and now, the business of everyday and we sometimes forget to think back to our tūpuna, the values that they held and the hopes that they may have had for their mokopuna. Something that surfaced throughout the interviews was the desire for our people to come home more often, not due to a specific reason or to be a part of a kaupapa, just purely because it is their home and it is where they whakapapa back to.

I would like them to come back and be more involved even though it's gone into the hands of Ngāti Apa Ngā Wairiki, you know just to help and be connected back again so that they know, well this was where we were! This was our place you know. But not to take it too seriously because they had to go that way because we couldn't get any financial assistance aye, that's the reason why that all happened. So, I don't want to see them go away from here I would like them to come back... See i'm not going to be here for long, I want my

*grandkids to come here and you know still be involved with that place, and they would!
Those are my thoughts anyway. - Nanny Piola*

*I hope in time, it's not so much of a 'aww I'll just go down there' well you shouldn't even
have to think like that, just be there. I hope to be able to come down and share in whatever
is happening down here. Just to be learning and to be able to give back. I think it's good
what you're doing and good to get everyone perspectives on things. I just think we need to
have more going on but how does that happen? People have to participate, it's a costing
thing as well, because you know no matter where you go every marae has got to run on,
you can't just run on nothing. - Aunty Mary*

Whilst it is important to look to the past to help guide us into the future, it is also important that we don't get stuck there or caught up in negative situations that may have happened in the past. Another past teaching that we can learn from our tūpuna which has also previously been spoken about, is forward thinking. Let us use the past to learn from and then think forward to our mokopuna and how we can use that mātauranga to ensure a positive future for them. "Decolonised occupations including theorising, dreaming, communing, speaking indigenous talk are abundantly available to us, literally hundreds of moments a day. Decolonised occupation is where mauri (Life force) is intuited, mana is dwelled upon, and compounded generational love and consideration surges. Decolonised occupation allows our ancestors to rest as we make the most of opportunities they never had so that our shared descendants thrive". (Emery-Whittington, 2018) Our ancestors fought so hard so that we could move forward into the future knowing that we have the birthright to be unapologetically Māori; so that's what we should do. Realising the opportunities that they have created for us should be an incentive to move forward, enabling them to rest as we continue to do our part to make this world a better place for our mokopuna.

My hope is that we will understand the hopes and the kōrero of those before, come back home. And as I told you before what made me feel sad and when I relay back to uncle Bill saying to me 'stand' and I didn't. I would sit up there on the side, not up there on the paepae with them unless I was...Not forced but couldn't avoid it, but on the side there, the side of the meeting house but not actually there where I should have been. That's how one of my uncles learned, Uncle Hop, he sat and travelled with Pehira, he was very

knowledgeable. That's how he learnt to kōrero, learnt everything, just by being there with koro Pehira. Yeah so that would be my hopes, the same as theirs. - Uncle Dennis

We come together as one, again. To move on, instead of dwelling in the past - Uncle Jimmy

Chapter 6 - Findings (Pakeke)

The purpose of this thesis is to look at the different perspectives of connection to whenua tupuna across the different generations within the Maremare whānau, which is why these three chapters are structured this way. However, when thinking about how to introduce this chapter I found it quite difficult to explain the importance of talking to our pakeke and hearing their stories. While the importance of speaking with our kaumātua and our rangatahi seemed obvious, and I knew it was important that we also speak to our parents' generation, it was hard to pinpoint why. After multiple wānanga and conversations, however, this became apparent.

Our kaumātua went through a lot in their time - their generation was the one to be told not to speak their mother tongue, the only language that they knew. Western society and ways of living was forced upon them and as a product of that experience many of our pakeke, our parents' generation, were not fortunate enough to have these teachings passed down to them. This break in transmission is, not due to a fault of their parents but due to the context of oppression in which they lived. We are used to thinking of our rangatahi as the generation coming through, the new leaders, and the ones to make change. Our nannies and koro, our kaumātua are some of the most important people in our lives because - they hold stories and knowledge of old times and are soon about to embark on a journey to reunite with our tūpuna. Our pakeke sit in the middle of these two. They have also led a life of adaptation, born into an era with less technology in comparison to today and very different social and political realities. Things have changed a lot within their lifetime and the world we live in now is nothing like the world that they were born into. With all the changes and the many life experiences they have faced and gone through, I was interested to hear their stories and the answers that they had for the questions that were put forward to them.

Katy Hetherington & Bridgette Ellan Sampson

The first two pakeke interviewees are the daughters of Te Reimana Maharanui Maremare. Both Aunty Katy and my māmā, Bridgette are twin sisters and were raised by their mother Colleen Webb. Growing up they had little to no knowledge of their father or their whakapapa Māori until much later in life. Although their journey home to Turakina started a lot later in lives, their earlier

life was filled with love, kindness, family and gratitude. My mother Bridgette describes identity as:

How you perceive to see yourself as a person and also what influences in your life have made you be the person that you are today and that's from all stages of life and it's always forever changing through life experiences so quite often your identity does change as you grow but I think also to that, you always have your own identity that stays with you forever and no one can change that and that's because I think that's already born in you. Whatever happens in your life and who you meet that can't change that certain bit in you.

She speaks about there being a part inside of you that “*Stays with you forever*” and this part never changes - it can be added to and accompanied by other factors which build your identity but this one specific part of you is with you forever from the moment you are born, and no one can change this. This view of identity could be connected to her experience growing up with little to no knowledge of her taha Māori, yet still knowing and feeling a connection to this. Aunty Katy's idea of identity speaks to the connections and whānau values that one lives and grows by.

Identity is kind of just who you believe you are and what makes you believe that and what the connections are to knowing what identity means and feels like to you. So, those kinds of key connections are with your whānau, values by which they live, by which you grow –
Aunty Katy

She recognises that identity feels different to everyone and therefore everyone's definitions for the term will vary, although she also acknowledges the strong influence that whānau and values have on the shaping of one's identity.

Tracey Poutu

The third interviewee for this hunga was Aunty Tracey who is the daughter of Joseph Emia Murray and first cousin to my mother. Aunty Tracey is someone who has grown up with a relationship with her Maremare whānau and her whenua tupuna. When asked the question “What does identity mean to you?” she replied with “*To me identity means a sense of belonging. I know who I am, where I'm from and who I belong to*”. For Aunty Tracey identity is all about pepeha and knowing

your whakapapa connections not only to who you are around but who you have come from and where they descend from.

Reconnection to our ancestral landscapes such as maunga, awa (river), pā (fortified village) and marae (ancestral house) are a physical connection to our whakapapa (geneology, lineage). Barlow (1991) defines whakapapa as “the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time; whakapapa is a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things” (p. 173). Hakopa (2011) established that whakapapa “is also the instrument whereby Māori derived their intimate connections to the land and how they articulate their sense of belonging to their sacred places, stretching back hundreds of years” (p. 4). It is through whakapapa that we are able to identify ‘who’ and ‘where’ we come from. This gives us an identity. Māori genealogical and geographical links are very significant in helping to identify who and where we come from, using pepeha as an example, the maunga, the waka, the awa, the marae, the hapū (sub-tribe), and iwi (tribe) in which we descend from. (Barlow, 1991 & Hakopa, 2011 as cited in Cunningham, 2018)

What does the term “Tūrangawaewae” mean to you?

Anywhere my mother was. My most safe and comfortable and whole and just at peace place was when I was with my mother, wherever she was. - Katy Hetherington

Aunty Katy’s answer above, which is echoed by the kōrero that came from our rangatahi, is that the concept of tūrangawaewae is connected to our mothers who provide us with safety, comfort, peace and a sense of belonging. It is interesting to see this idea come through in these two generations and I suggest that this demonstrates the significance of our need for, and feeling of comfort from our mothers at all stages of our lives, not just when we are infants. This mother/child relationship, of course, also reflects the relationship that we share with Papatūānuku; it is a lifelong relationship in which she provides us with sustenance and belonging and in return we take care of her as kaitiaki.

A study by Lani Teddy, Linda Waimarie and Bernard Guerin was conducted on the place attachment of Ngāi Te Ahi to Hairini Marae and the study highlighted how certain participants used the term “tūrangawaewae” and what the term meant to them. One of the responses reflected the idea that your tūrangawaewae, no matter where or what that is for you, comes with a history and a whakapapa: “Tūrangawaewae refers not only to the physicality of ‘home but also to the genealogical link to whānau, “our wahi noho, our ancestral link to our tūpuna,” “it’s not just part of my history, but the history of my whole whānau and it will be my whakapapa for my kids and the next generations to come.” (Teddy et al., 2008). This whakapapa is something that becomes a part of your children’s whakapapa and is passed down to the generations to follow. Even before taking their first breath or stepping - foot on this earth, our descendants already have a belonging place, a tūrangawaewae and in an interview with my mother, Bridgette Sampson, she speaks to this concept of belonging to a place before you even physically step foot upon it.

A place, a physical place where you could always be at and feel that a part of you belongs to that place before you even get to that place... And that could also be a place where your whānau are from as well or it could be a place where it’s of remembrance as well and it’s a healthy place. Healthy as in positive for the mind and a place where it just enriches you. Everything is good for your well-being, spiritually and mentally. - Bridgette Sampson

This is a beautiful concept and it prompted me to think about how I belonged to my whenua tupuna before I was born just as my unborn children and mokopuna already belong there as well, through their whakapapa.

What does the term “Whenua Tupuna” mean to you?

A key idea that I have returned to throughout this thesis is that our tūpuna, in their lives, physically walked this earth but are now lying within the warm embrace of the land of Papatūānuku. In the time that they were physically here, they left their imprint on the land that we now walk upon and that legacy continues spiritually but also through the lessons and legacy that they’ve left behind, the fights that they fought, the dreams and goals that they achieved and through the whakapapa that connects us all.

Our whānau of past, so our bloodline that come from that land, that come from a place, this particular land in this particular area and the spirituality of how they continue to be the foundations on top of the land but also spiritually blended and knitted into the fabric of the land and how that creates the spirit above the land to connect all of us. - Katy Hetherington.

Our whenua tupuna teaches us many things, from historic events which show in the physical form of the landscape, to how to look after her, care for her and live sustainably off her.

As we transcend our whakapapa mai i a Papatūanuku me Ranginui kia whakarewa ki te pouaratiatia i te matahuhu o tātou nā whare (genealogical links from the time of creation to the present), our physical and subliminal planes of being enable us to reconnect and recall the stories from within the richness of our whakapapa. The knowledge brought forth is epistemological truths that were passed down through the passage of time, innate in us and nurtured through the wisdom of our tūpuna and their actions. What they knew in their time is today our knowing. What they did and dreamt is today our doing. The words of intent, purpose and feeling that they uttered into existence, those words are now our being and what has shaped us today (O'Malley et al., 2008)

Although we may not have learned specific teachings directly from our ancestors, their mātauranga is still passed down to us in a range of ways and this is what we refer to as 'taonga tuku iho'. In a creative response by Hemer Ross, Moana Tipa, the Ngai Tahu cultural advisor, describes taonga tuku iho: he "reiterated the importance of imparting knowledge and practical skills to younger generations as a matter of survival. The term taonga tuku iho – gifts handed down – refers to innate knowledge, in-born through whakapapa (genealogy) – as well as skills learned" (Hemara, 2010).

My māāmā, Bridgette, speaks of her experience being brought up in te ao Pākeha and acknowledges that fact that she did not personally experience the practice of being a kaitiaki of the land growing up, but she talked in her interview about how that there was always "something inside" of her.

To me it means, the whānau from my past that have been here before me, ancestors... Have lived on this land. I was brought up in the pākehā way, not the Māori way. Māori

predominantly lived off the land and they were very aware of their cultural beliefs. So therefore, our ancestors on our father's side, the Maremare side... They would have had a more sense of relating to our land because their parents, their grandparents have passed that down through their generations, how to harvest the land and respect for our water. You know everything has a traditional meaning. However, I wasn't brought up that way... But then again there was always something inside of me, but I didn't physically have that experience hands on like go down eeling with my pop, all that kind of stuff, never did that.
- Bridgette Sampson

This feeling is what I would refer to as the intergenerational transferring of knowledge or mātauranga that is embedded in us due to our whakapapa and through the concept of tuku ihotanga. In the context of his thesis, I believe we can think about this “something” as a form of our tūpuna calling us home, calling us back to remember who we are and who we come from, through the work of our old people.

*The term whenua tupuna means to me, the land of our tūpuna! New Zealand. Aotearoa...
Ko te haukāinga o tōku pāpā. - Tracey Poutu.*

Nā wai koe? He uri koe nā ōu tini mātua tūpuna e ora tonu ana i roto i a koe.

What does the place Turakina mean to you?

This question was posed to the hunga of pakeke with the same intent as when I asked the kaumātua the same question. This question was to determine what significance our whenua tupuna holds for our parents' generation, our pakeke. The difference with this generation in comparison to the rangatahi is that they have been around for longer and experienced more.

I remember smells of the whare tūpuna (the old whare) as it still is today. We got a telling off for swinging from the bars in the whare tūpuna. I remember the sand hill, climbing and sliding down and the urupā on the top of the sandhill. I remember the Turakina river below where we would swim on beautiful summers days and also searching up river for flounder.

I remember all of my beautiful kaumātua, aunties, uncles and cousins visiting the marae in Turakina. – Tracey Poutu

Aunty Tracey has been fortunate enough to spend her life upon her whenua tupuna and surrounded by her Maremare whānau and she holds these special memories and parts of her pepeha, landmarks, within her heart. My māmā Bridgette and Aunty Katy, on the other hand, have been on a journey of rediscovery and strengthening their taura to consciously bring to the surface who they are and who they descend from.

Turakina is a place I love to say now. When people ask me, I have great confidence in saying “Do you know where Turakina is?” And I’m able to talk to it, able to feel it, able to see it, able to connect with it. Before it was an aspiration to be and have that but I would say to people that I’m from here but have no sense of what that actually looked our felt like, still got a really long way to go but Turakina means that to me, it makes me smile. It makes me feel confident, I remember going to our marae for the first time, to our marae, to our whenua, taking Ray’s mate back and went into the wharenuī and it was very emotional, just cried and cried and cried. – Aunty Katy

Aunty Katy’s comments reinforce a theme that has emerged through this thesis; that desire - “aspiration” - to not only know your whakapapa and pepeha by names and words but to physically feel, see, smell, taste, touch and sense it in every way shape or form (being “able to talk to it...”). As mentioned previously returning home creates a deeper sense of knowledge about who you are and where/who you come from, and it also enables you to resonate with your pepeha on a whole other level, physically, spiritually and mentally. Connecting with your pepeha, connecting with your tūpuna can bring all kinds of emotions to the surface. No matter what the situation, our tūpuna calling us home will be emotional, especially if one has been away from home for a long time or if it is their first time physically stepping foot upon their whenua tupuna.

I just think there was an energy, that energy was a sad energy, an excited energy. I just felt quite overwhelmed by it and it was uncontrollable crying and I think consciously you know from a very young girl I knew there was something else going on for me in terms of, I’m clearly Māori, where’s my father? And where does he come from? I was genuinely interested in what that all potentially was and I think there was kind of like this 47 years

of “Oh ok” and connecting that way was a lot more significant to me than I think probably I'd remembered and so that was a natural response for me in those moments, in those times with my sisters and my siblings, it was very, it was a historic day for me and for many of us I think and to be going back with you and Tali and my sister Bridgette that was probably yeah, if I pull it all back, to be there with you three, yea it was a real life changing, celebrating event. It was almost like I felt two voices going “āue shush!” but then this other one saying, “let me be”. – Aunty Katy

For Aunty Katy to get emotional and cry as she approached the wharenuī is significant, but in many ways is normal - the high presence of her tūpuna, the kaupapa in which she was going back for and it being the first time, would have all been factors of this.

Not only as Māori but as Indigenous people in general we learn a lot through the process of storytelling. Most often, our mātauranga is passed down orally and this way of teaching has been passed down through many generations. Kōrero tuku iho is also a form of whakawhanaungatanga, it creates a space for people to share stories, experiences and knowledges that they hold, to whakawhitiwhiti kōrero and learn more about each other and the backgrounds, people and places they come from. Often when someone is returning home, their arrival is accompanied by many conversations and storytelling, which may not always be told or pan out the way you expect them to. Hard conversations, sad conversations, happy conversations, they are all part and parcel of whakawhanaungatanga and reunions. My māmā, Bridgette Sampson, has touched on her experience of having some of these conversations within her journey of returning home.

Turakina is a place where my father is from and I'm from Turakina, and that's where our marae is. My connection to it, I only connected with my marae about maybe four years ago and still my connection to it isn't that great because I don't really go down there, only on certain occasions. You kind of get the feeling when we're having discussions around home, people tread quite lightly around what they would say. So, whether it was inappropriate for them to speak about it, or if anyone will ever speak about it. There is a relative of ours and unfortunately, they feel that they don't really want to go back home anymore because of the way that our marae has been handled and they feel like it's been taken away from them so they therefore feel, what's the point? Where it used to be a lot different for them

when they were growing up and I could see where they are coming from too. It's kind of like getting blood out of a stone. – Bridgette Sampson

When you have spent the most of your life with unanswered questions about who you are and where you come from, you might put together what you can in your head, and you may have expectations about how this might look. This can make hearing the “not very positive stories” hard to hear or comprehend, and these in turn may impact your relationship with your whenua tupuna and what this looks like. The spiritual presence of our tupuna and the spiritual journey of physically being upon your whenua tupuna for the first time is a unique and significant experience.

The first memory was my father giving me a photo of the area, an aerial view. It must have been taken at a time where, you know it was lush, the grass was green! But the first emotion that came to me was loneliness. When I looked at it, I felt lonely because I couldn't see any people on it... But equally it was like “Wow okay” It didn't really make sense to me um because I was looking at a picture but I didn't connected with the photo it wasn't until I went home in a physical space that it impacted me but yeah those were my initial thoughts, it looks really lonely and because there was marae and that around and then it was just bare, I couldn't see anything else and so maybe that folded into that emotion. – Aunty Katy

It seems significant that the first emotion Aunty Katy felt in this situation was loneliness, it wasn't until she returned home that she felt a connection with the place. As someone who had not yet physically returned to her whenua tupuna before seeing the photo, this feeling of loneliness combined with the feeling of connection upon her return, is a tohu and a call from her tūpuna to come home. Perhaps her feeling of loneliness was connected to her whenua tupuna and her ancestors letting her know and relaying to her that they feel lonely and mokemoke for their uri too.

Well actually it's quite funny because you know sometimes I don't think you've got to be in a place to have memories because I remember P showed me photos of our marae seven years ago. It was a picture of Turakina, you know the road going down home? The big long stretch of road and our marae and then the river at the back and he'd share stories with me about dad and him and how they would go down and go eeling. So that's my very first memory was you know, obviously seeing it... And then after that would be when we all went down home and I actually, I'll be honest with you when I first went into the wharekai, I

actually was quite proud because it was a part of where I was from. Like when I go down there I'm proud, but there's still a lot of disappointment that I carry... Why did we miss out on it when we were kids, me and Katy? Not that we didn't have a good upbringing me and Katy but you know it's just that I feel that um, we had a right to know the rest of our whānau, we had a right to know... And just feel you know, let down. But when I went there I did feel a sense of pride. When I walked on there, even though I couldn't help it but I kind of feel like I should have done so much more but I was scared. Like when you were trying, I was. Something just wouldn't let me. I didn't really want to because I think I was just I don't know, scared. – Bridgette Sampson

How would you explain our connection as a whānau to our whenua tupuna?

The Maremare whānau is made up of many descendants, all with different backgrounds, different upbringings and different life stories. Because we are all different and our childhood stories, experiences and backgrounds all differ from one another, our individual perceptions of what our connection as a whānau to our whenua tupuna looks like may also differ from the perceptions of others within the whānau, none more right or wrong. Aunty Katy uses six key words to describe how she views our connection as a whānau to our whenua tupuna:

I would describe it as 'wanting', I would describe it as 'connected' and 'disconnected', I would describe it as 'fragmented but rebuilding', I would describe it as 'Inspirational'. - Katy Hetherington

These six words perfectly describe a journey of returning home and the different emotions and stages that one travels through along the way. Aunty Tracey, on the other hand, speaks to a concept that has been touched several times in this thesis that we can never be disconnected from a place that we whakapapa back to. They say, “Iti te kupu, nui te kōrero” and aunty Tracey’s answer is just that. When she was asked to explain our connection as a whānau to our whenua tupuna she answered with very minimal words but, the words that she chose depict this idea of being eternally connected to a place regardless of your physical proximity or your history.

Our whānau whakapapa back to this whenua tupuna. - Tracey Poutu

Earlier in this thesis, I reflected on how our tūpuna were forward thinkers. They were always thinking and dreaming about the generations still to come, what world they were shaping for them and how every decision that they made would impact their descendants. A few times throughout my interviews, people have referred to this in their own kōrero. They spoke about their dreams and visions for what things will look like, or what they hope things will look like in the future, for their children, and their grandchildren. My mother Bridgette, in response to this question about connection, spoke about her hopes for how this might continue into the future:

Well for you and Talia I think that your connection... Well obviously, your connection is beautiful, what you have at the moment you know what you've done, because you've kind of brought us all together and connected us with Turakina. I think it's great to see you know... All the cuzzies there and all of you together. Because we're all at different stages in our lives, our connection is all quite different... Everything is changing, every day. What I hope to see is that your connection and Talia's connection to Turakina gets stronger and in a positive way so that when you have children and Talia has children you can go home and just all be together, that's what I would love to see, that connection. But I think the connection as a whole at the moment is not that great. It's quite distant and I guess that's because there's a lot of things that we don't know about and I'm sure there are so much more stories to be told and everyone is on their own path, but it would be great to share those stories so that you have more of a connection. - Bridgette Sampson

As we embark and travel upon our journey of returning home, we begin to create dreams or think about what the future may hold, not only for ourselves but those that will come after us. Our tūpuna did this and it is something that is still practiced within my whānau.

What continues to bring you back home to your whenua tupuna?

This question was put forth to our pakeke to find out and identify what continues to bring them home to their whenua tupuna. I was interested to see if the same things that bring our kaumātua home also bring our pakeke home. As children we often create memories with special people, at special places and these memories stay with us forever. To me, it sounds like many good memories were created on our whenua tupuna by our pakeke. These memories are sometimes created with

people that go before us, who are now buried in the urupā and their spirits live on within the land where those memories were created. This is another factor that tends to bring our whānau home and Aunty Tracey touched on this in her answer.

Memories of good! I love my whenua tupuna. My kaumātua and whānau whānui are buried in the urupā down there. I will continue to visit there when I can and for as long as I live.
– Tracey Poutu.

For others, their reasoning for returning back home derive from different places and a different set of emotions. Sometimes the return home is accompanied by memories that aren't always positive. If we experience childhood trauma, or any kind of trauma, returning home can be a healing process. As a child, Aunty Katy grew up with many questions about her father which in turn left her with many questions about herself, who she is and who/where she comes from.

My family and just finding peace with my father. I think we got quite an intense download of our father and not the good stuff. That was the preliminary kind of introduction to my father. He was a great singer and great for parties but when it came to the real stuff... Why didn't he take me to the marae when I was a girl? Why didn't he take me home then? Yes, you can tell I'm a bit angry about it. No, you should have taken me back there... It was your job to do that, it was your job to take me home and put me on my land and I, I needed that and wanted it. - Katy Hetherington

Aunty Katy longed and yearned to know and feel her land, to go home... Now that she has had the opportunity, although many years later and because of the passing of her father, she believes that returning home helps her to find peace with her father. It is also an opportunity to make more connections within her family and to work her way through the multitude of questions that she grew up with.

“Has there been a time in your life where you have reconnected back to your whenua tupuna in Turakina? What was this experience like?”

Specific kaupapa can often be the encouragement that finally pushes people to return home. These kaupapa can be for all sorts of reasons, from tangihanga to 21sts, weddings, working bees and wānanga etc but no matter the kaupapa, people are brought together and reunited for one reason. Aunty Katy spoke of these specific events that brought her home:

So, my father's kawē mate and your 21st, they have been the only two times I've been there, but they've been significant. It hasn't been to be a part of anything else but something directly at the heart of my existence... My father birning me and obviously my twin sisters first child. I used to dream of the land yeah but I never really got a clear sense of what it looked like I just remember dreaming and they were quite significant in my dreams. Those would be the two things that were most significant and not because I was there, it was what was happening on the land and what it did, and the people it brought together and to be there, to be doing that with you and sharing that with our tūpuna... I don't know if that is actually what happens but that's what I have in my head, they are there. – Katy Hetherington

One point raised in this answer that interests me is how Aunty Katy describes dreaming of whenua before you have any sense of what it actually looks like. A conference paper by Teresa MacColl shared at the Psiber-Dreams Conference, titled "Dreaming with the Ancestors," emphasizes that "Dreams are one way the ancestors "speak" to us" (MacColl, 2008) What Aunty Katy says in terms of dreaming about the lands being significant, yet never having been there, might be understood as an instance of her tūpuna speaking to her, reminding her of who she is, where she comes from and to come back home. Concepts like dreaming are often overlooked, dismissed or not considered in the secular world. Listening to our ancestors was something that indigenous ancestors have done throughout the whole world and "Bringing back these ancient tribal dream ways of our ancestors is a great responsibility, and not an easy task living in this modern Western world that does not validate listening to the ancestors through our dreams".

What are your hopes and desires for the future of the Maremare whānau and their connection to their whenua tupuna?

What are the dreams of our pakeke for the future of our whānau? How do their experiences and stories growing up shape how they view the future and what they hope the future holds for our generation and their future mokopuna? In the time of our tūpuna, being together, working together and looking after the ahikā of our whenua tupuna was normal. Obviously, a lot has changed since then but it is important that we think back to those times and try to remember the importance of continuing that throughout our lives but also to pass those same values down to our descendants.

More time there, more time together there... Yeah strength, we need a lot of that and we need new young leaders to drive all of that and to hold us to account. - Katy Hetherington

I hope that yourself and Talia when you have babies, you can go there and it's a great place to go to and that we as a whānau can reconnect a lot better, just see each other more often. I know everyone is so busy, but you know maybe, just for everyone to go down to our marae, just for a weekend and organise it well enough in advance, like an anniversary of some sort... You know a celebration, that would be awesome! - Bridgette Sampson

In a paper called 'Measuring Maori Wellbeing,' Mason Durie writes about the potential of this sense of community and connection:

An important outcome for Māori is measured by the vibrancy of a Māori community. It reflects the way a community is organised and the positive attributions that can result to the population involved. Communities may be geographic, regional, national or based on shared interests (e.g. a kohanga community). There is a link between a vibrant community and the well-being of its members but in any case, the vibrancy of the community is itself a measure of outcome because it suggests a level of involvement that builds on collective energies and contributes to a collective sense of welfare, safety and motivation. Indicators of a vibrant Māori community could be based on the number of institutions, kapa haka teams, active marae, sports clubs, Māori committees, radio stations, the size of the Māori electoral roll, and the vibrancy of national Māori organisations (Durie, 2006)

Durie is speaking to the success of a “well operating” Māori community, but everything he describes is also relevant for a whānau. He also refers to the importance of whanaungatanga, kotahitanga and spending more time together upon our whenua tupuna, all of which have been common themes throughout these interviews with pakeke. I believe that if we focus on kotahitanga being a core value within our whānau and a goal to work on as we move into the future then hopefully our descendants will look back on these aspirations and say “Āe, kua tutuki, kua ea!”

I just want everyone to be happy. - Bridgette Sampson

Chapter 7 - Findings (Rangatahi)

“Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi” “The old net is laid aside and the new net goes fishing”

This whakataukī speaks to the generational shift in leaders and our rangatahi stepping up into the positions once held by their elders. Our rangatahi play a major part in shaping the future of our world, they aren't only the leaders of tomorrow but they are leaders of today. They don't decide what the future will look like in 30 years when 2050 finally arrives, every little decision they make now, every vision they hold at this moment, will have an impact on what that future will look like when it arrives. Rangatahi voice is often marginalised, overlooked and/or pushed to the side, especially in moments of critical decision making. “Heath et al (2009) assert that much youth research is concerned with giving voice to young people in order to promote a better understanding of their worlds, but it is also linked to a desire among many youth researchers to empower young people. Groundwater-Smith (2011) goes so far as to describe the inclusion of youth voice in educational research as “a radical means of interrupting this dominant discourse where so many young people receive so little attention. Through its power they are no longer silenced and rendered invisible” (Heath et al, 2009 as cited in Hawthorne, 2014). I have sought to provide the rangatahi of our whānau the space to share their stories, their opinions, their experiences and their aspirations. I am also interested in hearing the visions and dreams of our rangatahi for our whānau as we look to the future, not only as members of the Maremare whānau but rangatahi Māori of today's world. “As such, listening to the voices of youth helps to make young people feel that they are valued as valid, contributing members of society (Barron 2000 as cited in Grover, 2004). Rangatahi Māori also provide a fresh perspective. Not all, but many rangatahi have grown up in a world where most people have done the fighting for them to be unapologetically Māori. They see no boundaries – or the boundaries they experience are different from those of their pakeke and kaumātua – and they are willing to do anything to get to where they want to be in life and where they want their future to lie. Their opinions and perspectives are not yet threatened by the taumaha and limiting opinions of the world. This is also another reason why it was important for me to speak to the rangatahi within our whānau. Three rangatahi from the Maremare whānau took part in these interviews. They were asked a series of questions relating to whenua tupuna, reconnection, and personal experiences. All three rangatahi hold different stories and childhoods which created

a range of interesting and intriguing answers. In this chapter, I also interweave some of my own reflections on these questions. Although I am the researcher of the thesis as a whole, I position myself most closely with the rangatahi generation and have taken the opportunity to contribute some of my own thinking more in this chapter than in the previous two.

Tanisha Maremare

The first rangatahi interviewed is my cousin Tanisha, a mother in her mid-twenties and is the mokopuna of Basil Pehira Maremare. She has grown up knowing of her ancestral lands in Turakina and made visits there as a child but lives an hour and a half away in the region of Kāpiti which is in closer proximity to her whenua tupuna on her mother's side, Ngāti Huia. When asked the question 'What does identity mean to you?' She answered with *"Trying to find who I am and where I come from. I don't know much about my dad's side. So, identity for me is trying to find my roots. All I know really is my mums' side, so I'm a staunch Ngāti Huia descendant. So, learning about where I come from on my dad's side because I don't know much about that side and I think you started that, you really started that journey. And being a mum. Being proud to be Māori, learning my culture as well, my reo"*. This rangatahi has a strong desire to learn more about who she is within her Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa whakapapa and her connection to her whenua tupuna in Turakina, not only for herself but for her children as well.

Talia Sampson

The second rangatahi member of the Maremare whānau is my sister Talia. Talia is 19 and has spent most of her childhood/teenage years with little knowledge about her taha Māori and where she comes from. Talia is the mokopuna of Te Reimana Maharanui Maremare and grew up seven and a half hours north of Turakina where she still lives. Within the past four years she has begun to strengthen and tighten those ties in order for her to understand more about who she is as a person and who she descends from. Her idea of identity is *"How you identify yourself, where you're from, who your family is"*. She is on a journey of discovering where she is from and more about who her Maremare family is. As we traverse through this chapter, we will hear more about her whakaaro around whenua tupuna and this idea of our tūpuna calling us home

Khya Maremare

The final rangatahi member from the Maremare whānau is my younger cousin Khya Maremare, mokopuna of Basil Pehira Maremare and younger brother of Tanisha. Khya is an 18-year-old rangatahi who spent a period of his childhood living in Australia before moving back to Aotearoa. He now lives in Feilding, approximately a 40-minute drive from Turakina. Khya has grown up frequently visiting his whenua tupuna and with a strong foundational knowledge of who he is and who he descends from. When asked what identity means to him, his answer was “*How you perceive yourself as a person, culture*”. Out of these three rangatahi interviewees Khya has grown up living within the closest proximity to Turakina and because of this has been fortunate enough to visit more often and physically step foot upon his whenua tupuna more frequently. Everyone has a different relationship with their whenua tupuna and this is because we all have different experiences and backgrounds that contribute to this relationship. As we proceed through this chapter we will hear the different opinions and whakaaro of these three rangatahi and this will provide us with a deeper and clearer understanding as to what connection to whenua tupuna means, looks and feels like to them as rangatahi. Do their tūpuna call them home?

What does the term “Tūrangawaewae” mean to you?

Tūrangawaewae, a place to stand, a belonging place, a foundation set before your time by the ones who came before you. These are the ideas that come to mind when I think of the term tūrangawaewae. I wanted to incorporate this idea as a question to identify what our rangatahi perceive tūrangawaewae to be. Often the term is used when we speak about marae, urupā, papa kāinga and ancestral lands and so on.

A key theme that came through our pakeke and their whakaaro on tūrangawaewae also emerged from our rangatahi in their answers to this question, “What does tūrangawaewae mean to you?” This key theme acknowledges our mothers as our tūrangawaewae and all that this embodies. The role of the mother within Te Ao Māori is held in high regard and is a very significant role. We are direct descendents of Papatūānuku, our whaea, our earth mother, she is who gave birth to all living things and we return to her at the end of our lives. When we physically return home to our whenua

tupuna and lay foot upon our ancestral lands, it is Papatūānuku that we are standing upon, it is her body that embraces all of those who have gone before us and upholds those who continue to walk upon her.

What does tūrangawaewae mean to me? That means my home which is my mum - Tanisha Maremare.

In her doctoral thesis, ‘Mā te wahine, mā te whenua, ka ngaro te tangata. Wahine and whānau experiences informing the maternal-infant health care system,’ Kendall Stevenson explains her interpretation of this connection between the mother and the child:

Mā te wāhine, mā te whenua, ka ngaro te tangata is a whakataukī (proverb; significant saying) that I have used to name this project. If translated, it means that without women and land, the people will perish. However, this whakataukī signified more to me than its direct translation. The word whenua carries two meanings: land and placenta. I read the whakataukī as indicating the value and significance of wāhine (women) as mothers and life-providers through whenua (childbirth). Another interpretation could be that we are connected with our land and wāhine as a mother is to a child in womb. Therefore, this special bond must be protected and nurtured (Stevenson, 2018)

Stevenson also touches on the concept of whenua meaning both land and placenta that I discussed in the literature review.

What does the term “Whenua Tupuna” mean to you?

The beautiful part about Te Reo Māori is that it is so fluid and there is no one meaning for anything. When I hear the term ‘whenua tupuna’ three key concepts or whakamārama come to mind. None of these is more correct or incorrect than any other, and the term is not limited to these three definitions, these are simply three that stand out for me personally. The first meaning is this idea that the whenua in which we walk upon hold our many tūpuna who have gone before us and have returned to rest within the whenua. When our time is finished physically here upon the earth and we pass on, our body is returned to our whaea Papatūānuku. Our descendants continue to live on and walk upon the whenua which holds the bodies of our ancestors who came before us, they are

the foundation which we walk upon, they are the tūranga that our waewae stand upon, hence the word tūrangawaewae. The second meaning, that I have mentioned throughout this thesis, explains how Papatūānuku is our whenua but also our living, breathing tūpuna. She is our life sustenance, and she embodies both of the kupu, whenua and tūpuna. The third key meaning for the term ‘whenua tupuna’ is tūpuna who hold our whenua. What has already been discussed throughout this thesis is the tikanga of returning whenua (placenta) to the whenua (land) after birth, usually in a place of ancestral significance for the baby. When I think about the first two whakamārama that I have explained above, this third one weaves into them. When we give birth to new life, we return the whenua (placenta) to the whenua (land) whom we descend from. This same whenua (land) also holds our many tūpuna who have gone before us, one day we will return to be with them. It is an on-going cycle which continues to reinforce the idea that everything is connected within te ao Māori and emphasises the strong hononga between people and land. All three of these whakamāramatanga were encapsulated in the comments from Talia Sampson:

It's where your ancestors are from? Where they were brought up, where they're from... So, I guess where we're from... But where we came from, how we got to where we are now... I guess its sort of like connection. - Talia Sampson

It all comes back to whakapapa, our genealogy, our lineage, the layers upon layers of people, atua, and beings that make up who we are. Everything and everyone before us have had an impact on who and where we are now, and we always return to this concept to help move us into the future. This cycle is explained well in the publication ‘He Mokopuna, He Tūpuna: Investigating Māori views of childrearing amongst iwi in Taranaki’ written by Ngaropi Cameron, Leonie Pihama, Rawinia Leatherby and Awhina Cameron. “The phrase ‘He Mokopuna He Tupuna’ is one that provides a cultural framework for understanding the positioning of tamariki within Te Ao Māori. It is drawn from the following whakataukī “He Tupuna he mokopuna. Mā wai i whakakī i ngā whawharua o ngā mātua Tupuna? Mā ā tātou mokopuna! He mokopuna he Tūpuna”. This whakataukī draws us to the essence of the whakapapa relationship between generations. It asserts that we are all mokopuna and we are all tupuna. The mokopuna will in future generations take the place of the tupuna. All grandchildren in time become grandparents. Each generation links through whakapapa to each other and we are a reflection and continuance of our ancestral lines" (Cameron et al., 2013). We are descendants of those that have come before us, just as one day we will be

tūpuna to a multitude. Everything that we can be and can do is because of those that have gone before us and everything that we do now will impact the world that our mokopuna will live and grow in.

I just think of the urupā and the graves up on the sandhills. – Khya Maremare

Onepoto is an old urupā that lays within the sand dunes of Turakina and overlooks Tiniwaitara marae from across the river. These sand dunes hold the bodies of our many tūpuna who passed away before the 1890's. There are between 1000 to 3000 bodies who rest there with many of them coming from one of our last battles against Whanganui and Ngā Rauru. Tiniwaitara Marae also has a more modern urupā that holds the bodies of our more recent tūpuna which rests next to our whare karakia, Te Mangungu. For Khya, the places he identifies as whenua tupuna are the places where his ancestors rest; this is why his whakautu emphasizes the sand dunes as a significant place on our whenua tupuna. Urupā are often places where we feel the closest and most connected to our tūpuna because we know that they physically rest there. I always feel spiritually connected to my ancestors but there is something different about sitting at the feet of my great grandparents who I never got the opportunity to meet, while they were still alive. It is sitting at the place where their bodies lie, looking around your whenua tupuna and imagining back to the times that they were physically walking upon it, how you are now.

What does the place Turakina mean to you?

I asked this pātai to find out what Turakina means to the rangatahi of the Maremare whānau. The question was intentionally broad and leaves room for them to delve into whatever spaces or places that they wished to at the time. Due to their differing childhood experiences, upbringings and areas in which they live, some very interesting answers emerged.

Yeah koro! I wish I got to hear more stories from him about the place. The opening of the new whare, I kind of felt like... I didn't want to get in the way. I didn't feel like how I am when I'm at Mātau you know? Around the other whānau that aren't Maremare, that aren't Murray, I kind of felt like I didn't want to step on anyone's toes... So I wanna feel comfortable and strong and I want to have that feeling, like how I do with my mum's side...

I know I will, but I just wish I grew up more down there, like in my adult years. It is what it is- Tanisha Murray

As mentioned in the introduction chapter of my thesis, very little scholarly literature about the journey of returning home to whenua tupuna. There is a whole pool of literature out there that focuses on the ‘disconnectedness’ of people from their lands and their culture, but the ‘returning home’ process and the hua but also some of the struggles that come with this remain underexamined. A key concept that underpins this whakautu from Tanisha is the desire to feel comfortable and to feel as if they are at home when they are there. When we go home less often or haven’t been home at all, there is a sense of unfamiliarity that comes with the people and the place. When we are frequently or even daily on our whenua tupuna we become a kanohi kitea: someone who is physically represented, known and familiar to those around them.

Talia Sampson spoke about how the more often one returns home, the experiences become more comfortable and the people become more familiar. Mums dads’ side... Which is also a side that we never really got to know... But like, yeah, I don’t know it’s hard. The more we go down there the more it will slowly start to feel like home, and just like my connection with it will hopefully get better you know. It’s weird putting it into words, it’s more of like, not a feeling but like yeah. It is starting to feel like i’m from there, well because we were like you know that’s where everyone was from before, our ancestors, but for myself it’s slowly starting to feel like that. - Talia Sampson.

The ahikā is our fire of inhabitation, fire of occupation, and in order to keep those home fires burning we must return home often and put more wood on the fire, attend kaupapa, give back to our whenua, whānau, hapū and iwi. If we continue to place ourselves in those spaces, our ahi will continue to burn and things like attending kaupapa, helping in the kitchen and just being upon your whenua with the rest of your people will become less intimidating or uncomfortable.

How would you explain our connection as a whānau to our whenua tupuna?

This question felt important as it allowed the participants to sit back and reflect on the relationship between our whānau and our whenua tupuna. Because rangatahi have only been around for a short

period of time compared to our pakeke and kaumātua, I was interested to hear their responses to this question, and I found it intriguing to hear their perceptions of the word ‘connection’ and how they interpret this. Although Tanisha is included in this rangatahi generation, because she is a mother she framed her response in relation to her hopes for her daughter.

*Yeah like me personally, I haven't seen a strong one, or felt a strong connection. After fully meeting you and talking to you and nans birthday and what your visions were and that, I was like "Oh my gosh" I've never felt such a strong connection like that before, to Turakina. I don't want my daughters or my kids growing up to feel like they don't belong there... Like I've felt like I belong there but it hasn't been like I was always excited to go there, I only go there for my koro and I want Amaia to grow up and be like "Yeah that's my little home, my other home down there" and being prouder that she's Ngāti Apa -
Tanisha Murray*

There is a whakataukī which talks about the importance of knowing who you are “Inā kei te mohio koe ko wai koe, I anga mai koe I hea, kei te mohio koe, kei te anga atu ki hea” “If you know who you are and where you come from then you will know where you are heading.” Through Tanisha’s whakautu we can see that process of forward thinking, she is thinking about the younger generations, in particular her daughter. She wants her daughter to be able to stand strong in knowing her Tiniwaitara whakapapa, and to have that sense of belonging and identity as a descendent of Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa.

Talia highlighted the issue of how different members of the whānau experience their connection to Turakina:

I feel like we're all at different stages, which is understandable considering the different ways we've been connected with it. We've all been like introduced to Turakina through different ways and at different stages of our lives. - Talia Sampson

Adding wood to your ahikā is a journey, it is as if each piece of wood is a milestone on your journey of returning home. We all have different journeys, and each piece of wood that we place in our fire has a different look, is a different size and a different texture but comes from the same forest. We are all on different journeys and at different stages of our lives. If someone hasn't

grown up immersed in te ao Māori, returning home comes with the introduction to tikanga Māori and Te Reo Māori. When you return to your whenua tupuna you will be open to these practices and it is a part of the whole experience, it is a part of you and your culture. Talia continued by reiterating this distinction between different connections to home:

For me it's just not connected, it's like little bits of everything and I'm meant to be like "Awww yup that's where I'm from!" Because I feel like you've got to fully like understand the culture and tikanga behind it and all that kind of stuff for you to be like "Okay yup that's, you know..." Whereas for us, we weren't really like brought up with that. - Talia Sampson

This comment introduces the risk that people who grew up with infrequent connections to home believe they are required to have more of an understanding around tikanga Māori me ōna katoa in order to feel or be more connected to their whenua tupuna or to claim that connection. One ongoing impact of colonisation is the way in which expectations are imposed on Indigenous cultures in a way that sets up criteria which determines whether one is able to claim their identity or not. We know in our ngākau Māori that this is not the case: there are no requirements or standards that you have to meet to become "more Māori" or to claim connection to your whenua tupuna. However, the immense impact of colonialism on our people unfortunately means this self-imposed expectation persists of doing certain things and being a certain way to be classified as Māori or to claim whakapapa. Khya spoke about this idea as he reflected on this question:

They're still connected, they just don't come as much. Home is home, no matter how far. - Khya Maremare.

His comments clearly echo the arguments I am making in this thesis: that we can never really be disconnected from something that is literally a part of you and the only requirement for being connected to your whenua tupuna is whakapapa.

What continues to bring you back home to your whenua tupuna?

This question was posed in order to find out what motivates and continues to bring our rangatahi back home to their whenua tupuna. Interestingly, a strong theme that emerged through their

answers was, pepeha. Pepeha seemed to be a strong pull for our rangatahi; the desire to know and feel their pepeha brings them back home.

You know when you always say your whakapapa and stuff... I want to be like confident I want to mean it and go home and understand everything. - Talia Sampson.

The kaupapa of this thesis is centered around connection to whenua tupuna and the idea that our tūpuna call us home. To see and hear that our rangatahi recognise and acknowledge their pepeha as a key reason why they continue to come home surelu reflects this. We descend from our pepeha, our maunga, our awa, they are our ancestors. So, when our pepeha calls us home, that is, in its most authentic form, a call from our tūpuna.

The river, I just love it. - Khya Maremare.

It is one thing to know the names of your maunga, awa, waka, marae, hapū and iwi but to actually know the feel, the smell, the look, the sound and know who they are is a whole other level of understanding that provides you with a deeper appreciation for your pepeha. We all want to stand up, say our pepeha and be able to feel, see and smell it. A feeling that I feel everytime I say my pepeha comes from a time when I visited our maunga, Paraekaretū, with my whānau. We reached the peak and I walked to the edge of our maunga where I stood for five minutes with my eyes closed. In that moment I could feel the strong presence of my ancestors through the wind of Tāwhirimātea as it cleansed my face and passed through my body with a force that wasn't harsh but warm and smooth. Now, everytime I say the name of my maunga, that same feeling comes across me and I'm able to go back in time to that very moment and feel my tūpuna with me. We descend from our pepeha, we are our pepeha and our pepeha is us. We have a whakataukī back home on the awa and it says “E rere kau mai te awa nui nei mai i te kāhui maunga ki Tangaroa ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au” “The river flows from the mountains to the see, I am the river and the river is me”. This talks about how our river is literally a part of us, our life source, our vitality, and we descend from our awa tupua just as we descend from every other aspect of our pepeha.

Has there been a time in your life where you have reconnected back to your whenua tupuna in Turakina? What was this experience like?

I think the first time, when we were practicing our karanga and I felt too nervous to do it in front of the wharenuī and then I went around to the new one and I could see koro Bas you know. I think that was the first time where I really felt like not shy, comfortable, and I really felt his presence like hardout. I think that was the first ever time where I really felt connected to my people... The living and the dead. - Tanisha Murray.

We use karanga to welcome manuhiri, to farewell those that have passed and to call upon our tūpuna. It is the high pitch tone that allows wahine to reach te ao wairua and call to our tūpuna through this practice. “The karanga also weaves together the living and the dead and has the ability to take one to another place on a journey unlocking wairua” (Hibbs, 2006) Tanisha describes this experience at a karanga/whaikōrero wānanga back home on our whenua tupuna at Tiniwaitara Marae. This moment would have been extremely special for Tanisha and it is one that will stay with her forever. The practice of calling upon our tūpuna is reciprocal because they call upon us too. They are there, calling to us and waiting for us to come back home. Nau mai, hoki mai rā. “It awakens the world gone, the world today and the world to come. It connects all three” (Ferris, 2004 as cited in Hibbs, 2006).

I haven't really had that one moment, it's kind of been progressive. I guess for me, it's also getting to know everyone and that for me makes me feel more reconnected. When everyone knows you and you know who they are, they know how you're connected and how they're connected. For me, it's obviously the land as well but I feel like half of it is also the people. It takes time, I can't just be like “awww yup yeah you're my cousin! I feel so connected to you!” It takes me time... It's more like a feeling, it's not just a label. – Talia Sampson.

Throughout this thesis the discussion has returned to the journey of returning home and how, although it happens in the context of collective relationships, it is an individual journey that does not happen overnight. It is made up of numerous different experiences, opportunities, decisions, emotions and milestones, it is a life journey and one that is specific to the individual walking it. Putting a face to the name, conversing in person and carrying out roles and responsibilities upon

the marae together are all things that build stronger connections and relationships, this is something that takes time and effort and is all a part of the journey. Talia's comments on this topic highlights the concept of kanohi kitea that has already been discussed in this chapter and indeed several times in this thesis. Whakawhanaungatanga means to build relationships and to connect through experiences, by being a kanohi kitea we can do this ā tinana nei.

What are your hopes and desires for the future of the Maremare whānau and their connection to their whenua tupuna?

When I did the karanga I felt such a strong presence, they are there you know. So, I really want to make them proud that we are not neglecting their land, not neglecting their whare and doing more fun things for our generation because that was never the thing back in our days, when I was growing up. Just getting the whānau together, from our side because that whenua is really important for me. If it wasn't for Nanny Ema and koro Pehira then we wouldn't have our koros. Just being more involved, me personally and as my little whānau grows, I want to be more involved in what's going on, my koro lies there and who knows one day we might be lying there, you just never know! - Tanisha Murray.

In her answer to this question, Tanisha describes the spiritual presence of tūpuna, and the connection between tūpuna and whenua and kaitiakitanga, which deeply resonates with the key arguments of this thesis. I would suggest we can think about this "strong presence" as her tūpuna calling her home: she called upon them and they came to her. From this specific moment of connection, a seed was planted within her to come home, look after her whenua tupuna and look after her marae.

Another theme that emerged in Tanisha's response was the desire to go back home more often and to be more involved as uri of our tūpuna who lay on our whenua, our whenua tupuna.

Just being more involved, me personally and as my little whānau grows, I want to be more involved in whats going on, my koro lies there and who knows one day we might be lying there, you just never know! – Tanisha Murray

Again, Tanisha confirms the relationship that we as uri have with our whenua and our tūpuna. It is up to us as uri to give back to the place that provides us with that sense of belonging, the place that our tūpuna gave so much to for us to be able to walk upon it and we need to carry on that legacy for our descendants.

I hope that everyone gets more motivated to go back home. My hopes for myself is to feel more reconnected, understand everything a bit more, on a deeper level so I feel confident and I feel at home there, but yeah, I hope everyone else does as well. - Talia Sampson

Chapter 8 - Discussion Chapter

This discussion chapter highlights key aspects of the thesis and the research process itself, states my argument, and discusses key themes which emerged from the three previous Findings Chapters. The key findings from those chapters are summarised here first in order to trace the themes that are discussed throughout the rest of this chapter. I then provide my interpretations of these findings, explaining whether and how these met my expectations as well as how the key themes that came through support my argument. Following my interpretations, I will discuss the challenges I experienced throughout the reserach process.

Summary of Findings

My argument for this thesis is that “Our tūpuna call us home”. Three key themes emerged from my interviews that supported this hypothesis, the first one being urupā as a gathering place for both the living and the deceased, a place that we visit on our arrival home. The second theme was memories and dreams and, in particular, the ways our tūpuna visit us through our memories and dreams, and provide us with visions, reflections and feelings that also call us home. I suggest that the emotions that come through these memories and dreams are the pull of our tūpuna, their wairua visiting us to remind us of times spent there or times to be spent there in the future. The last theme that emerged was the concept that our pepeha calls us home. Our maunga, our awa, our marae, they are all tūpuna of ours and they call us home through our desire to feel and know them on a deeper level than just their names.

The second wāhanga of this chapter focuses on the pātai “what is connection to whenua tupuna? I was interested in this question because I hope it will make visible the different perceptions of connection to whenua tupuna across the different reanga within the Maremare whānau and to see how or if whakaaro around this idea have changed over time. From here we will be able to see how we can use the whakautu from this pātai to help bring our whānau home to Turakina more often. Three key themes emerged from this line of inquiry. The first theme, whakapapa is a strong factor in providing the Maremare whānau with a feeling of connection to whenua tupuna. The second key theme is pepeha, which emerged as a defining theme for the overall argument as well.

The idea of knowing, feeling, visioning and visiting your pepeha provides one with a stronger feeling of connection to their whenua tupuna. The final key concept was the idea of being a kanohi kitea and familiarity providing whānau members with more confidence, comfort and deeper feeling of connection upon physically returning to their whenua tupuna

As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, when I started this rangahau journey, I believed the overall kaupapa of this research would be about the reconnection of the Maremare whānau to their whenua tupuna. Although I unconsciously knew that you can never be truly disconnected from your whakapapa and the place that birthed you and your ancestors, due to the intense repetition of ideas about ‘disconnection’ in literature, everyday kōrero, and colonised conversations and spaces, I found myself using this term “disconnected” (and, in turn, ‘reconnected’) to explain what I was thinking. Overtime, I became conscious that while you can never truly be disconnected from your whenua tupuna, you can strengthen the feeling of being connected through experiences, relationships and specific cultural practices. This idea is central to this discussion chapter. I will delve deeper into the reasons why we are constantly connected to our whenua tupuna, using my own experiences to explain this as well as the korero from members of the Maremare whānau about enhancing this feeling of connection.

Analysis

The moment that we step foot upon our whenua tupuna, we are walking in the footsteps of our ancestors. Returning home and knowing that the exact whenua that your feet are resting upon, your ancestors once walked and are still spiritually present there is a feeling kāore ngā kupu e taea te whakapuaki. Urupā are unique in the sense that our tūpuna physically lay there and their wairua are ever so present at the same time, because of this, the wāhi where our urupā tawhito sits, Onepoto, has created a multitude of happy and memorable moments for the Maremare whānau. When talking about our whenua tupuna to our whānau, this place, the sand dunes, Onepoto, continues to be a stand out memory/favourite place for many members of the Maremare whānau.



Whakaahua 11: Looking down on the Turakina River and Tiniwaitara Marae from the Sand Dunes. Source: Personal Image.



Whakaahua 12: Tracey Poutu and Tina Murray playing on the Sand Dunes down by the Turakina River. Source: Personal Image.

Going down the river with all of my uncles and aunties and just having a day of it and just strolling down the river... On the bank, some in the river, kids just being crazy... Uncle Rangi up on the sandhills used to play follow the leader and he was always the leader running around and we would have to follow in his footsteps behind him. Probably the sandhills, up there with uncle Rangi and the grave sites and down the river. Oh, and having to eat eel. - Aunty Karen

Positive memories and dreams are another factor that contribute immensely to the return home. It was evident to see across all generations of interviews that the sand dunes have been a significant place for our whānau since mai rānō. The gathering place as kids, to play, swim in the river, slide down the hills and play follow the leader. Most importantly, it was not only the gathering place for the living, but also those who have passed on. When interviewees were asked about their first memories of Turakina, a large majority of them replied with the sand dunes as their answer and

then proceeded to speak about all of the happy and memorable moments created upon those hills. Some also dreamed of the landscape, not the sand dunes specifically, but the whenua tupuna as a whole

I used to dream of the land yeah and but I never really got a clear sense of what it looked like I just remember dreaming and so they, they were quite significant in my dreams. - Aunty Katy.

My other memory of Turakina is, I used to love going up the sand dunes... We used to walk through the paddock by the pigs and the sand dunes were like so tall. – Tanisha Murray

I just think of the urupā and the graves up on the sandhills. – Khya Maremare

The sand dunes are no longer a common gathering place for the living as it is overgrown with plants and has been for a number of years. This, along with the surfacing of koiwi, has made the visits for whānau members a lot less frequent and the sand is beginning to cover our urupā tawhito. Regardless of this, our rangatahi still, along with our pakeke and kaumātua, identified it as a significant place.

The limitations of my land are clear to me. The area of my existence, where I derive my existence from. Land provides for my physical needs and my spiritual needs. New stories are sung from contemplation of the land. Stories are handed down from spirit men of the past who have deposited the riches at various places, the sacred places. These places are not simply geographically beautiful: they are holy places, places that are even more holy than shrines. They are not commercialised, they are sacred. The greatest respect is shown to them. They are used for the regeneration of our people, the continuation of our life: because that's where we begin and that's where we return (Hubert, 2013).

Our tūpuna of old times lay within those sand dunes and watch over our marae from a distance. For the sand dunes to be the first thing that comes to mind when talking about the importance of Turakina to individuals or memories held there is a tohu of our pepeha, our tūpuna calling us home and reminding us of the happiness shared upon our ancestral lands. Our tūpuna want us to feel that yearning, they want us to feel the desire to go back home and step foot on our maunga or swim in our awa and this desire inside us is them calling us home to do so, to return to our whenua tupuna

and again, walk in the footsteps of our ancestors. They are ever so present upon our whenua tupuna and this was reiterated by Koro Joe when he spoke of Turakina and its importance to him.

It means a lot to me, it means a heck of a lot you know they've passed on and all of that, I still remember them, it means a lot to me... It really means a lot. Let's say, I've never forgotten them, they're always gonna be there when I go home. - Koro Joe.

I think back to Aunty Karen's kōrero about playing "follow the leader" with koro Rangi and how that korero reflects an experience that I shared with my Uncle Jimmy, Aunty Amanda and three younger cousins Khya, Anaiya and Lexi. When I visited Onepoto for the first time, my uncle was in front guiding the way as the rest of us all followed, unsure about where to go. This in turn re-enacted Koro Rangi playing follow the leader with aunty Karen and is also a perfect representation of us following in the footsteps of our tūpuna as they call us back home to them. The fact that we are still able to sit upon, walk upon, sleep, gather, and just be upon our whenua tupuna is all because of the fight that they fought and the sacrifices that they have made just like our tūpuna, my great great grandfather, Maremare Reupena. This appreciation is something that is passed down through the generations and we see this displayed through the answers given across all three hunga of interviewees when speaking about Onepoto.

The concept of pepeha calling us home is another significant strand of the interviews across generations, and I will expand on this through the example of the approach and entrance into the wharepuni. This notion was mentioned in chapters five and six by both Koro Joe and Aunty Katy as they spoke about significant times where they have returned home and entered the wharepuni. Although their experiences happened within separate time frames and under different circumstances, both understood them as highly spiritual encounters which, in turn, impacted not only their lives but also those surrounding them. These were emotional experiences that embodied the wharepuni, tūpuna presence and the emotional weight of past experiences, unanswered questions, whānau, and memories. Our wharepuni are forever occupied by our tūpuna of older times, this is explained by Patricia Grace in her book "Cousins". Alice Te Punga Somerville speaks to this through her piece 'Nau Mai, Hoki Mai'. (Te Punga Somerville, 2014)

In Patricia Grace's novel *Cousins* (1992), this cross-temporal and ongoing ancestral presence is described by Mata when she physically returns to her own marae: "Something was happening, because suddenly the place became more and more crowded. Suddenly there were people sitting by where the mats had been lain, where at first there had been nobody. There were men and women with marked chins and faces who belonged to an older time. They had my own face some of them, Makareta's and mine" (254). Ancestors continue to be "everpresent" in and through the structure of the whareniui, and this raises the question of whether these individuals approach the house alone after all (Te Punga Somerville, 2014).

We are forever surrounded by our tūpuna and they are always present as we approach the wharepuni. When Koro Joe and Aunty Katy both entered and approached Te Horotaraipi, they were surrounded by their tūpuna, enhancing and intensifying the emotions that they were feeling at the time and welcoming their return home.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter this wāhanga focuses on the following pātai "What is connection whenua tupuna?" and the specific findings that emerged from it. I will start by discussing the concept of whakapapa as it is the foundation of who we are and who we come from, it has also been an integral discussion point throughout this thesis. Three key themes came from this pātai which were introduced above: whakapapa, pepeha, and kanohi kitea. These three key themes surfaced from two broader concepts, the first one speaks to what connects you to your whenua tupuna and the second one being what actually enables someone or provides someone with that feeling/sense of connection to their whenua tupuna. Originally, I expected to find differing opinions and perspectives on what connection to whenua tupuna looks and feels like and this is why I choose to interview and split my findings chapters up intergenerationally. What I found though was that although all of the different reanga have lived through different times, experienced different things and grown up within different worlds their overall perspective and understanding of what connection to whenua tupuna looks and feels like are similar across all reanga. It seems very significant that the concepts of whakapapa, pepeha and kanohi kitea are shared across all three generations. Despite not finding differences across reanga, useful and

significant information still emerged and will be helpful for thinking of ways about how we can bring our whānau back home more often.

We do not own the land we belong to it and because of this we will always have a connection to it that can never be broken. Our whakapapa is what gives us a belonging place and a people to belong to, it doesn't matter if you have grown up with a lot of knowledge of your whakapapa or very little, ko koe tō whakapapa ko tō whakapapa ko koe!

YOU are your Whakapapa. The journey and discovery isn't about finding something lost – for it is never lost. It is there. Always has been and always will be. You are not 'less-than' if you are yet to fully hold firmly the understanding of who you are as you already hold it within you. You are not so much seeking it as you are savoring it. Bit by bit, bite by bite. The bounty of your Whakapapa is already laid waiting on the table you are already seated at. Like any good meal it comes in courses. So, take your time to look around the buffet table before you. Walk around it. Lift up the platter lids and discover what waits below (Bidois, 2006)

It has been spoken to many times throughout this thesis, whakapapa is the only requirement one needs to be connected to their whenua tupuna *“First of all, that's where our tupuna is so where connected to everything from there”*. - Uncle Tommy We all have a whakapapa from the moment that we are conceived. This means that before we even step foot upon our whenua tupuna, before we are even born into this world, we have a connection to it. *“A place, a physical place where you could always be at and feel that a part of you belongs to that place before you even get to that place”* – Bridgette Sampson.

As discussed previously, through the many discussions, interviews and wānanga that have come with this thesis and this mahi rangahau, whakapapa has been a key point of kōrero. A key point that has been discussed is that all that someone needs to claim connection to their whenua tupuna is whakapapa. The phrase speaks for itself “whenua tupuna” no matter what way you choose to understand it. Although whakapapa connects you to your ancestral lands, the difference lies in a sense of feeling connected and, in turn, how we gain that sense of feeling connected to our whenua tupuna. The next two key themes that will be discussed, emerged from our interviews and will

Speak to what it means to enhance this feeling of connection. What practices and relationships are considered important to the interviewees in order to feel, grow and establish that feeling of connectedness to one's ancestral lands? And why do these enhance that feeling within us?

An essential part of our whakapapa is our pepeha. Our maunga, our awa, our waka, our marae, our urupā we descend from all aspects of our pepeha and therefore are connected to every single thing and being that make up the different parts of this. As Māori we descend from our environment, this meaning that everything that surrounds us, everything that makes up our pepeha, is an ancestor of ours. Going back to your pepeha, your maunga, your awa, your waka, your marae, your urupā and feeling them and being in their presence is a form of interaction with your tūpuna, conversing with and just being in the presence of your ancestors. It was evident through the interviews across all reanga that the desire to know and have this feeling is very common. It is one thing to stand up and say your pepeha, but when you have the deeper understanding of what that looks and feels like it adds a whole other layer on the feeling of being connected. To provide some context, it's like saying someone's name who you have never met before. You know of them, you know their name, but you don't know who they are, you don't know who they truly are on the inside, their values, what their voice sounds like, their story... You don't truly know any of that until you are physically in their presence. The next time that you stand to do your pepeha, you will truly be able to resonate with what it means to feel your tūpuna as you speak their names and you will be able to see and feel them when you acknowledge them as the tūpuna that you descend from. This concept explained in chapter six by Aunty Katy:

Turakina is a place I love to say now. When people ask me, I have great confidence in saying "Do you know where Turakina is?" And I'm able to talk to it, able to feel it, able to see it, able to connect with it. Before it was an aspiration to be and have that but I would say to people that I'm from here but have no sense of what that actually looked or felt like, still got a really long way to go but Turakina means that to me, it makes me smile. It makes me feel confident – Aunty Katy.

This last key theme that emerged was one of the mostly described ideas across all interviews: the idea of being a kanohi kitea, a seen and familiar face. In her article "Kanohi ki te Kanohi. A Thing of the Past? Examining the Notion of "Virtual" Ahikā and the Implications for Kanohi ki te

Kanohi”, Acushla Dee O’Carroll explains the meaning of being a kanohi kitea and the implications that prolonged absence from your whenua tupuna can have on the individual as well as the wider whānau, hapū and iwi.

Kanohi kitea is a similar notion, meaning “the seen face” highlighting the importance of “being seen” to strengthen relationships and one’s place of belonging in the community. These concepts are of much importance to cultural practices, rituals, and ceremonies that are central to Māori life and to the unique vigour of Māori institutions such as the marae (common gathering place), the papa kāinga (village) and the rohe (region). Kanohi ki te kanohi has become increasingly difficult to achieve as a norm or even an ideal in the contemporary setting, due to the pace and pressures of work commitments, financial situations, diaspora, and family contexts. Many Māori struggle with pressures to return home to participate in cultural, social, and political activities of the marae. Prolonged absence from the papa kāinga (home) and marae may have major implications for the individual and/or the wider whānau/community if connections and a sense of belonging become weak or lost (O’Carroll, 2013).

A point that was made throughout the interviews was that interviewees feel a stronger sense of connection when they are familiar with the people, familiar with their surroundings and the people know them. The only way that this is possible is if you become a kanohi kitea, a seen, a recognisable, a familiar face. For people that grow up on their whenua tupuna this may not be a difficult task, but for those that live or have moved away from home, there is more effort required in returning home often and maintaining that sense of feeling of being connected.

Challenges/Limitations

Throughout this mahi rangahau I experienced challenges which I will address here before providing my recommendations for future research. Four challenges/limitations affected the process of developing this thesis which had an impact on achieving the aims of my mahi rangahau. These three takes were, Covid-19 which impacted my research in multiple ways, from restricted creative flow and my interviews and rangahau being delayed to not being able to meet with my supervisor in person to discuss any issues or whakaaro. The second challenge/limitation was being

an insider within the research; although in many ways this is the ideal situation for this kaupapa, it is worth considering the impact of my relationships with whānau members, prior knowledge of participants, difficulty in asking certain questions and the interviewee selection process and limit of how many whānau members I could realistically interview. The third challenge/limitation was the process of rearranging the findings chapters to ensure good flow between sections and korero.

Covid 19 was and still continues to be a difficult, unpredictable and vulnerable time for people all over the world. The lockdown period of Covid 19 affected my research in multiple ways but three in particular stood out. The first challenge that arose within my research due to the nationwide lockdown was going from working in an office, the university library and with writing partners to being forced to work from home and do the best that I could with what I had. Making do with a last-minute writing space and having limited areas to study had a huge effect on my creative flow, productivity, critical thinking and the ability to produce quality writing. Coming out of lockdown I was able to find my creativity again and to regain momentum with my writing. Another challenge that I faced due to Covid-19 was having to delay some of my interviews and push them out to a later date which, in turn, delayed the rest of my writing process. The final challenge that came with COVID-19 was the inability to meet with my supervisor in person to discuss any issues that would arise or to ask any questions that may have been on my mind at the time. Zoom and group chats was the next best way to communicate and although it was still helpful, it was not in anyway the same as meeting in person to discuss things.

Being an insider within the research has its benefits but it also comes with some difficulties. My position as an insider was something that I was aware of from the start but despite this, I still encountered some challenges. One challenge was that I had prior knowledge of the interviewees, their backgrounds and experiences that they had faced within their life times. These prior relationships, and my sense of what might be inappropriate or awkward to discuss, made it difficult to address certain topics and caused me to hold back sometimes when asking specific questions. Another challenge that I faced as an insider within the research was presenting my findings. I found myself hesitating to insert certain quotes or kōrero because of my fear of offending or hurting people. While this is not a bad thing and we should always be taking the effects and ethics of research into consideration, at times it caused me to overthink kōrero too much where it could have

had the potential to affect my capability of achieving the aims of my mahi rangahau. The last main limitation/challenge that I found as an insider was the participant selection process. As a whānau member of the whānau that I am conducting interviews with, I naturally wanted to be able to interview all of the members within my whānau, however, this was just not realistic and I had to narrow it down to fourteen which was already quite a large number.

The final major challenge that I encountered was the order of my chapters that presented my research findings. I start my thesis with the reo of my kuia and then proceed to follow my whakapapa down from my great great grandfather to myself and this theme is followed throughout the thesis. Despite this, structure, however, for some reason when I reached my findings chapters I decided to begin with my rangatahi chapter and work my way through the pakeke chapter and onto the kaumātua. It wasn't until I reached the final chapter (the kaumātua findings chapter) and felt that it wasn't flowing as I would like it to that I realised I was not following the same whakapapa structure as the thesis in its entirety. This realisation required me to rearrange the order of these chapters and re-word/restructure some of the paragraphs and sentences. This could have potentially impacted how I achieved the aims of this thesis but fortunately it was something that I realised early enough to fix and I will speak to this in the next section of this chapter which discusses recommendations that I have for future research within the field.

Conclusion

Our tūpuna call us home and this is evident through my findings that are based on the experiences and perspectives of the Maremare whānau. The key ways in which our tūpuna do this are by use of pepeha as something we not only want to know the names of but to feel, see, smell and sense in every way, shape or form, our pepeha, our ancestors what to know and interact with us just as we do with them. They call us home through memories and dreams that intensify or ignite our desire to return home to relive those times, to remember those moments, to recreate those feelings and/or to create the memories that we wish to produce and experience upon our whenua tupuna, with the living but also those of older times who guide us there spiritually.

Whakapapa rests at the heart of connection to whenua tupuna. It is the foundation in which we stand upon and what forever connects us as a people to the land that birthed us. Our whakapapa is always there and it is something that no one, no distance, no upbringing or situation can ever take away from us. What I discovered through my mahi rangahau and what presented itself throughout my findings is that there is a difference between being connected to a place ā whakapapa nei and feeling a sense of connection. Through my interviews, whakapapa is what presented itself as the taura that always connects us to our whenua and being a kanohi kitea and knowing our pepeha on a personal level is what enhances that feeling of connectedness.

Chapter 9 - Conclusion

I stand strong in my belief that our tūpuna call us home. Through this mahi rangahau I have been able to bring a focus to the concept and notion of returning home to ancestral lands and the wairuatanga aspect that this involves. Wairuatanga is something that I believe receives insufficient attention within western secular settings and institutions. It is a big part of Te Ao Māori and a belief/concept/knowledge that doesn't need to be legitimised within our world because it just is, it's a part of our world and it makes up who we are as a people. The more that we delve into this concept within our research Māori mai, Pākeha mai hoki the less validation it will need within western institutions and universities. By expanding on previous research, I have added to the kōrero and literature about connection to whenua tupuna but really focusing in on and drawing upon the importance of returning home.

Recommendations for Future Research

My research has been an extension from the large amount of literature that starts with the concept of Indigenous people being “disconnected from ancestral lands”; a fundamental claim that I have made throughout this thesis is that “one can never truly be disconnected from their whenua tupuna”. Although this was significant and definitely a large finding which emerged, this was only one section of my mahi rangahau and further research needs to be conducted in order to look at this finding as a whole I hope this project will encourage others to likewise reframe the way they approach research about Māori mobility and relationship with whenua.

A big part of my journey with this mahi rangahau has been discovering and working with archival material - not just any archival material, but special taonga that belonged to my great great grandfather, a recording of my great grandmother's voice and other taonga and documents that pertain to my tūpuna and the lives that they lived here on this earth. In quite a substantial way, looking at, feeling and connecting with these taonga has been a form of strengthening my own connection with my whenua tupuna. From these experiences, I also believe that future studies of this kind need to seek and engage with archival materials and the part that they play in helping people strengthen that feeling or sense of connection with their ancestral lands. It was an eye

opener for me, looking at these taonga, because here I was collecting korero from our whānau who are still here with us, which is definitely of importance but, it turns out that, our people have been talking for years. The importance of Māori voices in archival material is the focus of the article “Kia Rongo Mai Koutou ki Taku Whakaaro: Māori Voices in the Alexander Turnbull Library.” In which Paul Meredith and Alice Te Punga Somerville write about the “limits of relying on published work, and the dangers of accepting a single account of ‘traditional’ understanding” (Meredith & Te Punga Somerville, 2010) This is why it was important for me to include these taonga within my research and in particular having ‘He Oriori mō Wharaurangi’ guide my mahi rangahau. “Engaging with Māori txts can extend our shared understanding of particular concepts and histories, and correct inaccuracies and assumptions which have developed in the absence of alternative perspectives” (Meredith & Somerville, 2010) Oriori are composed with the purpose of providing guidance; this is exactly what ‘He Oriori mō Wharaurangi’ provided me with throughout my research. This oriori shaped the rangahau and has helped me to make informed decisions based on Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa specific teachings. Just as the oriori reminds Wharaurangi of her role to protect and nurture the mana of others so that they may flourish, it was a continuous reminder for me to protect and nurture the mana of my rangahau and the people who have participated in it.

Another key recommendation that I have from being able to access these taonga and experience all that comes with this is that this work needs to be made more available to our undergraduate students. Archival material and taonga left here by our tūpuna, as I have already stated, have so much to teach us. Prior to my Masters I had little to no experience in the archival space, purely based upon the fact that I was unconfident with the processes that need to be taken as a part of the journey, and because Indigenous Studies training in New Zealand tends to privilege social science methods such as interviews over other methods including working with archives. These teachings (how to research in an a whare taonga, how to look for particular archives effectively, where to look) need to be taught within the undergraduate space. This would not only open undergraduate taura up to the world of archives, and potentially connect them to the thinking of their own tupuna, but would also prepare future postgraduate students for when they may need to venture down this path.

The distinct roles of wāhine and tāne is also a concept that I believe needs to be looked at when thinking about relationships with whenua tupuna. Although the participants for my interviews were grouped generationally, I realised that all of my pakeke interviewees are wāhine which made me think about whether tāne and wāhine might experience or perceive these relationships with whenua tupuna in distinct ways. This question of gender and how it shapes or inflects these relationships would be an important concept to look at for future research.

My Journey as a Kairangahau

Each person within the whānau makes up a strand on the taura, each bringing with them and interweaving their own personal traits, beliefs and experiences. This is what makes our whānau taura one that is made up of many different attributes, understandings, viewpoints and stories. This taura represents our whakapapa and is a reminder that we are always connected to one another by the whakapapa in which we descend from, no matter what we have been through in life, the foundation of our taura remains strong, if anything it's about tightening those strands and pulling us all close together again.

This journey has been one that has not only brought together the kōrero, experiences, whakaaro, mauri and mana of each individual within the Maremare whānau and the whānau as a whole, but it has been a significant journey of strengthening that feeling of connection for myself as well. A stand out part of this experience for me has been the archival journey and being able to interact with my tūpuna who have passed through the taonga that they have left behind. The haerenga I took to Archives New Zealand in Wellington was one that I will hold close to my heart. The emotional and spiritual impact that it had on my life was breathtaking and one that will never escape my memory, my heart, my soul and my whole being. I was able to hold a letter, the same piece of paper that at one point in time my great great grandfather also held. It was as if time was non-existent and we were together in a space of wānanga.

There was a moment nearing the end of my rangahau journey where I was writing down the lyrics to the two waiata recorded by Koro Eddie, making sure that I had the correct kupu. I sang the first waiata and then following that on the tape is when Nanny Ema Hipango begins to talk. I sat there

staring straight ahead, and I felt a warm fuzzy feeling behind me as if someone had placed a warm blanket over my back. I began to cry. It wasn't a sad cry, yet it wasn't a happy cry either but it was uncontrollable. It was what I felt was reassurance from my tūpuna, that I am on the right path and doing the right thing. As I cried I thought of them, I felt them and I reflected on this whole journey, not only the mahi rangahau, but my whole life journey and what is still to come not only for myself but for my children, my grandchildren, great grandchildren and my many mokopuna to follow. My hope is that one day they will read this and know that this was written for them, with their future in the forefront of my mind, in every word that was typed, every conversation that was had, every word that was read and every tear that was shed.

Throughout this rangahau process I have been engaging in wānanaga and collecting kōrero from many of our whānau memebbers that are still alive. Along the way I managaed to find some taonga from my tūpuna who have already passed on and it reminded me that our ancestors have been talking for years. Our tūpuna were beares of knowledge and they gave it their all to ensure that they mātauranga that they held would always be passed on and never be forgotten. E noho nei au i te māhau o tōku whare tūpuna o Te Horotaraipi, ko aku whakamaioha ki ōku tūpuna i tēnei wā. Nā rātou tēnei whenua tupuna, i tiaki, i waiho mā mātou ngā uri o kōnei. Mei kore ake rātou. Kei aku mokopuna e tipu tonu ana i roto i te kōpū o tō tātou nei whaea a Papatūānuku, anei he taonga mā koutou. Ka whakakapi i roto i ngā kupu o Nanny Ema Hipango...

E mihi atu ana ahau ki a koutou ki āku mokpuna, mō koutou i whakaaro nei kia hoatu e au ēnei whakamaharatanga mōku ki a koutou. Nō reira, e mihi atu ana, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou. – Nanny Ema Hipango



Whakaahua 13: A painting of 'The Homestead' with Te Horotaraipi wharepuni in the background. Source: Personal Image.

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